

The Portrayal of Violence in the Re-enactment-based Crime Shows: A Case Study of *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol*

Syeda Mahnoor Shah

MA, Journalism & Mass Communication, University of Peshawar, KP, Pakistan.

Amir Hamza Marwan

Lecturer, Journalism & Mass Communication, University of Peshawar, KP, Pakistan.

Email: hamzamarwan@uop.edu.pk
(Corresponding Author)

Ayesha Anwar

Lecturer, College of Home Economics, University of Peshawar, KP, Pakistan.

▪ p-ISSN: 2663-3299

▪ e-ISSN: 2663-3841

▪ L-ISSN: 2663-3299

Abstract: This research study examines the content of re-enactment-based crime shows to understand how violence-based crime events are portrayed to the viewers. Quantitative Content Analysis has been executed by the researchers on the two leading T.V. shows of Pakistan and India – *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol*. All the episodes of the selected shows on-air from the 1st of November 2016 to the 31st of December 2016 have been studied, coded, and analyzed. The findings reveal that *Crime Patrol* on-air more episodes and showed more violence. The data confirmed that both the shows discussed the crime events in a similar line by focusing on the murder, kidnapping, and robbery. There is a space for improvement in the language of both the shows to tell the crime story to the audience in a more decent way. It is also much needed that *Jurm Bolta Hai* should respect the privacy of different characters involved or affected by the crime. The findings of this research study are grounded in the Cultural Criminology Theory.

Key Words: Portrayal, Violence, Re-enactment, Crime Shows, Crime Patrol, *Jurm Bolta Hai*

Introduction

Re-enactment-based crime programs are a popular entertainment medium among the viewers in Pakistan and worldwide as they try to give a realistic touch to the criminal acts in a society (Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Jafry, 2013). All these crime re-enactment shows give the audience a closer look into cultural norms and the different crimes happening in the society with an aura of suspense for the audience (Fedorek, 2013; Waheed, Bukhari and Iqbal, 2020). The popularity of crime re-

enactment shows in Pakistan can be understood from a decision that every major news channel on-air re-enactment show in primetime. In India, though, crime re-enactment programs are aired on entertainment-specific channels.

Keeping in view, the sensitivity of the issue of portraying crime and criminals to the viewers on screen Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) announced a ban on such shows that dramatize crimes such as rape, murder, robberies, and suicide

on the 20th of May 2016 in a press release issued to the media ([Khan, 2016](#)). Absar Alam, PEMRA chairman, claimed that the authority has decided to ban shows that re-enact crimes like murders and suicide and those that raid places in the name of investigative journalism. He further emphasized that the privacy of rape, murder, or suicide victims needs to be respected. In a press release, the authority claimed that viewers have repeatedly complained about the nature and content of such shows. The law enforcement agencies also agree that airing such shows motivates the youth toward crime, but several criminals have confessed to learning new crime tactics through these shows ([Hassan and Mukhtar, 2020](#)). Thus, PEMRA threatened the T.V. channels with cancelling their license in case of breaching the code of conduct. Despite the directives of the PEMRA, such re-enactment programs are still on-air in Pakistan – without any legal action being taken against these programs.

Thus, it becomes important to look at the portrayal of crime and violence shown in the re-enactment programs to understand the nature of coverage. For this purpose, the researcher has selected two re-enactment shows from Pakistan and India, including *Crime Patrol* and *Jurm Bolta Hai*, with the intent to study how often violence is shown, the language that is used in these shows, the portrayal of women and if the footage shown is acceptable for a large number of audiences. The researchers have studied the contents of these selected shows for two months – from November 2016 to December 2016.

The main research question answered in this research study is: “How did *Crime Patrol* and *Jurm Bolta Hai* portray violence-based crime in their shows?”

Literature Review

Crime-based re-enactment shows have been

under discussion among researchers for a long. Different schools of thought look at these shows from different perspectives. Few favour the shows and count the different reasons, but others criticize them too ([Bhatti, Iftikhar and Mahmood, 2020](#); [Qazi, Qayyoom and Siraj, 2021](#); [Cullen, Paterson & Golde, 2021](#)). [Beam \(2011\)](#) claimed that a crime re-enactment show – America’s Most Wanted (AMW) – aired in 1988 helped the law enforcement agencies to capture the different criminals and fugitives. The data released in the article revealed that 166 different fugitives were featured in the shows, including 125 fugitives wanted by the FBI. Screening these fugitives helped capture 78 FBI fugitives – including the top 10 most wanted. He reiterated that such programs help revive citizen cooperation with law enforcement agencies and provide an outlet for the citizens to share their frustration about the increasing crime rate in society. Thus, he concluded that speculating that all such programs harm society is not fair.

[Beam \(2011\)](#) differed his opinion on the issue by claiming that America’s Most Wanted (AMW) might have helped capture hundreds of offenders since its inception in 1998. Still, it should also be remembered for the dramatic re-enactment of the crimes that helped in the introduction of new techniques of crime in the society that has been misused drastically by many viewers ([Hassan & Mukhtar, 2020](#)). [Beam \(2011\)](#) stressed that crime re-enactment shows had influenced police practices. In Asian countries like Japan and South Korea, criminals are invited to re-enact the crimes in front of the media, resulting in more humiliation for criminals. Thus, according to him, it could be rightly concluded that such a portrayal of crime helps destroy societies.

[Wiest \(2003\)](#), while looking at the coverage of three infamous serial killers in *The New York Times* articles, found that people, in general, have a fascination with violence and murder, and they try to exploit

this obsession by going through the excessive coverage of murderers. Through this coverage, people get to know these killers and become familiar with their lives and ways of thinking. He stressed that crime re-enactment is the most powerful way of displaying crime and criminals to the people as it helps dramatize it by sharing details about the particular aspect of the crime. Thus, the media's portrayal matters greatly as it can help people understand the world of criminals and societal values too (ibid, 2003).

The scholars have also discussed gender representation in crime re-enactment shows. Many scholars believe that women crime victims are portrayed differently than their men counterparts. One school of thought claims that such programs empower women to speak for themselves about their forced victimization. Still, others suggest that such programs make women more fearful as men present important narratives about the crime, resulting in the suppression of the female victims. It has been confirmed by [Cavender, Bond-Maupin and Jurik \(1999\)](#), who, after exploring the construction of gender in reality crime T.V., revealed that women are mostly portrayed as weak and more vulnerable.

In Pakistan, the crime re-enactment programs are also criticized by many for different reasons. [Jafry \(2013\)](#) claimed that producers and agents exploit the re-enactment actors by luring them to join the field for a better future – but they are represented poorly. She claimed that such women are unsafe as they have no security and are treated disrespectfully. It includes shooting rape performances or sexual assault scenes on the sets with no protection for women. She further claims that women are not appropriately paid and are exposed to a culture where they could hardly reject offers, and thus their miseries are multiplied.

Research Framework

The researchers have selected the two popular re-enactment-based crime shows from Pakistan and India, including *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol*. The reason for choosing the show from India is because of the dominant assumption that both the countries on-air have the same content. The researchers have studied the contents of the selected shows from the 1st of November 2016 to the 31st of December 2016. *Jurm Bolta Hai* is on-aired from the popular *ARY News*, while *Crime Patrol* is broadcasted from the leading *Sony H.D.* in India. *ARY News* broadcasts two episodes of *Jurm Bolta Hai* every week on Wednesday and Thursday, while *Sony H.D.* on-airs three episodes of *Crime Patrol* a week on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. The main source of data collection for this research study is YouTube. All the desired episodes were downloaded through a website called [Youtubedownloader.com](http://en.savefrom.net/1-how-to-download-youtube-video/) (<http://en.savefrom.net/1-how-to-download-youtube-video/>)

Research Methodology

The researchers in this study have employed quantitative Content Analysis to examine the content of the selected crime-based re-enactment shows. The reason for selecting this research method is that the researchers are confident that it can answer the outstanding research questions of this project in a better way. Content analysis can identify the nature of coverage by exploring the emphasis on the coverage and the language used ([Bengtsson, 2016](#); [Drisko and Maschi, 2016](#)).

[Hansen \(1998\)](#) claims that in content analysis, the researcher(s) classify the desired communication content into several parts (variables) that directly address the research questions of the project. Therefore, the researchers should be careful while dividing the communication content into different parts ([Berelson, 1952](#); [Kolbe & Burnett, 1991](#);

[Boettger and Palmer, 2010](#)). The researchers in this study also identified those variables in the crime re-enactment that directly answered the research questions of this study. [Holsti \(1969\)](#) also enumerates the benefits of content analysis as a research method by claiming that this is the best method when clear questions are posed in the research study. Considering the research questions of this study, it is evident that the researchers framed clear questions for this study.

The most important tool (of data collection) in the content analysis is the designing of the coding sheet ([Riffe, Lacy and Fico 1998](#)). It is applied to the communication to collect the desired data from it. The researchers in this study also designed the coding sheet, keeping in view the research questions of this study. Initially, when the coding sheet was developed, it was applied to a few episodes and collected data. Then another M. Phil scholar was requested to collect the data from the same episodes. The results of the intercoder reliability were checked, and 95% was confirmed. Then researchers started data collection from the desired episodes of the shows. Once the data was collected, it was entered into the SPSS, and the desired data was extracted into tables.

Theoretical Framework

The “Cultural Criminology Theory informs the findings of this research study.” Jeff Farrell and Clinton Sanders (1995) put it forward to explore the components of crime further. This theory is deeply rooted in the

notion that culture plays a vital role in influencing crime. These researchers argue that culture is a vital force influencing the nature of criminals, criminal actions, and even criminal justice. Scholars argue that understanding the culture makes it difficult to understand the crime ([Becker, 1963](#)). This theory is relevant to this research study as it also focuses on the symbolic construction of crime on the screen for viewers, which is also based on real-life stories. Such a portrayal of crime can potentially influence the perception of viewers exposed to it.

Findings/ Discussion

The findings of this research study are divided into five sections. Section one informs the readers about the timing of these selected re-enactment shows and the total number of episodes on-air. Section two debates the violence shown by both the selected shows, while section three reflects on the themes of the on-air program. The issue of identification of victims and accused have been highlighted in section four of this article. In contrast, the last section argues the status of language used to narrate the crime event to the viewers.

Showtime and Total On-air Episodes

The first section informs the readers about the timing of the selected crime re-enactment shows. It would inform the readers which show on-air more episodes in the desired period. The findings can be seen below in table 1.

Table 1. Showtime and Total On-air Episodes

Name of show	Time of show	Total on-air episodes
Jurm Bolta Hai	11:05 – 12:05	13
Crime Patrol	10:00 – 11:00	21

The shows are aired at different times and have different durations. *Jurm Bolta Hai* has

aired at 11:05 PM PST, and *Crime Patrol* is aired at 10:00 PST. The airtime is important

to discuss because they either fall on prime time or a little after; either way, many audiences watch these shows as their rating level shows their popularity. Each episode of *Jurm Bolta Hai* is about 36 minutes, and *Crime Patrol*'s duration is about 45 minutes – with two to three commercial breaks in each. It is evident that, due to the duration of commercial breaks, both shows do not have the same duration, and that's why *Crime Patrol* have more episodes than the *Jurm Bolta Hai*. The researchers also observed that some of the stories on-aired in

the *Crime Patrol* consisted of two parts.

Amount of Violence Shown in the Selected Shows

The researchers calculated the amount of violence shown in the selected episodes of both the shows – *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol*. It would inform us which T.V. show emphasized violence in its portrayal of crime stories and which T.V. show avoided it. The findings are placed below in Table 2.

Table 2. Amount of Violence Shown in the Selected shows

Name of show	Total violence shown
Jurm Bolta Hai	7 Minutes 13 Seconds
Crime Patrol	17 Minutes 38 seconds

The above findings demonstrate that *Crime Patrol* showed more violence to its viewers than *Jurm Bolta Hai*. The more violence shown on *Crime Patrol* may also be due to a greater number of on-aired episodes. The researchers also observed that there was no explicit violence shown in *Jurm Bolta Hai* other than portrayed with the help of camera tricks and actors' movements without exactly showing a lot of blood, thrashing or other graphic imagery.

On the other hand, scenes in *Crime Patrol* showed extremely candid incidents that contained imagery of bloody encounters of actors. It also contained the rape and sexual abuse contents, shown very casually, making these crimes seem normal and socially acceptable in Indian society. It also has many flashbacks of violent crimes in many episodes that are hard to ignore and very uncomfortable to watch. There are many violent scenes portrayed in the *Crime Patrol* – but the dominant ones that would show the severity of crime shown are the following:

An episode aired on 9th December in *Crime Patrol* shows a few actors representing

A.C. repairers that enter a family's house and then slit the throat of the woman who owns the house very brutally. The violence was shown candidly for over 30 seconds, from the actors' struggle to the end. It also includes the footage of a woman lying on the ground and his son walking on his dead body. Similarly, in another episode aired on 6th November, the show features different females as victims of gang rape, among which is a high school student. The researchers noted that the airtime given to the rape scene of that particular character was excessive, and the episode also included a lot of flashbacks of the same episode. The researchers feel that such a scene could arguably upset a lot of viewers of the same age or have a kid of that age. The researchers feel that most viewers would have felt it difficult to watch. The researchers feel there was a dire need for censorship in *Crime Patrol*, and some scenes should have been adjusted differently.

Crime Patrol could use censorship when it came to scenes that clearly show such violence because of its unpredictable nature; it's not suitable for underage audiences because of its candid portrayal of every crime.

Insensitivity towards the emotions of a younger audience negatively impacts the show's viewership. Footage regarding sexual violence against women is also shown in a lot of excessive detail that cannot be seen in a family setting because of its explicit nature, which can be offensive to some viewers.

It is also significant to mention that Anup Soni, who hosts *Crime patrol*, an actor by profession, has a very serious take on the show's plot and portrays the stories realistically without filling it with the aura of sensation. In his title sequence, he speaks very professionally about social issues in India and how collectively they can be ended from society; it gives a less dramatic touch to the show instead of adding an element of fear, his ending monologue in all the episodes has a positive message regarding awareness of different crimes being committed in India and how the people that are watching can take some necessary steps in controlling it.

Indeed, *Jurm Bolta Hai* has shown less violence in a controlled way on the screen – but the researchers feel that the actors selected in the show demonstrated clear

disconnection with the roles they performed. The disconnect mainly was in the age difference as a middle-aged actor was given the role of a schoolboy, and a very young-looking female was given the role of mother. It demonstrates that most shows found a clear emotional disconnect between the actors and their roles. It also means that they failed to create and sustain the interest of viewers in their show – compared to the *Crime Patrol* that was shown realistically to the viewers.

Themes of the On-aired Programs

This section will inform the readers about the topics of the programs on-aired from the *Crime Patrol* and *Jurm Bolta Hai*. The aim is to understand what crime area they have tried to emphasize in the on-aired episodes of these selected shows. It is significant to mention that the researchers have selected all the themes mentioned in the programs. It means that if more than one theme has been discussed in an episode, the researchers coded all of them. The findings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Themes of the On-aired Programs

Name of show	Murder	Robbery	Rape	Kidnapping	Total
Jurm Bolta Hai	11 78.57%	2 14.2%	0 0%	1 7.14%	14 100%
Crime Patrol	19 79.16%	3 12.5%	1 4.16%	1 4.16%	24 100%

The above findings reveal that most of the themes of the on-aired episodes of *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol* revolve around the murder that made more than two-thirds of the overall coverage, followed by robbery and kidnapping. If we look at the coverage of these different themes, we understand that both the selected shows indeed narrated the different crime stories in different ways to their viewers – but they explored the same area of crime. The differences in the presentation of crime can be traced back to

the allocated production budget as spending on the realistic presentation of the crime scenes to the viewers differs from show's producers by hiring the well-trained actors and writers – besides technological cost.

This similarity also can't be a coincidence but lies in the criminal culture prevailing in Pakistan and India – where these three emphasized crimes are more reported in media than the others. Murder tends to develop a collective sense of fear among people, which is why both the shows stressed

more on showing incidents of murder. Most of the episodes of *Jurm Bolta Hai* addressed the domestic problems in our society that ended up in the murder. Violence – based on murder – can be arguably called the most accepted form of violence on our screens.

It seems that *Crime Patrol* has a very intelligent set of writers that understand how to portray murder realistically in a convincing way. They create great suspense and know the skills of merging two crimes in completely different scenarios with unpredictable endings and twists. They design each episode in a way that can be informative to the public and a social cause. Episodes based on kidnapping and rape are also shown realistically and, if paid attention to, can also help many people in the society in taking precautions against these crimes when it comes to their family members and loved ones by making sure not to repeat the mistakes that are being shown in the program.

Jurm Bolta Hai, on the other hand, is a very predictable show; it offers very little suspense for the viewers as the end (or climax) is predictable. It is indeed the lack of creativity which destroys the potential of stories. There are many reasons why *Jurm Bolta Hai* lacks the spark that a show needs. The dominant reason is the claim that it is based on real-life events and incidents. The host's style in opening the episode kills the

interest of the viewers as the host almost always mentions why a certain crime is committed and how it is done and then moves on to the dramatization or re-enactment of that specific scene.

It ruins the suspense because the story plot is already spoken of and does not leave much to the audience's imagination. The researchers also found that many episodes of *Jurm Bolta Hai* had very loud, distracting background musical sounds – completely irrelevant to the plot – but were added with an intent to create suspense. However, the researchers felt it was doing exactly the opposite.

Crime patrol, on the other hand, moves scene by scene when it comes to the show's narration; they keep the audiences' interest intact because everything is first shown via re-enactment, and then later, the full story and motive behind a crime is exposed by the host. This practice makes the show more interesting, and the audience hypothesizes the end.

Identification of Victims or Accused in the Shows

This section informs the readers about revealing the identity of a victim or accused involved in the crime in the selected T.V. shows. The findings can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Identification of Victims or Accused in the Shows

Name of Show	Identification of victim/ accused
Jurm Bolta Hai	Yes
Crime Patrol	No

Crime Patrol does not reveal the identity of any victim or accused; thus, they only use fictional names throughout the episodes. However, on the other hand, *Jurm Bolta Hai* shares the identity of a victim or accused with the viewers. It is significant to mention that the second half episode of *Jurm Bolta*

Hai is based on live footage. It includes the host conducting interviews with different people, including police personnel and alleged criminals. In these interviews, a host calls them by name on different occasions, which seems very irresponsible as it endangers the safety of such persons –

besides bringing social taboo.

It demonstrates that the *Crime Patrol* production team behaves more professionally by not giving a clue to the viewers about the perpetrator of the crime or even the victim of it. Their main purpose is the identification of crime and informing the people about it in an entertaining way. Indeed, they have a noble cause to reform society – by showing the climax in a way that discourages people from committing a crime. *Jurm Bolta Hai*'s production team, on the other hand, does not seem to have any feasible strategy in hand to portray the event of crime more professionally – supported by

the ethical code. Revealing names at once changes the debate from issue specific to person-specific, and thus the mission to change society or discourage people from committing a crime dies. It is much needed that they need to be innovative in their approach to make things digestible and worth watching for the viewers.

Status of the Language of the Selected Shows

This section informs the viewers about the status of language utilized in the show to narrate the crime event to the audience. The findings are below in Table 5.

Table 5. Status of the Language of Selected Programs

Name of Show	Acceptable Language	
	Yes	No
<i>Jurm Bolta Hai</i>	11 Episodes	2 Episodes
<i>Crime Patrol</i>	13 Episodes	8 Episodes

The above findings reveal that the language used by the *Crime Patrol* in its shows was more offensive than the *Jurm Bolta Hai*, as in eight episodes, their language was not acceptable – keeping in view the transmission of their show in primetime. In most episodes, it was noticed that they used abusive language that made it hard to watch with family. The following dialogues, randomly selected from the shows of *Crime Patrol*, are produced here to understand the severity of their language.

An episode of *Crime Patrol* aired on 11th November revolved around a story of an affair between a Muslim girl and a Hindu boy. This episode contained many curses from both families due to their religious differences. Two curses are mentioned below.

خبردار! جو اپنی ناپاک زبان سے نازیہ کا نام لیا، ورنہ ابھی ہی تمھاری زبان کاٹ کے پھینک دیں گے حرامزادے!

Translation: Don't you dare take Nazia's

name from your dirty mouth, or ill cut your tongue and throw it out, bastard!

عمران! نازیہ کو کہاں لے کر بھاگے وہ حرامزیر ادیب؟

Translation: Imran! Where did that bastard Pradeep elope with Nazia?

In *Jurm Bolta Hai*, the language did not necessarily contain any blunt abuse or abusive words or phrases that could directly seem offensive – but it showed the host being very harsh to the culprit in the issues related to the women as such phrases were used that seemed unpleasant to hear and seemed insensitive to the situation that was being shown.

Jurm Bolta Hai's 16th December episode focuses on the theme of child kidnapping and sex trafficking; the host addresses the alleged culprit by using vulgar slag regarding a female procuress who uses underage girls for different means of business and sexual trafficking.

پولیس کی اطلاع کے بعد پتہ چلا کہ اسنان کا جس خاتون کے ساتھ تعلق تھا، وہ معصوم بچیوں کو افغا کروا کے جسم فروشی کے لیے فاشی کے اوڈوں پر بھیجتی تھی۔ پولیس کو ایک ناکمہ کے گھر میں بیٹی کی موجودگی کی اطلاع بھی ملی۔

Translation: Police were informed about the presence of a child in a pimp's house, which determined that the woman linked with Asnaan would sexually traffic innocent girls and supply them to different individuals.

These findings reflect that both the selected shows used inappropriate language in their different episodes and shared the crime story. It was earlier debated that these shows are on-aired in the primetime, where T.V. is mostly watched by the family together – but the use of such a strong language does not leave a good impression on the family. The producers of both shows need to introduce some filters to avoid using derogatory language that undermines the content's quality and its impact.

Conclusion

This research study investigated the portrayal of violence-based crime in the two leading crime re-enactment shows, including *Jurm Bolta Hai* and *Crime Patrol*, aired on Pakistani and Indian T.V. channels. The findings revealed that *Crime Patrol* on-aired more episodes than *Jurm Bolta Hai*. It

also exhibits that *Crime Patrol* showed more violence than *Jurm Bolta Hai*. The nature of violence shown on *Crime Patrol* was appalling to the extent that it was difficult to watch. The data also showed that most of the themes discussed in both shows revolved around murder, kidnapping, and robbery. While most of the codes of ethics – set by the different media organizations – insist that the identification of victims or accused should not be compromised, the findings supported that it was compromised in the case of *Jurm Bolta Hai*. The languages used in both the shows are never ideal, but *Crime Patrol*'s language was very offensive.

The researchers feel that there is a need for radical changes in the selected leading crime re-enactment shows in terms of the crime event they discuss, the language they use to narrate the event, the way the crime scene is presented to the viewers and even the selection of characters or not compromising the privacy of the real perpetrators or victims of crime. The researchers feel that since such shows are on-aired in primetime and most family members watch them together, radical changes would ensure decent and promising content for the viewers.

References

- Beam, C. (2011). *Repeat Offenders: America's Most Wanted and the weird practice of crime re-enactments*. SLATE. [America's Most Wanted and other great crime re-enactments. \(slate.com\)](https://www.slate.com/articles/entertainment/television/2011/08/america_s_most_wanted_and_other_great_crime_re-enactments.html)
- Becker, H. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Bengtsson, M. (2016). 'How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis,' *NursingPlus Open*, 2, 8-14.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Free Press.
- Bhatti, M. A., Iftikhar, U., & Mahmood, T. (2020). 'Impact of Re-Enactment Based Crime Shows of Pakistani Private Channels on Youth', *Review of Economics and Development Studies*, 6(2), 513-530.
- Boettger, R. K., & Palmer, L. A. (2010). Quantitative content analysis: its use in technical communication. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 53(4), 346-357.
- Cavender, G., Bond-Maupin, L., & Jurik, N. C. (1999). The construction of gender in reality crime T.V., *Gender and Society*, 13(5), 643-663.
- Cullen, H. J., Paterson, H. M. & Golde, C. V. (2021). Stopping crime? The effect of crime re-enactments on eyewitness memory, *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 28(2), 286-309.
- Drisko, J. W., & Maschi, T. (2016). *Content Analysis*, Oxford University Press, 1st edn. Oxford, U.K.
- Ferrell, J., & Sanders, C. (1995). *Cultural Criminology*, Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., & Newbold, C. (1998). *Mass Communication Research Methods*. 1st edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hassan, A. A., & Mukhtar, A. R. (2020). 'T.V. Crime Re-enactment Shows and Crime: Perception of Lahore Based Investigation Officers.' *Pakistan Journal of Criminology*, 12(3/4), 18-29.
- Heath, L., & Gilbert, K. (1996). Mass media and fear of crime. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 39(4), 379-386.
- Jafry, M. (2013). *Crime show re-enactments: Extra Ordinary*. The Express Tribune. [Crime show re-enactments: Extra Ordinary \(tribune.com.pk\)](https://www.express-tribune.com.pk/2013/07/26/crime-show-re-enactments-extra-ordinary/)
- Khan, R. (2016). Pemra announces ban on crime re-enactment shows. Dawn. [Pemra announces ban on crime re-enactment shows - Pakistan - DAWN.COM](https://www.dawn.com/news/1274444)
- Kolbe, R. H., & Burnett, M. S. (1991). Content-Analysis Research: An Examination of Applications with Directives for Improving Research Reliability and Objectivity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(2), 243-250.
- Qazi, T. A., Qayyoom, H., & Siraj, S. A. (2021). 'Exposure to Juvenile-Based Crime Reenactment Programs; A Study of Perceived Parental Stress', *Journal of Media Studies*, 36(1), 235-254.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (1998). *Analyzing Media Messages: using quantitative content analysis in research*. 1st edn. London: Erlbaum.
- Waheed, S., Bukhari, S. F., & Iqbal, A. (2020). Role of Producers in Giving Awareness and Treating Reenacted Crime Stories in Pakistani T.V. Channels. *Global sociological Review*, V(IV), 1-9.
- Wiest, J. B. (2003). *Serial killers as heroes in the media's storybook of murder: A textual analysis of The New York Times coverage of the "Son of Sam," The Boston Strangler and the "Night Stalker."* M.A. Thesis. The University of Georgia