LEARNING ABOUT THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROTAGONISTS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GENDER MESSAGES IN THE CRIME FILM GENRE

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GENDER MESSAGES IN THE CRIME FILM GENRE: LEARNING ABOUT THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROTAGONISTS

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(ABSTRACT)

Various forms of popular culture serve to educate and socialize as well as influence human behavior. In a discipline such as criminal justice, little is known by the general public about the individuals involved with the system: the law enforcer, the victim, and the offender. Therefore, the construction of reality for most is likely to come from media representation.

A content analysis was used as a method to systematically evaluate crime films over a period of 20 years to investigate what gender messages were apparent in the genre. A sample of 42 crime films was drawn beginning in 1972 through 1992. The main and supporting characters were analyzed to determine if gender differences existed in regard to occupational representation, victimization, and offending. Focus was on occupational representation. The data was compared to the official data to ascertain whether the gender representations in the films reflected the official data. Trends over the 20 year period were analyzed to determine if the portrayal of women and men over the
years reflected the changes experienced in the criminal justice system.

The research provided an understanding of the content of this form of popular culture. Males were more likely included in the films than females. This is consistent with the reality of male domination in the field of criminal justice and with past research which indicated that women were often excluded from films. Computed Chi-square tests indicated that significant relationships existed between sex and evidence of the police personality; sex and character appearance in casual, uniform, and seductive attire; sex and use of all types of force; sex and use of expert and coercive power; and sex and aggression as a style of conflict resolution. T Tests revealed that there were sex differences in character appearance in uniform and seductive attire, use of aggression as a style of conflict resolution, commission of crime, and commission of nonviolent crime.

The films closely represented the official data in regard to male and female violent offenders with a small overrepresentation of female violence and an equally small underrepresentation of male violence. Women were underrepresented as property offenders and men were overrepresented. In terms of victimization, women were overrepresented as victims of violent crime and property crime.
Over the two decades, women were consistently absent when compared to the number of men casted in the films; were consistently underrepresented as law enforcers, with the exception of two, three year intervals; and were most often casted as wives or girlfriends of law enforcers except in one, three year interval. Men were most likely to be seen as law enforcers in every interval, again consistent with the male domination seen in the law enforcement field. Sexism Level I films, indicating extreme sexism, was found to be at least in 67% of all films for each three interval except from 1984 to 1986.
Over the two decades, women were consistently absent when compared to the number of men casted in the films; were consistently underrepresented as law enforcers, with the exception of two, three year intervals; and were most often casted as wives or girlfriends of law enforcers except in one, three year interval. Men were most likely to be seen as law enforcers in every interval, again consistent with the male domination seen in the law enforcement field. Sexism Level I films, indicating extreme sexism, was found to be at least in 67% of all films for each three interval except from 1984 to 1986.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Researchers indicate that popular culture impacts the socialization of individuals (Kilbourne, 1990; McGhee & Frueh, 1980). Sex role stereotypes and gender images portrayed in the various forms of popular culture create pictures in the minds of spectators which may have an overt effect on the construction of reality (Basow, 1986). Previous systematic inquiry into various forms of popular culture to determine if gender differences exist in role portrayal provide an initial step towards the understanding of how the portrayal affects individual choice, action, and self evaluation.

Just as popular culture, particularly electronic and film media, has become an institution, so has the criminal justice system. Few other institutions potentially have greater impact on individual lives than do the media and the law enforcement system. Impact research confirms that popular culture affects occupational choice (Griffin & Sin, 1989), violence (Andison, 1977; Berkowitz, 1964; Garofalo, 1981), fear of crime (Weaver & Wakshlag, 1986) and crime (Baker, 1992).

A content analysis of various crime specific forms of popular culture to determine if gender differences exist in the portrayal of law enforcement officers, victims, and
offenders is a prerequisite into understanding the impact the media has in regard to problems associated with crime, the recruitment of women into the law enforcement field, gender disparity operating within the field, gender and occupational relations within the system, and victimization.

Background of the Problem

The media has long been the subject of research to determine the content of the media message and to analyze the impact the content has on audiences. Two theoretical perspectives are important in examining content and analyzing impact. First, the media is said to reflect societal values and imitate social reality. Second, the media is said to influence the construction of social reality. The second perspective suggests that individual growth, development, education, and socialization are affected by messages received from the media. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive. The media both reflects reality and potentially enables the construction of social reality by educating and socializing audiences (Butler & Paisley, 1980).

Education is a lifelong endeavor and occurs daily in areas outside of the classroom. The media is a major source of learning and is recognized formally as an educative tool in and outside of the formal school experience. Adult educators (Knowles, 1990, p.172), feminists (Anderson, 1988,
and media specialists (Stein, 1972) recognize the power the media has in educating and socializing people. In fact, the media may be among the most powerful educators of adults and children (Anderson, 1988; Stein, 1972).

Past research findings show that the media has promoted sexism, thereby identifying, for women and men, appropriate life roles (Anderson, 1988; Basow, 1986). For women, these roles result in continued inequality and male domination. These messages often have been shown to sex-type men and women in a manner which portrays men in a positive light and women in a negative light. Most of the messages have been sent by males who control the media and who have successfully kept women in an inferior position. Women who are constantly exposed to messages subjecting them to inferiority may eventually grow to support subjugation (Anderson, 1988; Basow, 1986; Butler & Paisley, 1980).

The law enforcement system is consistently a subject of electronic media, particularly television and film. Contrary to other genre films, such as family or medical shows, the spectator may have first contact with police, offenders, and even crime victims through the screen. Most people know physicians and nurses, but few encounter the police (other than for traffic violations). Even fewer know offenders. Because only a small percentage of the
population utilize law enforcement services, much of the individual's construction of reality in regard to the police and other agents of the law enforcement system comes from the electronic media.

The popularity of crime films gives particular interest to the study of these films. Crime movies are among those most watched by the American public. Fifteen of the top all-time film rental movies listed by Variety (1992) are films which focus on crime. This figure is drawn from the top 100 rental films as far back as 1964 and does not include those which contain, but do not focus on crime. Of the hit movies shown on television from 1961 through 1989, 13 out of the top 100 are films about crime (Variety, 1990). A similar picture is drawn by the yearly top rental films produced by Variety in January immediately following the rated year. In the decade extending from 1981 through 1991, with the exception of two years, at least one crime film, and more likely three or more crime films, ranked among the top ten (Variety, January, 1982-1992). In 1986, five of the top ten rental films may be classified as crime films (Variety, 1992). Because crime movies are popular, the images of reality reflected in these films become an important subject of study. Many events and institutions impact on individual socialization. Films, according to Clarens (1980, p. 40), have "the most lasting
repercussions." The portrayal of women in crime films is an important area of inquiry given past research which indicates women are negatively portrayed or absent in films.

Content has been analyzed in regard to women in films (Haskell, 1974; Kaplan, 1983; Kuhn, 1982), commercials (Riffe, Goldson, & Ynag-Chou, 1989; Soley & Reid, 1988), prime-time television (Gerbner, Gross, Signorelli, & Morgan, 1980; Meehan, 1983; Steenland & Fujita, 1984; Steenland, 1985, 1988, 1989), comic strips (Chavez, 1985) music videos, (Armstrong, 1991; Berg, 1984), radio (Lont, 1988) and newspapers (Davis, 1982; Jollife, 1989; Luebke, 1989). Researchers have also addressed the portrayal of crime, criminals, law enforcers, and victims in prime-time television (Dominick, 1979; Lichter & Lichter, 1983) and have analyzed the crime film genre (Clarens, 1980).

However, there have been no efforts to describe if gender differences exist in how women and men have been portrayed in crime movies from an evolutionary perspective or to determine if these films reflect official employment, victimization, and offense data.

The study of women in comparison to men in crime films is an important area of inquiry for several reasons. First, prior research has failed to specifically address women in the crime film genre. Second, crime is a serious social problem, resulting in a growing law enforcement system. The
female role in this growing institution has not been adequately researched. Third, law enforcement has had difficulty in recruiting, retaining, and integrating women into the occupational field. Fourth, women fear victimization. If women are more likely to be shown as victims in various forms of popular culture, an unrealistic picture of the likelihood of victimization may be perpetuated, thus increasing women's fear of crime. Fifth, research indicates women and men receive disparate treatment within the law enforcement system. Film images may affect the treatment of men and women in the system or give unrealistic expectations to those who come in contact with the criminal justice system. Sixth, the electronic media, specifically film, has a powerful effect on educating and socializing women and men.

Perceptions of occupational aspirations, victimization, offending, as well as general self perceptions, may be affected by viewing crime films. Occupationally, women have made some progress in entering the law enforcement field, but are not as likely to be promoted into positions of authority (Martin, 1989). In terms of victimization, many report an unfounded fear of crime given the likelihood of experiencing violent crime (National Victim Center, 1991). Naffine (1987) suggested that research on female offending reflects male biases and stereotypes and fails to adequately
describe female criminality, in part, due to stereotypes believed about women. As to self perceptions, a body of literature exists to indicate, in general, exposure to popular culture impacts on self perception and sex role stereotyping (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979; Buss & Barnes, 1986; Eagly & Wood, 1985; Ferrante, 1988; Tarnove, 1988).

Because of the power of film, it is assumed that crime films can have implicit, if not explicit, effect on the role of females and males in the law enforcement system. The role may affect the recruitment, retention, and integration of women in law enforcement, fear of victimization, and disparity in treatment within the law enforcement system.

**Statement of the Problem**

To date the research has failed to describe how women have been portrayed from an evolutionary perspective in crime films in relation to occupation in the law enforcement field, victimization, offending and in other life roles in relation to men. In spite of efforts and progress made in the field of law enforcement, barriers continue to exist which prevent equality of sexes.

Recruitment, retention, and promotion of women continue to be problems facing the police and other agencies of law enforcement. Females continue to express fear of victimization when in reality a male is more likely to be victimized. Female offending appears to be increasing. Sex
harassment continues to plague society and contributes to discrimination and occupational unprofessionalism among those employed in the law enforcement system. All of these problems continue to exist in spite of efforts to explain the source and alter policies affecting women. A content analysis of the crime film genre is necessary to illuminate the picture of how women and men are portrayed so that future research can be conducted in regard to the effect these portrayals have on individuals involved with the law enforcement system. The research is important as, in effect, a group (filmmakers) are making educative or curriculum decisions about what women and men see in film which may impact on sex role socialization, occupational choice, fear of victimization, and social and occupational promotion.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to describe the portrayal of women and men in one aspect of popular culture. Focus is on a specific film genre, the crime film genre, to determine how women are portrayed as authorities, victims, offenders, and in relation to men. The intent was to heighten knowledge about how women and men are portrayed in a specific genre over a period of two decades and to serve as a prerequisite to the understanding of how the portrayal impacts women in relation to law enforcement. A content
analysis is necessary to determine if gender differences exist in the portrayal of law enforcers, victims, and offenders; to determine if trends exist in the portrayals; and to determine if reality is reflected in the films as compared to the official employment, victimization, and offense data. Only after the content has been analyzed, can impact research be initiated. This form of descriptive research is a prerequisite for future studies which measure the impact messages.

A second purpose was to depict the portrayal of women and men in this form of popular culture and thereby make explicit the implicit messages communicated through the films. This revelation was the first step in sensitizing women and men so that they may increase competency in identifying media messages and to expose films as a form of education.

Research Questions

The following questions emerged from a review of the literature to direct the study:

1. How were women portrayed in crime films in relation to men in regard to occupational representation, offending, and victimization?

2. How did the portrayals of men and women in crime films compare to the official data in relation to employment in the criminal justice field, offending, and victimization?
3. What trends emerged in the portrayal of men and women over two decades extending from 1972 to 1992?

Significance

The description of how men and women were portrayed in crime films from an evolutionary perspective over two decades provides new ground in contributing to the available knowledge. Past research failed to describe the portrayal of gender differences in this film genre in respect to occupation, victimization, and offending, failed to document changes over time, and failed to compare gender differences to official data. Even research which evaluated prime-time television, failed to address occupational variables included in the present study use of power, conflict resolution, operational styles, and evidence of the police personality.

The study was also significant to the extent that it served as the first building block toward the understanding of how this film genre portrayed the practice of criminal justice. This content analysis of crime films described the portrayal of women and men in relation to each other and determined if both were equally represented, well represented, and accurately portrayed in crime movies. The study may serve as the foundation for future research designed to evaluate the effect these films have on viewers and to determine if the effect on viewers is related to
problems of recruitment, retention, and promotion of women in the law enforcement field, as well as, victimization and offense patterns.

Crime is of interest to the American public. Crime films, especially videos which can be rented at negligible cost to the consumer, touch those who may be barred from other forms of mass media, such as newspapers and magazines, because they cannot read. Compounding the effect of these films is the fact that most people have no reality with which to compare the law enforcement system.

The crime film as a means of education, may be the sole source of education about law enforcement for some, and for others may serve to reinforce other forms of education. Many disagree about the extent to which forms of popular culture educate or impact the individual viewer, and few would argue that the content of films has equal impact on all viewers. However, even the most critical (Gollin, 1988) believe that content of films has some impact on the spectator and serve to educate viewers.

The Definitions

Definitions of terms frequently used within the paper are provided for the reader to ensure continuity of thought between the reader and the author.

Backlash. A strong regression or strong loss of previously won ground. Used here in regard to the feminist movement.
and equality for women (Faludi, 1991).

Crime Film Genre. Those films which focus on a primary plot of law and order, the offender, or the police authority (Toll, 1982), wherein the police authority, if questioned, prevails (Clarens, 1980).

Genre Films. "Genre films are those commercial films which, through repetition and variation, tell familiar stories with familiar characters in familiar situations. They also encourage expectations and experiences similar to those of similar films we have already seen." (Grant, 1986).

Feminist. Male or female who values women as worthwhile and equal individuals and who work toward achieving that equality (Unger & Crawford, 1992, p. 9).

Mass Media. Media available to the majority of the population and which provide for mass manufacturing and mass dissemination of data. The mass media includes newspapers, magazines, radio, television, movies, photography, books, wire services, and videos (Surette, 1992).

Patriarchy. Society in which males dominate economically, materially, and socially (Basow, 1986).

Popular Culture. Used here to refer to the product of newspapers, television, music, literature, videos and films.

Sexism. "A set of beliefs, formerly enacted into law and still reinforced by social custom, concerning the appropriate social roles of women and men" (Butler &
Sex Role Stereotype. "...rigidly held and oversimplified beliefs that males and females, by virtue of their sex, possess distinct psychological traits and characteristics. (Basow, p. 4). The term is used synonymously with gender stereotypes.

The Organization of the Study

This dissertation is presented in five chapters. The first chapter addresses the background of the problem, the purpose of the research, the problem statement, the significance of the research, and provides definitions for the reader. This chapter was the guide to the research and provides the reader with the importance and the intent of the research.

The second chapter reviews the literature. This chapter provides the direction for the research. After reviewing the available literature on the impact and content of various forms of popular culture, it was determined that the crime film genre had not been the subject of research specific to the variables of interest in this study. Therefore, it was determined that a void existed in the literature which could be filled with this research.

The third chapter describes the methods used in this study of the crime film genre. This chapter outlines how the content analysis was completed and includes the
selection of the sample, the development of the instruments used in the research, the data collection process, and the manner in which the data was analyzed.

The fourth chapter presents the findings. This chapter describes what was found in the films reviewed and provides about the specific characters in the crime film genre. The chapter covers all variables of interest to the study and details how men and women are portrayed in the genre. The chapter includes a summary of the findings.

The fifth chapter draws conclusions about the study. This chapter offers concluding remarks based on the research findings and provides insights into how this research does or does not support the findings of previous research in regard to the portrayal of men and women in various forms of popular culture. The chapter includes implications for future research.
CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Introduction

The primary focus of this research is to describe how women are portrayed in the crime film genre during the period extending from 1973 through 1992 and to determine if the portrayal reflects criminal justice employment and crime data. The review of the literature includes both impact and content studies conducted on various forms of popular culture as well as a review of the current employment and crime statistics.

Two major social institutions are the subject of this research: the criminal justice system and the media. The criminal justice system is that system, within American society, which is responsible for the investigation, apprehension, adjudication, and correction of offenders. The media, responsible for conveying what is referred to as popular culture, is comprised of two major divisions which include print and electronic media. The print media includes newspapers, books, and magazines. The electronic media includes radio, television, photographs, movies, and videos (Surette, 1991). Popular culture is a term used to refer to the popular media product (often of questionable quality) which reaches masses of individuals and includes content received from newspapers, television, movies,
magazines, and books (Defluer & Dennis, 1985) The study of
the content of all types of popular culture is important
given the assumption that the media enables the social
construction of reality, particularly in a field in which
most people have little knowledge.

A review of the available literature includes impact
and content studies. Much of the impact literature in
relation to the criminal justice system includes perceptions
of actors in the criminal justice system, impact of viewing
violence, impact of the media in regard to fear of
victimization, and impact on public opinion in regard to
punishment. However, the research is in the preliminary
stages and has yet to establish the nature of the influence
the media has on the criminal justice system.

Content studies discussed in this section include all
types of media. The available literature focuses on how
women have been portrayed in the media but fails to
specifically address women in the criminal justice system.
Prime time television has been the focus of much of the
research with no attention given to gender differences in
the crime film genre. This study fills a gap in the
available research on the crime film genre.

First, a review of the impact research will establish
the media as an educator and socializer of adults and will
provide an overview of media influence on stereotyping,
occupational choice, and perceptions of the criminal justice system. Second, a review of the content studies in relation to media portrayal of women, actors within the criminal justice system, stereotyping, and occupational representation is particularly relevant as it will point to a research void. Third, a review of employment, offense, and victimization data will establish the current gender differences in the three areas and enable later comparison of the film data with the official statistics.

**Impact Research**

A comprehensive body of literature which fully describes the relationship between the media and the criminal justice system is not available. Most impact studies have focused on the impact of the media on violence and have failed to fully examine the relationship between media and occupational representation, victimization, and offending. While the review includes media impact on the criminal justice system, it is also necessary to review those studies which may have an indirect effect on the criminal justice system such as media impact on socialization, stereotyping, and occupational choice.

**The Media as a Primary Educator and Socialization Agent**

The media serves as a primary socialization agent and educator. Butler and Paisley (1980) compared the impact of television on the socialization of adults to the once
popular McGuffy reader. Research findings suggest that exposure to media stereotyping impacts on self perception and serves to undermine women (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979; Buss & Barnes, 1986; Eagly & Wood, 1985; Ferrante, 1988; Tarnove, 1988). Research findings indicate that popular culture has a commanding influence over the socialization of individuals and perpetuates sexism in society (Anderson, 1988, p. 34; Basow, 1986; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Unger & Crawford, 1992). The literature is replete with impact studies indicating that the cumulative effect of exposure to popular culture has an effect on individual perception of reality and social interaction (Livingstone, 1986; Signorelli, Gross, & Morgan, 1982; Zemach & Cohen, 1986), and promotes sex stereotyping (Fisher, 1989; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; McGhee & Frueh, 1980; Ross, Anderson, & Wisocki, 1982).

Education is a socialization process encompassing the cultural transmission of values and beliefs. In his appropriately entitled book, Media Power, Stein (1972) and in a similar effort, Lichter, Rothman, and Lichter (1986) in the Media Elite, present the media as the most powerful public educator, as the primary source behind what people think and feel. Those who dictate what is seen and heard have enormous power over individual lives. Stein states the media has caused individuals to lose control of their
consciousness. Lichter, Rothman, and Lichter refer to the media as "America's New Powerbrokers" and states the media has, in effect, narrowed cultural gaps among heterogeneous groups which has resulted in weakened bonds to church, home, and community. The "powerbrokers" are affected, as are all individuals by their respective background which are more likely to represent upper middle class values. Gerbner and Gross (1979) cite television as having the single most impact on the enculturation of individuals because it is the first medium to which individuals are exposed.

Film was one of the earliest educative mediums, appearing as early as 1870. Films were available to the masses and touched those who could not read (Toll, 1982). Although primarily for entertainment, films are a way for filmmakers to exert influence over spectators. Impact research began as early as 1929 (DeFleur & Dennis, 1985) but was limited in the ability to explain the impact of film on the viewing audience. Impact research has improved but still fails to fully explain the relationship between film, attitudes, and decision making. Most agree that a relationship exists and film is a powerful media, however, the relationship is unclear and future research is indicated.

The Media Impact on Stereotyping

A study of the content of any form of the electronic
media can give insight into the frequency with which men and women are portrayed behaving in stereotypical ways but cannot measure spectator perception of the message. Impact study findings are mixed indicating that the media can both positively and negatively affect individual attitudes in regard to sex role stereotyping. The findings do not conclusively indicate a causal relationship, but do suggest that there is a relationship between television viewing and stereotyping.

Positive media effects. Dambrot, Reep, and Bell (1988) used student raters to rate television characters in four police shows on the Personal Attributes Questionnaire to determine viewer perception. Two of the four female law enforcers were rated as masculine, one was rated as androgynous, and one as feminine. Male law enforcers were rated as stereotypically masculine. The authors concluded that role, not sex of character determines viewer perception but failed to consider the possibility that the role was not stereotypically portrayed.

Fisher (1989) investigated the mass media effects on sex role attitudes of 376 prisoners incarcerated in a maximum security institution in New York State. The inmates completed a self report questionnaire to establish the amount of time spent viewing television, listening to the radio, and reading the newspaper. The inmates were then
asked to offer an opinion in regard a four item instrument designed to investigate sex role attitudes. The findings indicate that the amount of media exposure was correlated with less traditional stereotypical attitudes.

Negative media effects. Kilbourne (1990) used a sample of 173 undergraduate students to view either a housewife or professional role condition in advertising. Findings indicated that portraying women in nontraditional, professional roles resulted in a higher ranking in managerial ability by men for women portrayed in the ad. The importance of this finding lies in the stereotypical advertising portrayal of women who are more likely to be placed in traditional roles and receive less credibility. McGhee and Frueh (1980) found that heavy television viewing is related to increased sex role stereotyping. Sixty four children were classified as heavy or light television viewers and were asked to complete the Sex Stereotype Measure which is an assessment used to reveal the child's conception of adult sex role perceptions. The heavy viewers held more sextyped perceptions than the light viewers. Similarly, but with a sample of adults, Yogev (1982) found that television viewing is positively related to the sextyping of the character. Specifically, male characters who were sextyped as "supermasculine" received lower likability ratings. Likability, as associated with less
sexyping, could not be measured.

Signorelli (1989) completed a cultivation analysis to determine if a relationship existed between television viewing and responses to an index of sexism. The index was comprised of four questions designed to examine sexist attitudes. The findings indicated mixed results. Heavy viewers held a less sexist view in regard to a woman's place in the home, but more sexist views in regard to a woman's place in politics. The underlying message is that women do not need to remain at home, but are still not free to engage in certain roles.

**The Media Impact on Occupational Choice**

Stereotyping of females in various forms of popular culture has an effect on occupational choice and performance, particularly leadership. Kilbourne (1990) examined perception of leadership by exposing males and females to stereotypical and nonstereotypical advertisements to determine if traits such as leadership, rationality, and aggressiveness were different. Males rated the women in the nonstereotypical roles higher in the traits than those women portrayed in stereotypical roles. This finding suggested that the dominant portrayal of women in advertising in a stereotypical manner has an effect on male perception of women, thereby affecting occupational status.

Williams, Macbeth, et al (1988) found that television
programming for children serves to perpetuate sexism and the resulting inequality which includes occupational education. They concluded after reviewing educational and noneducational prime time television programs that sex role stereotyping is prevalent and impacts on viewer's educational and occupational desires.

Griffin and Sen (1989) explored the effect of television viewing with sex and social status and concluded that females identified more with domesticated females than occupational role models and lower status females identify more closely with traditional occupations and express traditional occupation aspirations. Higher status females were less likely to be affected by the television portrayals and more likely to aspire to nontraditional occupational choices. If television actors are perceived as realistic, the nontraditional female roles may impact upon occupational choice.

Less convincing evidence was found by Brooks (1983) who examined the effect of the print media on a sample of 200 middle school students. Brooks determined that the effect of sexist language in the print media was limited in regard to occupational interest.

The Media Impact on Matters Related to the Criminal Justice System

A dearth of research exists which examines the media
effect on matters related to the criminal justice system such as fear of victimization, occupational matters (recruitment, retention, and promotion), system procedures, offending, and victimization. Much of the research focuses on the media impact on violence. A review of this literature points to a research void and indicates a need for additional research.

Violence, fear of crime, and crime.

Much of the literature in regard to crime and media deals with the impact of violence (Andison, 1977; Berkowitz, 1964; Garofalo, 1981; Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Greene & Bynum, 1986) and the prevalence of crime (Berkowitz & McCauley, 1971; Dominick, 1978; Hennigan et al., 1982). The findings are mixed and represent the difficulty in isolating a single causal variable. Whatever the extent, evidence exists to support that the media does have an effect on individual violent behavior and crime.

Gerbner and Gross (1976) are among the most quoted and cited on the subject of the media relationship to violence. The authors developed a violence profile to indicate if television viewing impacted upon individual perceptions. Using cultivation analysis, they determined that viewing is related to a feeling of danger and suggested viewing is related to fear of violence. Weaver and Wakshlag (1986) used survey data to determine if a relationship existed
between television viewing and perceptions of vulnerability to victimization. The authors found that the relationship was affected by other factors such as direct victimization experience. They also found that although a weak association existed between viewing and fear of crime, that the effect is mediated by other factors which may be of more importance.

Eron et al (1972), in a longitudinal study of children, found, among males, a significant relationship between preference for violent television program viewing and aggression. The same did not hold true for females. The authors are quick to point out that television is not the single causal variable related to violence and cite other influencing variables.

Knowledge of and attitudes about the criminal justice system. Dominick (1974) found a positive correlation between television viewing of crime shows and character identification, the distorted belief that offenders are likely to be apprehended, and knowledge of individual rights. Criminal procedures and terminology often portrayed on television were more familiar to viewers than those procedures not often portrayed. Again, the authors are not suggesting a causal relationship and only claim an association between viewing and the above variables.

Skater and Elliott (1980) found that among children,
light viewers of television were more likely to believe the distorted television portrayal of reality that private detectives most often focus on criminal cases. Heavy viewers were more likely to believe the distortion that most police officers patrol in two man units. There was no difference between heavy viewing and the perception of police homicide prevalence.

Most of the research cited above is quantitative in nature and indicates that the media has impact on human behavior. The relationship remains unclear. The following section gives a brief overview of qualitative efforts in which researchers speculate that the media has a detrimental affect on viewers, particularly, those groups that have no power.

**Speculation as to the Pernicious Effect of the Media**

Movies are fertile ground for research and, even though they are made for entertainment and profit, can also have the unintended effect of influencing spectators (Jarvie, 1978). Jarvie sees movies as influencing socialization, possibly to the point of social control; as having both positive and negative influence, as having the potential to engender action; and as having the potential to both reflect and distort reality.

Male domination of various forms of popular culture has been of concern to many who research media impact. The
feminist argument is that those in power most often enjoy white male privilege, thereby telling others, including individuals of color and white women, what they should think and feel. Gerbner and Gross (1976) agreed, stating that much of the communication ingested by the American public through television is male dominated and is a major thrust behind the development of a shared consciousness. Ferrante warned (1988) against feminist acceptance of the "mirror" philosophy and argued feminists should instead be aware that popular culture is male dominated, perpetuates inequality, and reinforces patriarchy.

The absence of women in the electronic media reinforces the stereotype that women are not as equal, important, or equipped to enter the professional arena. Women are not exposed to the number of professional role models as men are in the media. Women may therefore feel it unsuitable to pursue nontraditional, male dominate careers or feel, given other variables, that they cannot compete in a field like criminal justice.

Summary of Impact Research

A review of the impact research indicated that women are more negatively stereotyped in various forms of popular culture than men. The extent to which the media impacts human behavior and the extent to which the stereotyping affects individuals remains unclear. What is clear, is that
the media is one of many factors which influences human behavior but may have a more pervasive impact on certain individuals and in given circumstances. The available research supporting the popular culture impact on individual socialization should serve to motivate educators to examine the effects of television on the unintended learning which transpires. The full effect of the media is yet to be measured and additional research is indicated.

Content Research

The content literature is more abundant than impact research but still fails to address gender differences in relation to the media portrayal of the actors within the system. Again, much of the content research has been conducted on prime time television and there have been no efforts to describe the portrayal of gender differences in relation to occupational representation, offending and victimization.

The research includes both quantitative and qualitative content analyses. Generally, findings in both types of research indicate women are more negatively portrayed and stereotyped than men, are absent, and are more likely portrayed as objects than subjects (used to identify the male role). A review of how women have been portrayed and stereotyped in various forms of popular follows.

The Content Portrayal of Women in Film
Feminist film critics argue that women have been omitted as subjects of film and have instead been portrayed as objects through which male characters seek personality. Exposing a lack of feminine voice in the early 1970s allowed women to grow as subjects of film rather than mere objects engendering patriarchal dominance (Pribram, 1988). Prior to the seventies women were most likely omitted as subjects, characterized as objects of male lust, seen as objects in need of control, used as objects to promote male identity, and in general, were silent, without significant input (Kaplan, 1983; Kolker, 1988; Kuhn, 1982, Pribram, 1988).

A plethora of literature, boasting fruition in the 1970s, documents the general absence of women who positively impacted on society and who were realistically portrayed via film (Kaplan, 1983; Kuhn, 1982, Pribram, 1988). Vlasopolos (1988) stated that males have dominated the production, direction, and writing of films which has ensured that even those women who have been portrayed as "subjects" of film meet their demise in the end by way of illness, exile, or male dominance. Kolker (1988) agrees, stating that women who have challenged men in film by breaking the patriarchal sanctity have met with destruction. Kaplan (1983) stated that some films of the late seventies and early eighties allowed women to emerge as subjects, but in doing so, presented women as masculine. Women have been portrayed as
objects of violence, victimization, brutality, pity or desire (Kolker, 1988; Vlasopolos, 1988) without much support from other women for changing the portrayal (Faludi, 1991, p. 115; Haskell, 1974, pp. 370-371). Female spectators appear to passively promote these films with their patronage (Haskell, 1974; Kolker, 1988; Pribram, 1988).

The focus of research in regard to females in film has been mostly an indepth analysis of one or a few films (Kaplan, 1983; Kuhn, 1982; Pribram, 1988; Zagula, 1991). Haskell's From Rape to Reverence (1974) is one of the first comprehensive efforts to look at women in film from an evolutionary perspective beginning in the twenties and extending through 1973. She approaches the study with a decade by decade description of how movies have reinforced the myth of male superiority. Many of the women depicted in films over the fifty year period cited above, even when portrayed as strong, autonomous females, met happiness only after capturing a man. Haskell stated the attempt to control women and keep them in place failed because spectators tended to remember the autonomy exhibited rather than the closing capitulation to male dominance.

In Haskell's (1974, pp. 42-91) characterization of women in film, she sees the decade of the twenties as one in which women gained some ground in silent films as it was this decade in which suffragettes entered film. The
thirties were divided by the enforcement of the Production Code in the middle part of the decade. Prior to enforcement of the code women were allowed to expose sexuality but after the enforcement of the code, career women were found who, by the end of the film, met with male dominance and loss of autonomy. It was during the thirties and forties that the "woman's film" emerged (pp. 153-188) wherein the woman was often stuck in a middle class existence, with middle class values that supported retention of the marriage and family regardless of self fulfillment. However, the idea of choice and competition emerged in a few of the better films of the period allowing women to be seen as subjects of film. The forties, (pp. 189-276) introduced the bad girl that vanished in the fifties. The "bad girl" era was shared to a small extent with the emergence of the bright, competent female only to lead to the disenchanted woman of the fifties who had no voice and had not met with fulfillment (p. 36). But it was in the sixties (pp. 323-371) that the better roles seemed to disappear for women. Women were stereotypically represented in a negative light and those who were able to secure the good roles, failed to receive the recognition deserved. Haskell stated as women sought liberation in the sixties and seventies they were likely to be punished in film for the attempt to transcend patriarchal dominance. There was little or no progress made for women in the
sixties and seventies, leaving Haskell to conclude that Hollywood portrayed women in a sexist fashion and to question, "...when will women really come into their own power?"

The female victim spiraled in the sixties (Haskell, 1974; Rosen, 1973). Kuhn (1982, p. 135) stated that regardless of the victim myth, women became somewhat liberated in the seventies, the decade of the "new women's film." However, regression was experienced in the eighties as a result of, whether directly or indirectly, the fear of the liberated female (Kuhn, 1982).

Faludi (1991, pp. 124-126) agreed with Kuhn's interpretation and stated women in films of the seventies were empowered, sought independence, and gained support from other women. Females, albeit briefly, gained voice but were criticized for their hedonistic pursuits toward self fulfillment. "Backlash," according to Faludi, was experienced in the eighties. Publications by Rosen (1974) and Haskell (1973), both of which exposed problems regard to the absence and negative portrayal of women, may have led to temporary progress in the seventies, but resulted in "backlash" in the eighties as films were produced which reflected a male fear of losing power and control of women. In other words, what progress was made, was negated by males in power, who produced films which put women back in a
position of inferiority.

Faludi (1991) stated that backlash occurred in the eighties as women in film lost independence and were once again, subjected to passivity. Instead of the liberation experienced in the seventies, women in the eighties experienced a return to domesticity or had to contend with the drudgery of a career. Faludi stated that those who had careers in the eighties no longer challenged patriarchy as they did in the seventies but, instead, served as "the system's support staff" (p. 126). The message appeared to be that career and home were mutually exclusive, not to be successfully merged. Men received twice as many roles as women during the decade, again rendering women largely absent and silent in film.

Women have been largely absent as subjects of film and have instead been portrayed as identifiers of men. The Hollywood view of women has changed by decade however, the progress that has been made seems to have disappeared. It appears that women remain objects of male identification rather than subjects of film. Many would agree that gender roles firmly establish patriarchy in film (Faludi, 1991; Haskell, 1974; Kaplan, 1983). While some films allowed for androgenous sex role development, Kaplan (1983) stated that dominance remained an issue in the seventies and eighties with women subjected, for the most part, to an inferior,
marginal position. She suggested the problem lies in the need to dichotomize male with female; active with passive; dominant with submissive. The rigidly portrayed sex role differences found in film contributed to the objectification of women and female spectators enabled the tradition by watching and passively allowing themselves to be "objectified."

A review of other forms of popular culture portrayals of men and women follows. Both women and men have been stereotyped in various forms of electronic and print media but women have been more negatively portrayed and largely, have been absent in the portrayals.

Content and Stereotyping in Popular Culture

Certain stereotypes of women and men have emerged in research analyzing the content of film, prime time television, advertising, newspapers, cartoons, and other forms of popular culture. Men have been more positively portrayed and have enjoyed more exposure than women in all forms of popular culture. Most of the research presented, other than that of film, has been quantitative and shows significant gender differences in how women and men have been depicted in the media.

Stereotyping in film. Stenaas (1983) stated women in film tend to be represented mainly as the virgin, the whore, or the helpmate. The virgin is identified only through a
passive male-female relationship. The whore is the object of man's sexual desire and is the "bad-girl." The helpmate resides on a pedestal, maternally represented as serving man and his children. Women are also portrayed in a polarity of well groomed versus unkept; lured toward powerful men; and as passive, physically weak, dependent females who are incapable of finding happiness unless enfolded in the arms of a man (Faludi, 1991; Haskell, 1974; Pribram, 1988).

Women as sex objects is nothing new to film, wherein women were stereotypically objects of easy manipulation (Ryan, 1975, pp. 251-304; Toll 1982, pp. 182-210). Worse, women, even young girls, were victimized via prostitution, rape, assaults, and spouse abuse (Toll, 1982). The stereotypical representation of women as victims emerged primarily in the seventies, most often of violent crime. Films of the eighties introduced stereotypes for females such as "earth mother", "bitch", or "brainless," replacing the independent women of the seventies (Basow, 1986, p. 144), supporting Faludi's (1991) backlash theory. Black women, according to Basow, are absent in film which reinforces the stereotype that not only do women not count, black women in particular on not count.

**Stereotyping in advertising.** Women have been portrayed in a stereotypically negative manner in prime time television, television advertising, radio, and movies. That
representation does not generally reflect reality (Davis, 1982; Durkin, 1985; Joliffe, 1989; Kilbourne, 1990; Luebke, 1989; Stenaas, 1983; Tuchman, 1978). Higgs and Weiller's (1987) review of media representation of women which included magazines, billboards, television ads, and newspapers, found that during a ten month period ending in March 1987, women were portrayed as passive and men as aggressive. They applied Butler & Paisley's Consciousness Scale (1980) and found 75% of the advertisements to fall within the lowest levels of I ("put her down") and II ("keep her in her place").

Women in advertising are represented as sexy or victims of sexism, chauvinism, and male domination (Soley and Reid, 1988; Lazier-Smith, 1989; Riffe et al, 1989). Riffe et al. (1989) found that white males dominated television advertising and again noted the absence of women. Men appeared in 43% of the ads versus women, who were portrayed in only 25% of the ads.

Lovdal (1989) also found male prevalence and concluded women were not well represented as occupationally diverse, suggesting that the absence of women in these occupations and sex typing could be potentially damaging to viewers. Bretl and Cantor (1988) found men and women equally likely to appear in television advertising, but women less likely to be employed and more likely to be placed in domesticity.
Lazier-Smith found, in a review ads in four magazines. that ads found in 1985 magazines tended to sextype women without power and were more sexist than ads appearing in the same magazines in 1973. Interestingly, the magazines included a Ms. Magazine, a feminist publication.

Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared results of four previous studies of the portrayal of women in advertising to determine if feminist criticism of the portrayal was accurate. They concluded that men represented 87-89% of the voice-overs, women were more likely to appear as product representatives, especially of home products, were less likely to appear in occupational roles, and were stereotyped completing home activities, not independent, and as caring for children. Conversely, men were stereotyped in positions of authority.

In a qualitative assessment of the portrayal of women in advertising, Warren (1978) concluded that women are stereotyped as infantile, loving, nurturing, self sacrificing, and powerless. She stated ads induce women to believe they must be concerned with normal bodily functions which increase fear of sexual inadequacy.

Stereotyping in television. Television has been the primary focus of research, in part, because the medium is so widely available to spectators and has the potential to impact more lives. Findings of how women appear on prime
time television have been published by The National Commission of Working Women since 1982 (Steenland & Fujita, 1984; Steenland & Schmidt, 1985; Steenland & Whittmore, 1987). Although some progress is reported (Steenland & Fujita, 1984), the image primarily remains stable. The stereotypical female as presented in a dramatic series is likely to be young, unattached, white, and likely to be the helpless victim of male violence. Regression is seen in the latter part of the decade as the roles disappear for females, leaving the male as the primary role model for television spectators (Steenland and Whittmore, 1988).

Signorelli (1989) agreed with the NCWW findings that the representation of women on prime time television has been stable over the last decade. Prime-time television remained male dominated, with women much more likely to be victims of violence than occupationally successful. Women were more likely to be seen taking care of the home; more likely to be romantically attached; more likely to be absent and when seen, more likely to be less important.

Davis (1990) found women in prime time to be more provocatively dressed, younger, and blond. He stated that women have made little progress in regard to positive portrayal which may, in part, be due to the fact that women were still perceived through the eyes of man since men dominated the production and direction of shows. The
beautiful woman either has blonde or auburn hair with a sexy presence. 65.4% of all characters were male and 70.8% of the characters in action/adventure shows were male. Women were largely absent and when portrayed, were often objects versus subjects of the show.

Steenland (1989) found 75% of all female minority characters to be represented in comedies and male and female minority characters equally represented. Police officers were the occupation of choice for male minority representation with 31% of all male minorities depicted as police officers. Only 1% of the female minorities represented were police officers.

Tedesco (1974), in a study of 1550 main characters shown on prime time television, found women to be underrepresented. Males were more likely to be stereotyped as powerful, smart, rational, tall, active, independent, and stable. Females were stereotyped as attractive, fair, sociable, warm, happy, and young. Women were more likely than men to be unemployed and males were more likely to be employed in professional positions. Females were more likely casted in comedies and males were more likely casted in dramas. Females were almost twice as likely than men to be portrayed as "unhappy."

Dominick (1979) also found women in prime time to be underrepresented in starring roles and to more likely be
seen in comedies. He stated television failed to reflect occupational reality for both men and women and noted the increased representation of women as law enforcers.

Downing (1974), in 300 episodes of 15 daytime serials, found men and women to be equally represented in terms of presence. Women were younger, more likely married, less likely to be portrayed as professional and often portrayed as housewives. Women in daytime television were not seen as identifiers of men. Turow (1974), in the same year, compared daytime and prime time television and concluded males dominated prime time (70%) and were more likely to give directives. He also found males and females to be more equally represented in daytime television.

In a qualitative vein, Meehan (1983), in an evolutionary study of women appearing on prime-time television beginning in the early fifties, stereotyped the images as follows:

1. The imp: Cute, asexual tomboy, given to curiosity and adventure. Lucy Ricardo


3. The harpy: Aggressive and energetic in her pursuit of man. Paradoxically competent at work, but dependent on the man target of her pursuit. Hot Lips Houlihan.
4. The bitch: Hedonistic, destructive, dangerous female bent on control and manipulation. Introduced in crime dramas and most often meeting destruction in the end of the show. Maude.

5. The victim: Helpless female dependent on males for survival or rescue. No one character as victim leaves the series or only appears episodically.

6. The decoy: The victim who flaunts her susceptibility. Often the role for female police officers who are dependent upon the strong, competent male officers for rescue. Often portrayed as the crime fighter's weak spot.

7. The courtesan: Often seen in westerns as the pert female with hints of sexual promiscuity, capable of existing in a man's world. Miss Kitty.

Meehan concluded that the stereotypical image of American women on prime-time television has been a greatly distorted view of reality, with women losing presence in the eighties. Women tended to be polarized as "good" or "bad" with respect to the men they played with or against. Women were seldom subjects, only objects to assist man in his quest for identity or success. Women were much more likely to be represented as weak, defenseless victims, dependent on man for survival.

In summary, women have been portrayed in various forms
of popular culture stereotypically in a negative light. Young, sexy, dependent, white women prone to violence perpetrated by men is not an unfair picture of the way popular culture has painted women. Periods of progress have been short lived with evidence of regression after gaining ground (Haskell, 1974; Skar, 1980; Faludi, 1991). The absence of women has long been noted which serves to reinforce a stereotype that women do not count or are uninteresting. Although violence on television and in film has long been a topic of research, there has been no effort to systematically portray women appearing in the crime genre films over a period of time.

Clearly, the review of the literature points to a gap in the research. Most of the research on films has been qualitative in nature and has focused on one or a few films. While content analyses of other forms of popular culture are relevant and give direction to the study of the content of film, there still exists, among that research, a failure to adequately describe the portrayal of women in relation to the criminal justice system. The following represents a review of the literature which focuses on the content of the media portrayal of crime and criminal justice.

The Mass Media Vision of the Criminal Justice System

Media representation paints a distorted view of the offender, the offense, the victim, and the criminal justice
system (Surette, 1992). Skar (1980, p. 31) stated the
prime-time representation of the Criminal Justice System
presents us with a system without rationality, one within
which authorities, offenders, and victims are manipulated,
seldom receiving "justice." Violence, often perpetrated
against women, is the norm. Individual exposure to themes
of crime and justice are not limited only to prime-time or
film portrayal of crime movies, but also occurs when viewing
other genres which use crime as a secondary plot (Surette,
1992, p. 26). The prevalence of crime shows on television
hit a peak in 1975, peaked again in 1987, and remained
constant during the intervening and subsequent years
(Surette, 1992, pp. 32-33). In 1985, 9 out of 19 new shows
were police shows (Steenland & Schmidt, 1985). Clearly, the
potential existed for Americans to envision the reality of
crime and justice by watching television during the last
decade.

The media portrayal of crime and offending is
distorted. Media portrayals of property crimes are
underrepresented; crimes against the person are
overrepresented; the offender stereotypically is a white
male, versus the reality of the young black male; and
criminal motivation is based on greed rather than a
realistic view of other motivations, such as drugs. Free
will and an identifiably different "criminal" replace an
unidentifiable dangerous class as themes of television crime shows. Victims are often portrayed as white females who are unable to muster support against the male predator. The police subsystem clearly dominates to the exclusion of the remaining two systems with the police and offender exhibiting similar traits (aggressive, violent, above the law) and the former characterized inefficiently as a crime fighting entity. A prevalent theme in crime films is that the police effect the arrest and courts release the offender without just cause (Surette, 1992, pp. 34-40).

Popular culture stereotyping in relation to crime and criminal justice reveals a mostly male dominated, violent, crime fighting image (Armstrong, 1991; Collins & Javna, 1988; Toll, 1982). Focus was on violent crime (Lichter & Lichter, 1983) with police officers often violating individual rights. The crime show replaced the western in films beginning in 1934 (Toll, 1982) but the communication was much the same with suspense, action, violence, pursuits, and the good guys always winning. Getz (1987) compares the western (The Lone Ranger) with a crime drama produced thirty years later (The Equalizer) and found the heros to be virtually the same person. Both males were aggressive, violent, independent and without emotion. Both worked primarily without backup against male offenders who quite often victimized females. Getz concludes that the myth of
the superhero remains intact through media portrayal of the crime fighter.

Women as subjects of crime movies and television have been, for the most part, omitted. When present, they have been cast as objects defined by the strong male character (Toll, 1982; Anderson, 1988; Collins and Javna, 1988) or as victims of predatory violence (Surette, 1992). Females are absent or seen as less important, with the exceptions of Cagney and Lacey and Blue Steel. Even in the exceptions, women in positions of high ranking authority are likely to be absent. Much of the research has been conducted on prime-time television (Skar, 1983; Meehan, 1983; Lichter & Lichter, 1983) with little interest given to a systematic and comprehensive portrayal of women in crime films.

Prime-time television depicted women in crime shows as senseless, sexy, victimized, and absent which underscored her role as mere window dressing (Meehan, 1974, p. 110). Worse she was presented as a "decoy" which highlighted her fragile existence. The crime shows allowed women to enter but often as only the "bitch," "the decoy," or the "victim" (Meehan, 1974, pp. 128-129).

The exception to the prime-time type casting of females was "Cagney and Lacey." The duo were partners and although it was unlikely to assign two females to work together, the producers attempted to portray the women as competent police
officers. However, the major force of the show was the relationship between the two women and their outside responsibilities (Collins and Javna, 1988, p. 83). Unlike male police dramas, a great deal of time was spent with outside relationships and the two were still shown supervised by a strong, dominant male lieutenant in a soap opera like existence.

The content literature analyzing the media in relation to the criminal justice system is relatively new. Again, the review points to a gap in the current research. There have been no attempts to address gender differences in the crime film genre over the period of time during which women have been integrated into the field.

**Summary of Content Research**

In summary, the review of the content literature points to a gap in the available research in reference to how women and men are portrayed not only in the crime film genre, but in other forms of popular culture which directly relates to the portrayal of the criminal justice system. Most researchers agree that the media has distorted the picture of the criminal justice system and its actors, but the research has failed to look at the portrayal from an evolutionary perspective and to consider the variables of interest in the proposed study. Additionally, prior research is dated and fails to fully consider types of crime.
committed and occupational variables presented in the proposed study.

The available literature, primarily conducted on prime time television, suggests women and men are not equally represented and that the representation does not reflect reality for men or women. Reality, for purposes of this study, will be reflected to the extent that the film representations for both sexes corresponds to the official data in relation to crime, offending, victimization, and occupational representation.

The Reality for Females in the Criminal Justice System

As previously stated, the available research on media portrayal is distorted to the extent that it compares with official crime data. A breakdown of occupational representation, rates of victimization, and rates of offending is compared to the current literature on stereotyping in the following sections.

Police

The picture of reality for women in law enforcement is grim. Males dominate law enforcement. In all cities, including rural as well as metropolitan areas, women only represented 8.3% of the total sworn law enforcement personnel (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992, p.44). State police agencies do not fare as well. Women constitute only 3.7% of the total of sworn personnel, with minority females
at a paltry .6% (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 40). Interestingly, two of America's most violent cities, Washington, D.C. and Detroit, Michigan, have high female representation with 14% and 18.9% respectively (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 37).

Women police with rank total only 1.4% of the total officers ranked above lieutenant in municipal departments and only .4% in cities of 100 to 250 thousand. In small city police departments women only represent .5% of officers ranking above lieutenant. Female lieutenants represent only 2.5% of the total, with the lowest small police departments contributing only .6%. Female sergeants represent 3.7% of the total; only 1.6% of the total on smaller departments; and 5% on departments of 250 to 500 thousand In conclusion, based on 1986 data, women with rank represent only 7.6 % of the total and decrease in representation as the rank increases. (Department of Justice, 1990, p. 38).

Civilian, nonsworn police employees are most likely female. 64.2% of civilian employees are females which are employed in traditional clerical positions. This percentage climbs to 75% in cities of less than 25,000 inhabitants (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 44). This group includes dispatchers, service aids, parking attendants, secretaries, and data processors.

The current literature fails to adequately address
gender differences in the portrayal of employment variables. Although it is known that prime time television underrepresents women in comparison to official employment data (Dominick, 1973), the representation of gender differences in other variables listed in Appendix A are unknown. Questions remain as to gender differences in terms of specific law enforcement occupation, rank, assignment, appearance, use of force, conflict resolution, and use of power. Similarly, the picture of victims is unclear.

Victims

The official data reflects that females are almost one-half as likely to be the victim of a violent crime than are males (22 per 1,000 versus 39 per 1,000); females over 50 are slightly over one-fourth as likely to be the victims of a violent crime than are males; black females run a higher risk than white females of being victimized over the age of 20; black females are at less risk of suffering a violent crime than white females under the age of 20; and the most likely victim of a violent crime is a 16-19 year old white male. Divorced women are more likely to be victims of violent crime than are married, never married, or widowed females (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988, p. 26).

Women are almost one-half as likely to be the victim of assault than are males (17 per 1,000 versus 32, per 1,000)
and less than one-half as likely to be the victim of robbery (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988, p. 27). Homicide victims rank as one of the fifteen most frequent causes of death in the United States and females are slightly more than one-third less likely to be victimized than are males. Only 1 out of 495 white females is likely to meet a homicidal fate; 1 out of 132 black females; 1 out of 179 white males; and 1 out of 30 black males. The most likely victim of homicide is overwhelmingly a black male, followed by a white male, a black female, and lastly, a white female (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988, p. 28).

Property crimes paint a different picture. Women are much more likely to be the victim of a theft than a violent crime for all age groups; women are only slightly less likely to be victims of property crimes than males (65 per 1,000 versus 75 per 1,000); black females of all ages are less likely to experience victimization in this category than are white females; and the most likely victim of theft is the 16-19 year old white male. Divorced females are more likely to be the victims of theft than are married, widowed, or never married females (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988, p. 26).

The current literature reveals that prime-time television overrepresents women as murder victims, overrepresents violent crime, and accurately reflects the
age of murder victims (Estep, 1981, Lichter & Lichter, 1983). The research comparisons are dated and fail to fully describe differences in the types of crime.

Offenders

The official data reflects that adult arrests made in 1989 were primarily male (81.9%) versus female (18.1%). The figure climbs for males arrested for violent crimes to 88.6%, with the highest male offense rate for robbery (91.4%). Conversely, the female arrest rate increases for property crime to 24% and decreases to 11.4% for crimes of violence. Arrests for women exceed those of males only for the crime of prostitution, but compete with males in arrests for fraud (45.7% for females versus 54.3% for males). Interestingly, prostitution was the seventh highest offense arrest category for females out of a total of 28 crime categories, a rather insignificant crime compared to burglary, the seventh highest category for males. (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 422). Prisoners incarcerated in State and Federal institutions from a period extending from 1925 to 1989 have been predominantly male. The number of females incarcerated has more than tripled since 1980, while the number of males has more than doubled. Of the 680,809 offenders incarcerated in 1989, only slightly over 5% are female (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 604). Jailed inmates in 1988 were more likely to be male

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90.6% versus female 9.4%. Of those females incarcerated, only 13.2% were charged with violent offenses versus 23.5% of the males incarcerated (U. S. Department of Justice, 1990, p. 88).

The typical offender is a white male, but black males are disproportionately represented in the arrested population. Violent offenders are more likely to be white male also, but again black males are disproportionately represented. The same holds true for property crimes. Most crimes are committed by those between the ages of 20-29, with the age group between 15-19 running a close second. State prison populations are predominantly comprised of those ranging in age from 20-29, with the second highest commitments ranging between the ages of 30-39. Black males are also disproportionately represented in prison populations. Women are underrepresented as arrestees and incarcerates (U. S. Department of Justice, 1988, p. 41).

Women are less likely to be arrested for violent crimes and proportionately more likely to be arrested for larceny, forgery, fraud, and embezzlement than are men. The number of women incarcerated in prisons climbed only 1% between 1975 and 1985, but the number of women incarcerated more than doubled in the same decade (U. S. Department of Justice, 1988, p.46).

In comparison to the official data, the current
literature reflects that minority males are underrepresented as offenders (Lichter & Lichter, 1983) and white males are overrepresented. The literature is incomplete, dated, and fails to specifically address all types of crime. It is important to look at the literature to determine what variables may be of particular interest in relation to gender differences.

**Issues Related to Occupation and Victimization**

Law enforcement has long been the subject of research and more recently, focus has been on the victims of crime. Certain variables of interest sprang from a review of gender differences in law enforcement and victimization.

For example, power is a difficult concept to grasp and observe among actors in a film. This is a variable of interest in a content analysis give the number of criminal justice films depicting individuals seeking power (Holden, 1986, p. 68) and given the nature of the criminal justice system as powerful operative in individual lives. Power will be defined as "the ability to influence another person (Miner, 1973, p. 299) or the "decision making process" (Robbins, 1976, p. 86).

Holden (1986, pp. 68-70) identifies four types of power: coercive, reward, expert, and charismatic. Coercive power is sought through intimidation. Subordinates overreact with fear of the individual holding the power in
relation to the degree of injury potentially suffered. Reward power, as in the case of coercive power, may serve to reinforce authority. Power is attained through rewarding individuals or promising reward rather than the threat of punishment. One who has expertise in the field or has a particular skill, may wield power. This type of power, unlike the other two types, may be seen in one without rank. Charismatic power is the most far reaching. This type of power is premised on individual personality traits and is the most difficult to measure. Reward and punishment is present but in a less quantifiable way. The leader is followed because of his personality, not because of his ability to reward or punish. Of interest, will be to determine if gender differences exist in the use of power.

Conflict resolution is also a variable of interest. Holden (1986) reviews five type of managers in relation to how conflict is managed: Sharks are those individuals who use coercive power to win; Teddy Bears acquiesce in conflict situations; Turtles withdraw from arising problems; Foxes mediate and compromise and are willing to lose points to gain resolution; and Owls see conflict as positive and search for the innovative resolution. Again, it will be of interest to determine if gender differences exist in how men and women resolve conflict.

Victimization is also of interest in this study. In
addition to determining if victimization rates of males and females parallel official data, it will also be of concern to see if the films perpetuate myths of female victimization. Weisheit and Mahan (1988, pp. 90-91) address the following myths of female victimization which will be considered in this study:

1. "She likes it....secretly wants it."
2. "She asked for it....no means yes."
3. "Men can't help themselves."
4. "Any man who would commit __________, must be crazy."
5. "It is rare and happens to lower classes."

The first two myths accept crime as precipitated by the victim. Myths three and four excuse the perpetrator and provide the offender with an excuse for the behavior. The last myth identifies a dangerous class and reinforces a stereotyped that crime is a social class phenomenon. A review of victimization and offending issues in the literature provided categories for examination in this study.

Summary

A review of the literature indicates a need for research into both the impact and content of various forms of popular culture, but specifically indicates a need for research into the media message in regard to the criminal justice system. The crime film genre has not been the
subject of any research in regard to the portrayal of gender differences in relation to the criminal justice system and is ripe for analyses. Because it appears the media impacts on education, socialization, and human behavior, the content of the media message in relation to criminal justice portrayal should be better discerned prior to conducting the much needed impact research.
CHAPTER III

Method

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methods used in this study of how women and men have been portrayed in crime films since 1972. Included are sample selection, development and use of coding instruments, data collection procedures, and the procedure involved in the analysis of the data.

Selection of Sample

A total sample of 42 crime films was drawn from the population of Variety's magazine's annual listing of top rentals beginning in 1972 and extending through 1992. The list is compiled yearly by Variety magazine in the first month of the new year to reflect the top grossing rental films of the previous year. Variety, a show business trade paper, published two lists which indicate film popularity: top box-office champions and the top rental films. The sample was chosen from the rental list because it is the "financial yardstick" (DeFleur & Dennis, 1985, p.270) for film popularity. The rental list was less likely affected by variation in box office ticket prices and includes films distributed late in the year which may be excluded from the top box office hits. The list reflected those films grossing at least one million dollars from rentals paid by distributors. The number of films on the list varied due to
the cutoff for film inclusion. The two top grossing films for each year were selected from a total of 439 crime films over the 20 year period. The top two were chosen because more people were exposed to those films and therefore, more people were likely to be impacted by the content contained in the films.

The year of 1972 was chosen to initiate the study for two reasons. First, women were advanced to full representation in policing in 1972 subsequent to the passage of amendments to the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Martin, 1989, p. 312). Films contained on the 1972 list were distributed in 1971 and filmed prior to the full initiation of women into law enforcement. Second, because trends in occupational representation was also important to this study, 1972 was chosen as the year to begin to determine if film portrayals reflected the recruitment, hiring, and integration of women over a period of almost two decades. Crime films were defined as those films which focused on a primary plot of law and order, the police authority, or the offender (Toll, 1982, p. 182) wherein if questioned, law and order prevailed (Clarens, 1980). These films were also referred to as "law and order" films by Konigsberg (1987, p.185). The films selected for review had to reflect the year distributed so a comparison to official crime and employment data could be made. The western was excluded because the films did not
reflect the year in which they were distributed. By definition the films reviewed included crime, criminals, victims, and law enforcement personnel.

Law enforcement personnel, victims, criminals, and crime were defined by using definitions presented in Lichter and Lichter's (1983, p. 3) study of prime-time television. Law enforcement personnel were those individuals employed in law enforcement at the local, private, state, or national level. This included police officers, private investigators, county sheriffs and deputies, prosecutors, judges, and federal investigators. Criminals were any individual who wilfully violated the local, state, or federal laws. Victims were those individuals who suffered personal or property damage at the hands of criminals. Crimes were defined through the use of the Uniform Crime Reports, compiled and published annually by the Department of Justice.

**Instruments**

Two coding instruments, used to collect content data from the films, are found in Appendix A. The instruments were developed primarily by the researcher because no previous research investigated the variables of interest in this study. However, the instruments included some variables used by other researchers interested in the law enforcement system portrayal (Dominick, 1979; Lichter and
Lichter, 1983) and in the sex stereotyping research. These variables included role, type of crime, law enforcement occupation, dress, and some of the demographic variables. Other variables were included after reviewing the literature on myths of victimization, police personality, law enforcement styles, use of conflict, use of power, job assignment, use of force, and rank.

The final items for inclusion in the coding instruments were chosen after consultation with two subject matter experts familiar with the theory and practice of law enforcement. Suggestions made by the reviewers were incorporated into or deleted from the final instruments, resulting in 32 pertinent variables. These variables enabled the examination of gender differences in relation to the law enforcement system as portrayed in the crime film genre.

Code Sheet I, Part I, entitled "Movie Data," was developed to collect information in regard to the movies as the unit of analysis such as film title, year produced, producer and director sex, myths of female victimization present in the film, sexism level of the film, and type of film. The variables of film title, year produced, producer and director sex are self explainable. Weisheit and Mahan's (1988) "myths of victimization," discussed in Chapter II, were included in the coding instrument to determine if these
myths were supported in the crime film genre. The categories included, "she likes it," "she asked for it," "men can't help themselves," "any man who would commit ________, must be crazy," and "it is rare and happens to lower classes." The myths present in each film were coded and notes were made specifying examples of why the particular myth was represented. The sexism level of the films was determined by using the scale developed by Butler and Paisley (1980) and discussed in Chapter II. The sexism level for each movie was made in accordance with their scale which ranks from Level I to Level V and specific examples were recorded detailing why the movies fit into the respective levels. Martin and Porter's (1993) Video Movie Guide, was used to determine "movie type." Their book contained a listing of films available in 1992 and included the type (action/adventure, comedy, mystery and suspense, horror, musical, and drama). Horror films were excluded in part because research had been conducted on this genre and because the films often did not attempt to reflect reality.

Code Sheet I, Part II, entitled "Character Identifying Data" was developed to identify gender differences of characters in relation to representation as lead or supporting actors, age, race, marital status, role, portrayal in a family relationship, characterization portrayals as objects or subjects of the movie, and law
enforcement identifiers such as occupation, rank, assignment, style, and evidence of police personality.

All variables are self explanatory except for age, characterization, style of law enforcement, and evidence of police personality. Age categories were those established by Lichter and Lichter (1983): Actors less than 18, actors between the ages of 18 and 30, actors between the ages of 31 and 50, and actors over the age of 50. As discussed in Chapter II, characterization as subjects or objects of movies refers to the literature which states that women are more likely portrayed in film as objects to identify man rather than as subjects of the movie (Kaplan, 1983; Kuhn, 1982; Pribram, 1988). The police personality category on the coding instrument was drawn from the literature establishing the existence of a police personality (Neiderhoffer, 1967, Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1950). Style of policing was categorized according to Broderick's (1987) interpretation: the enforcer, the idealist, and the realist.

Code Sheet II, entitled "Character Data: The Relationship of Gender to Relative Authority, Crime, Dress, Use of Force, Power, and Style of Conflict Resolution," was developed to evaluate how the movies depicted the characters in relation to the stated variables. The crime category included the commission of and victimization of crimes. The
dress category was included to determine if gender differences existed in modes of dress for males and females. The use of force category, defined as that force which is necessary to effect an arrest or prevent injury to self or others, was included to determine if gender existed between the use of justified, unjustified, justified deadly, and unjustified deadly force by characters. The conflict resolution category was derived from Holden's (1986) established categories which included teddy bears, sharks, turtles, and owls. Holden's framework for use of power was also used which include charismatic, coercive, reward, and expert power. All categories are discussed in Chapter II.

A technique used by other researchers (Bretl & Cantor, 1988, Davis, 1990; Maguire, 1988) was employed to establish reliability of the coding instruments. An independent coder was used to review five crime films, or 12%, prior to the initiation of the research. The independent coder was trained to use the instruments by the researcher and then coding was completed separately on randomly selected movies. The percentage of agreement between coders was recorded for each category (Holsti, 1969). Agreement of at least .80 was achieved for each item included in the final instrument (Butler & Paisley, 1980, p. 66; Long, Convey, & Chwalek, 1985, p. 89). Only one variable was not included in the final instrument due to a low percentage of agreement. The
coders reached a 63% agreement level on whether the character was a subject or an object of the film.

Validity was a more difficult achievement. Validity of the instrument suffers at the hands of establishing a reliable instrument to the extent that the specified coding categories are chosen. As in any survey, this left the possibility that alternate responses and concepts, which might add to the validity, were excluded. Content validity was established by using two independent experts to review the instrument for additions to and deletions of variables from the final instrument (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Long, Convey, & Chwalek, 1985). The experts reviewing the instruments suggested inclusion of type of film, rank, assignment, and occupational additions to the original categories, and relative authority variables. One expert suggested deletion of the variable of evidence of police personality, but the variable was not excluded since the research on the police personality is well accepted.

**Data Collection Procedures**

The coding categories located in the coding instruments found in Appendix A were used to investigate how women in crime films were portrayed in relation to men in regard to occupation, offending, and victimization. All films were coded during two viewings over a period extending from January 1993 through October, 1993. Code Sheet I was coded
during the first viewing without stopping the movie. Code Sheet II was coded during a second viewing which required frequent stopping and scene reviewing because an analysis of the character's behavior was required. The first and second viewings were completed at one time with a short break between viewings. In most cases, only one film was viewed in any one day. All films were coded for the year of distribution, the sex of the producer and director, and the film classification (action-adventure, comedy, drama, and mystery suspense). Characters were the main units of analyses and were coded individually. Each film was reviewed and coding was completed on each film within two viewings.

First Coding: Movie Data and Character Identifying Data

Code Sheet I, Part I was used to gather data on the 42 crime movies. Each film was reviewed separately to gather information on variables of interest, specifically the year the film was distributed, the rating of the film, the sex of the producer and director, the Sexism Level of the film, the type of film, and the myths of female victimization present in the film. Code Sheet I, Part I was completed during the first viewing. All questions were answered directly from the film except for the two variables. The film rating and type were extracted from Martin and Porter's *Video Movie Guide, 1992*. 

65
Code Sheet I, Part II was used to gather information in regard to the relationship between gender and the variables of role, character type (lead or supporting), age, race, marital status, law enforcement occupation, law enforcement rank, law enforcement assignment, style of law enforcement, presence of the police personality, and representation in a family relationship. A problem existed within those variables whose options may have varied during the film, specifically marital status, role, rank, and assignment. The decision was made to code only the primary role, rank, and assignment of the character. Marital status and rank recorded was that status or rank evidenced at the end of the film. All information on Code Sheet I was coded during the first viewing without stopping the film. The first variable of interest was whether gender differences existed in the assignment of lead and supporting actors. Lead actors were those who played the main role in the film or the principle performers and supporting actors were those who were of secondary importance but who were of significant importance to the lead character (Konigsberg, 1987, pp. 85, 364). All lead and supporting characters were coded to determine if they were objects or subjects of film (Pribram, 1988). This variable was not used in the study because of the failure of intercoder reliability.

Each character was coded for occupation. Separate
categories were used to investigate gender differences among those holding law enforcement positions of authority. The existence of family relationships of each character was coded dichotomously to determine if gender differences existed in the portrayal of family relationships. All categories applied to characters unless otherwise stated.

Job assignment categories were included within each law enforcement type. For example, police officers may be assigned to the detective bureau, staff services, or patrol division. Similarly, prosecuting attorneys may litigate, research, or file cases. Each character was coded in only one assignment and that was the primary assignment.

Coding categories which applied only to police officers included existence of gender differences in relation to style of law enforcement, rank, job assignment and evidence of the police personality. Evidence of the police personality was determined by whether the police character adopted traits of the police personality which included authoritarianism, suspiciousness, disregard for individual rights, cynicism, secrecy, and violence (Westley, 1970, Skolnick, 1966, & Neiderhoffer, 1967) and were coded dichotomously in a yes/no response. Police operational styles were analyzed by using categories developed by Broderick (1987), the enforcers, the idealists, and the realists. Categories are explained in Chapter II.
Second Coding: Coding of Gender Relationships

Each film was coded a second time with the use of Code Sheet II to investigate those variables which could have occurred more than once and for those variables which required analysis in regard to the character's behavior. The second viewing was used to establish if gender differences existed in relation to relative authority, use of power, conflict resolution, use of force, appearance at work and at home, and type of crime. Issues of relative authority included whether males or females initiated suspect contact, effected the arrest, and drove the police vehicle. The analysis of the relative authority variables could not be completed due to insufficient data. Because appearance, crime, and use of force was coded with relative ease, focus on the second viewing was on conflict resolution, use of power, and determination of whether the myths of female victimization were present. During the viewing, the movies were stopped intermittently when conflict, power, force, and issues of relative authority arose so that the scene could be replayed, analyzed, and coded in regard to the character's response. Therefore, the second viewing took longer than the first viewing and varied in length according to the film's length and the number of situations analyzed. Personal appearance was coded into four categories for all characters at home and at work:
casual, business, uniform, and seductive attire. Seductive attire was coded if clothing was tight and revealing.

Victimization was recorded during the second coding. Each time a lead or supporting character was the victim of a crime, the information was recorded so that the total number of crimes per crime type was indicated for each character. Similarly, each time a character committed a crime, the crime was recorded, giving a total offense count on each character.

Analysis of Data

Two data bases were created to analyze the content of the films. One data base contained information specific to films as a unit of analysis and a second data base contained data specific to the characters analyzed. Data was first summarized through a simple computation of percentages and frequencies based on the coded information received. Crosstabulations were used to compute percentages in regard to gender differences among variables. The Chi-square test of independence of variables was used to determine if relationships existed between gender and the variables located on Code Sheets I and II with all individuals coded only once per variable. T-Tests were used to analyze those variables coded at ratio level to determine if mean differences existed between males and females. These variables included dress, crime, use of power, conflict and
force. As previously state, variables which could have been coded more than once were coded in relation to the character's status at the end of the film (marital status) or by primary assignment (role, occupation, rank assignment). Levels of significance were set at the .05 level for all tests. Data derived from Code Sheet II was analyzed in terms of percentages and frequencies.

Information in regard to occupation, victimization, and offense data derived from both viewings of the film was compared in terms of percentages and likelihoods to the extent that the data corresponded with the official data. Trends were analyzed through the use of stacked bar charts representing changes over the twenty year period.
CHAPTER IV

Findings

This chapter records the findings of the content analysis of the 42 crime films reviewed for the period extending from 1972 to 1992. The chapter is divided into two sections. The unit of analysis in the first section is the individual film and the unit of analysis in the second section is the character.

Description of the Films Reviewed

This section describes the films as the unit of analysis and answers, in part, the research question of what trends in the portrayals of women and men emerged over the 20 year period. Code Sheet I, Part I (see Appendix A), was used to code information about the movies including year, length, rating, type, sex of director and producer, myths of female victimization, and sexism level of the films. SPSS/PC+, Version 2.0, was used to compile data and compute all statistics. First Choice, a graphics software program, was used to design all figures in this section.

Film Descriptors

A total of 42 films were coded, averaging 111 minutes in length. A list of the coded films by name, rating, and sexism level is found in Appendix B. The dominant rating was an "R" rating (76%), assigned to 32 of the 42 films. Seven films were rated "PG" and 3 films were rated "PG-13."
of the 42 films, 14 were action/adventure, 11 were comedies, 10 were mystery/suspense, 6 were dramas, and 1 was a musical. The films were chosen from Variety's top listings and those chosen for review were the top two films for each year.

Films coded as Sexism Level I were in the overwhelming majority (n= 31 or 74%). Sexism Level I denigrates women by portraying images of stupidity, sex objects, victims, or of individuals unable to care for themselves. Six films (14.3%) attained a Sexism Level IV, depicting women and men as equal and competent; four films a Sexism Level II, wherein women were portrayed in traditional roles; and one film a Sexism Level III with women seen as having a career as well as the responsible caretaker. There were no films coded as a Sexism Level V with men and women nonstereotypically portrayed.

The films were all produced and directed by males with the exception of two films which were produced by a male/female team. The introduction of a female producer seemed to have no effect on increasing sexism levels of the films and in presenting men and women in a nonstereotypic manner. Both films produced by a male/female team were categorized as mystery/suspense films and were coded as Sexism Level I.

A total of 41 myths of female victimization appeared in
the 42 movies. Twenty of the movies had no myths of female victimization present and only five movies had three or more myths present. Table 1 lists the myths and frequency with which they occur. Myths 2 and 4 were most frequently found in the films, appearing in 11 films. Respectively, the myths reflect that women deserve to be victimized and that men who do crime must be crazy. Myth 1, "women like to be victims..." was found in nine films. Myth 3 was found in eight of the films, depicting men who are unable to control themselves. Myth 5, the "lower class" myth was found in only two films. An attempt to correlate myths of female victimization with Sexism Levels was not worthwhile since Sexism Level I movies so clearly dominated. Of the 41 myths of female victimization, 38 were found in Sexism Level I movies.

**Sexism Trends by Three Year Intervals Over Two Decades**

To answer the research question of what trends emerged in the films, the Sexism Levels of the films over the two decade period were analyzed. Crime films remained sexist over the two decades. The graph in Figure 1 represents the Sexism Levels of the films. To produce this figure, an aggregate of six films, at three year intervals, was compiled to analyze trends over the 20 year period. Only one interval indicated a less than 50% representation of Level I films. Sexism Level I movies held constant from
Table 1. Frequencies of Myths in 42 Films.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MYTHS</th>
<th>COUNT</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Myth 1 &quot;She likes it...&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myth 2 &quot;She asked for it...&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myth 3 &quot;Men can't help themselves...&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myth 4 &quot;Any man who would commit ________,&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myth 5 &quot;It is rare and happens to lower classes...&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Sexism Level by Year.
1972 through 1980 with 5 of 6 films in each interval attaining the rank. All six films during 1981 to 1983 were ranked Sexism Level I. The trend changed in 1984 through 1986 when only two films were ranked Level I but increased beginning in 1987 and held constant with four films ranked Level I through 1992. Sexism Level I films were those which denigrate women by portraying them in stereotypically negative ways. A Sexism Level IV film did not appear until the 1978 interval, disappeared from 1981 to 1983 and peaked with a 50% representation in 1984 to 1986. The Level IV films, or those that portray men and women in a positive light and equally competent, disappeared again until the last interval beginning in 1990.

Summary

Of the 42 crime films analyzed, all but two were produced by males. The introduction of a male/female team on two of the movies had no apparent effect on portraying men and women in a nonstereotypical manner. The majority of these films were Sexism Level I films and showed women in a negative light, however, the films did not overrepresent the myths of female victimization. Instead women were mostly nonexistent or casted in less important roles. On a positive note, six of the 42 films were ranked with a Sexism Level IV, showing women as equally competent to men. This adds a dimension to the Stenaas (1983) typology of women.
characters which included the helpmate, the whore, and the virgin. In fact, the virgin appeared absent in these films, even in the early years.

The absence of women in the films and the Sexism Levels found in Figure 1. The films show women as more negatively stereotyped than men as found in past research (Kolker, 1988; Pribram, 1988). More women appeared in the films in the eighties than in the seventies and nineties which would appear to refute Faludi's (1991) backlash theory. However, if one considers that no female law enforcers were included in the films until the 1980's, conceivably, this genre was a decade behind Faludi's representation and would not experience backlash until the 1990's, when the inclusion of women and film Sexism Level declined.

Description of Characters

This section describes the characters in the movies and answers the research questions of how women and men are portrayed in crime films, how does this portrayal compare to the official data, and what changes occurred over the 20 year period. Code Sheet I, Part II (found in Appendix A) was used to code information about lead and supporting actors during the first viewing of the film. Code Sheet II was used to code information about characters in the second viewing. SPSS PC+, Version 2.0, was used to compile data and compute all statistics. A total of 237 characters were
coded. Lead characters totalled 103 and supporting characters totalled 134. Crosstabulations and Chi Squares were computed to determine if gender differences and relationships existed between all variables on Code Sheet I, Part II. T-tests and Chi-Squares were used to analyze variables found on Code Sheet II. Because of the wide disparity existing between the number of male and female characters, the total group percentages appear distorted. Of more interest are the within group percentages.

The Portrayal of Men and Women in Crime Films

Table 2 shows gender differences in relation to demographic variables, character type (lead or supporting), and role (law enforcement, victim, or offender). The majority of the 237 characters included in the films were males (80%). More than half (57%) of the characters were casted as supporting characters. The relationship between sex and character type was not significant ($X^2 = 1.82, p = .17$), but slightly more than half of the female actors were lead actors.

The relationship between sex and character role was significant, but moderate ($X^2 = 51.5, p = .008$, Cramers V = .47). Over half of the male characters (59%) in the films were law enforcers, 28% were offenders, and 3% were victims. In contrast, 60% of the females were divided among those three roles, with the remaining 40% assigned as "other."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character Type</th>
<th>Character Role</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Family Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Male 60%</td>
<td>Female 20%</td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Percents</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character Type</td>
<td>lead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103 43.5</td>
<td>78 41.3</td>
<td>25 52.1</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>supporting</td>
<td>134 56.5</td>
<td>111 58.7</td>
<td>48 20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character Role</td>
<td>law enforcer</td>
<td>121 51.1</td>
<td>112 59.3</td>
<td>9 18.2</td>
<td>51.5 &lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>victim</td>
<td>16 6.8</td>
<td>6 3.2</td>
<td>10 20.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>offender</td>
<td>62 26.2</td>
<td>52 27.5</td>
<td>10 20.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>38 16.0</td>
<td>19 10.0</td>
<td>19 39.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>200 84.4</td>
<td>156 82.5</td>
<td>44 91.7</td>
<td>2.42 .12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>37 15.6</td>
<td>33 17.5</td>
<td>4 8.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>30 and under</td>
<td>63 26.6</td>
<td>31 16.4</td>
<td>32 66.7</td>
<td>49.5 &lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over 30</td>
<td>174 73.4</td>
<td>158 83.6</td>
<td>16 33.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>54 22.8</td>
<td>43 22.8</td>
<td>11 22.9</td>
<td>21.1 &lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>13 5.5</td>
<td>9 4.8</td>
<td>4 8.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>10 4.2</td>
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<td>35 18.5</td>
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<td>182 76.8</td>
<td>152 80.4</td>
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</table>
The relationship between race and sex was not significant ($X^2 = 2.42$, $p = .12$). Because there were so few minorities included in the films, the categories (black, hispanic, and other) were collapsed into one minority category. 84% of all characters included were white. Of the 16% of minorities included, 14.6% were black.

The relationship between sex and age was significant ($X^2 = 49.5$, $p = <.01$, Phi = .45), but moderate. 73% of all characters were over 30 and 27% were under 30. Males were primarily portrayed as over 30 (84%) but women were primarily portrayed as under 30 (67%).

The relationship between sex and marital status was significant ($X^2 = 21.1$, $p = <.01$, Cramer's V = .29), but weak. More men were portrayed in the unknown category (45%), however, women were almost as likely to be seen as married (23%) as unknown (21%) and over a third were to be portrayed as single (38%). Almost a quarter of both men and women were seen as married, but men's marital status was more than twice as likely to be unknown than that of women.

The relationship between sex and family relationship was significant, but weak ($X^2 = 6.9$, $p = <.01$, Phi = .17). 38% of all women were shown in family relationships but only 23% of men were shown in family relationships.

Use of power was originally coded by counting the number of times each character used power, noting the type
of power used. A t-test was used to analyze each power variable (expert, reward, charismatic, coercive, and position) to see if differences existed in the average number of times men and women used each type of power. No values were significant. The data was recoded "yes or no" so Chi-Square analyses could be used to see if a relationship existed between sex and use of each type of power. Table 3 contains the percentages and Chi-Square values of the use of power variables. Significant, but weak, relationships existed between sex and use of expert power ($X^2 = 5.06, p = .02, \phi = .15$) and coercive power ($X^2 = 7.60, p < .01, \phi = .18$). Although reward power came short of significance ($X^2 = 3.59, p = .06$), one-quarter of the female characters used this type of power while only 14% of the males used reward power. There was no significant relationship between sex and the use of charismatic power ($X^2 = 2.90, p = .09$), position power ($X^2 = 3.11, p = .08$), or other types of power.

The type of conflict (shark, teddy bear, turtle, owl, and fox) used was also coded each time a character used conflict. T-tests were used to analyze all conflict variables to see if differences existed between men and women and the average number of times each type of conflict was employed. None were significant. The data was recoded "yes or no" so a Chi-Square analysis could be
Table 3. Use of Power by Sex.

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<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
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82
computed to determine if a relationship existed between sex and the various types of conflict used. Table 4 contains the percentages and Chi-Square values. With the exception of the "shark" technique, \(X^2 = 4.00, p = .05, \phi = .13\), where a significant, but weak relationship existed, none were significant. The remaining variables, teddybear \(X^2 = 15.3, p = .70\), turtle \(X^2 = .00, p = .98\), owl \(X^2 = .44, p = .51\), and fox \(X^2 = .56, p = .46\) did not approach significance.

The Occupational Portrayal of Men and Women

Table 5 contains the dichotomously coded occupational variables in relation to sex. There were only nine female law enforcers so a comparison between male and female law enforcers is of little value. Therefore, the following discussion will be descriptive of the two groups. Only two of the six variables were significant. Occupation \(X^2 = 3.17, p = .79\), rank \(X^2 = 4.11, p = .66\), assignment \(X^2 = 6.44, p = .27\), and style of law enforcement \(X^2 = 3.15, p = .37\) were not significant. Prosecutor assignment was significant \(X^2 = 6.0, p = <.01, \phi = .014\) and weak, but not valid because 50% of the cells had fewer than 5. The relationship between sex and evidence of the police personality was significant \(X^2 = 6.4, p = < .01, \phi = .24\) but weak, especially in light of the fact that 50% of the cells had fewer than 5.
Table 4. Use of Conflict by Sex.

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Table 5. Occupational Variables by Sex.

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<td>1 11.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20 17.9</td>
<td>16 15.4</td>
<td>4 50.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Of the nine female law enforcers, seven were casted as municipal police officers, one was a federal agent, and one was a prosecutor. Five of the six prosecutors found in the films were men. Of the five male prosecutors, all were coded as main litigators. Only one female prosecutor was coded as a primary character and she was cast as a back-up litigator. The women police officers were equally likely to be portrayed as patrol officers and "other." The "other" characters were the three women recruits. Women did not attain rank higher than sergeant and only two out of the eight women were cast in that rank. Women were evenly assigned to undercover, traffic, and patrol. Two women were sergeants and the remaining three were police recruits or "other." Women most often used the "enforcer" style of law enforcement (63%) and never used the "realist" style. The eight women were as likely to have evidence of the police personality (50%) than not to have evidence of the personality (50%).

Men were also primarily casted as municipal law enforcers (78%), but attained all ranks with the exception of major. Most were cast as "other" (31%), but were often seen as sergeants (17%) and as patrol officers (21%). Men were more than two times as likely to be assigned as detectives (50%) than as patrol officers (18%) and "other" (23%). The dominate style of law enforcement used by men
was that of "enforcer" (67%) and 82% of the male law enforcers had evidence of the police personality.

Dress is considered an occupational variable because the uniform is an occupational symbol, but was tabled separately. For analysis, only law enforcers were included in the "uniform" variable. Each time a character changed clothing, the manner of dress was counted. For purposes of analysis, a t-test was computed and was significant (t-test = -1.98, sd = 2.87, p = .05), indicating there was a difference between the average number of times men and women appeared in uniform. Only 42% of the male law enforcers appeared in uniform but 88% of the female law enforcers appeared in uniform. All characters were coded for the remaining modes of dress (suit/dress, casual, seductive). Modes of dress for all characters were not significant, except for "seductive" (t-test = -2.25, sd = 1.70, p = .05), indicating a difference in the average number of times males and females appeared in seductive dress. Only 15% of the males appeared seductively dressed, but 70% of the females appeared seductively dressed.

The dress data was then recoded as "yes or no," to see if each character either did or did not dress in uniform, in a suit or dress, in casual clothing, or in seductive attire at any time during the film. Table 6 gives percentages and Chi-Square values. The total number of those dressing in
<table>
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*Table 6. Style of Dress by Sex.*
uniform was less than the other modes of dress because the uniform category applied only to law enforcers. The Chi-Square value was significant for uniform, but weak ($X^2 = 4.35, p = .04, \phi = .20$). A weak, but significant relationship was found between sex casual attire ($X^2 = 5.21, p = .02, \phi = .15$). A significant and moderately strong relationship was found between sex and seductive attire ($X^2 = 56.52, p = < .01, \phi = .49$). Although a majority of male characters did appear in casual clothing (59%), this was true for over three-quarters of the female characters (77%). Over two-thirds of the females appeared in seductive clothing at least once in a given film (69%), while males rarely did so (15%). The relationship between sex and suit or dress was not significant.

Use of force may also be considered an occupational variable but was tabled separately because of the number of force variables. Each time a character used force, the type of force used (justified, unjustified, justified deadly, unjustified deadly) was counted. For analysis, t-tests were used to determine if a difference existed between the average number of times males and females used the various types of force. None of the force variables were significant. The categories were collapsed into all justified force (not deadly and deadly) and all unjustified force (not deadly and deadly). The values were not
significant. All four categories were then collapsed to see if there was a mean difference in the use of any type of force used by males and females. The value was not significant. It should be noted that these comparisons involved only nine female characters.

The data was then recoded "yes or no" on all of the force variables listed above to consider the distribution of the use of force between sexes. Percentages can be seen in Table 7. The majority of the characters only used "all justified force" (54%) or "any force" (69%). The nine female characters were about equally likely to use three types of force: justified deadly, all justified, or any force.

The Portrayal of Women and Men as Offenders and Victims

Individual crimes committed by each character were initially counted each time a character committed or was the victim of a crime. The crimes included drug offenses, homicide, assault, rape, larceny, robbery, auto theft, burglary, and "other." For analysis, the crimes of attempted homicide and kidnapping were extracted from the "other" category due to the frequency with which the crime occurred. A t-test was used to analyze each of the crimes separately to see if a difference existed in the average number of times a male and female committed or was a victim of the crime. There were no significant values. The
Table 7. Use of Force by Sex.

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<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
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</table>
crimes were then recoded and aggregated into violent and nonviolent crime. A t-test was used to determine if a difference existed in the average number of times males and females committed violent or nonviolent crime. Neither value was significant. A t-test, used to see if a difference existed between sexes and victimization of violent or nonviolent crime, was not significant for violent crime (t-test = -.31, p = .76), but was significant for nonviolent crime (t-test = -3.24, p = <.01). This indicates a difference in the average number of times men and women were victims of nonviolent crime. Women were more likely victims of nonviolent crime (10.4%) than men (1.5%).

All crimes were aggregated to see if differences existed in the average number of times men and women committed or were the victims of any type of crime. A t-test for offending was significant (t-test = 2.30, p = .02), but was not significant for victimization (t-test = -1.05, p = .30). This indicated there was an average difference between the number of times males (56% or 106) and females (46% or 22) who committed crime, but not a difference in the average number of times males and females were victims of crime.

The Character Representations Compared to Official Data

Lead and supporting characters were analyzed in regard to role, race, law enforcement occupation, offending, and victimization to determine how the representation compared
to official statistics. The total number of males and females appearing in the films did not parallel the the ratios of males and females in the official statistics of the United States population. The ratio of males and females primarily has remained stable since 1970 with males comprising 49% of the population and females 51% of the population. Females were underrepresented in total number of characters with women constituting only 20.3% of the total characters and males 79.7% of the total characters. However, it should be noted that law enforcement is male dominated and one would expect to find males dominating films about law enforcers.

Figure 2 shows the racial representation in films and in the official data for 1970, 1980, and 1990. When films were compared to official data in 1970, 1980 and 1990, the percentages do not parallel. In 1970, there were no blacks in the films and 80% of all characters were white. Hispanics were overrepresented for that year, representing 20% of the total characters. In 1980, 100% of all characters were white. There were no black or hispanic characters. In 1990, hispanics were underrepresented in comparison to the official data, blacks were overrepresented, and whites almost equally represented. Whites comprised 79.2%, blacks 11.9%, and hispanics 8.9% of the United States population in 1990 (U.S. Department of
Race Representation
Official Versus Film 1970-1990

1970

1980

1990

Figure 2.
In the films, the aggregate percentages of whites was 84.4%, 11.8% for blacks and only 3.8% for Hispanics. The aggregate number of characters closely paralleled the representation of whites and blacks, but failed to reflect the Hispanic population.

Law Enforcement Officials. Figure 3 shows sex and race percentages of police officers employed in local police departments in the United States in 1991 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992, p.46). Federal agents were excluded from the films since the official data represent local police agencies. The aggregate number of white males and black females in the films closely paralleled those indicated in the official data. Females were slightly underrepresented and black male police officers were overrepresented in the films, almost twice as often as the official data reflected. Hispanic males were again underrepresented by almost half of those reflected in the official data. The number of males and females characterized as law enforcers were not compared to the official data because little sex variance was found in the few judges (n=4) and prosecutors (n=6) in the films. The number of police officers found in the films (n=121) offered more for comparison.

Figure 4 gives an aggregated account of race only representation of police officers in all films. When both sexes were included, whites were almost equally represented
Police Profile
Race/Sex of Sworn Officers

Figure 3. Race and Sex of Law Enforcers: Official Versus Film Data.
Police Profile by Race
Official Versus Film

Figure 4. Race of Law Enforcers. Official Versus Film Data.
in the films and the official data, blacks were overrepresented in the films when compared to the official data, and hispanics were underrepresented in the films (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992).

Figure 5 shows the official data (U.S Department of Justice, 1972-1992) compared to the film portrayal of police officers at 3 year intervals. This clearly shows that the representation of males and females was not representative of the official data in any interval. Female film police officers were absent in all intervals until 1983 and were overrepresented in two intervals 1984 to 1986 and 1990 to 1992. They were absent from 1987 to 1989.

**Offenders.** Figure 6 portrays a comparison of the official data (1992) with the aggregate film data in relation to sex of criminal offender (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992). The aggregate data was used because of the heavy viewing argument that a viewer considers the total representation when forming a picture of an offender.

The films closely represented male and female violent offenders with a small overrepresentation of female violence and an equally small underrepresentation of male violence. Property offenders were not as closely paralleled but were not reflective of great distortion between the films and official data. Women were underrepresented as property offenders and men were overrepresented.
Figure 5. Character Police Role: Official Versus Film Data.
Criminal Offending
Official Versus Film Percentages

Figure 6. Sex of Criminal Offenders. Official Versus Official Data.
Most individuals arrested are white males under the age of 25. In proportion to the population, black males under the age of 25 are more likely to commit crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 1991). In the films, offenders were likely to be white males between the ages of 31-50. In proportion to the number of characters, white males were more likely to do crime in the films than black males (27% versus 23%) but one half of hispanic males included in the films were shown as offenders which is an overrepresentation of the official data.

Victims. A comparison of victims seen in films to the official data was more difficult. Victimization statistics are reported in rates and in estimated rates, making comparison to a small sample problematic. Because of the few number of victims in the films (n=16), a comparison was done in terms of likelihood. The most likely victim of a violent crime in the United States is a black male, age 20-24, and never married (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988). The films portrayed the most likely victim of a violent crime as a white, single male between the ages of 31-50. The most likely victim of a property crime in the United States is a black male, age 16-19, and never married. In the films, the most likely victim of property crime was a white, single female between the ages of 31-50.

The primary role victims grossly overrepresented the
likelihood of violent crime. If only female primary victims were considered, (those who appeared in the primary role of victim) the victim was 100% likely to be the victim of a violent crime, 90% of which were murders or attempted murders. Of the primary male victims (n=6), all were the victims of violent crime.

The Character Trends Emerging in the Films From 1972 to 1992

The third research question was asked to determine if changes occurred in the representation of males and females over the 20 year period. Characterization trends were compared over three year intervals beginning in 1972 through 1992. The difference in representation of men and women, role portrayals, status, and sexism level of films were the only variables of interest because of the few women represented or lack of significance on the other variables. Stacked bar graphs were used to depict changes occurring over the years.

Character Sex by Year. Figure 7 depicts the number of men and women represented in crime films over a period of two decades at three year intervals. The number of men represented in crime films over the two decades primarily held constant with slight increase occurring from 1984 to 1986 when the number of men portrayed in the films totalled 32. The number of women portrayed in lead or supporting roles during 1984 to 1986 nearly doubled from the previous
Character Sex By Year

Figure 7. Character Sex by Year.
interval from six to 12, but in the following interval, 1987 to 1989, the number of women again decreased to six. Only six women were portrayed in four of the seven intervals. The number of women was not only disproportionate to the number of men over both decades but increased only slightly in the intervals extending from 1984 to 1986 and from 1990 to 1992, the same intervals which showed increase for men. The picture for women did not improve over the two decades as in all cases the men characters were at least three times more often than women characters.

Character Role by Year. Figure 8 shows the number of portrayed as by role over two decades at three year intervals. Men were portrayed as law enforcers in every interval. They were more likely to be seen as law enforcers for every interval except the period for 1975 to 1977 when they were more likely to be seen as offenders. The peak period for men as law enforcers was from 1984 to 1986 and it was during that same interval that men did not appear as victims of crime. Men were almost as likely to be depicted as law enforcers in the period ending in 1992 as they were in 1972, almost as likely to be seen as offenders, but were not shown as victims. In fact, men were not portrayed as victims of crime as a primary role since 1983.

Women were only portrayed as law enforcers during two intervals, 1981 to 1983 and 1990 to 1992. The number of
Figure 8. Character Sex and Role by Year.
women law enforcers during these intervals totalled 6 and 3 respectively. They were victims during the 1978 to 1980 interval with a total of 4 victims. Women were seen as offenders in every interval except 1984 to 1986. The primary role designation of women was "other." Women in the "other" (N=19) category decreased until 1983 (n=2) when the representation increased to 3 for the following interval and to 4 for the next two intervals. The representation of women in positions of authority did not show steady increase over the two decades, instead, women as authorities were depicted in only two intervals. Women as offenders held constant from 1975 until 1984 when they disappeared until 1987. Women as victims disappeared in 1986.

To more closely scrutinize the trends, Figures 9, 10, and 11 are provided to address police roles, offender roles, and victim roles in relation to sex. Figure 9 depicts the number of film police officers at 3 year intervals for the 2 decade period extending from 1972 through 1992. Women law enforcers were consistently absent during 5 of the 7 intervals, emerging only in the intervals between 1984 to 1986 and again from 1990 to 1992. Figure 10 shows the number of film offenders over the same intervals. Women offenders do not appear in the interval from 1984 to 1986, but are otherwise present in the films with no clear trend emerging. Film character victimization is depicted in
Character Police by Sex
1972–1992

Figure 9. Character Police by Sex.
Character Offending by Sex
1972–1992

Figure 10. Character Offending by Sex.
Character Victimization by Sex
1972-1992

Figure 11. Character Victimization by Sex.
Figure 11 over the same intervals. Males are absent from 4 of the 7 intervals and are not seen as primary victims after the 1981 to 1983 interval. Women are present in 4 of the 7 intervals and are not depicted as primary victims after the 1984 to 1986 interval. What is important is that women were as likely to appear as victims as offenders, and more likely to appear as both offenders and victims as law enforcers. Men, however, were more likely to appear as law enforcers than offenders but more likely to offend than be victimized.

Summary

This chapter addressed the movie and the character as units of analysis with focus on the character. The three research questions addressed were how were men and women represented in relation to each other and in relation to the official data, and what trends emerged in the representation over the two decade period. The next chapter summarizes the findings, draws conclusions about the data, and offers implications for future research.
Chapter IV
Summary and Conclusions

Summary

The purposes of this research were to describe how women and men were portrayed in the crime film genre over a period of 20 years extending from 1972 through 1992, specifically in relation to employment, offending, and victimization; to compare the data with official employment, offense and victimization data; and, to determine if trends emerged over the two decade period. A content analysis was chosen as the method of research to enable systematic collection of the content data with the character as the main unit of analysis, but also with the film as the secondary unit of analysis. The films selected for review were the top two distributed crime films for each year because spectator exposure to the films was greater. The portrayal of women and men in those films selected was consistent with past content research conducted in other forms of media.

A total of 237 characters from 42 crime films produced between 1972 and 1992 were the subjects of analysis in this section. The three research questions addressed in this study were:
1. How are women portrayed in crime films in relation to men, specifically in regard to occupation,
victimization, and offending?

2. How do character representations compare with official data?

3. What trends emerged in the films from 1972 to 1992?

All variables found on Code Sheet I, Part II and Code Sheet II were analyzed with the exception of four. Whether men and women were likely to appear as subjects or objects of film could not be analyzed because of intercoder unreliability. Statistical significance was also affected by the proportionally low number of women law enforcers included in the films. Because so few women were included, the issues of relative authority, including whether men or women drove, whether a male or female initiated contact, and whether a male or female effected the arrest, could not be analyzed.

Males were more likely included in the films analyzed than females. This finding is consistent with past research which indicated women were primary absent from film and television crime shows (Dominick, 1979, Toll, 1982, Anderson, 1988, and Collins & Javna, 1988). However, one would expect to find more men in the crime film genre when, in reality, males dominate the law enforcement field. When included, females were almost equally likely to appear as supporting actors as they were to appear as lead actors. Males were more likely to appear as supporting actors than
as lead actors. Although the primary role portrayed in the films was that of law enforcer, only 9 women were casted in a role of a law enforcer. Conversely 121 men were seen as law enforcers. If prosecutors and judges were removed, there were a total of 112 police officers, 104 (92.9) male police officers and 8 (7.1%) female police officers. The comparison of the aggregate number of male and female police officers to the official 1992 data (U.S. Department of Justice, 1992) reveals a slight underrepresentation of the numbers of male and female law enforcers in the United States which is 91% and 9% respectively. Women were as likely to be seen as victims as law enforcers and offenders. Men were seldom casted as victims (3%), which is not reflective of the official data. Men were almost 9 times as likely to appear as offenders than as victims.

Perhaps more important, is the fact that of all women portrayed in the films, 40% were casted as "other," in contrast to the 10% of males casted in "other" roles. The primary "other" role for women was wife or girlfriend, consistent with Meehan's (1983) "goodwife," who was competent at home in a selfless existence. Less than 10% of the males were characterized as "other." Women were as likely to appear as victims and offenders than as authorities, whereas men were much more likely to be in the role of law enforcer, or authority, and seldom in the role
of victim. Signorelli (1989) found the same, which, according to Haskell (1974), reinforces the myth of male superiority. Of the female primary offenders, one-half used sex to enable success in their respective crimes. Similarly, of the female primary victims, all developed a sexual relationship with the male law enforcer or offender. Of the female characters, 13 used sex in their profession or to advance their position with men, consistent with Meehan's "bitch," who often met with destruction in the end. On a more positive note, of the women depicted as law enforcers, only one used femininity to capture a male or advance positions with men. One third of the female law enforcers had sexual contact with male colleagues, but assumed an aggressive role in the relationship.

White characters dominated the films. The aggregated numbers found in all films closely paralleled the number of blacks and whites in the U.S. Population; however, hispanics were underrepresented. Hispanics were overrepresented in the 1970's and absent in the 1980's. Blacks were absent in the 1970's and 1980's and overrepresented in the 1990's. Only 28 blacks, 8 hispanics, and 1 native american were portrayed in the films. The remaining 200 characters were white. Of the 28 blacks included, 20 were casted as law enforcers, none as victims, and 6 as offenders. Hispanics were equally likely to be portrayed as offenders than as law
enforcers. Black females appeared only as law enforcers, never as victims or offenders. One hispanic female was casted as a victim and the other hispanic female was casted as "other."

Most characters were seen between the ages of 31-50. Men were most often casted in that category; however, women were most often depicted between the ages of 18-30 than between 31-50, supporting Davis (1990), Steinland and Schmidt (1985) and Tedesco (1974) who found women in prime time television to be younger. Most women were likely to be single and the status of men was more likely to be unknown. When the status was known, men were more likely to be married. However, over 80% of men were not seen in family relationships and only 62.5% of women were not seen in family relationships. Chi-Squares were computed on the demographic variables. Significant, moderate relationships existed between sex and character role and age and significant, but weak relationships existed between sex and race, marital status, and representation in a family relationship.

Chi-Squares were also computed on the use of power and conflict variables. Significant, but weak relationships were found between sex and two use of power variables, coercive and expert. Only the "shark" or aggressive technique of resolving conflict was significant, indicating
that there was a relationship between sex and method of conflict resolution.

Women were more likely younger than men, single instead of married, and less likely shown in family relationships. There would appear to be an effort in these films to move away from the typical homemaker image of women, except for the finding that women were most often not included. Therefore, absence of the image was more likely due to the lack of inclusion of the female at the expense of the male dominated genre and profession. Law enforcement is male dominated and, to that extent, accurately reflected in these films.

There were only nine female law enforcers so an attempt to compare males and females results in a distorted picture of the characters. Of the total number of male law enforcers, 78% were municipal police officers, 85% showed evidence of having the police personality, and 67% were characterized as "enforcers." Men were seldom casted as patrol officers and were most likely seen as detectives. They attained all ranks except major. Women attained only the rank of sergeant, appeared most often as "enforcers," and were as likely to have the police personality as not have the personality. Only one woman was portrayed as a prosecutor and she was seen as a back-up litigator. Of the 5 males seen as prosecutors, all were seen as main
litigators.

Chi-squares were computed on all of the occupational variables. When "uniform" and use of force variables were included, three were found significant. A significant relationship existed between sex and uniform, use of all unjustified force, and evidence of the police personality. Of the remaining dress variables, a relationship between sex and appearance in casual and seductive attire was statistically significant.

Women in the films appeared to adopt characteristics of men such as the police personality, the use of coercive power and aggressive conflict resolution, but did not appear masculine as suggested in prior research (Kaplan, 1983). The exception may be in the case of two female law enforcers who were cast as extraordinarily physical.

Two styles of dress for men and women were found to be significantly different when T Tests were computed. A mean difference existed between sex and "uniform" and sex and "seductive" attire. When recoded dichotomously, both variables remained significant at the .05 level, indicating a relationship existed between sex and "uniform" and sex and "seductive" attire. Women were more likely to be dressed seductively than men as Meehan (1974) described the case to be in television crime shows.

There were no significant mean differences found
between sex and the commission of individual crimes. However, when all crimes were aggregated and a t-test was computed to determine if there was a mean difference in number of crimes committed by males and females, the value was significant. The data was reclassified to distinguish between violent and nonviolent crime, but there was no significant mean difference between the number of violent or nonviolent crimes committed by males and females. However, the film portrayal of crime and offending was distorted similar to Surette's (1992) findings. Property offenders were underrepresented, white male offenders overrepresented, and victims most likely to be white females.

There were no significant mean differences found between sex and victimization of individual crimes. When crimes were aggregated, there was still no significant mean difference, nor was there a relationship between sex and victims of all crimes. The reclassification of crimes to violent and nonviolent crime yielded no significance for violent crimes, but was significant for nonviolent crimes. However, the film portrayal of crime and offending was distorted similar to Surette's (1992) findings. Property crimes were underrepresented, white male offenders were overrepresented, and victims were most likely white females.

The number of males and females represented in the
films did not equal the number of males and females found in the population, nor do the number of whites, blacks, and hispanics represent the numbers represented in the population of the United States. Whites were overrepresented in the films by only about 5%, blacks only slightly underrepresented in the films by only .1%, and hispanics were underrepresented by 8.1% in the films.

The aggregated number of white males and white and black females shown as police officers in the films closely parallel those employed in the field. However, when the number of film police was compared to the number of official police at three year intervals beginning in 1972 through 1992, women police appeared in only 2 of the 7 intervals and were grossly underrepresented in every interval except for 1984 to 1986 and 1990 to 1992. Black males were overrepresented in the films as police officers and hispanic males were underrepresented in the films. In terms of offending, the films closely represented male and female offending with a small overrepresentation of female violence and an equally small overrepresentation of male violence. Women were underrepresented as property offenders and men were overrepresented. As to victimization, the single male between the ages of 31-50 was portrayed in the films as the most likely victim which is not the case in the general population. In the United States, a single, black male, age
20-24 is the most likely victim. The likelihood of violent crime victimization among females was overrepresented in the films.

Trends depicted in films over the 20 year period indicated that the number of men and women represented held constant with only an increase in female representation between 1984 and 1986. The number of women represented was disproportionate to the number of men represented in the films over the two decades with men shown at least 3 times more often than women. One would expect to find more males in law enforcement films given the domination of males in the field. Men were shown in every 3 year interval, beginning in 1972 through 1992, as law enforcers. However, women appeared only in 2 intervals. The primary role designation for women over the period was that of "other," but for men, was that of "law enforcer." The majority of the films were Sexism Level I films and showed women in a negative light. Women were shown as offenders in every interval except from 1984 to 1986 with men offenders shown in every interval at least 3 times the number of women offenders. In terms of victimization, a trend emerged, beginning in 1987 through 1992, when no female victims were present. Male victims were also absent during that period. Women were more likely to be seen as victims than males. This was especially noteworthy given the domination of male
characters.

The films showed no trends in increasing the importance of women other than to show women more positively in two, three year intervals, 1984 to 1986 and 1990 to 1992. More women were portrayed in the films during the same two intervals which were the exceptions, given that women constituted less than 20% of all characters in the remaining three year intervals.

In summary, significant sex differences were found in only 11 variables (role assignment, age, evidence of the police personality, nonviolent crime committed by an offender, uniform, seductive, the use of all unjustified force, expert and coercive power used, and the shark technique of conflict resolution). This finding is misleading because of the disparity in the numbers of men and women represented in the films. The most significant finding which affects the other findings is role assignment as a law enforcer, victim, offender, or other. By virtue of primary assignment to other and the lack of assignment to positions of authority, the message to viewers was that women were of little significance in this genre.

Conclusions

A plethora of research was conducted over the last two decades to determine how women have been represented in various forms of popular culture and to see how the criminal
justice system was represented in various forms of popular culture. A gap in the research existed, in that, investigation had not been completed on how women and men had been represented in the crime film genre. The purpose of this research was to fill that gap by examining and describing the content of a popular film genre, the crime film genre over a period of two decades. The focus was on how men and women were portrayed occupationally, as offenders, and as victims of crime, on how this portrayal reflected official employment, crime and victimization data, and on determining if patterns emerged over the two decades.

The popularity of crime films gave particular interest and significance to the study. Crime movies are among those most viewed by the public. Because they are so widely viewed, the images of reality reflected in the films are worthy of examination. Prior research failed to specifically address women in the crime film genre. Crime is a major social problem and the criminal justice system potentially has great impact on individual lives. Law enforcement has difficulty recruiting and retaining women and minorities and research exists to suggest women and minorities are treated with disparity in the criminal justice system. Women fear crime, disproportionate to the likelihood of victimization. Given the fact that film has the power to socialize and educate viewers, particularly
heavy viewers, some conclusions may be drawn in relation to the content of the crime movies. The conclusion is divided into 3 sections: the portrayal of men and women in regard to occupation, victimization, and offending and in comparison to the official data; trends that emerged over the 2 decades, and the potency of the messages sent by the media as an educator.

The Portrayal of Men and Women in Regard to Occupation, Victimization, and Offending and in Comparison to the Official Data

Women were absent in the films as law enforcers. They appeared in only in 5 out of 42 films and 2 of those films had 56% of the female law enforcement officers. They were first portrayed in a 3 year interval between 1984 to 1986, absent from 1987 to 1989, and reappeared in 1990 to 1992. Women were as likely to appear as offenders, victims, and law enforcers. When included, women were more likely to appear in the "other" category as identifiers of men, than as subjects in their own right. Of the female characters coded as "other," which was proportionately much higher than for men, all were depicted as girlfriends of starring male characters. These findings were consistent with past research on women in films (Kuhn, 1982; Kaplan, 1983; Kolker, 1988; and Pribram, 1988). The message to women, regardless of the filmmaker's intent, is that women do not
count and particularly are not worthy of positions of authority. They are either worthy as identifiers of men or possibly as weak victims or crazed offenders. This may lead female viewers to question their abilities and to choose alternate career paths to the law enforcement system.

Law enforcement has difficulty in recruiting and retaining women in the field (Martin, 1989). The aggregated numbers in the films reflected a slight underrepresentation of female police officers but over the 2 decades, women were primarily absent and failed to accurately portray female judges and prosecutors. Also, they failed to show women with rank above sergeant, thus indicating women may be recruited, but not promoted. This is consistent with official data. On a positive note, with the exception of one character, the female officers portrayed primarily were shown as competent, dedicated professionals.

Women, as is the case in past research, were shown as younger than men, single, and in a family relationship. Prior researchers have suggested that this may impact on the viewer, who may internalize that beauty is equated with age and that after reaching a certain age, women are of little interest as subjects of film. Significant differences existed between the relationship of sex and appearance in a family relationship. Again, women were more likely to be seen in a family relationship, leaving the impression that
the woman remain as the primary family caretakers. Women were more likely to appear in seductive attire, reinforcing the stereotype that women are sex objects. When women resorted to reward power, sexual reward was often used. Again, reinforcing the sex object stereotype. Women most often used the "shark" or aggressive technique in dealing with conflict, but a significant mean difference and relationship existed between sex and use of this aggressive technique. In respect to power, the largest percentage of women used coercive power (35%), whereas 58% of men used coercive power and 60% of men used the shark technique to resolve conflict. Women, it would seem, were portrayed as aggressive, but not as aggressive as their male counterparts.

Crime is a glaring social problem. Because of the seriousness of crime, particularly violent crime, we have enacted legislation designed to house the most serious offenders. The film representation of violent crime closely represented the official crime statistics in terms of offending, but of the female primary victims, all were victims of violent crime. This may lead women to fear crime in a degree disproportionate to the likelihood of victimization.

Men were most likely portrayed as law enforcers or in positions of authority and were seldom casted as victims.
Although the aggregated number of male law enforcement officers closely paralleled the official data, male victims did not parallel the official statistics. The image of male law enforcers was also distorted in the films. Male law enforcers were extremely macho, able to singlehandedly fight crime, perpetrate violence to apprehend offenders. This may lead law enforcers and students of law enforcement who view these films to believe that the ends justify the means and that it is acceptable to disregard individual rights. This may also lead police officers to believe that they must always be in control, even if "control" means an abuse of authority or an overresponse to offender action.

The Trends Emerging from 1972 to 1992

The inclusion of women in this genre did not steadily improve over the two decade period. Women were absent, shown in a negative light, and when included were included as young and beautiful. Men were more positively portrayed as authorities, however, also were presented in a distorted light. A trend to increase female representation starting in 1984, dissolved in 1987, and reemerged in 1990. However, since males dominate the law enforcement field, one would expect to find more men in crime films. However, as stated, female law enforcers were excluded from the films and appear only in the same intervals listed above.

In reality, the films made little progress in the
advancement and inclusion of women until the 1990's. The two women law enforcers during this period portrayed competent, intelligent, and credible law enforcers capable of excelling in their chosen occupation. Hopefully, this trend will continue. There were no emergent trends in the myths of female victimization which could be attributed to the exclusion of women from the films.

Particularly disconcerting is the fact that the Sexism Levels of the films showed little improvement over the two decades. The dominate Sexism Level I shown in the films denigrates women and portrays them as sex objects or not worth of inclusion. Even though 6 out of 42 films attained a Sexism Level IV, there were also 6 films that had no women primary characters. No films attained a Sexism Level V where men and women were shown equally competent without gender stereotyping.

The Power of Film as Educator

The fact that film has the potential to socialize, educate, and thereby impact individual lives, is the most troublesome in relation to the numbers of men and women portrayed. Men not only produced and directed all films viewed, but were overwhelmingly represented in the films compared to women. A statistically significant relationship between role and sex existed with men more likely shown in law enforcement positions of authority. This leaves the
viewer with the impression that women do not count and are not worthy of a place in law enforcement except as supporters of men. It is safe to say that crime films viewed were made through the eyes of men and were about men. Until women are given a place in the direction, production, and as actors, it is speculated that the films will continue to be made with distortion through the eyes of men. Women who view these films may not seek certain occupations if made to believe they are not worthy of anything except to be the significant other to men. The fact that 40% of all lead and supporting female actors in these films were casted in roles designated as "other," is indicative of the problem.

Movies are made to sell, to make money. The fact that these movies sell so well indicate the popularity of the movies with both males and females. Sex, violence, and male power make money. The films, however sexist, are making money for primarily male producers, directors, and actors. Women have the power to alter the course of what makes money but can only do so if educated to believe in their self worth as something other than an identifier of man. The films distort reality for males and females, as well as the reality of the law enforcement occupation. The films are not representative of the field nor do they reflect the changes and advancements made by men and women in the field. Law enforcers spend the majority of their time in routine
patrol or writing reports. They often perform social or community service and they seldom pull weapons and are highly unlikely to engage in shootouts or singlehandedly take on numerous offenders. Research exposing or making more explicit the message contained in films, is a useful tool to educate women and men in the college classroom or in training programs. Choosing to ignore that law enforcers, whether male or female, are normal human beings and that the law enforcement field is often a boring enterprise, is a distortion of reality. If people gain most of what they know about the law enforcement system from films, they are likely to have a highly distorted view of reality.

Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

This data base could also be used to look at other variables. For example, what is the likelihood that police officers commit crime or are victimized? If offenders, what kinds of crime do movie police officers perpetrate? If victims, what types of crime are they victims of? Also of interest, is how does race interact with the other variables?

Obviously, broad generalizations are made when reviewing any impact the content of films may make on viewers. What is needed is an impact study to analyze the impact of this genre on how women view themselves, on occupational choice and retention, fear of victimization,
offending, and victimization. Such a study must account for and distinguish between heavy and light viewers of the crime film genre in relation to the impact on perceptions relating to occupational choice, recruit expectations, offending, victimization, and sex role stereotyping. Viewers, randomly assigned to treatment groups, could respond to an instrument designed to tease out the effects the treatment had on variables of interest.

The research is also valuable to practitioners. It may be that this film genre draws people to the field of criminal justice with expectations that law enforcement is an exciting career, wrought with danger and thrills. Conceivably, when recruits find the job to be less than expected, they may lose interest and leave the field. Women may not be attracted to the field when they do not see themselves represented in the genre. Educators can use various forms of popular culture to expose the distortion and to integrate theory and practice.
References


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Top 100 all-time film rental champs. (1992, January 6). p. 86.


APPENDIX A

Appendix A contains the coding instruments used to collect data from the films. Code Sheet I, Part I, entitled "Movie Data," was used to collect information with the movie as the unit of analysis. Code Sheet I, Part II, entitled "Character Identifying Data" was used to code demographic data about individual lead and supporting characters. Code Sheet II entitled "Character Data: The Relationship of Gender to Relative Authority, Crime, Dress, Use of Force, Power, and Style of Conflict Resolution," was used to collect information about the character which could have occurred more than once.
## CODE SHEET: MOVIE DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FILM TITLE</th>
<th>YEAR PRODUCED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. PRODUCER SEX:  
   - MALE: 1  
   - FEMALE: 2

2. DIRECTOR SEX:  
   - MALE: 1  
   - FEMALE: 2

3. MYTHS OF FEMALE VICTIMIZATION PRESENT
   - "SHE LIKES IT" 1
     (GIVE EXAMPLES)
   - "SHE ASKED FOR IT" 2
   - "MEN CAN'T HELP THEMSELVES" 3
   - "ANY MAN WHO COMMITS _____, MUST BE CRAZY" 4
   - "IT IS RARE, HAPPENS IN THE LOWER CLASSES" 5

4. SEXISM SCALE OF FILM
   - LEVEL I: 1
   - LEVEL II: 2
   - LEVEL III: 3
   - LEVEL IV: 4
   - LEVEL V: 5

5. TYPE OF FILM
   - ACTION/ADVENTURE: 1
   - DRAMA: 2
   - MYSTERY/SUSPENSE: 3
   - COMEDY: 4
APPENDIX A

CODE SHEET 1, PART II: CHARACTER IDENTIFYING DATA (EACH MAIN AN SUPPORTING CHARACTER IS CODED ON SEPARATE SHEETS).

1. CHARACTER: LEAD........1 (NAME: ________)
   SUPPORTING..2 (NAME: ________)

2. SEX:
   MALE........1
   FEMALE......2

3. AGE:
   <18........1
   18-30.......2
   31-50......3
   >50........4

4. RACE:
   BLACK.......1
   WHITE......2
   ASIAN......3
   HISPANIC...4
   OTHER......5

5. MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED....1
   DIVORCED...2
   WIDOWED....3
   PARAMOUR...4
   SINGLE....5
   UNKNOWN..6

6. ROLE:
   LAW ENFORCER....1
   VICTIM........2
   OFFENDER......3
   OTHER........4

   (SPECIFY__________)

7. LAW ENFORCEMENT OCCUPATION: MUNICPAL............1
   SHERIFF............2
   FEDERAL............3
   STATE............4
   PROSECUTOR...........5
   JUDGE............6
   PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR...7
   OTHER................8

   (SPECIFY__________)

8. SHOWN IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIP: YES....1
   NO....2

9. RANK:
   PATROL...............1
   SERGEANT............2
   LT..................3
   CAPTAIN............4
   MAJOR...............5
   CHIEF/SUPERINTENDINT..6
   OTHER............7 (SPECIFY__________)
   UNKNOWN...............8
10. POLICE ASSIGNMENT: 
   UNDERCOVER.............1
   TRAFFIC.................2
   PATROL..................3
   STAFF SERVICES..........4
   SWORN DISPATCHER.......5
   CIVILIAN................6
   DETECTIVE..............7
   OTHER...................8
   (SPECIFY __________)

   PLEASE * PRIMARY ASSIGNMENT IF MORE THAN 1

11. STYLE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT: 
   ENFORCER.............1
   REALIST..............2
   OPTIMIST............3
   IDEALIST............4

12. PROSECUTOR ASSIGNMENT: 
   MAIN LITIGATOR........1
   BACK-UP LITIGATOR....2
   CASE FILING...........3
   MAIN RESEARCHER......4
   OTHER..................5

13. CHARACTERIZATION: 
   OBJECT..............1
   SUBJECT...............2

14. EVIDENCE OF POLICE PERSONALITY: 
   YES.................1
   NO............2

   CHECK CHARACTERISTICS EVIDENCED
   AUTHORITARIAN _____
   CYNICAL _____
   CONSERVATIVE _____
   SUSPICIOUS _____
   HOSTILE _____
   INDIVIDUALISTIC _____
CODE SHEET 2: CHARACTER DATA, THE RELATIONSHIP OF GENDER TO RELATIVE AUTHORITY, CRIME, DRESS, USE OF FORCE, POWER, AND STYLE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION. (MAY OCCUR MORE THAN ONCE)

1. IF MALE AND FEMALE POLICE OFFICER TOGETHER, WHO EFFECTS THE ARREST?
   INCIDENT #1 INCIDENT #2 INCIDENT #3 INCIDENT #4 INCIDENT #5
   MALE......1 MALE......1 MALE......1 MALE......1 MALE......1
   FEMALE....2 FEMALE....2 FEMALE....2 FEMALE....2 FEMALE....2

2. IF MALE AND FEMALE POLICE OFFICER TOGETHER, WHO DRIVES THE VEHICLE?
   INCIDENT #1 INCIDENT #2 INCIDENT #3 INCIDENT #4 INCIDENT #5

3. IF MALE AND FEMALE POLICE OFFICER TOGETHER, WHO INITIATES SUSPECT CONTACT?
   INCIDENT #1 INCIDENT #2 INCIDENT #3 INCIDENT #4 INCIDENT #5

4. WHAT TYPE OF CRIME DID THE OFFENDER COMMIT?
   INCIDENT #1 INCIDENT #2 INCIDENT #3 INCIDENT #4 INCIDENT #5
   1 DRUGS ______ ______ ______ ______
   2 HOMICIDE ______ ______ ______ ______
   3 ASSAULT ______ ______ ______ ______
   4 RAPE ______ ______ ______ ______
   5 LARCENY ______ ______ ______ ______
   6 ROBBERY ______ ______ ______ ______
   7 AUTO TH ______ ______ ______ ______
   8 BURGLARY ______ ______ ______ ______
   9 OTHER ______ ______ ______ ______
      (SPECIFY ________)

5. WHAT TYPE OF CRIME WAS THE VICTIM A VICTIM OF?
   1 DRUGS ______ ______ ______ ______
   2 HOMICIDE ______ ______ ______ ______
   3 ASSAULT ______ ______ ______ ______
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RAPE</th>
<th>LARCENY</th>
<th>ROBBERY</th>
<th>AUTO TH</th>
<th>BURGLARY</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. How was the character dressed at work? (Please place a star by primary dress)

1. Uniform _____
2. Suit/Dress _____
3. Casual _____
4. Seductive _____

7. How was the character dressed at home?

1. Uniform _____
2. Suit/Dress _____
3. Casual _____
4. Seductive _____

8. If a police officer uses force, what type of force was employed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCIDENT #1</th>
<th>INCIDENT #2</th>
<th>INCIDENT #3</th>
<th>INCIDENT #4</th>
<th>INCIDENT #5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Justified</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Unjustified</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 J Deadly</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 U Deadly</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

153
PLEASE LIST SCENE FOR EACH DISPLAY OF FORCE
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

9. IF A CHARACTER USES POWER, WHAT TYPE OF POWER IS EMPLOYED?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCIDENT #1</th>
<th>INCIDENT #2</th>
<th>INCIDENT #3</th>
<th>INCIDENT #4</th>
<th>INCIDENT #5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 EXPERT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 REWARD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 CHARISMATIC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 COERCIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Please specify)

PLEASE LIST SCENE FOR EACH DISPLAY OF POWER
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

10. IN A CONFLICT SCENE, HOW DOES THE CHARACTER RESOLVE THE CONFLICT?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCIDENT #1</th>
<th>INCIDENT #2</th>
<th>INCIDENT #3</th>
<th>INCIDENT #4</th>
<th>INCIDENT #5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SHARK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TEDDY BEAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TURTLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 OWL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 FOX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLEASE LIST SCENE FOR EACH CONFLICT
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
APPENDIX B

Appendix B contains a listing of the movies reviewed by type of film, film rating, and Sexism Level.
## APPENDIX B: MOVIE DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Sexism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Dirty Harry</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>The New Centurians</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Deliverance</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>The Getaway</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Magnum Force</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Serpico</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Freebie and the Bean</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Walking Tall Part II</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Dog Day Afternoon</td>
<td>Mys/Sus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Taxi Driver</td>
<td>Mys/Sus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Smokey and The Bandit</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Silver Streak</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Foul Play</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>The Gauntlet</td>
<td>Act/Adv</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>And Justice For All</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The Onion Field</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Smokey and The Bandit II</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Dressed to Kill</td>
<td>Mys/Sus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Fort Apache, The Bronx</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Body Heat</td>
<td>Mys/Sus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Best Little Whorehouse</td>
<td>Musical</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>48 Hours</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>The Verdict</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>R</td>
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</table>
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Published Research


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