DIGGING UP DIRT AND REPORTING LIES: The Image of the Journalist in the Television Series *Bones*

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ABSTRACT

Corrupt. Pushy. Apathetic. Concerned only about money and getting the story first, the facts second. These are just a few of the descriptions the audience may give journalists after watching how news reporters are portrayed on the television series *Bones*. Journalists are often seen as obstacles in the effort to successfully solve crimes, usually reporting on facts that later turn out to be untrue. Many times the media are nameless and faceless, just in the background shouting out questions and flashing their cameras. Sometimes journalists aren't even present – the characters on the show speak negatively about them. They are usually justified for doing so.

For the most part, this negative image of journalists continues throughout the show's first five seasons. However, a change in season six occurs when a journalist becomes a recurring character. She is war correspondent Hannah Burley (Katheryn Winnick) and the love interest of one of the main characters, FBI Agent Seeley Booth (David Boreanaz). As a show centered on the sexual tension of the leads, the series works to make Burley, yet another obstacle coming between the main characters, likeable.

Although the show revolves around crime solvers and journalists are not weekly fixtures on the show, the subtle comments, along with the journalists who do appear throughout the series, give viewers a negative image of the press. An added layer is that many of the cases mirror real-life, headline-making stories that the press reported on extensively: from high school pregnancy pacts, to the murder of a young beauty pageant contestant, to a pregnant woman allegedly murdered by her husband. Overall, the show perpetuates the negative stereotype of a press thinking only of itself, wanting the story at

all costs. The show only provides a few redeeming characteristics of journalists. Viewers who watch the show may have an unappealing image of the press.

SHOW DESCRIPTION

Bones centers on forensic anthropologist and best-selling author Dr. Temperance Brennan (Emily Deschanel) and her professional partner, Special Agent Seeley Booth of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a former army sniper. Together they solve murders. Brennan examines the murder victims' mostly decomposed remains and Booth questions and interrogates potential suspects. A main premise of the show involves Brennan wanting to go out into the field with Booth instead of being stuck in the lab, as she was when they worked together on a single case a year earlier. He agrees to let her become his partner in the pilot episode.

The two have the help of a team of experts, Brennan's co-workers at the Jeffersonian Institute, a museum with a state of the art forensics lab. Jack Hodgins (T.J. Thyne) is the bug, slime and particulate expert examining soil and insect samples to gauge time of death and murder location in most cases. A conspiracy theorist, he comes from an extremely wealthy family but doesn't flaunt his money. He dates and eventually marries Angela Montenegro (Michaela Conlin), an artist who uses her artistic ability as well as computer technology to re-create victims' faces from skulls and re-create murder scenarios. Zack Addy (Eric Millegan), a regular on the series for the first three seasons, is Brennan's highly intelligent but socially inept graduate student who eventually earns his doctorate.ⁱ Dr. Lance Sweets (John Francis Daley) joins the cast in season three. He is a psychologist who is regularly chided for his young age. He is 22 when he first makes his appearance on the show. Dr. Daniel Goodman (Jonathan Adams) is the boss of

Brennan and her team in the first season and usually takes on a fatherly figure role with the other characters. In season two Camille Saroyan (Tamara Taylor), a New York City cop turned coroner, whose working style initially clashes with Brennan's, replaces him.

The show is propelled forward by the chemistry and sexual tension of the two main characters. Although that attraction has yet to come to fruition, the characters are constantly put in couple-like situations.ⁱⁱ The show is popular, millions tune in each week and it will likely to be renewed for a seventh season. Critics mostly embrace the show. In reviewing the series premiere episode, John Leonard of *New York Magazine* calls it "the best drama of the new network season.... A sexed-up variation of all the *CSIs*."ⁱⁱⁱ Five years later, Matt Roush writes for *TV Guide* about the season five premiere, "Bones reunites its team…and as is often the case, the mystery that brings them back together takes a back seat to the enjoyable interplay of these eccentric, lovable characters. A few bombshells are dropped along the way, but for the most part, everyone seems happy for things to go back to normal — which is to say, unusual and entertaining."^{iv}

ANALYSIS

From the very first episode of the series, the press is portrayed negatively. Police search a senator's house in connection with the murder of a senate intern. Outside the gated property is a swarm of journalists, clicking cameras and shouting out questions. They are the essence of a mob.^v This negative image of journalists established in the first episode continues with little exception throughout the series.

Journalists Often Get Facts Wrong

One of the recurring themes of the show is that journalists are too eager to report on a case and because of that eagerness, get facts wrong. In the second episode, a man who is a White House consultant in Arab relations and part of an organization called the Arab-American Friendship League is driving a vehicle that explodes in an apparent suicide bombing.

The investigators are not making a judgment until all the facts are in. Journalists aren't so careful. Booth says, "*If* Mazruk was involved in the terrorist attack, it means we have a huge national security problem." A homeland security agent replies, "Not to mention a very humiliated president. The press is already running with this."^{vi}

"Running with this" implies that the press is reporting a story that may be inaccurate and has no official confirmation – that a suicide bomber caused the explosion. Later, the fact that the press reported too soon is confirmed when Booth talks to the man's family, who complains that the deceased is being portrayed as a terrorist. Booth tells them, "We aren't making any accusations." The brother replies, "It's all over the news. It is all anyone is talking about." Booth tells him they can't control the press.^{vii} Later, investigators find evidence that someone remote-detonated the vehicle and the death was murder, not suicide.

Just a few episodes later, a similar situation occurs. An up-and-coming rap star is killed. His father tells agent Booth, "I've been reading in the newspaper how my son was part of the meth scene...Roy never drank and he never did drugs. How they are portraying my boy in the newspapers is wrong. If his mother were alive, it would kill

her."^{viii} It turns out that the father is correct. His son was never involved with drugs, but the press didn't wait to get all the facts first.

In a later episode the team investigates the death of a pregnant high school girl and captain of the volleyball team. Many of the girl's teammates are also pregnant or have recently given birth. A girl being questioned by Sweets says, "A pact? There's no pact. The papers totally made that up."^{ix} Also, a news station reports, "During the investigation into the death of high school sophomore Ashley Clark, it was discovered that the presumed murder victim was part of a group of girls who made a pact to get pregnant and raise their children together." Brennan, watching the newscast, complains, "No. There is no proof that there was a pact."^x The newscast does not attribute the information. It just states "it was discovered" with no explanation of who or how. Both media – broadcast and print – are reporting on aspects of the case prematurely.

Earlier in the series, Brennan is equally upset over the news media's insensitivity. She works on the murder cases of a federal prosecutor, Mason Roberts, and woman boxer, Billie Morgan. A television broadcaster says that police arrested two men "in connection with the murder five years ago of federal prosecutor Mason Roberts among others." Brennan, outraged says, "Among others? Is that what Billie Morgan is to these people? Others?"^{xi} She is bothered that the news organization didn't deem Morgan important enough to mention specifically.

Sometimes, journalists seem to misrepresent the facts. While flying to China, Booth and Brennan must solve the murder of a travel writer killed on board the airplane. Her editors says she "was one of the best travel writers in the country…warm, friendly, outgoing, not an enemy in the world."^{xii} She most recently worked on a piece that

exposed pilots who hid drunken driving convictions from their employers. Although her actions seem laudable, they are later put under scrutiny. The pilot of the airplane is temporarily a suspect because he was mentioned in the article. However, he tells Booth and Brennan that the single charge of drunken driving was on the day of his father's funeral.^{xiii} He hardly seems like someone who should be included in an article exposing an epidemic of drunken pilots, but the journalist chose to include him. But viewers do not have enough information to know why. Did the journalist need more pilots to include in the article to make the problem seem bigger than it really is? Maybe the pilot stretched the truth and in fact deserved to be mentioned in the article. Viewers are left to form their own conclusions.

Journalists Are Exploitive

Journalists also are portrayed as exploitive on the show. Although *Bones* does many stories inspired by real-life headlines, a few of the main characters on the show dislike how the media portray these crimes. Brennan, in particular, does not like the press. In one episode, Booth tells her that remains have washed up on a bay and the police think it may be Carly Richardson. Brennan asks if she is supposed to know who that is. Booth replies, "Yeah. Disappeared a year ago. She was pregnant. Come on Bones, you have to get a TV or at least, hey, just thumb through a *People* at the checkout stand." Brennan lists the magazines and professional journals she does read and sarcastically says, "Perhaps I should develop an interest in the mainstream media's exploitation of crimes for their entertainment value." In this instance, Booth is not so hard on the news media. He tells Brennan, "It's amazing Bones, you can really be snotty sometimes."^{xiv}

One time, Brennan finds a kindred spirit in a journalist. She and Booth are investigating the death of documentary filmmaker Marni Hunter (Fay Wolf), who was working on a story about people living below ground in tunnels under Washington, D.C. As an anthropologist, Brennan connects with the filmmaker, finding many similarities between the filmmaker's work and her own. Booth and Brennan interview the filmmaker's fiancé, who waited two days to report Marni missing. He says, "Marni is a documentary filmmaker, or was. She was very dedicated to her work. She immersed herself in each project. It's not odd for her to stay out in the field without coming home." Brennan agrees, "You get invested in your work, time has a way of getting away from you." The fiancé says, "That's what Marni always said." He also says that Marni "never appeared on camera in her own work. She thought the documentary should be about the subject, not the filmmaker." Brennan agrees with this also, "That's true. As an anthropologist, you try to immerse yourself in a culture without distorting it with your own presence."^{xxv}

Brennan talks to a social worker who sees it differently. The social worker talks about the people who live underground saying, "These people are here for a reason. In my opinion, they have a right to their privacy. I respect that. I'm not sure a documentary filmmaker does." Brennan replies, "Isn't that what Marni was trying to do? Get to know these people, explain them to the rest of the world?" The social worker says, "Well no offense, Dr. Brennan, but I find that a bit naive. Her job was to sell her film. What she was doing was exploitive."^{xvi}

The filmmaker, however, does turn out to have positive character traits, although investigators scrutinize her actions at one point. It turns out that there is actually a lot of

treasure in the tunnel and the investigative team at one point thinks the filmmaker wanted to steal it and profit from it. What she actually wanted to do was a documentary about the items. Two men, who gave her the climbing and propelling lessons she needed to go into the tunnels, murdered her. They knew about the treasure and killed her for it.

Another episode involves a journalist who exploits people for money, willingly putting greed and fame ahead of integrity. The team is investigating the murder of reality show host Bill O'Rourke (Dan Sachoff). His reality show, *Busted by Bill*, exposes adulterous spouses in the act. The producer on the show is a man named Arthur Lang (Richard Gant) who enticed O'Rourke to host the show. O'Rourke's wife tells investigators, "Bill was a serious journalist, until he met Arthur. Arthur produces the show. At first, Bill said no, but the money was unbelievable."^{xvii} O'Rourke was willing to forsake a serious journalism career for a sleazy reality show for money.

Booth scoffs at another journalist who seems to have followed a similar path. A serial killer, dubbed The Gravedigger, kidnaps his victims and buries them alive before demanding a ransom. If the family pays, then the kidnapper provides the location of the buried victim. If not, the victim soon suffocates to death. Booth and Brennan talk to a kidnap-and-ransom specialist who wrote a book, with the help of a journalist, about the serial killer. The author says of the journalist, Janine O'Connell (Julie Ann Emery), "Next to me, she is the ranking expert on that son of a bitch." Booth says, "Journalist, huh?" O'Connell says, "Now don't be like that Agent Booth."^{xviii} Although the journalist is not present, Booth later explains his disgust with the author. Upset that Brennan and Hodgins have become victims of The Gravedigger and will die if they are not found soon, Booth pins the author to a table and says, "You have a relationship with this guy, what

they call symbiotic. You benefit from each other.^{"xix} Although the statement is not directed toward the journalist, as an important contributor to the book, it clearly applies to her. She is profiting off the acts of a murderer.

The News Media Are Influential (for Better or for Worse)

Often in the series, the news media are a driving force behind cases, affecting how the investigators conduct their work. In one instance, a church group finds the body of a teenager dressed in a superhero costume. The news media join the investigative team on the scene. Booth's boss says, "I hate press cases, more than three cameras show up, some homicide detective kicks it up to his captain who kicks it up to the chief who kicks it up to the FBI...I want this closed. I don't want to pick up next Sunday's *Post* and read 'Church Kids Find Mystery Corpse Dressed for Halloween, FBI Remains Clueless.''^{xxx} Because of the news media's presence, investigators are under pressure to get the case solved quickly. Some viewers may see this connection as a positive influence. Others may take a negative view, assuming media pressure could lead to false accusations.

As a later episode shows, the media's influence can sometimes go too far. At the end of the season five finale, the team breaks up and goes their separate ways, with plans to return in one year to resume solving crimes.^{xxi} Saroyan is left at the Jeffersonian, working with experts far inferior to Brennan and her team. In the season six premiere, she is about to be interviewed on CNB (whose logo is very similar to CNN's). She recently published a study about brain damage in war veterans. Also, she has remains of a young child at the lab that she is working to identify. The discovery of the remains coincides with a high-profile missing-child case in which a 2-year-old boy disappeared

three months earlier. Minutes before the interview she talks to Caroline Julian (Patricia

Belcher), a federal prosecutor, who often helps out the team:

JULIAN. You think you're here to talk about brain damage in veterans.
SAROYAN. That's because I'm here to talk about brain damage in veterans.
JULIAN. All she's gonna want to talk about is that missing child.
SAROYAN. I have nothing to say about Logan Bartlett.
JULIAN. That's the problem.
SAROYAN. I have been up all night going over forensic anthropology and entomology reports. I can't confirm the identity of the child in my morgue.^{xxii}

Julian is correct. The host begins the interview by saying, "Today I have with me in the studio Dr. Camille Saroyan, the federal medical examiner for D.C. and the environs. Dr. Saroyan has an exemplary record, winning several citations along the way. It's an honor to meet you Dr. Saryoan...With all that success behind you, why are you stalled on the Logan Bartlett case?" Saroyan tries to talk about the issue that she believes is important, "In the last eight months I've performed autopsies on six veterans...All six show signs of brain damage consistent with improvised explosive devices." The host cuts her off, "Dr. Saroyan, why haven't you identified the remains of the child currently on your slab?" Saroyan is then shown watching the interview, and at that moment a picture of the missing boy is shown. "Oh, that's not ethical," Saroyan says to Julian. The news media make the leap that the remains are of a missing child when there is absolutely no evidence to corroborate it. The main investigator on the case won't confirm it, and the news media turn the story around to make Saroyan appear incompetent.

Julian gets the team together seven months into their year-long furlough to solve the case. "Kidnapped child, the media jumped on it big time, blew it up huge," she says. Hodgins asks Saroyan, "You believe this is Logan Bartlett?" She replies, "The media does and they're saying I'm incompetent because I won't confirm or deny."^{xxiii} The media put pressure on the team to get the case solved. But, the team does not cower to them. They do not confirm that the remains are of the boy just to appease the news media. Instead, they conduct a proper investigation and find out that the remains are actually of a different child. As for Logan Bartlett, he was kidnapped by his father and is found alive and healthy at the end of the episode.

In another case, the team investigates the death of an American soldier who appears to have committed suicide by setting himself on fire in Arlington National Cemetery. The location was purposeful, the gravesite of another soldier who died one year earlier. The press was going to go to his grave that morning to do a tribute of him. Back at the lab, when Brennan and her colleagues are working on the case, Goodman tells them the Defense Department is putting pressure on the case, "DOD wants this done fast. They want this out of the press as soon as possible." Brennan tells him, "It will take the time it takes to do properly."^{xxiv}

At times, the press is an equal player in putting pressure on the investigators to solve crimes. In the episode when Brennan complains about the media's exploitation of the missing pregnant woman, Saroyan feels pressure to solve the case. The woman went missing a year earlier and her husband, Kyle Richardson, was and still is the chief suspect. Saroyan says, "I've got the board at the Jeffersonian, the federal prosecutor, and Nancy Grace ready to devour me if I don't hand them enough to indict Richardson."^{xxv}

When it comes to the pressure put on the investigators, viewers can form their own conclusions. They may think that investigators need someone talking in their ear, putting pressure on them to solve a case, so cases do not become cold and go unsolved. However, putting pressure on investigators is one thing. Putting pressure on them to

come to a specific conclusion without ample evidence (as with Bartlett and Richardson) is another.

Perhaps because the media are influential, the investigators are constantly trying to prevent information from getting out. Viewers can't really blame them, considering the image they are given of the media throughout the series.

In one episode, foul play is suspected in a case where a prominent businessman, Warren Lynch, and a senator are killed in a train versus vehicle accident. Saroyan says, "I am not telling the press that Warren Lynch killed Senator Paula Davis before we're completely certain."^{xxvi} Later Saroyan repeats this sentiment saying, "We are tighter than a nun's knees on this one. No press, no conjecture with anyone outside this room...because we are going to find the details of Senator Davis's death without giving Oliver Stone or Michael Moore any ideas."^{xxvii}

In another episode Brennan and Booth are on the case of a serial killer behind bars, Howard Epps, who first made an appearance in an earlier episode^{xxviii} and is now adding more victims to his death toll with help from an accomplice – a mail carrier – on the outside. Brennan and Booth are talking to a man on the phone, presumably from the U.S. Postal Service, who has information on the mail-carrier suspect. He says, "All I ask is that when this goes to the press, nobody use the word *disgruntled*."^{xxix}

In a later episode, the team investigates the death of a man whose body was left inside a trailer that the police – not knowing there was a corpse inside – blew up. A man with the police says to Booth, "It's extremely embarrassing for the state police that this homicide victim was blown up during a training exercise, and the superintendent, the governor, various movers and shakers, would look kindly on it if you, well if you simply neglected to give that small detail to the press." Booth tells him, "And if the press digs up that the body was burned and blown into several pieces it makes the FBI look sneaky."^{xxx} In both these examples, people with the Postal Service and the police department are concerned with how information will be presented to the press. They don't want their organization to look bad in the eyes of the public. They are concerned with how the media may spin a story.

Characters Interviewed by the News Media

As terrible as the press may seem, the characters are willingly interviewed and featured on the news. In one episode, Hodgins, Angela and Zack are reading a newspaper article about their investigative team and the work they do. Saroyan walks in on them gloating over the article instead of working. She says, "I hope you enjoyed your fifteen minutes of fame, people, because we have a psycho on the loose, so it's back to work."^{xxxi}

Journalists often interview Brennan about her work, including twice on television. In both instances she seems like a terrible interviewee, coming across as awkward.^{xxxii} During one interview, the reporter asks her if she has any advice for people who want to become writers. Brennan rambles on about needing a writing instrument of some sort before being able to write.^{xxxiii} In another episode, a journalist from Japan, Riku Inagawa (Seiko Matsuda), shadows her for the day and interviews her about her new book.

The journalist is portrayed positively. She cares about what the viewers of the show care about: the relationships of the characters. The science is secondary. Brennan is bothered because the journalist is more concerned about the relationships in the book and in Brennan's life than the forensic and scientific aspects. She asks Brennan if the

relationship between the protagonist and FBI agent (they have a sexual relationship) in her book mirrors the relationship between her and Booth. The journalist takes notes whenever they are talking about the relationships and love lives of the characters and the people in Brennan's real life, not the science. Brennan asks her why she is "only writing about things that mean nothing." Inagawa tells her, "Those are the things that mean everything."^{xxxiv}

In another episode, Sweets expresses his excitement over an interview with a news station about a high-profile serial killer case.^{xxxv} The investigative team has been pursuing the case since the premiere of the season. The killer not only kills, but he also eats his victims. He is motivated by a desire to wipe out secret societies that he feels are harmful to society.

Sweets is bothered that Brennan and Booth don't mention the interview. He says, "Did you see me on TV? No one has mentioned that I was on TV... Okay, both of you are purposely not mentioning my appearance."^{xxxvi}

Sweets talks to Hodgins, a conspiracy theorist, conducting his own tests on evidence instead of relying on the FBI. Hodgins explains his actions, "Prominent public figures being murdered and eaten, evidence that secret societies are being targeted, societies that have great influence in the halls of power, like the bureau." Sweets asks, "You don't think that's a bit extreme?" Hodgins replies, "You went on *Larry King* to talk about this case. And *TMZ* because you know how big it is and to get your piece of it." Sweets tells him, "I'm a doctor. I'm merely studying the case like you."^{xxxvii} This argument also brings into play the idea of the media exploiting cases. Hodgins sees the media, and Sweets along with it, as benefiting from a case where many people were murdered. But, ultimately, Sweets doesn't care and remains excited that he was interviewed on TV. He has no problem with the media in this instance.

Hannah Burley

Season six marks the first time a journalist has a recurring role on the show. She is Hannah Burley, a war correspondent and the girlfriend Booth begins dating when he is in Afghanistan between seasons five and six. Like the main characters on the show, she is one of the best in her profession, and she is willing to do what it takes to get the story. In one episode she describes herself by saying, "I have two Peabodys, a National Press Award, and I've been wounded three times getting stories. I kick Christiana Amanpour's ass."^{xxxviii} She is also one of five journalists invited to breakfast at the White House^{xxxix} and later is running late to interview the president.^{xl}

She is likable because she doesn't have an idealistic view of her profession. She willingly critiques it. She says, "The media is used to distract us all the time." She gives a specific example, "Michael Jackson's funeral is on 24 hours a day, and nobody finds out about the coup in Honduras. Felt fishy to me."^{xli}

She does not balk at taking risks, and she loves excitement. Although she is not in the episode, viewers are first introduced to her when Booth mentions her and shows a picture of her to Brennan. He says they met when he arrested her for being in a restricted zone.^{xlii} In the next episode, he says that Hannah is still in the Middle East, although he didn't leave her behind. It was her decision to stay.^{xliii} However, she decides to be reassigned to the Washington press corps. Booth says he thought she said she would never do that. Hannah replies, "That was before I realized how much I hated waking up

alone."^{xliv} Booth later asks her if the press corps is going to be exciting enough for her. She says she'll make sure it is.^{xlv}

Clearly from the way she met Booth and thus entered the show, she is willing to break the rules to get the stories she views as important. And this doesn't change when she joins the Washington press corps. She tells Booth that she is working on a story about police officers being bought off by drug dealers. Later in the episode, however, she says her editor won't let her pursue the corrupt-cop story. She says, "He said quote, 'The White House press corps changes history, not lurid true-crime stories.'" Booth tells her that he knows she will pursue the corrupt officer story even without permission.^{xlvi} When talking to a drug dealer about police taking bribes, she gets shot by what she believes is a police officer. This leads to a change of heart from her editor. She tells Booth, "I'm shot. I'm pretty. Suddenly he thinks it's a pretty good story.^{xxlvii} Even though she may be in danger, she tells Brennan that she will not back down from an important story.^{xlviii}

As a career woman, she is not the motherly type. She tells Booth she feels nervous about meeting his 9-year-old son, Parker, saying, "I would feel more comfortable if he was a crooked senator. I know how to deal with that." Later in the episode, Hannah and Parker meet for the first time. Booth tries unsuccessfully to facilitate a discussion between the two. Finally, Hannah pulls Booth aside and asks him to give her a few minutes alone with Parker, because it will be easier to talk with him. She says, "I'm a journalist, I've cracked tougher nuts than Parker." Within minutes, Parker warms up to Hannah and the two are talking. He asks her if she and his dad married, would they have children. She says there are many children in the world that need a good home and if she decided to have a child she would adopt one of them.^{xlix} Hannah, however, is clearly not ready to settle down and get married. This is evident when she exits the series, declining Booth's marriage proposal. She tells him, "I love you. I really do, but I can't. I'm just not the marrying kind...I thought we would have more time before we got to this... I'm just not the marrying kind." He says, "You already said that." She responds, "I've said it plenty of times before, I guess you weren't listening."¹ She does not mention her career as a reason for not being "the marrying kind," although it must surely be a factor for her as an independent woman who loves and is exceptionally good at her job.

CONTEXT OF OTHER SHOWS

Anonymous Journalists/One Episode Journalists

Many television shows and other forms of popular culture came before *Bones* and established the image of journalists. Loren Ghiglione and Joe Saltzman say that journalists can sometimes be heroes: "Reporters, editors and news broadcasters can get away with almost anything as long as the end result is *in the public interest*. They can lie, cheat, distort, bribe, betray or violate any ethical code as long as they expose some political or business corruption, solve a murder, catch a thief or save an innocent."^{li} These journalists are rarely found on *Bones*, however, because the hero role is filled by Brennan and Booth's investigative team. They are the ones solving murders and catching criminals. They don't need the news media to do this. Instead, the news media become obstacles, mostly hindering the team's efforts in conducting investigations and finding the truth.

Journalists primarily serve as obstacles through anonymous journalists or journalists who only appear in one episode. In both instances, the characters are

underdeveloped and given little if any back story, making it easy for viewers to see them with disdain because they don't even seem like real people. These anonymous journalists featured on *Bones* fit the image seen in other television shows and movies. Saltzman says, "In today's films and television movies, the image of the reporter is now being created, for the most part, by writers, directors, producers, and actors who don't care much for the intrusive journalist. They have been chased by enough reporters, for valid and for silly reasons, to find it acceptable, even desirable, to include a scene showing an irresponsible pack of shouting reporters chasing or abusing the principal characters. These often gratuitous scenes are the end result of a growing Hollywood phobia over the press's disregard for privacy."^{lii} This is true not only for the anonymous journalists seen on *Bones*, but also when the characters discuss the news media.

Bones is not alone in its negative depiction of journalists, especially in television crime dramas. Caley K. Cook writes about journalists on *Law & Order*: "If the public only viewed this image of the journalist and knew nothing else of the profession, many would see reporters and editors as unscrupulous scoundrels who only write stories for financial means or personal gain. In many episodes, the journalists turn into the bad guys, the opposing force of the cops and justice."^{liii} *CSI* treats its journalists similarly. Mobs of journalists, regularly within feet of the investigative team, swarm like scavengers at the crime scenes.^{liv}

Hannah Burley

As a war correspondent, Burley plays an important role. As the IJPC website notes, "The undisputed journalist hero is the war correspondent...whose daily work included patriotism, danger, violence and drama. They were where the action was and a whole nation held its breath while they risked their lives overseas to get the story back to the home front."^{Iv} This describes Burley perfectly.

However, in general popular culture does not always treat woman journalists so kindly. The image of Burley is far different from the one Ghiglione discovered in the early 1990s. He found that "only rarely does contemporary fiction portray a woman journalist as a whole human being," and they are rarely seen as "something other than unfulfilled unfortunates in need of a man."^{Ivi} However, Stacy L. Spaulding and Maurine H. Beasley note that this image has become more positive in recent years. In the works they reviewed, they found that "the protagonists are planning to keep on with their careers, regardless of whether they have found a satisfying relationship with a man…None of the heroines appear to be desperately seeking a man to fulfill their lives."^{Ivii} Burley fits this description. She met Booth and had fun with him for a while, but she does not need to be married to be fulfilled.

This is not to say her personal relationships don't affect her life and career. Soon after she makes her appearance on the show, Burley asks to be reassigned to the Washington press corps to be closer to Booth. This is hardly a step down for her though. Spaulding and Beasley say, "the journalistic corps in the nation's capital constitutes 'an elite group,' according to Rem Rieder, editor of the *American Journalism Review*."^{lviii} It makes sense that a journalist portrayed as one of the best in her profession would ask to be assigned to the beat. She doesn't come across as the type who would make the switch solely because of a man.

CONCLUSION

Research shows that what people see on TV lingers in their minds. Karen Riddle discusses a theory that argues, "the more time people spend 'living' in the TV world, the more likely they are to believe social reality is congruent with TV reality."^{lix} In one study,

she found "people watching vivid violent media gave higher estimates of the prevalence of crime in the real world." She says that although the theory is usually used to make the connection between violence on TV and violence in the real world, "the theory can be applied to any reoccurring themes or images presented on television."^{lx}

This attitude includes the image of the journalist. Thus, by watching a television series like *Bones*, which shows negative images of the press on a regular basis, viewers may begin to believe that more journalists are corrupt and evil than is actually the case, especially because the journalists are underdeveloped and not portrayed as real people. Viewers may show real-life journalists the same disdain they show for the ones on the crime drama. This shows that the television show cannot be dismissed as simply fiction and entertainment, because it influences people in real ways. People are watching *Bones* on the same device – the television – that they see real-life reporters. Obviously, the line between the two becomes blurred. Since people turn to journalists to receive news, their feelings toward those news gatherers are important. Journalists could potentially suffer from consumers who look on them with anger and hatred, all because those people tune into *Bones* every Thursday night.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ He exits the show after it is revealed that he has become an apprentice to a cannibalistic murderer. The team pulls some strings to make sure he ends up in psych facility instead of prison. Over the next three seasons, the void is filled by a handful of Brennan's interns who rotate in and out of the series. ⁱⁱ Brennan and Booth go undercover as a couple in Las Vegas in season 2, episode 8. They also go undercover as a married couple to infiltrate a traveling circus in season 4, episode 12, and again at her high-school reunion to investigate the murder of her former classmate in season 5, episode 17. They also care for an infant whose mother's murder they are trying to solve in season 3, episode 12. iii John Leonard, "Bodies in Motion," New York Magazine, 4 Dec. 2005, http://nymag.com/nymetro/arts/tv/reviews/15227/. iv Matt Roush, "The New Thursday in Review: Stick with the Old," TV Guide, 23 Sept. 2010, http://www.tvguide.com/News/Roush-Thursday-Review-1023452.aspx. ^v Season 1, Episode 1: "Pilot," *Bones*, first aired 13 Sept. 2005 by Fox, directed by Greg Yaitanes and written by Hart Hanson, 25:00. vi Season 1, Episode 2: "The Man in the SUV," Bones, first aired 20 Sept. 2005 on Fox, directed by Allan Kroeker and written by Stephen Nathan, 02:15. ^{vii} Ibid., 07:46. viii Season 1, Episode 6: "The Man in the Wall," *Bones*, first aired 15 Nov. 2005 on Fox, directed by Tawnia McKiernan and written by Elizabeth Benjamin, 11:05. ^{ix} Season 4, Episode 17: "The Salt in the Wound," *Bones*, first aired on Fox, directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner and Josh Berman, 28:50. ^x Ibid., 20:59. ^{xi} Season 2, Episode 8: "The Woman in the Sand," *Bones*, first aired 8 Nov. 2006 on Fox, directed by Kate Woods and written by Elizabeth Benjamin, 21:45. ^{xii} Season 4, Episode 10: "The Passenger in the Oven," *Bones*, first aired on 19 Nov. 2008 on Fox, directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner, 22:54. ^{xiii} Ibid., 26:00. xiv Season 2, Episode 2: "Mother and Child in the Bay," *Bones*, first aired 6 Sept. 2006 on Fox, directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño and written by Stephen Nathan, 0:31. xv Season 1, Episode 16: "The Woman in the Tunnel," *Bones*, first aired 22 March 2006 on Fox, directed by Joe Napolitano and written by Steve Blackman and Greg Ball, 5:00. xvi Season 1, Episode 16: "The Woman in the Tunnel," Bones, first aired 22 March 2006 on Fox, directed by Joe Napolitano and written by Steve Blackman and Greg Ball. 6:50. ^{xvii} Season 4, Episode 3: "The Man in the Outhouse," *Bones*, first aired on 10 Sept. 2008 on Fox, directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner and Mark Lisson, 9:20.

^{xviii} Season 2, Episode 9: "Aliens in a Spaceship," *Bones*, first aired 15 Nov. 2006 on Fox, directed by Craig Ross Jr. and written by Janet Tamaro, 5:33.
^{xix} Ibid., 28:03.

^{xx} Season 1, Episode 12: "The Superhero in the Alley," *Bones*, first aired 8 Feb. 2006 on Fox, directed by James Whitmore Jr. and written by Elizabeth Benjamin, 0:30.

^{xxi} Brennan goes to the Maluku Islands in Indonesia to head-up an archaeological dig. Booth trains soldiers in the Middle East. Hodgins and Angela go to Paris. Sweets takes time off from psychology to devote to music.

^{xxii} Season 6, Episode 1: "The Mastodon in the Room," *Bones*, first aired 23 Sept. 2010 on Fox, directed by Ian Toynton and written by Hart Hanson, 2:23. ^{xxiii} Ibid., 13:00.

^{xxiv} Season 1, Episode 21: "The Soldier on the Grave," *Bones*, first aired 10 May 2006 on Fox, Directed by Jonathan Pontell and written by Stephen Nathan, 19:30
 ^{xxv} "Mother and Child in the Bay," 18:38.

^{xxvi} Season 2, Episode 1: "The Titan on the Tracks," *Bones*, first aired 30 Aug. 2006 on Fox, directed by Tony Wharmby and written by Hart Hanson, 4:40. ^{xxvii} Ibid., 6:00

xxviii Booth and Brennan take up a list-ditch effort to save Epps who may have been innocently convicted of murdering a teenager girl and is within hours of being executed by the state. They do save his life by getting a stay of execution, but only because they learn there are many more victims and Epps is actually a serial killer (Season 1, Episode 7: "The Man on Death Row").

^{xxix} Season 2, Episode 4: "The Blonde in the Game," *Bones*, first aired 20 Sept. 2006 on Fox, directed by Bryan Spicer and written by Noah Hawley, 33:25.

^{xxx} Season 4, Episode 9: "The Con Man in the Meth Lab," Bones, first aired 12 Nov. 2008, directed by Allison Liddi-Brown and written by Karine Rothenthal, 15:25.
 ^{xxxi} Season 2, Episode 12: "The Man in the Cell," *Bones*, first aired 31 Jan. 2007, directed by Jesus Salvador Trevino and written by Noah Hawley, 3:35.

xxxii When Brennan is in Los Angeles investigating a case she is interviewed alongside Penny Marshall by a reporter with "Fox and Friends" about the possibility of turning her book into a movie deal. She is rigid in the interview and gives simple answers. The interviewer asks, "How did this all come together?" Brennan says, "I have no idea." When the interviewer asks her if the bidding war over the movie deal for her book was exciting, Brennan says, "I wasn't actually there." (Season 1, Episode 10: "The Woman at the Airport")

^{xxxiii} Season 1, Episode 11: "The Woman in the Car," *Bones*, first aired 1 Feb. 2006 on Fox, directed by Dwight Little and written by Noah Hawley, 2:00.

xxxiv Season 5, Episode 15: "The Bones on the Blue Line," *Bones*, first aired 1 April 2010 on Fox, Directed by Chad Lowe and written by Carla Kettner,

^{xxxv} Season 3, Episode 15: "The Pain in the Heart," *Bones*, first aired 19 May 2008 on Fox, directed by Allan Kroeker and written by Hart Hanson and Stephen Nathan, 6:00.

xxxvi Ibid., 10:36.

xxxvii Ibid., 15:14

^{xxxviii} Season 6, Episode 2: "The Couple in the Cave," *Bones*, first aired 30 Sept. 2010 on Fox, directed by Milan Cheylov and written by Stephen Nathan, 20:02.
 ^{xxxix} Season 6, Episode 3, "The Maggots in the Meathead," *Bones*, first aired 7 Oct.

2010 on Fox, directed by Tim Southam and written by Dean Lopata, 1:40.

^{xl} Season 6, Episode 10: "The Body in the Bag," *Bones*, First aired 20 Jan. 2011 by Fox, Directed by Kate Woods and written by Janet Lin, 24:00.

^{xli} "The Couple in the Cave," 22:00. The comment is offered after Hodgins asks her why every time a major event happens in the world, a celebrity story always takes precedent. He notes that when the BP oil spill happened, Lindsay Lohan went to jail. ^{xlii} "The Mastadon in the Room," 11:00.

^{xliii} "The Couple in the Cave," 2:13.

^{xliv} Ibid., 4:27.

^{xlv} Ibid., 7:15.

^{xlvi} Season 6, Episode 5: "The Bones that Weren't," *Bones*, first aired 4 Nov. 2010 on Fox, directed by Jeannot Szwarc and written by Pat Charles, 1:40, 9:25.

^{xlvii} Ibid., 28:25.

^{xlviii} Ibid., 42:24.

^{xlix} Season 6, Episode 8: "The Twisted Bones in the Melted Truck," *Bones*, first aired 2 Dec. 2010 on Fox, directed by Gordon Lonsdale and written by Josh Berman, 27:30. ¹ Season 6, Episode 13: "The Daredevil in the Mold," *Bones*, first aired 10 Feb. 2011, directed by Dwight Little and written by Dean Lopata.

^{li} Loren Ghiglione and Joe Saltzman, "Fact or Fiction: Hollywood Looks at the News," Image of the Journalist in Popular Culture, 2005,

http://ijpc.org/hollywoodloksatthenews2.pdf, p. 2.

 ^{III} Joe Saltzman, Frank Capra and the Image of the Journalist in American Film Los Angeles: Norman Lear Center, the Annenberg School for Communication, 2002, 147.
 ^{IIII} Caley K. Cook, "Law & Disorder: The Image of the Journalist in Television's Law & Order Series," http://ijpc.org/page/ijpc_student_journal_papers, p. 3.

^{liv} The IJPC database lists the journalism in each episode with a short description. http://ijpc.org/database/searchform.

^{lv} http://www.ijpc.org/page/ijpc_war_correspondent_video_10.htm.

Ivi Loren Ghiglione, The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1990), p. 124. As quoted in: Spalding and Beasley "Crime, Romance and Sex."

^{lvii} Stacy L. Spaulding and Maurine H. Beasley, "Crime, Romance and Sex: Washington Women Journalists in Recent Popular Fiction,"

<http://www.ijpc.org/uploads/files/spauldingpaper.pdf>.

^{Iviii} Ibid. 2. Their quote from Rieder comes from a personal interview with him.
^{Iix} Karyn Riddle, "Always on My Mind: Exploring How Frequent, Recent, and Vivid Television Portrayals are Used in the Formation of Social Reality Judgments," Media Psychology 13.2, Apr. 2010, http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/3/1/0/7/pages231071/p231071-2.php, p. 2.
^{Ix} Ibid., p. 4.

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APPENDIX

Season 1, Episode 1: "Pilot," *Bones*, First aired 13 Sept. 2005 by Fox, Directed by Greg Yaitanes and written by Hart Hanson.

A mob of journalists is outside a senator's home as police search his house for evidence in connection with the murder of a senate intern.

Season 1, Episode 2: "The Man in the SUV," *Bones*, First aired 20 Sept. 2005 by Fox, Directed by Allan Kroeker and written by Stephen Nathan.

Journalists are at the scene where a vehicle exploded in an apparent suicide bombing. Police complain that the press "is running with the story." The family of the deceased say the man is being portrayed wrongly in the press and that he is not a murderer.

Season 1, Episode 6: "The Man in the Wall," *Bones*, First aired 15 Nov. 2005 by Fox, Directed by Tawnia McKiernan and written by Elizabeth Benjamin.

A man whose son was murdered complains that the press is portraying his son, who never did drugs in his life, as a drug addict who was part of the meth scene.

Season 1, Episode 7: "The Man on Death Row," *Bones*, First aired 22 Nov. 2005 by Fox, Directed by David Jones and written by Noah Hawley.

A man on death row, hours away from execution, is interviewed by a news station.

Season 1, Episode 10: "The Woman at the Airport," *Bones*, First aired 25 Jan. 2006, Directed by Greg Yaitanes and written by Teresa Lin.

Brennan is interviewed, alongside Penny Marshall, by a reporter with "Fox and Friends" about the film rights for her book.

Season 1, Episode 11: "The Woman in the Car," *Bones*, First aired 1 Feb. 2006, Directed by Dwight Little and written by Noah Hawley.

Brennan is interviewed by a woman on "Wake Up D.C." about her career and book.

Season 1, Episode 12: "The Superhero in the Alley," *Bones*, First aired 8 Feb. 2006 by Fox, Directed by James Whitmore Jr. and written by Elizabeth Benjamin.

Reporters are at a crime scene where a teenager dressed as a superhero was found in an alley. Booth's boss says he hates press cases.

Season 1, Episode 13: "The Woman in the Garden," *Bones*, First aired 15 Feb. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Sanford Bookstaver and written by Laura Woiner. *Brennan and Hodgins discuss government and budget. Booth says he feels like he is listening to NPR.*

Season 1, Episode 16: "The Woman in the Tunnel," *Bones*, First aired 22 March 2006 by Fox, Directed by Joe Napolitano and written by Steve Blackman and Greg Ball.

A documentary filmmaker is murdered. Brennan identifies with her.

Season 1, Episode 19, "The Man in the Morgue," *Bones*, First aired 19 Apr. 2006, Directed by James Whitmore Jr. and written by Elizabeth Benjamin and Noah Hawley.

Broadcast journalists are heard talking over the opening scene, discussing Hurricane Katrina.

Season 1, Episode 21: "The Soldier on the Grave," *Bones*, First aired 10 May 2006 by Fox, Directed by Jonathan Pontell and written by Stephen Nathan.

The press was going to do a tribute for a dead soldier, but the body of another soldier who apparently committed suicide is discovered at his gravesite.

Season 2, Episode 1: "The Titan on the Tracks," *Bones*, First aired 30 Aug. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Tony Wharmby and written by Hart Hanson.

Saroyan says she doesn't want any information of a high profile case going to the press until all the facts are in.

Season 2, Episode 2: "Mother and Child in the Bay," *Bones*. First aired 6 Sept. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño and written by Stephen Nathan.

Brennan says the mainstream media exploit crimes. Saroyan says she is under pressure by Nancy Grace, among others, to solve the case.

Season 2, Episode 4: "The Blonde in the Game," *Bones*, First aired 20 Sept. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Bryan Spicer and written by Noah Hawley.

A man with the U.S. Postal Services doesn't want the word "disgruntled" used when describing a criminal postal worker to the press.

Season 2, Episode 8: "The Woman in the Sand," *Bones*, First aired 8 Nov. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Kate Woods and written by Elizabeth Benjamin.

A broadcast is shown of men getting arrested. Brennan complains about the media's lack in naming all the murder victims.

Season 2, Episode 9: "Aliens in a Spaceship," *Bones*, First aired 15 Nov. 2006 by Fox, Directed by Craig Ross Jr. and written by Janet Tamaro.

A journalist helps a kidnap-and-ransom specialist write a book about a serial killer.

Season 2, Episode 10: "The Headless Witch in the Woods," *Bones*, First aired 29 Nov. 2006, Directed by Tony Wharmby and written by Stephen Nathan and Karine Rosenthal.

The murder victim was a film student at the University of Virginia.

Season 2, Episode 11: "Judas on a Pole," *Bones*, First aired 13 Dec. 2006 by Fox, Directed by David Duchovny and written by Hart Hanson.

A broadcast story about a civil rights activist wrongly convicted decades earlier and newly released from prison is shown.

Season 2, Episode 12: "The Man in the Cell," *Bones*, First aired 31 Jan. 2007, Directed by Jesus Salvador Trevino and written by Noah Hawley.

A newspaper article features the investigators. Later, a broadcast story reports on an explosion.

Season 2, Episode 18: "The Killer in the Concrete," *Bones*, First aired 4 Apr. 2007, Directed by Jeff Woolnough and written by Dean Widenmann. A journalist is mentioned as being tortured by the mob for talking to much.

Season 3, Episode 10: "The Man in the Mud," *Bones*, First aired 14 Apr. 2008, Directed by Scott Lautanen and written by Janet Tamaro.

A former motocross biker, paralyzed by an accident, now writers for a motocross website.

Season 3, Episode 11: "The Player Under Pressure," *Bones*, First aired 21 Apr. 2008, Directed by Jessica Landaw and written by Janet Tamaro.

Saroyan says every news source wants to confirm the identity of a murder victim. (This episode was supposed to air a year earlier. However, the case involved a student killed at school and the network held it to show sensitivity for the Virginia Tech shooting that happened days before the episode was to air)

Season 3, Episode 15: "The Pain in the Heart," *Bones*, First aired 19 May 2008 by Fox, Directed by Allan Kroeker and written by Hart Hanson and Stephen Nathan. *Sweets is interviewed by a news station. The episode also mentions that he was also on "Larry King" and "TMZ."*

Season 4, Episode 3: "The Man in the Outhouse," *Bones*, First aired by Fox, Directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner and Mark Lisson. *A journalist turned reality show host is murdered.*

Season 4, Episode 9: "The Con Man in the Meth Lab," *Bones*, First aired 12 Nov. **2008, Directed by Allison Liddi-Brown and written by Karine Rothenthal.** *A state police colonel asks Booth to withhold certain details about a case from the media.*

Season 4, Episode 10: "The Passenger in the Oven," *Bones*, First aired by Fox, Directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner. *A travel writer is murdered.*

Season 4, Episode 17: "The Salt in the Wound," *Bones*, First aired 19 Mar. 2009 by Fox, Directed by Steven DePaul and written by Carla Kettner and Josh Berman.

A news station reports about a pregnancy pact. Brennan says there is no proof of a pact.

Season 4, Episode 25: "The Critic in the Cabernet," *Bones*, First aired 7 May 2009 by Fox, Directed by Kevin Hooks and written by Stephen Nathan. *A wine critic is murdered.*

Season 5, Episode 1: "Harbingers in the Fountain," *Bones***, First aired 17 Sept. 2009 by Fox, Directed by Ian Toynton and written by Hart Hanson.** *Booth looks at newspaper articles about him and Brennan.*

Season 5, Episode 11: "The X in the File," *Bones*, First aired 14 Jan. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Allison Liddi and written by Pat Charles. A young woman introduces herself as a UFO blogger.

Season 5, Episode 15: "The Bones on the Blue Line," Bones, First aired 1 Apr. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Chad Lowe and written by Carla Kettner. Brennan is interviewed by a Japanese journalist.

Season 5, Episode 17, "The Death of the Queen Bee," *Bones*, First aired 15 Apr. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Allan Kroeker and written by Pat Charles. *Brennan and Booth go undercover and she refers to him as a "newspaper man."*

Season 5, Episode 19, "The Rocker in the Rinse Cycle," *Bones*, First aired 29 Apr. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Jeff Whoolnough and written by Karine Rosenthal. *A man at a fantasy rock band camp was pranked, believing he was going to be interviewed by* Rolling Stone.

Season 5, Episode 21, "The Boy with the Answers," *Bones*, First aired 13 May 2010 by Fox, Directed by Dwight Little and written by Stephen Nathan. A broadcast reporter is talking about a case.

Season 6, Episode 1: "The Mastodon in the Room," *Bones*, First aired 23 Sept. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Ian Toynton and written by Hart Hanson.

Saroyan is interviewed and ambushed by a national news program. Booth talks about his new girlfriend, Hannah Burley, a war correspondent.

Season 6, Episode 2: "The Couple in the Cave," *Bones*, First aired 30 Sept. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Milan Cheylov and written by Stephen Nathan. Hannah Burley, a journalist, makes her first appearance in the series, returning from Afghanistan.

Season 6, Episode 3, "The Maggots in the Meathead," *Bones*, First aired 7 Oct. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Tim Southam and written by Dean Lopata. *Hannah Burley, a journalist, is now part of the Washington press corps.*

Season 6, Episode 5: "The Bones that Weren't," *Bones*, First aired 4 Nov. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Jeannot Szwarc and written by Pat Charles.

Hannah Burley, a journalist, is shot while pursuing a story.

Season 6, Episode 6: "The Shallow in the Deep," *Bones*, First aired 11 Nov. 2011, Directed by Mark Helfrich and written by Carla Kettner.

The investigative team watches a broadcast segment, titled "Thursday's Child," from ten years earlier about a child waiting to be adopted.

Season 6, Episode 8: "The Twisted Bones in the Melted Truck," *Bones*, First aired 2 Dec. 2010 by Fox, Directed by Gordon Lonsdale and written by Josh Berman. *Hannah Burley, a journalist, attempts to bond with Parker, Booth's son.*

Season 6, Episode 10: "The Body in the Bag," *Bones*, First aired 20 Jan. 2011 by Fox, Directed by Kate Woods and written by Janet Lin.

Hannah Burley, a journalist, learns of Brennan's feelings for Booth.

Season 6, Episode 13: "The Daredevil in the Mold," *Bones*, First aired 10 Feb. 2011, Directed by Dwight Little and written by Dean Lopata. *Hannah Burley, a journalist, rejects Booth's marriage proposal.*