WOMEN IN FILM:

D. W. GRIFFITH AND THE VICTORIAN STEREOTYPE

by

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ABSTRACT

A content analysis technique was used to investigate the controversy found in film criticism concerning the portrayal of women in the films of D.W. Griffith in relationship to the Victorian stereotype. A behavior classification scheme was formulated which included ten female Victorian stereotyped behaviors, seven non-Victorian behaviors, and two neutral categories.

Eleven short films from the Biograph era, 1908-1913, constituted the film sample. Each film was viewed independently by two untrained coders, one male and one female. They catagorized behavior and the object of behavior for the characters in each shot of the film.

Contingency tables comparing female and male film characters were tabulated for each behavior category. Chi-square tests revealed differences (p<.01) in seven of the ten Victorian categories, but three of these had no differences in the corresponding opposite behaviors.

Differences in patterns of behavior as determined by the object of behavior were found for a total of six out of the nineteen behavior categories in the scheme. A check on differences in perception of behavior by male and female coders revealed no differences on any behaviors.

It was concluded that labeling Griffith's portrayal of women as Victorian or non-Victorian is an oversimplification. Specific examples from the film sample were described to show the tremendous variability in female roles. Implications of the research methodology for further research were discussed.

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Chapter I.   Introduction

A.   The Importance of the Cinema as a Mass Medium

The cinema functions as both a representational art form and a mass communications medium, existing in a interdependent relationship with a socio-cultural system.   As such, it simultaneously mirrors and influences a given society.   From the beginning, films established a dynamic communication process between media production and the viewing audience, which was lacking in other fields of mass media.

Prior to the general availability of television, it could be concluded, as stated by Panofsky, that "Whether we like it or not, it is the movies that mold, more than any other single force, the opinions, the taste, the language, the dress, the behavior and even the physical appearance of a public comprising more than 60% of the population of the earth" (Panofsky, 1967).

The use of cinematographic techniques enabled a physical realism previously unknown in the mass media.   This integral realism ensured that from its inception the film medium was comprehensible to the general population in a way that other forms of mass media such as the print media (novels, newspapers, magazines) were not.   Furthermore, since films were viewed by the film industry as a means of obtaining large profits from the

production of inexpensive entertainment, the low price of admission made films highly accessible to the mass audience. Thus, films provided a blend of escapism and popular culture, achieving a large audience among the majority of the population, who were greatly influenced by these moving images.

B. The Image of Women in Early Forms of Mass Media

Prior to the establisment of the commercial film, portrayals of women were communicated primarily through the print media and novels (for those who were literate and who could afford books), or theater which was often limited to the middle and upper classes. However, the arrival of the cinema enabled these various images of women to reach a much greater segment of the populace, and thereby exert a proportionally greater influence upon the overall society than any other form of mass media. This situation continued until the advent of television in the 1950's.

The primary technical constraint upon the cinema as a vehicle of portrayals of any kind was the lack of sound. Early cinema (1905-1913) was often based upon standard theatrical melodrama, and the consequent exaggeration of these characterizations due to the purely visual portrayal further determined the nature of female stereotypes. Without both dialogue to develope subtleties of personality and behavior, and

a knowledge of the nature of cinematic language, characters were often presented as a part of an easily identifiable iconography, i.e. stereotyping. Thus, many films of this era used morality play plots, and cast characters according to the dictates of the presumed relationship between the outward appearance of an actor or actresses and the character he or she was required to play.

In these early films the basic themes were those of the nineteenth century industrialized society. The work ethic and a simplistic sense of justice and honor were upheld. "Virtue", as personified by a particular stereotype, inevitably triumphed over "Vice", which was also personified by a distinctive type. In the case of female archetypes these types were embodied in the "Virgin/Vamp" dichotomy.

However, during this early development period of film, both the use of cinematic language and the types of character portrayal became more sophisticated. A great deal of this change is due to the work of D.W. Griffith, and it is therefore important to examine these films to determine the nature of the images of women portrayed.

C. D.W. Griffith

D.W. Griffith remains to the present day among the most
influential of North American filmmakers. The noted French
filmmaker, Rene Clair, has stated that there have been no new
developments in the cinema, since those of D.W. Griffith
(Clair, 1972). This is perhaps an overstatement in relationship
to actual achievements. However, Griffith is credited by many
filmmakers, historians, and theoreticians with the construction
of the basic grammar of cinematic language through his technical
innovations in film length, types and angles of shots, editing
procedures, genre, characterization, lighting, and plot
construction. Griffith also made creative use of those film
techniques pioneered by others, in the areas of both scenario
and character portrayal. His work has influenced directors such
as Eisenstein, Chaplin, Von Stroheim, Lang, Capra, and many
others. Therefore, Griffith's films rank among the major
influences in the development of the cinema. As such it is
important to examine the role of women in his work.

It is also hypothesized that the type of methodology
evolved in order to facilitate this study could also be applied
to the work of other directors and filmmakers. In this way, it
is hoped to eliminate the current interpretation of films based
solely upon intuitive reasoning and subjective opinion.

Though Griffith's position as the "father of modern filmmaking" remains undisputed, there are strong differences of opinion as to the roles which are available to women within his films. Lewis Jacobs, a noted film historian is quite unequivocal in ascribing to Griffith's romanticism, not only his choice of subject matter, but even his choice of players.

> He persisted in casting mere slips of girls, fifteen or sixteen years old, blond and wide eyed, due as much to his ideals of femininity, and his immersion in Victorian poetry as to the camera, always absolute in its demand for pulchritude. All his heroines - Lillian Gish, Blanche Sweet, Mae Marsh, Mary Pickford - were at least in Griffith's eyes, the pale, helpless, delicate, slim bodied heroines of the nineteenth century English poets.
>
> (Jacobs, 1967 p. 96-97)

Jacob's view is sharply challanged in a more recent study, by Molly Haskell.

> Delicate and chaste as they may have been, Griffith's heroines were never passive love objects or martyrs to male authority. The energy of sublimated sexuality fuels the indomitable pioneer spirit of the heroines of "True Heart Susie", "Broken Blossoms", and "Intolerence". The lack of . . . self pity places them squarely in the tradition of the gutsy American heroine. . . His women honored at the center of his imagined South, are totally and traditionally distinct from men and yet are integrated into the fiber of men's lives. . . It is their emotional complexity and intensity that binds Griffith's women together, and gives them stature. As early as 1912, his actresses are breaking out of the genteel tradition and into a kind of heightened emotional realism.
>
> (Haskell 1974, p. 54-55)

As can be noted, there are differences in opinion as to the societal roles which are reflected in the synthesis of form and content within Griffith's films. However, neither the opinion presented by Lewis Jaccbs, and concurring with the majority of film historians and critics (such as Arthur Knight, Ervin Panofsky, Marjorie Rosen), nor that of the minority designated by Molly Haskell (ccncurring with Andrew Sarris and Arthur Lennig) are based upon scientific methodology, and are rather, subjective opinion.

Chapter II. Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to explore and evaluate the
role of women in the films cf D.W. Griffith, 1908-1913, through
the development of a systematic and objective content analytic
methodology.

In general, media studies exemplify the classic division
into qualitative and quantitative techniques. As with any
complex phenomenon, the distinction is a conceptual one; in
actuality the two levels of analysis complement one another
(Tunstall, 1969). A comprehensive research technique should
focus upon both subjective and objective aspects of the medium
in question. However, in the majority of content analytic
research in the area of the cinema, the aforementioned
conceptual distinction has divided research according to
qualitative and qu antitative methodologies. Although there
exists a considerable body of literature in the area of the
content analysis of motion pictures, the concentration has been
in the area of qualitative assessment. In order to facilitate a
comprehensive analysis of the role of women in film, it was
necessary to construct a new research methodology based upon the
particular constructs of the cinema, in terms of both structure
and content.

Content analysis is defined as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. (Carney, 1972).

This study has therefore attempted to devise a system of empirical content analysis based upon both the basics of cinematic language, the individualities of style and presentation, and the characterization of content. It is contended that the utilization of the techniques of quantitative content analysis, will provide an adequate basis for an assessment of the role of women in the films of D.W. Griffith, by enabling one to draw statistically valid conclusions from a limited research sample.

Chapter III.   Related Literature

Despite diligent searching through such journals as: The
International Index to Periodicals, Dissertation Abstracts,
Periodical Index for the Social Sciences and the Humanities,
Psychological Abstracts, Social Sciences and Humanities Index,
the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, and Women's Studies
Abstracts, very few quantitative studies of film, and no
quantitative studies of the role of women in film were found by
the experimenter.

A.   Qualitative Studies of Women in Film

In the particular area of research concerning the role of
women in film, studies conducted attempted to provide a general
overview concerning the ideological impact of the roles
available to women in North American and European film. Studies
in this area are broad historical and sociological analyses
detailing the image of women in terms of historical period, film
genre, and individual star personalities.

Lennig (1969) produced a qualitative study of sexual role
in the cinema. In this capacity, he analyzed the sexual
expression of male and female characters within the context of
the cumulative work of a sample of film directors, selected
according to their contributions to the cinema as assessed by

according to their contributions to the cinema as assessed by critical analysis.

In this research, Lennig asserts that Griffith utilized a great deal of both frank sexual conduct and blatant sexual innuendo. In one scene, Lillian Gish, usually considered the most Victorian of the Griffith heroines, upon becoming engaged runs into her bedroom and fondles the bedpost, and even kisses it. In the film "Intolerance", the mountain girl thinks of her lover while milking a goat's teat in close up. The sexual effect is compounded by nuzzling the goat's head, and nipping at its ears. Lennig cites other examples of Griffith's understanding of prostitutes, members of street gangs, and mothers of illegitimate children who are portrayed in a sympathetic light in his films. In contrast, "reformers" are not.

According to Lennig, Griffith refused to pander in his films to both the respectable and the craving of the public for stars and personalitites to worship. He also refused to sacrifice realism for the sake of escapist entertainment; therefore, in the process being far more honest then many so-called forthright films made since that time. It was this factor that helped hasten his demise in Hollywood.

Concerning the portrayal of women in Griffith films, Lennig asserts that Griffith upheld Victorian ideals of womanhood, except in adherence to the restraints upon sexuality common to that era. The act of rape, viewed with particular horror in a period reluctant to acknowledge even less violent forms of desire, is included in films of Griffith's such as "Birth of a Nation".

Lennig concludes that the women in the films of D.W. Griffith were not sexless Victorian stereotypic images. Lennig asserts that in their screen portrayals women also have sexual desires, although they are often diffused into the area of spirit, affection, and fulfillment. These films, particularly those later than the Biograph period i.e. "Intolerence" and "Birth of a Nation" are not without sex. Therefore, Lennig contends that perhaps Griffith can not be so easily labelled as either prudish or purient, but remains a complete amalgam of southern gentleman, entrepreneur, visionary, aesthete, and showman.

Wolfenstein and Leites (1971), conducted a qualitative study of a sample of American, British, and French films appearing since the year 1945. The films were analyzed according to cultural pattern, theme, and male and female characterization. An attempt was made to chart the historical evolution of male and female sex stereotyping and concurrent

cinematic themes. Wolfenstein analyzed several hundred
entertainment films from these countries and constructed what
she felt to be a typical pattern of British, French, and
American films, with particular emphasis upon the relationship
between the sexes in terms of idealized types. Wolfenstein
found that in the portrayal of women in all of the films in the
research sample, women declined in both actual power and
prestige while increasing in sexual manipulation during the
period covered by the sample, 1945-1960. Furthermore, this
trend was increasingly evident until the decade of the 1960's,
where the study terminates.

Wolfenstein postulates the arrival in the commercial cinema
of a new type of character portrayal she entitles "the good-bad
woman. This appellation refers to a woman who appears to be
evil by her actions, but who is, in actual fact, good. The male
character is at first deceived by her outward appearance, but
gradually realizes her "true nature".

In terms of cultural trends, Wolfenstein and Leites
perceived North American women to be more aggressive, energetic,
and independent than those in either British, or French films.
Women in British films were perceived as exhibiting a greater
passivity and resignation than those in either French or
American films. French women were viewed as exhbiting less

sexual inhibition, but also less societal freedom than those in
either British or American films.

Walker (1972) conducted an investigation primarily into the
sexual portrayal of women in the cinema, as viewed from a
historical perspective. He also divides film history into
particular decades, and cites the socio-economic and political
influences upon the role of women in the cinema. The role of
censorship is explored in depth, concentrating specifically upon
the influence of religious and political leaders as
representative of gatekeeping organizations. Attention is also
given to the development of gatekeeping organizations within the
film industry itself, such as the establishment of the Hays
Office and the Motion Picture Code.

Walker utilizes specific female stars to exemplify the
ethos of each era. His summation of the years 1908-1913 is that
a trilogy existed, incorporating the types of women that were
protrayed in the cinema of that period. Walker designates these
types as "virgins", "vamps", and "sweethearts".

It is Walker's contention that female roles never deviated
from these societal archetypes. To reinforce this hypothesis,
Walker cites the entertainment and monetary functions of the
film industry, and its concurrent dependence upon a mass
audience for its survival. Therefore, according to Walker not

only women, but male characters, and the entire plot structure were subject to stereotyping in order to appeal to a largely uneducated audience.

McCreadie (1973) attempted to examine the role of women in film in conjunction with other forms of popular culture over three decades of North American cultural history. She related the image of women projected in the decades of the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's to lyrics from songs, collections of photographs, essays, illustrations and other cultural artifacts of mass communication. Some of the selections have not been previously published, some are famous and familiar, and others are statements by noted writers and thinkers of each historical period.

The material is presented in such a fashion that a theory or a set of theories may be deduced: that particular images (as embodied by major female stars) were demanded by, forced upon, or evolved for the North American public. It is McCreadie's contention that these images can be observed in clothes, furniture, advertisements, or even the buildings of each era; and that they also may be an extension of popular beliefs which depend upon such diverse matters as economics, political events, and prevailing social and sexual mores.

The movie stars discussed are Greta Garbo, Rita Hayworth, and Marilyn Monroe. It was felt that these three stars may be a reflection of, or a partial cause for the images created by the times, but the selection and frequent comments were not meant to lead to restrictive conclusions, as this research is speculative in nature, and broad in application.

Rosen (1973) conducted a qualitative analysis of the role of women in film from its inception as an industry in the United States in 1896 until the 1970's. Rosen, like McCreadie, utilizes subjective selection and interpretation to compare the image of women in film with lyrics of songs, literature, radio, television, and other artifacts of popular culture. She places particular emphasis upon the contrast between feminist writings of an era and the concurrent image of women in film.

Particular emphasis is also placed upon the contrast between the image of women as projected upon the screen and the general conditions for women in the society of the time. Rosen examined the contributions of women to the film industry as directors, technicians, scenaricists, and financial backers, as well as their contributions to popular culture through their portrayals upon the screen. She explored the evolution undergone by the image of women in film as related to societal pressures, and postulates the future place for women in the cinema as a whole.

In general, Rosen perceived film as male dominated and male orientated, with each successive generation of women forced to conform to male images for women. Certain historical periods are less stereotypic than others, being a time of change in the society (1920's and 1960's), or the depression (1930's), or war (1940's).

Rosen's approach to the role of women in the films of D.W. Griffith is similar to the majority of film historians, in that she reaffirms the notion of the women in Griffith's films as representative of the Victorian stereotype. She utilizes quotes from literature of the early twentieth century gathered from women's magazines such as "Cosmopolitan", "The Ladies Home Journal", and popular fiction to reinforce the interrelationship between the portrayal of women in other forms of mass media, and that of women in film. In particular, Rosen examines individual female stars of the period such as Mary Pickford, Lillian Gish, and Blanche Sweet, in relation to the Victorian stereotype, and finds them to be its personification. Rosen also uses personal reminisences of those individuals who worked with D.W. Griffith during his career, both on and off screen, as well as interviews with Griffith himself to support her contentions in this area.

In conclusion, Rosen contends that from the beginning the socio-economic structure of the filmmaking industry has been male dominated, excluding women from participation in most areas

of the filmmaking process. She also asserts that the industry
structure must be reorganized to allow women to produce, direct
and provide funding for films. Furthermore, women featured in
films must avoid female sterotypes and provide a wide range of
character portrayal onscreen.

Haskell (1974) conducted a qualitative assessment of the
role of women in both North American and Western European
cinema. In this study the research is also divided according to
decade, beginning with the 1890's and continuing until the
present decade.

Haskell asserts that assessment of women's roles in films
must be based upon research conducted upon the films themselves
in conjunction with an overall familiarity with relevant
background material. Personal remembrances, gossip, and hearsay
were not included in factual assessment of the films themselves.
It is her contention that the majority of resarch in the area of
study of the cinema is based upon the aforementioned type of
information, which belongs in the realm of personal histories
and biographies. In order to avoid this error, Haskell
conducted her investigation into sex role stereotyping through
extensive and repeated viewings of the films themselves. Her
study, however, remains subjective and speculative in nature as
no reliability checks were employed and all responses were based
upon personal assessment. In concurrence with Rosen, Haskell

explored the extent of socio-economic and artistic influence
allotted to women within both the established film industry, and
the society of independent filmmakers, in the areas of film
production, direction, technical skills, and star personalities.

Haskell contends that due to this general use of subjective
evidence, the contributions made by many filmmakers and star
personalities have become distorted over time. Haskell refutes
Walker's assessment of the roles available to women in the early
silent cinema. In the films of Griffith in particular she
establishes a defense for the assertion that the women in the
films of D.W. Griffith are perhaps more complex as indiviudals
and less stereotyped than women in films of the present decade.

To lend credence to this conclusion, she reviews the
somewhat revolutionary topics involved in Griffith's films;
Darwinism, psychology, sex, and Fabian socialism, which are
missing from the works of his contemporaries as well as those of
later directors.

Haskell also profiles individual character roles by women
in these films, with particular emphasis upon those of the
Biograph era. In them, she observed a strength of character, a
frankness, and courage that were not traditionally accorded
women in the films of Griffith.

B. Related Quantitative Research

The lack of quantitative research in the specific area of concern led the experimenter to utilize several studies which are tangential to the proposed problem. In devising the research methodology, the experimenter was influenced by studies in the following areas; 1) an assessment of the internal structure of the cinema in terms of cinematic composition; 2) research concerning the nature of character portrayal and sex stereotyping (predominantly in television), 3) a technique for the quantitative analysis of dreams.

1) Cinematic Composition

According to George Pratt (1957), one of the first quantitative studies investigating the influence of editing upon cinematic structure and content was the work of the Reverend Dr. Stockton.

In the year 1912, Dr. Stockton conducted his research in an ordinary movie theater, viewing films by D.W. Griffith. During the first viewing he counted the number of scenes in each film. The second time he counted inserts, such as subtitles, letters, and signs. He then compared the number of scenes and inserts tabulated from Griffith's films to those utilized in

films from other film companies. The Griffith films contained a much greater number of both film scenes and inserts. Dr. Stockton, functioning as "moral gatekeeper" felt that the number of scenes in a film should average between 18 and 30. Griffith's film "Sands of Dee" for example, was divided into 68 scenes plus seven inserts. This fact influenced Dr. Stockton in his decision that D.W. Griffith was a dangerous influence upon filmmaking. When the results of this survey were reported in "Moving Picture World" (August 1912), Dr. Stockton asserted that within such a cinematic structure, acting, unfolding of the plot, and clarity of storyline were impossible, because three times the proper number of scenes were used.

According to Pratt, the system that Dr. Stockton and others complained about was the method of film assemblage, which still prevails in the film industry as the most dramatic way of conveying a story in terms of screen technique. In 1912 this method was still in the process of development. Griffith, in particular, was instrumental in breaking up the visual elements of a film into a more flexible and effective pattern through the use of editing techniques and shot type.

Pratt examined the claims of Dr. Stockton and the use of the "switch back" or "cut back" editing techniques in some of the Griffith films of the Biograph period. Pratt asserts that Griffith had utilized these techniques as early as 1908, in

films such as "Little Alice", "The Medicine Bottle", and "The Fatal Hour". Contrary to Stockton's opinion, audiences appear to have reacted favorably to this type of cinematic construction. However, it is Pratt's contention that the research conducted by Stockton contains some of the earliest statistical data concerning the interrelatonship between cinematic structure, content, and the communication of messages.

Salt (1974) contended that stylistic innovations attributed to various directors were based solely on intuitive analyses of their films. Through statistical analysis of 53 films, he attempted to determine the formal aspects and stylistic differences between directors. The particular sample of films utilized in his study were compiled at random, though all were considerd by Salt to be good films. The sample included a group of Renoir films from the early 1930's, several films by Rene Clair, D.W. Griffith's "Intolerance", and films by Wellman, Curtiz, Bergman, Kurosawa, Hawks, Wells, Stiller, Truffaut, Wilder, Walsh, and other noted directors.

Salt established the frequency distributions of three shot characteristics; 1) shot length (in feet); 2) shot type, (close-ups, medium shots, long shots etc.); 3) camera movement (pans, tilts, tracking). With respect to the first of these Salt found a considerable similarity in general shape among all the films, the profiles of the distributions approximating

normality i.e. the Poisson distribution. However, in the area
of the distribution of shot types throughout the films,
individual style was in evidence to a greater degree. The films
of an individual director were found to be more like each other
than they were similar to those of other directors. Finally,
camera movement was found to be a relatively insignificant
factor in distinguishing directors.

In conclusion, Salt states that the evidence runs counter
to the ideas of "montage style", "deep focus" style, and "wide
screen" style as rigid classifications into which films can be
filed. Salt contends that further analysis could be
accomplished through the utilization of this method of analysis
upon sections of a film when one is considering the relationship
of form and content.

2) Quantitative Television Research

As previously stated, television as a predominantely visual
mass medium is closest to the cinema in terms of both
communication dynamics and technical structure. The majority of
studies concerning sex stereotyping in the mass media have been
conducted in the area of television research. It was therefore
felt that those studies concerning the content analysis of
television programming were relevant to the proposed research.

Smythe (1951-1953) conducted several of the major content analytic analyses of television as a mass communications medium. One week inventories of television programs were conducted for all of the seven stations serving New York in January of the years 1951-1953. Similar studies were conducted in Los Angeles in 1951 and New Haven in 1952. All of the studies were conducted with comparable techniques under the auspices of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

The New York television study included a detailed analysis of drama programs produced for television. The purpose was to explain the nature of character stereotyping in these indigenous television drama programs (p. 151). A total of 476 characters in the 86 drama programs representing more than one-fifth of all drama program time was studied.

Smythe also approached the identification of stereotypical characteristics through the use of the semantic differential. The method used involved measuring character portrayal on evaluative, potency, and activity seven point scales, where the object is to determine the inward meaning of the portrayals. Each of the characters observed in the indigenous television drama in 1953 was measured by as many as three observers independently. Analysis of these scale ratings permitted determination of both the mean ratings for different groups of television characters and the variance from the average ratings,

i.e. the determination of degree of stereotyping.

Smythe found that in terms of indigenous television characters, males outnumbered females by a ratio of two to one. This population was concentrated in the age brackets of peak sexual attractiveness. The average age of all the characters was 37, with males averaging 38 and females 33.

Smythe concluded that indigenous television drama characters were white Americans four times out of five, with males being relatively more common among white Americans and females being more ccmmon among the characters of other nationalities. Television was found to overrepresent people who worked as against people at home, and among those who work, managers and service personnel were most overrepresented. The largest single occupation for women in television was that of housewife. Women who were not employed had much better chances of appearing as heroes than did women who worked or were employable (p.153).

Four-fifths of all television characters were law-abiding, one fifth were law breakers. In each major occupational category, men were portrayed as more law abiding than women. However, because men outnumbered women, especially in the labor force, and because employed persons were much more often shown as lawbreakers, than those not in the labor force, men on

television were more often pictured as lawbreakers than were women. Smythe found that American white characters were slightly more law abiding than were other characters.

Smythe found that the concentration of the true character ratings around the means (after extracting variations due to monitors) i.e. the amount of stereotyping, was far greater for male American-white heroes than for male American-white villains, and for heroes of both sexes from other nationality groups. All male villains were less stereotyped than were female villains and heroes of both sexes. No significant difference existed between the amount of stereotyping for all heroes and all villains.

The concentration of character variations around the mean was found to be the greatest in the journalists portrayed on New York television and the least for the unemployed and doctors. Lawyers, teachers, and law-enforcement officers were also highly stereotyped.

Smythe contends that the semantic differential and sociometric measurements which were used in the 1953 television study in New York could be equally applicable to other forms of media communication (p. 155).

Lanier (1968) conducted a study for the purpose of investigating the image of the artist as it is projected in entertainment films. The main concern of the study was to discern 1) the image variance from film to film; 2) the extent of this variance; 3) the relationship of character portrayal to the time period in which the film was produced; 4) the extent to which such differences are affected by the source for a particular film.

Lanier also attempted to formulate an adequate verbal profile which would describe the overall image of the artist based upon the total films viewed. Accordingly, he selected a number of commercial films in which visual artists were either major or subordinate characters. These films were compiled to incorporate an appropriate time span and character type. They were then classfied into three types; Biographical, Fictional, and Subordinate Character.

Lanier's study involved the formulation of a specific procedure in order to develope an analytical method suited to the problem in question. This procedure included an unstructured first viewing by a panel of three or four subjects, followed by a second structured viewing to select and record film data such as speech, settings, situations, and actions by film characters as categorized by the provisional criteria selected for use in the study.

The provisional criteria included: (a) impulsive
-controlled behavior, (b) status in society, (c) sexual image,
normal-abnormal, (d) attitude towards money, time and work, (e)
living conditions, (f) work habits, (g) source of ideas for
creation, (h) stimulants used, (i) attitude of others towards
the artist, (j) ethnic and educational background, (k) personal
habits in speech, dress, and movements.

During the second viewing, the subjects noted on paper the
kinds of film information which incorporated the research
criteria. These responses were then classified independently by
two reviewers into one of the above categories. Responses which
were classified into different categories (reviewer
disagreement) were eliminated. The frequency of each category
was tabulated for each film. Finally a summary profile, using
responses with reviewer agreement, were constructed for each
film.

The general conclusion of this study was that the motion
pictures, insofar as fictional cinema is concerned, have
projected in the past, and continue to project, an image of the
artist that is not much different from the general stereotype
prevalent in Western society. The terminal profile constructed
from the results of this study ascribes the following
description to the artist.

The artist is significantly different from other people in society. He or she is an outsider often by choice, with mannerisms, speech, and style of dress that are considered unattractive. The artist's behavior alienates others, yet he or she is often treated indulgently on the grounds that an artist is entitled to special privledges. The artist is perceived as working with extreme diligence, involvement, and concentration. All other elements in an artist's life are subordinated to his or her work (p.38).

Gerbner (1972) in an analysis of dramatic television programming from 1967-1969 revealed an amazing stability in the types of characters who populate these programs, as well as a gross underrepresentation of women as major characters. Gerbner found that females made up roughly one fourth of all the leading characters. Female characters were also found to be younger than male characters, and were most often cast when family or romantic interests played an integral part in the plot. While only one third of the male characters were portrayed as married or about to be married, two-thirds of the female characters were so presented.

His analysis revealed that on the whole, females were less violent than males; however, if they engaged in violence, they had a greater chance of being victimized. The decline in the number of violent characters from 1967-1969 consisted of a

decline in the number of violent females and of male victims.
Gerbner found that the number of males who committed violence
decreased only slightly, while the number of females remained
stationary. In actuality, the symbolic function of violence as
a demonstration of social power was strengthened.

Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared four studies which
depicted the role of women in various aspects of the mass media.
The research cited by Courtney and Whipple was summarized as to:
1) the dates through which the study was conducted; 2) the
location; 3) the investigators involved; 4) the time periods
involved in the study; 5) methods used; 6) the number of
commercials analyzed; 7) the system of data analysis employed.

1. Dominick and Rauch (New York, 1971) monitored 986
commercials over a two week period, with a reliability check
conducted by two independent coders. The method of data
analysis used included cross tabulations with chi square tests.

2. The New York Chapter of the National Organization for
Women (1972) coded a total of 1,241 commercials over a time
period of one and one half years. However, the methods of
tabulation were not reported. Data analysis was conducted
through cross tabulations.

3.   The National Capital Area Chapter of the National
Organization for Women, in consultation with Dr. M. Cantor at
American University (Washington, D.C. 1972). A total of 2,750
commercials were coded over a three week period. A supervisor
was present during most hours and all commercials were
audiotaped. The method of data analysis utilized was that of
cross tabulation.

4.   The Toronto Women's Media Committee, in consultation
with Drs. A. Courtney and T. Whipple (York University 1973).
Three unspecified days were monitored during each week. All
commercials were videotaped and the coding was done from the
videotapes with a supervisor present. A total of 434
commercials were coded. The methods of data analysis used were
cross tabulations and chi square tests.

Whipple and Courtney contend that each of the studies can
be criticized upon methodological grounds. Three of the studies
were conducted during a rather limited period of time. The
results of each of the four studies were heavily dependent upon
inter-coder reliability, which can be faulted upon the ground
that the individuals participating in the study were biased
towards the goals of the experimenter. However, they assert
that the consistency among the four studies tends to mitigate
the methodological issue (p. 1).

From this analysis, Courtney and Whipple conclude that there is little evidence in television commercials of the changing status of women in the society. Males dominate through sheer presence in commercials, especially in the role of authority figure. Although a few commercials have attempted to incorporate a new image of women, the majority continue to portray women either as housewives and mothers, or as engaged in women's occupations in the labor force, i. e. those with a low status.

A study conducted by the Ontario Status of Women Council (1972) attempted to determine the portrayal of women on programming devised for presentation upon the CBC network. The CBC was chosen because it was felt that as a Crown Corporation supported by public funds, it has a special responsibility to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commision on the Status of Women. The study focused upon two areas of contention: a) stereotyped and degrading presentations of women in program and commercial content, and b) promotion and hiring practices within the CBC itself. The Toronto group further contended that the CBC programming did not reflect the change in woman's role in North American society which has taken place within the past few years.

To document these claims, Women for Political Action and the Ontario Committee on the Status of Women monitored CBC

television for a period of two and one half months (November 1973 to January 1974). The programs appearing on CBLT Toronto were monitored by 60 volunteers, all of whom had been instructed in the use of monitoring forms. Target days for monitoring were selected each week on a staggered basis.

The monitors utilized were all women and represented a wide spectrum of backgrounds and age groups (ranging from 14 to 65), education, and occupations. The monitors were assigned to one or two-hour slots on the target day. Each time period was covered by four people; two monitoring commercials and two monitoring programs.

The monitoring forms for drama, talk, ads, variety and children's programming were pre-tested over a period in the study carried out by the National Organization of Women in New York. The forms used for sports events and public affairs were developed by Dr. Jill Bejskind Associate Professor, Educational Psychology, McGill University, Montreal.

Monitors viewed twelve regularly scheduled programs shown daily on CBLT between the hours of 12 and 4:20 p.m. From this data, 27 segments of the 12 shows were randomly selected for analysis. All programs were tabulated at least twice. Characters were tabulated once per appearance in each program. It was concluded by the researchers that CBC afternoon

programming reflects and perpetuates the ideas that 1) women are
less intelligent that men, 2) women need male direction and
guidance to validate their activities, 3) women have a limited
range of interests; their interests centering around men, the
home, children, and physical attractiveness. Thus, the programs
produced during the hours between 12 noon and 4:30 p.m., i.e.
those allocated for women's programs, were found to contain the
most boring and cheaply produced programs of each broadcasting
day. Almost without exception, monitors found dialogue and
program content infantile, condescending, and dull.

Downing (1973) conducted research into the depiction of
women in the genre of the television daytime serial. As
programming which is directed primarily towards a female
audience, it was felt that it is an important area of the mass
communications media. Downing coded 300 episodes of the 15
daytime serials then running, or 20 episodes of each serial.
Her observations were checked by a team of five co-monitors. The
team of co-monitors consisted of four women and one man. They
encompassed a wide range in age and occupation.

Downing concludes that the daytime serial reflects a
differing attitude towards aging in men and women. Female
characters tend to be younger, and to lose status as they grow
older. The status of male characters remains constant
regardless of age.

Downing cites the daytime serial as a profitable form of
mass media entertainment which presents an image of women which
is far from unacceptable. The woman of the daytime serial is
above all a human being. She is liked and respected by her male
acquaintances, not merely sought as a sexual object, as she is
in prime-time television drama. She does not act solely as an
adjunct to male activities and interests. She is a responsible
and sought after member of an extended family structure. Her
opinions are solicited by others. She enjoys the supportive
friendship of other women. Downing further asserts that the
woman of the daytime serial is a generally nonviolent person,
acting out of a genuine concern for others and an appreciation
of social issues, even though she devotes her major energies to
the achievement of personal goals. Downing concludes that women
therefore, attain a visibility in daytime television programming
that they lack in prime-time.

Turow (1973) investigated the patterns of advice-giving,
order giving, and advice-receiving among television's characters
as a way to study the relationships between knowledge, activity,
and the sex of characters seen upon the screen.

A sample of 12 hours of daytime and 12 hours of prime-time
programming was analyzed. The general characteristics of the
programs and of all the speaking characters were noted. At the
same time, every advising and ordering interaction between the

sexes was systematically observed and coded for a) the name or label of a giver and receiver, b) the general area of knowledge being discussed, and c) the correctness of the advice or order in the episode. Areas of knowledge were grouped into: a) traditionally "feminine" categories such as love, the family, home, personal problems and the fine arts; b) traditionally "masculine" categories such as business, law, government, crime, and coping with danger; c) "neutral" categories which were defined as directives given in non-business contexts, or simple dealings between interactors and a third party. The giving of advice or orders by doctors was coded as an area of male expertise, while knowledge about health in a non-professional or business context was coded as an area of female expertise.

Turow concluded that male-female knowledge stereotypes formed an integral part of the advising and ordering patterns of daytime and prime-time dramas. The differences between the two periods show a shift in the proportion and centrality of women, but not a fundamental change in their portrayal and stereotype. Turow further concluded that the dramatic composition of television in the selection of characters, the assignment of occupations, and the development of plots operated in concert to minimize the chances of women being given the opportunity to display superior knowledge with respect to men and to ensure that the areas in which they were given such opportunities were

compartmentalized along traditional lines. In this manner, the fundamental strictures of the culture were not violated while the expectations and the desires of the female audience to see itself portrayed in central roles were gratified.

Tedesco (1974) conducted an analysis upon a subset of data collected as part of an ongoing project, entitled "Cultural Indicators", which concerns the message system of prime-time network dramatic television programming and the effects these messages have upon the viewing audience. Her analysis focused primarily upon the major characters, i.e. those individuals who play leading roles, essential to the storyline, in a four year sample (1969-1972) of non-cartoon prime-time network dramatic programs. The sample of 775 characters (556 males, 219 females) were described mainly in terms of demographics (age, sex, race) and descriptive variables (type of character-good/bad guy, success, happiness) and rated on 15 five-point semantic differential-type personality scales (e.g. repulsive-attractive, unfair-fair).

According to Tedesco, the major characters who populated the world of prime-time dramatic television programming from 1969-1972 were a varied lot. However, as in earlier studies conducted by Smythe (1952, 1953) and Gerbner (1967-1969), the most noticeable finding was the continued underrepresentation of women. Only 28% of the characters represented in television

programming were women.

Tedesco found that although women were equally likely to be portrayed as good and bad, as children and old people, and as white and non-white other aspects of characterization, such as success, happiness, marital status, employment, and violence provided a noticeable difference. So called villains included a greater number of male characters. A greater percentage of the males were unsuccessful as compared with females; the unhappy characters included a greater proportion of male characters.

Females were found to be more often cast in light or comic roles, while males were portrayed in more serious roles. More than half of the male characters were found in crime, western, and action adventure programs, while almost three quarters of the females were found in comedies or other kinds of programs.

Tedesco compiled personality profiles of major male and female characters. These profiles revealed that male characters were more powerful, smart, rational, tall and stable, while females were more attractive, fair, sociable, warm, happy, peaceful, and youthful. Although females were less powerful, rational, smart, or stable than males, they were rated positively on these attributes.

In conclusion, Tedesco states that the analysis of major non-cartoon television characters revealed that males were generally active and independent, and encountered more adventurous situations. They were more mature, more serious, and more likely to be employed than females. They were viewed as powerful and prone to a greater degree of violence than female characters. Females however, were presented as lacking independence. They were not usually found in adventurous situations; they were younger, more likely to be married, and less likely to be employed.

3. Dream Analysis

Panofsky (1967) stated that the cinema represents the collective dreams of a culture. Although no research presently exists based upon quantitative content analysis of the cinema as collective fantasy, studies have been made of the content of dreams. It was thought that one of these would prove helpful in devising an experimental methodology for use in a content analytic approach to the cinema.

Hall and Van De Castle (1966) conducted investigative research into a content analytic system for the interpretation of dreams. The reporting of the dream was accomplished by having the dreamer fill out a standard report form designed by the investigator, by answering questions about the dream, asking

the dreamer for his/her interpretation of the dream, or by
asking him/her to free associate to elements of the dream.

The classification system presented by Hall and Van De
Castle was based upon the broad empirical classes which were:
1) settings and objects; 2) characters; 3) aggressive, friendly,
and sexual interactions; 4) activities; 5) success, failure,
misfortune, and good fortune; 6) emotions; 7) modifiers; 8)
temporal, negative, oral; 9) castration. In addition to the
aforementioned empirical scales, they formulated some
theoretical scales based upon the measurements of such concepts
as regression, style of life, separation anxiety, archetype, and
ego identity.

In order to secure normative material for these scales,
folders were selected, each of which contained a series of
dreams that had been obtained from college students. All the
dreams were written on standardized forms. Dream reports which
met the criterion of being between 50-300 words in length were
randomly selected from the folders. These 1,000 dreams were
then analyzed by means of various content scales chosen by the
experimenters.

Chapter IV. Method

The first section will discus the meaning of content
analysis, elaborate upon the various methods used and the
rationale determining their usage. The methodology devised for
this study will be reported, incorporating extensive details of
each component. Finally the experimental procedures for the
pilot studies and the final study will be described in
chronological order, discussing the changes made during each
study.

A. Content Analysis Definition

Content analysis is a research technique used for the
objective and systematic assessment of the manifest content in
a communications medium. Osgood (1959) defined content
analysis as a procedure whereby one makes inferences about
sources and receivers from evidence in the messages they
exchange. Content analysis is any technique for making inferences
objectively and systematically identifying specified
characteristics of messages. When the interest of the content
analyst lies in making inferences about the source of a
message, he/she must rely upon encoding dependencies, that is
the dependencies of message events upon psychological processes
in the communicator/filmmaker. When interest lies in making
inferences about the effects of a message upon its receivers

i.e. the audience, emphasis is placed upon the decoding
process. When the research interest centers upon the content
and structure of messages, analysis focuses upon the messages
themselves in terms of the attributes of the research
documents.

According to Holsti (1967), content analysis as a
technique is most appropriate for three general classes of
research problems in virtually all disciplines and areas of
inquiry. These are; 1) the use of documentary and primary
sources when there is no direct access to the subject, for
example if the subject is no longer living and therefore can
only be studied through a record of his/her activities, or
through the assessment of his/her contemporaries, and the
remaining work and secondary sources; 2) to get repeated
measurements of the subjects values, attitudes, world view etc.
over a period of time; 3) analysis of documentation that is
useful as an independent line of validation for data obtained
through other methods. Analysis of many types of documentary
data often requires information of a subtlety and complexity
which renders casual scrutiny inadequate even if done by
individuals with sensitivity and skill when analyzing the
sample.

B.   Content Analysis Techniques

The uses of content analysis are many and varied. Content analysis has been used not only to direct data collected concerning the characteristics of content, but also to permit inferences about both the nature of the communicator (Carney, 1967; Ellis and Favat, 1967; Garraty, 1964; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1964) to whom the media is directed (Hovland and Janis, 1953; Klapper, 1960; Chaffee and Greenberg, 1972) Content analytic research includes studies of international trends in media, (Unesco, 1964; Wolfenstein and Leites, 1971; Chaffee, 1972) propaganda techniques (Dovring, 1956; George, 1959; Smith, 1958; George, 1964; Yakobson and Lasswell, 1965), and style, (Lasswell and Leites, 1965; Salt, 1974)

Research methodolcgy in this area has generally been restricted to qualitative forms. It was imperative to develope new content analytic methodologies in order to examine those aspects of study which were inaccessible utilizing qualitative techniques.

Without quantitative assessment, content analysis of films remains little more than plot summaries of general thematic clusters, and may be inaccurate when applied to the analysis of a specific research problem. Another variation upon the

qualitative method of content analysis is the use of several
subjects to descriptively ascertain character images and plot.
Yet often no means of determining the degree of inter-coder
agreement is specified. This is a complex problem and not
amenable to automatic solution.

In designing the research methodology, the experimenter
attempted to implement procedures which followed the
characteristics designated by Cartwright (1953) as those which
pose an invariant sequence for research development. According
to Cartwright, the four characteristics necessary for the
accumulation of scientific data are; 1) objectivity and
reproduceability; 2) susceptibility to measurement and
quantification; 3) significance for a systematic theoretical
framework, either pure or applied; and 4) generalizability i.e.
the conversion of symbolic behavior into scientific data.

Quantitative content analysis enables the conversion of
symbolic material in the study of the cinema into managable
numbers, in order that statistical operations can be performed
on the material in question (Carney, 1972). To accomplish this
task, it was necessary to formulate classes of behavior and
then to tabulate frequencies of their occurrence within a given
media context. The technique of content analysis was chosen by
the experimenter specifically because it consists of methods in
which the bias of the analyst can be minimized; in which the

essential methodological operations can be made explicit, and therefore the experimental conclusions are subject to easy replication. The research results can be communicated in meaningful numbers (Osgood, 1959).

There are also technical advantages in using content analysis when the volume of material to be examined exceeds the experimenter's ability to undertake more than a small sample and it is impossible to examine all the relevant data. The sample is then used to make inferences about the large body of work from which the sample is selected. To ensure sample validity proper steps must be taken to ensure that the sample is representative and that all the relevant characteristics are described precisely.

C.   Reasons for Using Content Analysis

The application of quantitative methods to cinematic material does not meet with universal acceptance. A continuous debate exists between quantitatively oriented researchers and those engaging in descriptive qualitative oriented research. This dichotomy is particularly in evidence when the research involves the content analysis of works which are considered to be artistic in nature (Salt, 1974).

Since the experimenter has chosen to utilize a quantitative technique in analyzing the cinema, it may be relevant to briefly examine, and hopefully refute some of the rationale behind the antipathy towards quantification. A major argument advanced against quantification is the generally negative connotation of the act of quantification, which it is thought excludes the insight and sensitivity available through qualitative analysis. It is further advocated that any quantification system is limited, and therefore unable to effectively incorporate the complex factors involved in mass media research.

In the particular area of film research there is a paucity of quantitative analysis. In general, attempts at quantification has been decried by film historians and theoreticians as being reductionistic in nature and perpetuating the destruction of artistic i.e. intuitive creation. Thus, those few studies which purport to examine the role of women in film, attempt to provide broad historical and socio-cultural analyses, detailing the image of women in North American and Western European film, according to star personalities, historical period, and film genre. These studies fail to implement those techniques necessary for empirical investigation and the systematic study of cinematic content.

The frequency cf exposure to mass media, i.e. the communications experience is limited and selective. Qualitative analysis alone does not avoid the effects of reductionism, on the contrary, it compounds these effects by permitting them to proliferate under the imprecise use of verbal generalizations. The knowledge that is transmitted is biased by personal subjective interpretation. Thus, it was necessary to devise a detailed methodological procedure and analytical infrastructure in order to refute these charges.

D. Overall Research Structure

The general experimental design was a shot by shot analysis of a sample of Griffith's films. Behavior of each character in the shot was to be coded according to a behavior classification scheme. (For complete details of the coding instructions in the final study, see Appendices 6,7,8) .

Comparison of the behavior coded for male and female characters provided the basis for determining the extent to which the Victorian stereotype was applicable to Griffith's female characters.

Due to the lack cf established research in this area, several pilot studies were conducted in an effort to evolve an appropriate methodology. The formulation of the necessary

analytical infrastructure was a multistage process, involving
the definition of methodological components, and their process
of assemblage. The methodological structure involved the
following; 1) Designation of the film sample to be analyzed;
2) the selection of media units 3) the development of behavioral
categories appropriate to the questions posed by the
experimenter; 4) the development of a means of determining
category validity or validity in terms of inter-coder
agreement; 5) the designation of a method by which to tabulate
the aforementioned categories (Carney, 1972.)

1) Film Sample

Many of Griffith's films, particularly those of the period
designated within this research, have been inaccessible for
general viewing. Several of them have been either completely
lost or destroyed, thereby hampering attempts at a
comprehensive analysis of their film content. This loss was
compounded by the film industry's careless treatment of films
as disposable products and the official attitude that with the
arrival of sound, silent movies were rendered obsolete. At the
present time it is still difficult to gain access to many of
D.W. Griffith's films, and therefore to view the image
projected for both males and females as they evolved over a
succession of films, except within a limited time period.

The experimenter chose to concentrate upon the films of the "Biograph Period", because the films of this era are generally acknowledged by both film historians and theoreticians, to contain the crystalization of Griffith's thematic and technical style.

The experimenter selected a total of eleven films it was believed constituted a representative sample of the films directed by D.W. Griffith under the auspices of the Biograph studio, 1908-1913.

The films chosen reflect an appropriate chronology, within the context of this crucial developmental stage of Griffith's career as a filmmaker. The majority of these films, such as "Battle at Elderbush Gulch", "The Musketeers of Pig Alley", and "The New York Hat" have served in some manner as prototypes for later films of a more artistically and thematically developed nature. To cite specific cases, "The Battle at Elderbush Gulch", contains character types, compositional elements, editing techniques, and thematic components utilized in the Griffith classic, "Birth of a Nation" (1915). The gangster sequences in the film "Musketeers of Pig Alley" are the forerunners of the modern segment, subtitled "The Mother and the Law", in the Griffith masterpiece "Intolerence" (1916) (Henderson, 1972).

2) Media Units

Various media units have been used in the content analysis
of media: the character and character behavior (Gerbner, 1972;
Smythe, 1953; Lanier, ˇ1968; Tedesco 1972), plot (Lanier, 1968;
Smythe, 1953), the critical analysis of entire films (Haskell,
1974; Rosen, 1973), advertising inserts (NOW, 1971) and
individual scenes (Lennig, 1969).

Entire films, and even individual scenes, while not
inappropriate for the qualitative approach, lacked the
necessary precision for quantification measures, due to the
great variety of length and temporal duration. This
fluctuation in overall film length in turn influenced the
frequency of occurrence of the designated behavior categories.
Thus, it was necessary to devise context units with precise and
defined boundaries. The scoring of character behavior within
the film could then be statistically tabulated. The selection
of context units was based upon units of either equal temporal
duration or a standardized rate according to the accepted
definition of shot measurement as the basic unit of cinematic
structure (Salt, 1974). In concurrence with established
cinematic vocabulary, the shot was defined as an episode or
scene without a break in time or space, photographed without
actual or apparent interruption. An operational definition was
formulated to establish shot boundaries. Variables which were

directly under the director's control, and which were also to a
certain extent the easiest to quantify (Salt, 1974) were used.
These variables, in terms of cinematic language were 1)
editing, i.e. the type and length of shots; and 2) special
cinematic effects (type of focus, lighting, camera angle).
Thus, a medium shot followed by a close up would comprise two
units in the analysis. Similarly, a shift in camera angle
would determine a shot boundary.

The rhythmic pace of a film is determined by the relative
length, positioning, and immediacy of the basic shots. The
edited construction of the individual shot functions to focus
the attention of the spectator via thematic composition. The
technical possibilities of the film medium also enable a precise
analysis of this thematic composition with regards to plot
construction. Literary techniques for plot advancement and
revelation, (the subjective emotional impact of inner dialogue
for example) can be expressed cinematically through the
superimposition of shots, narration, the flashback, and the
flashforward. Therefore, in endeavoring to analyze the role of
women in the cinema it is necessary to formulate a methodology
of content analysis based upon the construction of
cinematographic elements.

In this sense, every cinematic element parallels in function the literary word, which through its position renders the meaning of an entire sentence (Eisenstein, 1949). The written words of the scenario or script are translated into the cinematic syntax of the basic shot. In his work, "Film Form" 1949), the noted filmmaker and theoretician, Sergei Eisenstein upon whom Griffith exerted a tremendous influence, details a shot by shot analysis of verbal language as transposed into the cinematic syntax of a shooting script. Each framed shot, whether constructed upon either the montage principles of the Russian theoreticians, or the shot in depth of the Neorealists, resonates in microcosm the overall content inherent in the entire film (Wollen, 1970).

The Character as Recording Unit

The primary behavioral cues were visual, due to the nature and inherent limitations of the silent film format. The audience interpretation of, and therefore response to, an object or character is thus determined by its expressiveness in both visual presentation, and socio-cultural connotation. Character interactions as contrasted with dialogue, with the exception of visual text in the form of titles, formed silent cinematic content. Lacking spoken dialogue, the characterization and concepts to be expressed were denoted by visual means i.e. behavioral actions. Thus, to conduct a

content analysis of this material, the method concentrated upon the manifest content, i.e. the characters' behavioral interactions.

Those characters to be coded were specified by the experimenter. Not infrequently the designation and determination of a character unit involved qualitative assessment by the experimenter of a significance of a character. A distinction was made between individual characters and those participating in general group behavior. This differentiation was made by the experimenter on the grounds that certain characters were essential in providing a major role in terms of plot advancement. In determining character importance within a shot, the experimenter was guided by the definitions of character role established during the research conducted by the Ontario Status of Women Council (1972). Characters whose activities were markedly different from those of other group members and who had proportionally high visibility in a shot, were always scored individually. Others who were utilized primarily for background purposes were coded under the general heading of crowd behavior. This avoided assigning the same significance to crowd behavior as that given individual behavior. If several small groups were engaged in separate activities within a shot, each of these groups were scored separately, as equivalent to the behavior of an individual.

The following is an example of character breakdowns in a shot:

> Lena, the goosegirl (individual) and her mother, Gretchen (individual) embrace as the courtiers (crowd, male and female) laugh, and the King's messenger (Individual) shakes his fist. The three ladies in waiting (small female crowd, separated from the large group) faint.

3) Behavioral categories

Those categories which were selected by the experimenter were those which were thought to be the most applicable to the aims of this study. Therefore, it was necessary to devise a flexible category system, As no set of categories is ever complete, the categories devised by the experimenter were continually revised and expanded in order to improve their comprehensiveness.

Since the main question being investigated was whether the characterizations of women in the films of D.W. Griffith were Victorian, the first objective was to devise behavior categories attributed to the female Victorian stereotype. In order to adequately formulate such a list of Victorian behavior, documentation was sought from relevant sources for recurring references to women of the Victorian era.

Considerable controversy exists over the nature of the Victorian stereotype. This is in part due to the length of the reign of Victoria, and the many social changes occurring in this period. The middle Victorian years, 1850-1870, have come to characterize the "Victorian era" (Briggs, 1967). Therefore, most of the sources that were utilized date from this time period. Those terms which appeared with consistency and regularity were incorporated into the categories comprising the female Victorian composite. In this way, an operational definition of female Victorian behavior was established according to agreement among acknowledged scholars of Victorian history.

Documentation sources included 1) anthologies and literature concerning the image of women as perpetuated by prominent statesman, writers and artists of the period (Page in Scott, 1972; Ruskin in Houghton, 1957; Patmore in Houghton, 1957; Fitzhugh in Scott, 1972; Tennyson in Houghton, 1957; Brown in Houghton, 1957); 2) the mass media of the Victorian era such as magazines, periodicals, and verbal messages of the period (Gilmore, 1972; Halstead in Rosen, 1973; Elliotson in Petrie, 1962; Walker in Petrie, 1962; Putnam, 1972; Sewell in Houghton, 1957); 3) Historical sources and analyses of the era both by contemporaries of the period, and present day modern

historians (Briggs, 1966; Houghton, 1957; Petrie, 1962; Kauwar
and Sorensen, 1969; Wagenknecht, 1966; Tingston, 1972; Young,
1966; Delafield, 1937; Quennel; 1937; Cruickshank, 1949;
Levine, 1967; Scott, 1972); 4) socio-political tracts, i.e.
church and political parties, both written and verbal
quotations concerning the role of women in society, with
particular emphasis placed upon the Southern states (Page in
Scott, 1972; Fitzhugh in Scott; 1972; Elliotson in Petrie;
Ellis in Houghton, 1957). (Appendix 9 gives specific
references for each Victorian behavior used in the final
behavioral classification).

In the initial effort to classify the Victorian standard
and to interpret the Victorian sensibility from which Griffith
is supposed to have drawn inspiration, the classification
schema included a rather extensive number of possible behaviors
and character traits (see Appendix 4). Utilizing solely those
behavioral categories designated as "Victorian", proved
insufficient to construct a comprehensive classification
system. Therefore, in addition to the Victorian composite, the
experimenter devised additional categories. These categories
were selected in order to provide an overall balanced
behavioral classifications scheme that would enable the maximum
number of behaviors in the film to be categorized, and to
provide an alternative to the Victorian behavioral composite.

Thus, in many cases opposites to the Victorian categories were
used. For example, the Victorian category of "chaste behavior"
was balanced by "seductive behavior".

Other behaviors were also selected from personality theory
in order to provide a balanced personality profile. In
particular the sources utilized for these behavioral categories
were Hall and Van De Castle, Horney, Bardwick and Deutsch. For
example, behavioral classifications such as "autonomous
behavior", "conflict resolution", and "leadership activity"
were employed in the construction of a comprehensive
classification schema.

Since no classification scheme can be complete, neutral
categories were also available for scoring (transitional
movements and other behavior), to incorporate those behaviors
which were not included.

Construction of the Nominal Scale

The formulation of behavioral categories involved the
distillation and reduction of myriad possible categories which
were representative of various behavior states, into a compact
number of comprehensive categories. Under the behavioral
classifications were included 1) the Victorian composite, 2)
opposites to the Victorian composite, 3) The major types of

social interaction between characters, 4) Neutral activities of a character.

Although these categories were classified as behavioral units, it must be stressed that they did not form a scale of behavior in the usual psychometric sense. The classification scheme remained a nominal scale. Neither are the behavioral categories ranked as to subclass, nor weighted in any sense. The term scale can be applied to these categories only in the sense of the formulation of a nominal scale, i.e. numbers have been assigned to various classes and subclasses of behavior, but without ordering or magnitude being involved in these assignments.

Object of Behavior

According to Hall (1966) any interaction consists of four interdependent components which are: 1) the nature of the interaction; 2) the initiator of the action or behavior; 3) the recipient of the action or the behavior; 4) possible reciprocal action by the object of the aforementioned action.

The rationale concerning the coding of the object of behavior resides within the nature of interpersonal interaction between characters and the general socio-cultural environment. The experimenter wished to gauge the effects objects had upon

behavioral interaction, and to attempt to discern the difference in behavioral activity, in relation to the sex of the recipient of the behavior.

For example whether or not a difference exists in the amount of a behavior, (aggressive behavior, for example) exhibited by male and female characters, a difference may still exist in their interactional patterns. Interactional patterns may therefore be sex specific or nonsex specific.

Standards for Comparison

Once the behavior and objects of behavior of a character are categorized, there still remains the question as to whether the character can be termed Victorian or not.

An implicit meaning in the use of the term "female" Victorian stereotype is that it refers specifically to female behavior, as opposed to that of men. If one can then show that the behavior of women does not differ significantly from that of men, then there is no basis to term that female behavior as "Victorian".

A basic premise in the design of this research was to use the behavior of men as a control group. Comparisons between male and female behavior were the basis for establishing the

extent to which female characterizations in the films of D.W.
Griffith were Victorian or non Victorian.

    4) Category Validity and Inter-Coder Agreement

    The primary criteria of a good category are precision and
clarity of definition, which will accordingly facilitate a high
degree of agreement between viewers independently coding the
same material. Conversely, if inter-coder agreement is low,
the category must either be redefined or eliminated.

    According to Hall and Van De Castle (1966), the issue of
scorer validity has been a much neglected topic among
researchers in the area of content analysis. It is an unusual
occurrence when a study reports any figures for inter-coder
agreement. The rare studies reporting actual figures for
inter-coder agreement are generally quite vague in describing
the methods used to obtain these figures. Hall and Van De
Castle gave a striking example of how eight different
"validity" figures computed for the same sample data ranged
from 0 to 100% agreement.

    It was felt that a correlation coefficient could not be
used as a test of category validity between judges, since such a
computation is predicated upon an ordinal (or interval) scale
(McCollough and Locke, 1965), while the scale for behavior used

was strictly nominal. The behavior categories coded for each shot merely marked the presence or absence of a behavior. The actual value of the category number had no numerical or rank value.

The validity measurement that was used was the "perfect agreement" score utilized by Hall and Van De Castle. This score is defined as:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Agreements}}{\text{Number of Agreements + Disagreements}}$$

The actual method for calculating agreements and disagreements changed somewhat during the course of the pilot studies in relation to the number of scorers involved. However, the basic perfect agreement formula cited above was used to calculate perfect agreement score throughout the research.

In the content analyis of dreams, Hall and Van De Castle found that while perfect agreement scores ranged from 60% to 80% for objective categories such as physical setting. It dropped to 40-50% when the category involved a wide range of possible interpretations, such as for most behavior classifications. Since the behaviors in the classification scheme in this study were complex and subject to a great degree of interpretation, a criteria of 40% perfect agreement was accepted as the level for category validity.

Coders

As a communications tool, cinema needs an audience to
complete itself. The sccio-cultural background and level of
media literacy of the participating audience will influeace the
manner in which cinematic language is structured. Herein, lies
the original critical relationship between the audience,
Griffith's role as a communicator, and the cinema as a
communications medium.

The tasks of the coders in this process was to classify
the behavior of those characters designated by the experimenter
in each shot of the film sample, according to the
classification scheme developed by the experimenter. The coder
pool consisted of Simon Fraser University students, faculty,
and staff, encompassing a wide range of ages, disciplines,
knowledge of the film medium, and orientation towards the issue
of women's liberaticn.

5) Tabulation

The main concern was a comparison of male and female
behavior. A frequency tabulation over all films in the sample
for each behavicr brcken down by sex of character would provide
2 x2 contingency tables. Chi-square tests could be computed on
each of these tables to determine whether presence or absence

of a particular behavior was dependent on the sex of the
character.

Analysis of the pattern of each behavior in terms of
object towards whom the behavior was directed was similarly
conducted. For each behavior, frequencies of types of objects
divided according to sex of character, would give a series of
contingency tables. Chi square tests would allow statistical
conclusions as to the extent that the pattern of a behavior
depended on the sex of the film character.

E. Procedure

To enable theoretical issues and considerations to be
explored within the representative sample of films, it was
necessary to make alterations in the research framework,
Through these procedures, a gradual evolution in analytical
framework took place. In this research three pilot studies
were run, in order to eventually produce a research methodology
which best suited the required data.

1) Pilot Study 1

The film the "New York Hat" was selected for this pilot
study. It was first viewed by the experimenter on a projector
which could be stopped at any point to review a shot. In this

way, the boundaries of each shot could be established, according to the criteria previously discussed. In each shot, the recording units (i.e. individuals or groups) were identified and listed.

At this point it became clear that in addition to the established shot boundaries, a time limit would have to be established for each shot. Due to the long "takes" in many films, prominent characters showed several behaviors over these long time periods. In order to give more weight to a long shot with several behaviors, than to a short shot with a single behavior, it was decided to divide long takes into fifteen second segments, each of which would be defined as a shot for the purposes of this study. The fifteen second time limit was decided upon by the experimenter after becoming familiar with several of the films, because it seemed that most scenes with multiple behaviors occurred in "takes" that exceeded fifteen seconds.

There seems to be no theoretical guideline for determining such a time limit. For example, Salt (1974) found the average shot length varied anywhere from four seconds to twenty-one seconds. In any case, this time division did not affect the majority of film shots, certainly less than 10% overall, although this varied a great deal from film to film.

The resulting list cf characters by shot was duplicated to provide coding sheets for the coders. The coding sheet included columns with shct number and characters, and columns for the coding of behavior, and the object of the behavior. (see Appendix 3)

The initial behavior classification scheme included thirty-six categories of which nineteen were a part of the Victorian composite (fcr complete list see Appendix 4).

The pilct study tock place in the experimenter's home. The coders consisted of two males and two females. They were first shown a preview of the total film in order to familiarize themselves with characters and plot. They were then presented with a coding sheet and the list cf behavior categories, being instructed to familiarize themselves with the different behaviors and to consider the object of behavior, i.e. that person, thing, or circumstance, towards which the behavior was directed. Subjects were told that the film would be stopped after each shot and that they were to code the numbers representing those behavioral categories that best described the behaviors of those characters marked on the coding sheet. Objects were to be tabulated as male, female, other cr ncne. Subjects were allowed cne review of each shot if requested.

Coders scored character behavior independently on their own scoring sheet. Discussion between coders was prohibited.

Perfect Agreement scores were calculated for each behavior category. The following example shows how agreements and disagreements were scored, for each character.

Character	Coder1	Coder2	Coder3	Coder4
A	16	7	16	8

For character "A", coder 1 agreed with coder 3 for behavior 16, and disagreed with the other two coders. Subject 2 showed no agreements and three disagreements on behavior "7". Subject 3 had one agreement, two disagreements for behavior 16. Subject 4 had no agreements, and three disagreements for behavior 8.

Agreements and disagreements were thus tabulated for every coded behavior and the final agreement score for each behavior was computed as:

$$\text{Perfect Agreement Score} = \frac{\text{Agreements}}{\text{Agreements} + \text{Disagreements}}$$

On the basis of these agreement scores, those categories achieving less than .40 were altered in one of several ways.

Where possible, categories which seemed to overlap were combined, occassionally deleting elements from one of the

original category groups. For example, 2) Cowardice, acts of weakness was combined with 4) Dependent behavior to produce a new category 1) Acts of weakness, dependence (see Appendices 4, 5).

In some cases overlapping seemed to occur within parts of categories. In this case, those parts which seemed to overlap were extracted out to formulate a new category. For example, 19) acts of physical strength, leadership activity combined with 20) authoritative behavior, acts of spiritual guidance, to create the new category 4) leadership activity , authoritative behavior, along with the reduced categories for 3) physical strength and 20) spiritual guidance.

The resulting new behavior scheme had 31 categories, of which 17 were Victorian.

2) Pilot Study 2

Utilizing the new behavioral classification scheme, the second pilot study was conducted, on the film "The New York Hat". The number of coders was increased to four males and four females so that the perfect agreement scores would be based on a larger number of observations.

The procedure was the same as that for pilot study one, except that coders were restricted to coding one behavior per character in each shot. They were therefore instructed to code what they felt to be each character's dominant behavior in a shot. It was necessary to add this restriction because the open-ended technique of allowing coders to code unlimited behaviors produced tremendous variability among coders and tended to lower perfect agreement scores.

Perfect agreement scores were calculated in the same manner utilized in pilot study one, and were generally higher.

3) Pilot Study 3

At this point, it was planned that once the categories were validated by achieving the criterion perfect agreement score of .40, the experimenter would be the "rater" for coding the remainder of the film sample. The main goal of pilot study "3" was to see the agreement the experimenter would show with coders using this category scheme. A new film, The House With Closed Shutters, was used in order to test out these categories which had now been validated from the previous pilot studies.

Changes made in the procedure at this stage included the elimination of the first viewing of the film by the coders. It was thought that as the shot was the media unit being analyzed,

the overall construction and plot of the film should not be allowed to influence coder scoring of behavior within each shot.

Two agreement scores were now computed, between the experimenter and each coder (one male and one female). The average of these agreement scores was determined as the overall agreement score.

The results of this study were mixed. Some behaviors showed very low agreement scores. Many of these categories were an important part of the Victorian composite and therefore could not be eliminated. Therefore, a third classification scheme was implemented with the purpose of greatly reducing category overlap which occurred, by reducing the total number of categories in the scheme.

For example, it was noticed on the coding sheet that one coder might have consistently coded 4) leadership activity, whereas another coder scored 14) problem solving, for the same character. Thus, there was a basic agreement on the type of behavior involved, but because of the overlapping categories, this agreement was not reflected in the perfect agreement scores.

To simplify the behavioral scheme for coders, and provide a better overview of its organization, the behavioral

categories were classified under five general headings. These were: 1) Social Behavior 2) Affection and Aggression, 3) Ego Orientation, 4) Strength of Behavior 5) Neutral Behavior. These groupings were not used in the analysis, being included solely for the coders' benefit (see Appendix 7).

The total number of behaviors was now reduced to nineteen. Of these nineteen, ten were behavioral components in the Victorian composite.

In spite of the reduction in categories from 31 to 19, some of the critical Victorian categories could not be amalgamated or otherwise modified in a way that promised to raise perfect agreement scores. Virtuous behavior, for example, is a behavioral class that depends on fairly subtle behavior as opposed to aggressive behavior, which is usually displayed by an overt action. Thus, the nature of some of the Victorian categories was such that they depended a great deal on subjective interpretation. To justify using such categories with low perfect agreement scores, the design of the study was changed.

This type of research often uses trained raters to score the content sample (Hall and Van De Castle, 1966). The original plan had been for the experimenter to do this scoring, due to a lack of funding and time to acquire and train raters.

Since the perfect agreement scores were not high enough to justify this procedure, it seemed that a superior design to control for the subjectivity of behavior classification would be to have different randomly selected coders score each film.

The final research design had two coders each view one film. Coders were paired by sex to control for possible differences in the way males and females might perceive behavior. The total research sample of eleven films required twenty-two different coders, eleven males and eleven females.

4) Final Procedure

Subjects were given a formalized instruction sheet (see Appendix 6). They were then asked to familiarize themselves with the behavioral categories (see Appendix 7). They were also given a category definition sheet (Appendix 8), which elaborated upon the "key word" behavioral classification sheet.

When the coders had familiarized themselves with the aforementioned material, they were given a coding sheet for that film with the characters in each shot already marked on it (see Appendix 3).

The film was projected, stopping after each shot for a maximum of two minutes and the coders scored the behavior and

object of behavior for each character on the coding sheet. In summary, three pilot studies were conducted, incorporating those design modifications which culminated in the final research procedure. The results of this study are based upon this final research methodology.

Chapter V. Results

The analysis and results are first the final computation of
perfect agreement scores for each behavior category. Chi-square
test results are then reported for the two analyses outlined in
Chapter III. An additional secondary analysis testing for
differences in perception of behavior by male and female coders
is also reported.

A. Perfect Agreement Scores

Perfect agreement scores were computed for each category
over the entire film sample. For example, consider the
following table of judgements of behavior categories for four
characters.

Character	Coder A	Coder B
A	3	3
B	3	7
C	2	3
D	5	3

Taking behavior category "3", Coder A had one agreement
with B (character A) and one disagreement (character B), while
Coder B had one agreement and two disagreements with A for
behavior "3". The perfect agreeement score for behavior "3" is
then:

$$\frac{A}{A + D} = \frac{1+1}{(1+1) + (1+2)} = 40\%$$

This agreement score means that of those instances when 3 was scored by either of the coders 40% of the time, the other coder also scored category 3.

Perfect agreement scores are shown in Table I.

B. Behavior Comparisons Between Males and Females

The frequency of occurrence of each behavior by male and female characters was tabulated over all eleven films. This resulted in a 2x2 contingency table for each behavior as follows:

Maternal/Paternal Behavior

Character		Present	Absent
	F	92 (5.0%)	1753 (95.0%)
	M	30 (1.5%)	2009 (98.5%)

A chi-square test with Yates correction (Langely, 1972) for 2x2 tables was calculated for each behavior. (Note: all contingency tables and chi square tests were computed with the computer program SPSS, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Nie et al 1970).

A summary table showing percentages of all observations of behaviors by each behavior category for males and females, with chi-square values, is in Table II.

Figure 1. presents these results for the Victorian behaviors.

Figure 2. presents these results for the non-Victorian behaviors.

Thus, of the ten behaviors which made up the Victorian stereotype, females exhibited a greater amount of this behavior (at the 1% probability level) for seven of these behaviors. These categories were Maternal, Emotional, Virtuous, Weak, Indecisive, Religious, and Kindness. Two of the categories, Unselfish and Envious, showed no difference. In the Victorian category of Sociable Behavior, men exhibited a greater frequency of this behavior than did women.

However, the difference in Virtuous, Indecisive, and Weakness Behavior is mitigated by the fact that there was no significant difference in their opposite behaviors, Seductive, Decisive and Physical Strength, respectively. In other words, while women were judged to be indecisive more frequently than were men, when women did portray determination and decisiveness, they showed about the same amount of this behavior as did men. If one interprets the Victorian category Indecisive to imply that men are more decisive than women, research results indicate that this is not the case. Similarly one cannot interpret the Victorian category "Virtuous" to imply that female characters

were not seductive (or at least as seductive as men); nor the category Weakness to mean that women did not show strength.

Thus, it can be stated that these results indicate a clearly Victorian stereotype for women in the films of D.W. Griffith in only four out of the ten behavioral categories making up the Victorian composite.

C.   Object of Behavior

The first tabulation was a 2x4 contingency table for each behavior, i.e.   male or female character versus the classification of object of the behavior into; 1) male 2) female 3) other or 4) none.   In many of the tables the cell frequencies for other and/or none were too low to conduct a valid chi-square (only 20% of cells may have expected frequencies of less than 5 (Langely, 1971)).   Therefore, other and none were combined into one cell, resulting in 2x3 contingency tables for each behavior, as shown in the following example:

Maternal/Paternal Behavior Object

Character		Female	Male	Other or None
	F	47 (51.1%)	9 (9.8%)	36 (39.1%)
	M	13 (43.3%)	2 (6.7%)	15 (50.0%)

Summary tables for all behaviors are found in Table III.

This combining of other and none allowed chi-square tests on all but three behaviors. These were Seductive Behavior, Use of Stimulants, and Physical Strength.

Those nine behaviors in which the objects were dependent upon the sex of the character were the following: Professional Role, Virtuous, Transition, Unselfish, Egocentric, Decisive, Indecisive, Emotional, and Weakness behavior.

These chi square tests reflected differences in patterns of behavior as directed towards males or females. However, for some of the behaviors it seemed more reasonable to test such differences in behavior patterns as directed towards the same sex or the opposite sex.

This is especially true in the self reflexive behavior, Egocentric Behavior. When the chi-square test was conducted to determine the dependency of the object of behavior in terms of same sexed or opposite sexed object of a character, it was found that there was no difference; i.e. most of the behavior was directed towards the self, which was the same sex.

The other situation in which this seemed to be a more reasonable way of looking at inter-actional patterns of behavior was behavior that had a distinct sexual component, as in the case of Virtuous Behavior. One would expect female

virtuous behavior to be directed towards men and vice versa.
When analyzed in this manner, the differences in patterns
between males and females disappear, i.e. both male and female
characters directed most "virtuous behavior" towards the
opposite sex.

Thus different patterns in the object of behavior for
males and females really existed in two non-Victorian
categories: (Professional Role, Decisive behavior), and four
Victorian categories (Unselfish, Indecisive, Emotional
Behavior, and Weakness). However, it can not be concluded that
the difference in these four categories upholds the Victorian
stereotype, as there is no standard against which to compare
the pattern of behavior. In general, Victorian sources
discussed previously did not make a distinction in terms of
interactional patterns between men and women. For example,
Victorian women are cited as being sociable, however it is not
clear in terms of this stereotype, whether this sociability is
directed towards males or females or both.

Examining the contingency tables for the aforementioned
behaviors reveals how these patterns of object of behavior
differ. In the case of Unselfish Behavior, women exhibited
much more unselfish behavior towards men than towards women,
whereas men exhibited more unselfish behavior towards women
than towards men.

Most indecisive behavior by female characters was directed towards males whereas male characters displayed most indecision towards females. It is also interesting to note that the incidence of indecision of women towards other women was very low, while indecision of men towards other men was not as low.

Thus, in the case of Unselfish and Indecisive, the object of behavior seemed to be sex specific. In fact, if the chi-square test is done on the table with objects classified into same sex and opposite sex, the chi-square differences disappear.

In general, emotional behavior of females was directed towards general circumstances, whereas male emotionality was directed towards people. However, in both instances, it is interesting to note that emotional behavior more often is directed towards men than women.

The same pattern is evident in analyzing Weakness Behavior, i.e. the pattern of weakness behavior of men was directed towards people, more often than was the behavioral pattern of women. However, both sexes directed weakness behavior more towards men than towards women.

In terms of Professional Role, the difference in patterns of the objects was evidenced in male professional role behavior

being directed towards males, while females exhibited
professional role towards an object of other or none.

A similar interactional pattern is exhibited for Decisive
Actions. Males directed their decisive behavior towards other
men, whereas women tended to direct their actions in a
non-person specific manner.

D. Differences Between Male and Female Coders

Differences in perception of behavior between male and
female coders was controlled through pairing. It was thought
that it would be interesting to test whether there were in fact
such differences.

With the growing awareness of the women's liberation
movement, among contemporary women, it might have been expected
that female coders would perceive the behavior of characters,
especially women, differently from male coders. For example,
in terms of emotional behavior, the women's movement has
rejected the concept of women as highly emotional. It was
therefore expected, that women's perception of female character
behavior would include fewer observations of emotional
behavior, than would men's perception.

To conduct this analysis, contingency tables were
tabulated for each behavior as follows:

Emotional Behavior Character

		Female	Male
Coder	F	158 (60.1%)	105 (39.9%)
	M	154 (58.6%)	109 (41.4%)

This analysis of sex of scorer by sex of character
enabled a chi-square test to determine whether the observations
of male and female behavior depended on the sex of the coders.
Among all nineteen behavior categories, the only behavior which
had a significant chi-square ($p<.05$) was that of the neutral
category "other" (see Table IV). This particular result is
difficult to interpret. It is more likely a spurious result;
the probability of this chi-square being due to chance i.e. one
in twenty, and there almost twenty categories altogether in the
behavioral classification scheme.

In most cases, female coders perceived the same proportion
of the behavior in female characters as did males (and
therefore male and female coders perceived the same proportion
of a behavior in male characters). The only cases where these
proportions differed somewhat, though not significantly, was
for Envious Behavior, Physical Strength, and Weakness. Women
tended to view female characters as exhibiting more envious
behavior than did men. Women were less likely to perceive

physical strength in female characters than were men. In terms
of weakness, males were more likely to code weakness in female
characters, while women saw weakness as evenly distributed
between males and females.

Chapter V.   Discussion Section

The purpose of this section is threefold: 1) to critically
evaluate the research methodology involved in this particular
study: 2) to compare the results with the body of findings
derived from the qualitative assessment of Griffith's work: 3)
to examine the implications for the general area of media
research.

A.   Criticisms of the Research Methodology

Although a great deal of work was involved in the
development of the content analytic methodology utilized in this
research, upon final assessment it became apparent that further
improvements in the experimental design could be made.

It would have perhaps been advisable to have included the
category of "self" as a possible choice for object of behavior.
The use of the self as an object category would have eliminated
the necessity for a second chi-square test of certain behaviors
of a self reflexive or egocentric nature. In a number of the
behavior categories such as "emotional behavior" and "egocentric
behavior", the self as object was confounded with sex specific
i.e. male and female objects. The inclusion of the category
"self" would have enabled greater precision in the analysis of
the patterns of behavior in terms of object of behavior.

Another area of possible weakness in this study is that of
reliability. Although extensive research was conducted to
determine the method to be used for establishing inter-coder
agreement, It could be argued that the perfect agreement scores
obtained in this research represent agreement i.e. category
validity obtained solely at one point in time. Therefore,
inter-coder agreement might be subject to change if calculated
at a different time period. A test-retest procedure, utilizing
a correlation coefficient could have perhaps strengthened
reliability. At present most media research, i.e. studies
investigating film and the related area of television, do not
provide retest calculations. However, this procedure should be
taken into account in further research in these areas.

B. Research Results In Comparison With Other Studies

To a certain extent the silent era remains a mystery. The
presuppositions concerning the films of directors such as
Griffith and the roles of the actors and actresses who populated
them are often not drawn on an empirical basis, but are
summarized from photographs of the period, individual
reminisences, and reconstructed facsimiles of plot synopses.
Until the recent development of a unique paper-print process
(Kemper, 1970), many of Griffith's films were unavailable for
general viewing, having been either lost or completely
destroyed. It was therefore very difficult to view the images

projected of both men and women, as they evolved over a
succession of films. Thus, the established image of women in
the films of D.W. Griffith remained that of the popularized
archetypes, incorporating the broad "virgin/vamp" dichotomy
delineated by the Victorian sensibility.

The results of this study would seem to indicate that
general Victorian categories are inadequate in terms of the
design and variety of roles allocated to women in these Biograph
films. The portrayal of female characters varies a great deal,
not only in different films, but also within the confines of a
single film. Often several different types of female roles were
used to offset each other, offering great variety in individual
characterization and behavior. In the Biograph films there
seems to have been a greater freedom of individual expression
and adventurousness, than in later Griffith films.

In "Battle At Elderbush Gulch" for example, Lillian Gish as
Melissa is representative of the traditional Victorian
stereotype: maternal, emotional, unresourceful, and in general
embodying all of the traits and behaviors comprising the
Victorian composite. In contrast, Mae Marsh's portrayal of
Sally Cameron incorporates the majority of the non-Victorian
subclasses of behavior. She is intelligent, courageous, and
resourceful enough to save Melissa's baby and devise an
inventive scheme to hide the infant, her younger sister, and her

pet dogs from the enemy. It could be speculated that her daring character is perhaps a function of her comparative youth. However, the character portrayal by Kate Bruce of a middle aged woman is a combination of Victorian and non-Victorian behavioral categories. She is maternal towards characters of both sexes, yet behaves in a decisive, authoritative and courageous manner. She also displays physical strength, fighting alongside the males in the battle sequences.

As can be noted in the examples cited above, there appears to be as much variation in overall behavior among female characters as among male characters. In terms of male behavior, Melissa's husband, as played by Robert Harron, appears as paternal, hysterical, and ineffectual, paralleling Melissa as a behavioral counterpart. The Cameron brothers exhibit the general behavioral pattern for male characters in the overall study. Only the eldest brother is depicted as demonstrating a greater incidence of authoritative behavior than the other characters.

The results of this research would therefore seem to indicate that the general application of the Victorian stereotype to the role of women in the films of D.W. Griffith is too simplistic.

In a general assessment of the silent cinema, Panofsky states that lacking speech, these films presented their stories through visual image and incident alone (p.45). Thus, without dialogue to develop subtleties of personality and behavior, a character had to be presented as part of an easily identifiable iconography i.e. sterectyping. Regarding the role of women in the silent era, Haskell cites the implementation of morality play plots and the use of typage i.e. the casting of a character as dictated by the presumed relationship between an actresses's outward appearance and the character she is required to play.

In contrast to this view, the observations made on the research film sample would seem to indicate that actresses were often cast against type, and received sympathetic portrayal in unconventional roles. Mary Pickford for example, was involved in a much greater variety of character portrayal, ranging from comedy (Lena and the Geese) to unsympathetic parts, such as the evil sister in "Female of the Species".

Haskell (1974) and Rosen (1973) articulate a common supposition that the films cf D.W. Griffith were consistently either implicitly or explicitly didactic in nature, and that the female character was often depicted at the focal point of this Victorian morality. As a physical embodiment of this morality, she was characteristically depicted as fair haired, delicate,

and tiny in the honored tradition of the weaker sex. Lillian
Gish is repeatedly cited as the archetypal virgin in silent
cinema in general. However, several of her character portrayals
in the research sample would seem to belie, or at least spread
doubts concerning this assumption. As the "little lady" in the
gangster film, "Musketeers of Pig Alley", she drinks, goes out
with a man other than her husband, is capable of fighting off
unwanted advances, and aids the gangster, in his attempt to
avoid going to jail. In later Griffith films she receives
sympathetic treatment as the "fallen woman" in such films as
"Way Down East".

The discrepancy between the conclusions of this study and
those cited by Haskell and Rosen may be due to the fact that
many of the stars of the Biograph period proceeded to long
careers in both the silent and sound cinema. It is for these
later roles that they are often best remembered. Many of these
individuals engaged in their most creative and dynamic work
during the Biograph period, but became frozen in a more limited
image in later years.

Contrary to the romanticism often ascribed to Griffith
films, many of those of the Biograph period were the epitome of
social realism. "The Musketeers of Pig Alley", "Battle at
Elderbush Gulch", and "The Female of the Species" are good

examples of this type of film. In these films the focus is often
centered around the female characters which form the integral
focal point in the storyline. An attempt was made to explore,
however naively, female emotion, sexuality, and psychology. The
characters in Griffith's films endeavored to deal with subjects
of contemporary interest. In a psychologically unsophisticated
age, they attempted to examine the deeper levels motivating
character behavior, and the variety and complexity of roles with
which a woman could be invested.

In the area of sexual behavior the results of this study
uphold the conclusions of both Lenning, (1972) and Haskell
(1974) who assert that for all Griffith's supposed Victorian
sensibility, he often dealt with sex in a more explicit, though
non-sensationalisitc manner, than the majority of his
contemporaries. The films of his Biograph period broke down the
then existing dichotomy between sex films and those films
exhibiting such a degree of puritainism that even the act of
kissing was forbidden (Rosen, 1973). Furthermore, in Griffith's
films, emphasis was rarely placed upon the Victorian concept of
suffering incurred for one's sensuality.

In the film "Friends" for example, Mary Pickford is a young
woman living alone, in rooms above a saloon. In this setting,
she actively courts two young men, both of whom she appears to
like equally well. In the course of both courtships, there

occur scenes of passionate embrace, which are obviously enjoyed by both parties. At the film's end, she must chose which of her suitors to marry. The film concludes with Mary gazing at the photograph of her latest beau, followed by by the title "Which One Will She Choose"?

Both the idea of female sexuality and a self sufficient existence were innovative in the years 1908-1913. In later films such as "Birth of a Nation" (1915) and "Intolerance" (1916) there were numerous scenes containing explicit sexual references.

It is true that some of the Griffith's films viewed were melodramatic as have been claimed and often did contain Victorian thematic elements; the fears and fantasies of a child's world, violence, fear of being powerless and poor, and the drama of wealth and misfortune (Haskell, 1974).

However, in concurrence with Lennig (1969), it was found that when Griffith dealt with this type of storyline, as in "The Light That Came", he managed to project these rather primitive plot vehicles into an area where they acquired universal dimensions.

In many cases he appears to have drawn from his personal experiences for insight into certain situations or characters,

and projected himself through his cast into the works themselves.

Griffith seems to have avoided extreme characterizations of both male and female roles in his films. He did not deal directly with women's suffrage, for example though other films of the period; such as "Oh You Suffragette" (1911); "Independent Votes for Women" (1912); "Eighty Million Women Want" (1913); and "Women on the Warpath" (1913); attempted to do so although mostly in a satirical vein. He also avoided the salacious use of sex, unlike many "underground films" of the period (Traffic In Souls" (1913); "Damaged Goods" (1913); "The Inside of White Slave Traffic" (1913)). In films such as "Confidence"; "The Light That Came", "Lena And The Geese", "The Musketeers of Pig Alley", and "The New York Hat", Griffith showed working women. Indeed the majority of women working with him in the area of film production, were self-supporting, and often supported others with their salary. Women also contributed to Griffith's films off camera; in the writing of scenarios and the editing of film.

Clair (1972) has stated that Griffith's personal complexity was the source of many seeming paradoxes, in his films. This may account to some degree for the contradictory characteristics of the women found in his films, his shallowness in his dealings with certain topics, and yet his sensitivity and perception in approaching others.

C. Implications for Further Research

In conclusion, it can be stated that controlled
quantitative studies can be conducted concerning the visual
medium thereby enabling valid conclusions to be drawn about
fairly complex subjects such as human behavior. Furthermore,
these conclusions can be as interesting and as provocative as
those derived through the technique of qualitative assessment
utilized by film historians and critics, and in fact can be used
to question previous subjective assumptions.

The techniques developed in this study could be implemented
in quantitative analyses of both television and the cinema. The
methodology evolved during the course of this research is
especially adaptable to any comparison of the behavior of
individual characters or groups of characters portrayed in a
particular film or a series of films.

For example if one wished to investigate whether the
portrayal of blacks or other racial and ethnic minority groups
had changed over a period of time in terms of pre-selected
behavioral traits, a similar procedure to that used in this
research could be implemented. The observations of behavior
from the films of one period could be compared to the films of
another period, in a similar manner to the way in which female
behavior was compared to male behavior in this study, to reveal

where differences existed. Film selection would perhaps be more difficult as it might not be restricted to a single director however, matched film samples from each time period could be obtained by limiting the research sample to those films encompassing certain criteria, such as Academy Award winning films, or the "top ten" box office films.

Another type of comparison study which might be possible using this research technique would be the comparison of character roles of film stars in the work of two or more directors, or in the films of several distinct time periods in film history. In the latter case, examining the changing image of one or more cultural heroines/heroes could be used to infer those qualities which were valued or depreciated during certain historical periods.

Aside from comparative studies this methodology could also be adapted to develope behavioral profiles for specific characters or groups of characters. Figures 1 and 2 presented in this study would be behavioral profiles for the male and female characters in this sense.

It is hoped that in the future more controlled study will be done in this area and better techniques will be developed and applied to film criticism.

Table I. Perfect Agreement (P.A.) Scores

N = A + D (Agreements + Disagreements)

P.A. = A / (A + D)

Behavior Category	N	P.A.
1. Professional	273	.53
2. Maternal/Paternal	122	.47
3. Sociable	497	.56
4. Envious	70	.45
5. Kindness	139	.34
6. Aggressive	311	.63
7. Seductive	113	.36
8. Virtuous	70	.15
9. Transition	513	.40
10. Other	160	.13
11. Religious	45	.56
12. Unselfish	68	.19
13. Egocentric	103	.35
14. Stimulants	61	.44
15. Decisive	407	.45
16. Physical Strength	58	.18
17. Indecisive	117	.31
18. Emotional	526	.45
19. Weakness	231	.23
Overall Agreement	3884	.42
Overall Agreement (without 9, 10)	3211	.45

Table II. Behavior by Males (M) and Females (F) with Chi-square

(* for p<.05; ** for p<.01; *** for p<.001)

Behavior Category	Char.	N	% of Behav.	Chi-sq.
1. Professional	F	52	2.8	94.1***
	M	221	10.8	
2. Maternal/Paternal	F	92	5.0	38.2***
	M	30	1.5	
3. Sociable	F	192	10.4	17.6***
	M	305	15.0	
4. Envious	F	40	2.2	2.3
	M	30	1.5	
5. Kindness	F	82	4.4	7.2**
	M	57	2.8	
6. Aggression	F	64	3.5	97.1***
	M	247	12.1	
7. Seductive	F	55	3.0	< 1
	M	58	2.8	
8. Virtuous	F	55	3.0	26.3***
	M	15	.7	
9. Transition	F	279	15.1	10.9**
	M	234	11.5	
10. Other	F	92	5.0	6.3*
	M	68	3.3	
11. Religious	F	32	1.7	9.2**
	M	13	.6	
12. Unselfish	F	39	2.1	2.3
	M	29	1.4	
13. Egocentric	F	48	2.6	< 1
	M	55	2.7	
14. Stimulants	F	2	.1	46.8***
	M	59	2.9	
15. Decisive	F	177	9.6	2.8
	M	230	11.3	

Behavior Category	Char.	N	% of Behav.	Chi-sq.
16. Physical Strength	F	20	1.1	3.5
	M	38	1.9	
17. Indecisiveness	F	75	4.1	12.7***
	M	42	2.1	
18. Emotional	F	312	16.9	33.5***
	M	214	10.5	
19. Weakness	F	137	7.4	13.2***
	M	94	4.6	

Behavior Category	Char.	N	%F Obj.	%M Obj.	%Other or None	Chi-sq.	Chi-sq. (same vs opp. sex)
11. Religious	F	32	46.9	—	53.1	< 1	—
	M	13	53.8	—	46.2		
12. Unselfish	F	39	28.2	56.4	15.4	7.1*	1.5
	M	29	48.3	24.1	27.5		
13. Egocentric	F	48	72.9	16.7	10.4	27.2***	4.2
	M	55	21.8	54.5	23.6		
14. Stimulants	F	2	100	0	0	—	—
	M	59	8.5	61.0	30.5		
15. Decisive	F	177	18.6	27.7	53.7	30.2***	43.7***
	M	230	23.9	48.7	27.4		
16. Physical Strength	F	20	20.0	15.0	65.0	—	—
	M	38	21.1	34.2	44.7		
17. Indecisiveness	F	75	13.3	57.3	29.3	25.2***	4.2
	M	42	57.1	26.2	16.7		
18. Emotional	F	312	20.8	38.5	40.7	17.0****	38.6***
	M	214	30.4	45.8	23.8		
19. Weakness	F	137	22.6	35.0	42.3	12.4****	27.6***
	M	94	21.3	56.4	22.3		

Table III. Object of Behavior by Males (M) and Females (F) with Chi-square

(* for p<.05; ** for p<.01; *** for p<.001)

Behavior Category	Char.	N	%F Obj.	%M Obj.	%Other or None	Chi-sq.	Chi-sq. (same vs opp.sex)
1. Professional	F	52	23.1	21.2	55.8	20.2***	19.0***
	M	221	20.4	52.9	26.7		
2. Maternal/Paternal	F	92	51.1	9.8	39.1	1.2	25.9***
	M	30	43.3	6.7	50.0		
3. Sociable	F	192	25.0	48.4	26.6	2.7	21.6***
	M	305	31.8	44.9	23.3		
4. Envious	F	40	32.5	37.5	30.0	4.3	5.0
	M	30	36.7	53.3	10.0		
5. Kindness	F	82	41.5	43.9	41.6	4.1	3.0
	M	57	57.9	28.1	14.0		
6. Aggression	F	64	28.1	48.4	23.4	1.9	22.1***
	M	247	21.9	57.9	20.2		
7. Seductive	F	55	12.7	87.3	0	—	—
	M	58	94.8	3.4	1.7		
8. Virtuous	F	55	16.4	65.5	18.2	11.8**	2.7
	M	15	60.0	33.3	6.7		
9. Transition	F	279	11.8	10.8	77.4	14.4***	12.1**
	M	234	11.5	23.1	65.4		
10. Other	F	92	16.3	17.4	66.3	< 1	< 1
	M	68	15.2	20.6	63.2		

Table IV. Behavior Scored by Sex (M,F) of Coder with Chi-square

(* for p<.05: ** for p<.01: *** for p<.001)

Behavior Category	Coder	N	%F Char	%M Char	Chi-sq.
1. Professional	F	123	18.7	81.3	< 1
	M	150	19.3	80.7	
2. Maternal/Paternal	F	56	75.0	25.0	< 1
	M	66	75.8	24.2	
3. Sociable	F	286	40.2	59.8	.6
	M	211	36.5	63.5	
4. Envious	F	41	65.9	34.1	2.3
	M	29	44.8	55.2	
5. Kindness	F	74	60.8	39.2	< 1
	M	65	56.9	43.1	
6. Aggression	F	161	17.4	82.6	1.7
	M	150	24.0	76.0	
7. Seductive	F	61	49.2	50.8	< 1
	M	52	48.1	51.9	
8. Virtuous	F	39	76.9	23.1	< 1
	M	31	80.6	19.4	
9. Transition	F	244	50.0	50.0	3.3
	M	269	58.4	41.6	
10. Other	F	66	69.7	30.3	6.0*
	M	94	48.9	51.1	
11. Religious	F	22	72.7	27.3	< 1
	M	23	69.6	30.4	
12. Unselfish	F	31	61.3	38.7	< 1
	M	37	54.1	45.9	
13. Egocentric	F	48	45.8	54.2	< 1
	M	55	47.3	52.7	
14. Stimulants	F	46	4.3	95.7	< 1
	M	15	0	100	
15. Decisive	F	215	44.7	55.3	< 1
	M	192	42.2	57.8	

Behavior Category	Coder	N	%F Char	%M Char	Chi-sq.
16. Physical Strength	F	23	21.7	78.3	1.9
	M	35	42.9	57.1	
17. Indecisiveness	F	55	67.3	32.7	< 1
	M	62	61.3	38.7	
18. Emotional	F	263	60.1	39.9	< 1
	M	263	58.6	41.4	
19. Weakness	F	141	54.6	45.4	2.8
	M	90	66.7	33.3	

Appendix 1.   Glossary

Definition of Terminology for Media Context Units Based Upon:
Fulton, A. R. Motion Pictures-The Development of An Art,
Silent Films to the Age of Television, Norman: University of
Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Angle shot :   A shot resulting from the cameras being placed at
          other than a right angle to its object and also a
          shot made from a different angle than that of the
          preceeding shot in the same scene.

Author title :   Printed matter projected on the screen usually
          between sequences, to aid in the telling of the
          story; also called a bridging title.

Close shot :   A shot for which the camera is brought near the
          object to emphasize a particular detail.

Close-up :   A shot including more than the actor's or
          actresses' head and shoulders, filling or almost
          filling the screen. Crane shot : A shot obtained by
          the camera moving on a crane, as for example on an
          overhead view.

Credit title :   This title is usually projected on the screen
          at the beginning of the film, the names of the
          production staff, the cast, etc., sometimes
          differentiated by the main title of the film,
          director's title, cast list etc. (also known as
          Continuity Title).

Cross cut :   A cut from one scene to another to present
          simultaneous action and to prolong suspense; also
          called a cutback, a switchback, intercut and the
          "last minute rescue".

Cut :   Instantaneous ending of a shot or an instant transfer
          from one shot to another. A cut indicates continuous
          or simultaneous action.

Dolly shot :   A shot from a dolly, a small wheeled truck, made
          as the camera moves up to, with, or away from the
          actors or actresses, or along an object such as the
          side of a building; also called a tracking shot.

Edit :   To arrange shots; the order in which the shots appear
          to formulate the overall film form and content.

Exteme close up :   A shot which shows part of an actors or
          actresses head or face, or part of an object only.

Extreme long shot : A shot in which the object is represented at a great distance from the camera, to show a wide sweep of action or immensity of background.

Fade in : Gradual disclosure of a scene as the screen becomes light.

Fade out : Gradual disappearance of a scene, as the screen becomes dark.

Flashback : The scene is interrupted and the storyline reverts to show past action.

Iris in : The gradual appearance of the scene, through an expanding circle.

Insert or cut in : A still of an object such as a poster, a letter, or a page of a newspaper, which interrupts continuity.

Long shot : A shot in which the camera is remote enough to take in for example, 15 or 20 people with room enough for them to move about and with space in the foreground.

Mask : A portion of the shot or scene is hidden from view, by a cut out shape placed over the camera lens during shooting.

Medium close shot : A shot in which an actor standing would be cutoff at about the waist.

Medium shot: A shot in which the camera is nearer to the objects then in a long shot, near enough for example so that an actor or actress standing would be cut off at the knees or below ; also called full shot and middle shot.

Pan shot : This term is derived from the word panorama; a shot obtained by a horizontal turning of the camera on its axis.

Reel : Spool on which the film is wound, formerly about 1,000 feet, now usually 2,000 feet.

Scenario : An overall plan or format for a film, including dialogue and plot.

Scene : A shot or series of shots unifying time and place.

Sequence : A combination of shots or scenes to build up a

Shot :   An episode or scene without a break in time or space,
         photographed without actual or apparent interruption.
         the basic unit in film structure.

Soft focus :   The softening of the sharpness of line in varying
         degrees from a hardly perceptible difference to
         mistiness; an effect obtained by gauze or a greased
         glass placed in front of the camera or by out of
         focus photography.

Spatial length :   The length of a shot in reference to the
         distance of the camera from the object filmmed as
         distinguished from temporal length.

Temporal Length :   The length of a shot in reference to
         duration on the screen, as distinguished from spatial
         length.

Title :   The printed matter projected on the screen, apart from
         that in an insert, or in a scene.

Two shot :   A close-up of two objects, as for example the faces
         of two actors or actresses.

Titling :   Perpendicular movement of the camera on its axis.

Vignette :   A shot which does not occupy the whole screen, but
         fades off around the edges.

Zoom Shot :   A shot in which the camera moves, or seems to move
         quickly up to an object.

Appendix 2.   Film Sample

Film	Date	Shots	Behaviors
The Adventures of Dollie	1908	42	100
Confidence	1909	49	135
The Light That Came	1909	57	180
Muggsy's First Sweetheart	1910	77	184
The House With Closed Shutters	1910	69	147
Lena And The Geese	1912	80	243
Friends	1912	95	175
The Musketeers of Pig Alley	1912	89	254
The New York Hat	1912	42	111
The Female of the Species	1912	77	185
Battle of Elderbush Gulch	1913	121 (241)	228 (501)
TOTALS		798	1942
			(922 Females
			1020 Males)

(Only alternate scenes were used in Battle of Elderbush Gulch, in
 order not to weight the sample relative to other films. Actual
 totals are shown in parentheses.)

Film Plot Synopses

        The Adventures of Dollie (1908), Length 713 ft.   Genre:
Contemporary, Action-Gypsy. Plot: A young girl is kidnapped
by gypsies, but through good fortune is returned to her
parents. Cast: Arthur Johnson, Linda Arvidson Charles Inslee.

        Confidence (1909) Length: 990 ft. Genre: Contemporary
Romance Plot Synopsis: A young woman renounces her profession
as a gambler and begins a new career as a nurse. She meets a
wealthy doctor at the hospital where she works. They begin a
courtship, which culminates in marriage. However, her former
gambling partner blackmails her with her past. Eventually, her
husband finds out about the blackmail, and gets rid of the
gambler. He accepts her past, and "forgives her". Cast:
Arthur Johnson, Marion Leonard, Henry B. Walthall

        The Light That Came (1909) Length: 998 ft.   Genre:
Contemporary Romance. Plot: An unattractive young woman
sacrifices her life savings to enable her blind fiance to have
an operation. The operation is sucessful and they are
reunited. Cast: Mary Pickford, Marion Leonard, Kate Bruce,
Arthur Johnson.

Muggsy's First Sweetheart (1910) Length: 982 ft.;
Genre: Contemporary Comedy. Plot: A comedy involving
Muggsy's attempts to court Mabel Brown, in which he foils a
burglary attempt. Cast: Mary Pickford, Billy Quirk, Mack
Sennett.

The House With Closed Shutters (1910) Length: 1 reel, :
Genre: Civil War Drama, Plot: A young woman takes her
alcoholic brother's place in the Confederate army. While she
is delivering an important communique, she is killed, and her
death is reported as that of her brother. Her mother, in order
to avoid the shame of the truth, closes the house shutters and
forbids her son to leave it. Only upon his death, is the truth
revealed. Cast: Henry B. Walthall, Dorothy West, Charles
West, Grace Henderson, Joeseph Graybill.

Lena And The Geese (1912) Length: 1 reel. Genre:
Netherlands Romance, Comedy. Plot: Lena the goosegirl is
substituted for a princess who has been placed in the care of
Lena's mother Gretchen. She is bored and unhappy at court.
She returns to her work and fiance, and the real princess
assumes her rightful throne. Cast: Charles Hill Mailes, Mae
Marsh, Mary Pickford, Claire McDowell, Kate Bruce.

Friends (1912) Length: 1 reel. Genre: Old West Mining
Camp Romance): Plot: A young woman is forced to choose
between two suitors, a gambler and a prospector. Eventually,
she chooses the gambler, but it remains unclear if this is her
final choice. Cast: Mary Pickford, Henry Walthall, Lionel
Barrymore.

The Musketeers of Pig Alley (1912) Length: 1 reel.
Genre: Gangster Drama. Plot: The plot concerns a young wife
who attracts the attention of a neighborhood gangster, Snapper
Kid. Her husband, a musician, is robbed by Snapper Kid, but
recovers his money during a gangland shoot-out. When Snapper
pursues him, the musician takes refuge with his wife. She
saves him from Snapper's rage by insisting that he has been
with her the entire time. Snapper pretends to believe her.
Later when the police arrest Snapper, she refuses to identify
him, repaying his earlier favor to her. Cast: Lillian Gish,
Dorothy Gish, Elmer Booth, Harry Carey, Walter Miller, Alfred
Paget, Marion Sunshine, Lee Doughtery.

The New York Hat (1912) Length: 999 ft. Genre:
Contemporary Romance. Plot: At her death, a woman leaves a
bequest for her daughter, putting the town minister in charge
of its administration He buys the girl a hat she admires, and
gossip ensues. Her father, believing the town gossip, destroys
the hat, and attempts to confront the minister with his
supposed misdeeds. The minister reads the bequest to the
townspeople, and he and the girl are forgiven. T'

then, that the minister asks for the girls hand in marriage.
Cast: Lionel Barrymore, Mary Pickford, Charles Hill Mailes,
Claire McDowell, Lillian Gish, Dorothy Gish.

The Female of the Species (1912) Length: 1 reel. Genre:
Desert Melodrama And Psychological Study. Plot: After the
closure of a desert mining camp, a group of women and a man
attempt to cross the desert. The man's wife mistakes her
lecherous husband's advances towards a young woman, as being
iniated by the woman herself. When the husband dies of heat
exhaustion, the wife blames the woman and seeks revenge.
Several times the wife and her sister attempt to kill her, only
to be diverted at the last minute. In the desert, the group
encounters a dying Indian woman and her baby. The women are
reconciled through their mutual desire to help this infant.
Cast: Mary Pickford, Dorothy West, Charles West, Claire
McDowell.

The Battle At Elderbush Gulch (1913) Length: 2 reels.
Genre: Western Action Melodrama; Plot: The Cameron sisters
are sent to live with their uncles in the western United
States. On their journey they meet a young couple, who are
travelling to the West with their baby. They all arrive during
the Indian "feast of dogs". Sally Cameron who has brought two
puppies with her for company, becomes involved in a fight with
the chief's son, who has discovered the dogs and attempts to
kill them for food. Her uncles become involved in the fight,
and the chief's son is killed. A full scale war ensues between
the Indians and the settlers. Sally Cameron saves both the
couple's baby, her younger sister, and her dogs from being
killed by the Indians. The cavalry eventually saves the entire
settlement. The film is the acknowledged precursor to
Griffith's "Birth of a Nation". Cast: Lilian Gish, Lionel
Barrymore, Mae Marsh, Robert Harron, Harry Carey, Kate Bruce,
Henry B. Walthall.

Appendix 3.   Coding Sheet

Shot No.	Character	Behavior	Object of Behavior
1.	Mary	4	F
	Father	6	F
	Doctor	1	—
	Minister	1	O
	Mother	8	F
2.	Minister	1	O
3.	Mother (letter)	5	F
4.	Father	12	F
	Mary	15	M
5.	Mary	13	F
6.	Two women	16	F
	Saleswoman	1	O
7.	Three men	6	M
	Minister	8	—
8.	Mary	9	—
	Minister	10	—

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Appendix 4.   Pilot Study 1 Behavior Classification

1. Acts of physical strength, courage, leadership activity
2. Cowardice, acts of weakness fragility, powerlessness
3. Self sufficient behavior, autonomous actions
4. Dependent Behavior
5. Avoidance behavior
6. Modest actions, timidity, diffidence, shyness
7. Professional role, responsible actions
8. Childlike behavior, innocent actions, naive behavior
9. Seductive behavior
10. Chaste behavior
11. Modified sexual affection, kissing, hugging
12. Flirtatious behavior
13. Platonic affection
14. Loyalty, acts of devotion, honesty, discreet behavior
15. Manipulative, deceitful actions
16. Acts of self confidence, self satisfaction, egocentric, narcissism
17. Acts of self denial, self sacrificing behavior, long suffering
18. Cognitive actvity, dreaming, thinking, studying, practical conflict resoution
19. Non-intellectual actions, intuitive behavior, illogical impractical behavior
20. Authoritative behavior, acts of spiritual guidance, cultural teaching, religious behavior
21. Obedient behavior, submission
22. Sympathetic behavior, aid and kindness behavior
23. Covert hostility, envy, gossip, rumor spreading
24. Obstructive behavior, interference, rejection
25. Social courtesies, social conventions, friendliness politeness
26. Physical aggression
27. Non-physical aggression, verbal gesturing
28. Maternal/paternal behavior, nurturance, supportive actions
29. Emotional responses, nervous activity, irrational behavior, mood fluctuations
30. Decisive actions, determination
31. Indecisiveness, capricious behavior, fickle actions, frivolity
32. Use of stimulants, tobacco, alcohol and drugs
33. Transition, ordinary movement
34. Amusing actions, charming behavior, delightful actions
35. Acts of repentence and quilt
36. None of the above

Appendix 5.   Pilot Study 2 Behavior Classification

1. Acts of weakness, fragility, powerlessness, obedience, submission, dependent actions
2. Modest actions, timid behavior, diffident actions
3. Acts of physical strength
4. Leadership activity, authoritative behavior, self sufficient behavior, autonomous behavior
5. Physical aggression
6. Childlike behavior, innocent actions, naive behavior
7. Professional role
8. Responsible actions
9. Chaste, virtuous behavicr
10. Acts of self denial, unselfish acts, self sacrificing behavior, long suffering behavior
11. Seductive behavior, sensual kissing and hugging
12. Self satisfied behavior
13. Egocentric behavicr, narcissism
14. Cognitive activity, thinking, practical problem solving
15. Envious behavior, gcssip, rumor spreading
16. Non-intellectual behavior, intuitive behavior
17. Manipulative behavicr
18. Impractical illogical actions
19. Sociable behavicr, sccial coutesies, amiable behavior, friendliness, platonic affection
20. Acts of spiritual guidance, cultural teaching, religious behavior
21. Use of stimulants, drugs, alchohol, tobacco
22. Indecisiveness, capricious behavior, fickle actions, frivolity
23. Loyalty, acts of devotion, dutiful acts
24. Decisive actions, determination acts, of self confidence
25. Acts of repentence and expiation
26. Sympathetic behavicr, acts of tenderness, acts of pity, aid and kindness behavior, gentleness
27. Maternal/paternal behavior
28. Emotional response, nervous and unstable behavior, irrational behavior, mood fluctuations
29. Transition, ordinary movements
30. Other, none of the above
31. Non-physical aggressicn, verbal gestures

Appendix 6.   Instructions

       The experimenter will show a film which has been
subdivided into shots, as determined by either a 15 second time
limit, a change of camera angle, a title or a change of scene.

       After each shot, the projector will be stopped and you
will be asked to code what you feel to be the dominant behavior
of each individual character within that shot, using the
numbers which designate the various behavior classifications.
Crowd behavior should be scored with one behavior
classification only. Category "14" (stimulants) may be coded
along with a behavior.

       A list of behavior classifications and their definitions
have been provided along with the scoring sheet.

       You may see the shot twice if requested, due to the
brevity of some shots and the variety of behaviors in others.
However, no shot may be viewed more than twice. You will be
given not more than two minutes to record your answers. If you
cannot properly code the behaviors after that time, leave a
blank space.

       Classifications denoting the object of behavior i.e. the
person, animal, or thing, to which a behavior is directed are
also listed. Indicate the object of behavior by using the
symbols provided. To indicate the absence of an object of
behavior, leave a blank space. In the case of behavior which
is perceived to be self-reflexive, the object of behavior
indicated should be of the same sex. More than one object of
behavior may be indicated, if both objects are perceived to be
of equal significance.

       The following is a sample of a scoring sheet:

Shot No.   Character   Behavior   Object of Behavior

   1.   Mary   7   M
            Minister   9   F
            Mother   10   O

Appendix 7.   Final Behavior Classification

Behavior   ·   Object of Behavior

Social Behavior   M - Male
 1. Professional Role   F - Female
 2. Maternal or Paternal Behavior   O - Other
 3. Sociable Behavior ·   - None
 4. Envious Behavior ·
 5. Kindness or Sympathetic Behavior

Affection and Aggression
 6. Aggression; Physical or non-Physical
 7. Seductive Behavior or Sensual Affection
 8. Virtuous or Modest Behavior

Neutral Behavior
 9. Transition or Ordinary Movements
10. Other or None of the Behaviors on the List

Ego Orientation
11. Religious Behavior
12. Unselfish Acts or Loyalty
13. Egocentric Behavior
14. Use of Stimulants

Strength of Behavior
15. Decisive Actions, Determination or Leadership Behavior
16. Acts of Physical Strength or Exertion
17. Indecisiveness or Capricious Behavior
18. Emotional or Unstable Behavior
19. Acts of Weakness or Submission

Appendix 8.   Behavior Definition Sheet

Social Behavior
  1. Included in this category are all forms of behavior
     concerning occupational role.
  2. Included in this category are all forms of maternal or
     paternal behavior.
  3. Included in this category are all forms of platonic
     affection social courtesies, amiable behavior, friendship
     expressed by verbal or gestural means.
  4. Included in this category are all forms of obstructive
     behavior and indirect expressions of hostility; rumor
     spreading, gossip and manipulative behavior.
  5. Included in this category are helping, acts of tenderness,
     acts of pity, gentleness.

Affection And Aggression
  6. Included in this category are any aggressive interaction
     between characters; physical aggression with contact or with
     a weapon, gesturing or implied physical aggression; verbal
     threats or defensive reaction to aggression.
  7. Included in this category are all classes of sexual behavior
     and interaction.
  8. Included in this category are meekness or shy behavior,
     reserve, bashfulness, virtuous behavior and innocent
     actions.

Neutral Behavior
  9. Included in this category are all transition movements;
     running, walking, which show no other discernible behaviors.
 10. Included in this category are any behaviors not included
     in this listing.

Ego Orientation
 11. Included in this category are acts of spiritual
     guidance, cultural teaching, and moral instruction.
 12. Included in this category are devotion to a person or
     cause, acts of self denial, self sacrificing behavior.
 13. Included in this category are narcissism, self satisfied
     behavior
 14. Included in this classification are all forms of hard and
     soft drugs.

Strength of Behavior
  15. Included in this category are decisive actions involving
      leadership activity, determination, deliberate and continued
      effort with a goal directed or problem solving orientation.
  16. Included are acts of physical strength, exertion and
      effort.
  17. Included in this category are capricious behavior, fickle
      behavior, frivolity, changeable behavior, vacillation and
      hesitancy.
  18. Included in this category are all emotional states;
      nervous activity, irrational behavior.
  19. Included in this category are acts of physical or
      psychologcial weakness, dependence, powerlessness or
      obedient behavicr.

Appendix 9.   Victorian References for Appendices 7 & 8

2. Maternal - Kauwar and Sorensen 1969; Petrie 1962; Scott
                1972

3. Sociable - Elliotson in Petrie 1962
   Platonic Affection - Wagenknecht 1966
   Social Courtesies - Scott 1972; Putnam 1972
   Amiable - Cruickshank 1949; Wagenknecht 1966; Halstead in
                Rosen 1973
   Friendship - Houghton 1957

4. Envious - Scott 1972
   Obstructive - Scott 1972
   Indirect Hostility - Scott 1972
   Rumor Spreading - Scott 1972; Elliotson in Petrie 1962
   Gossip - Elliotson in Petrie 1962; Wagenknecht 1966
   Manipulative - Elliotson in Petrie 1962

5. Kindness - Putnam in Feminism 1972;
   Sympathetic - Houghton 1957; Halstead in Rosen 1973
   Helping - Quennel 1937
   Tenderness - Wagenknecht 1966
   Acts of Pity - Wagenknecht 1966
   Gentleness - Quennel 1937

8. Virtuous - Kauwar and Sorensen 1969; Tingston 1972
   Modest - Scott 1972; Tingston 1972; Quennel 1937; Petrie
                1962
   Meekness - Petrie 1962
   Shy - Scott 1972
   Reserve - Scott 1972; Young 1966
   Bashfulness - Briggs 1966
   Innocent - Scott 1972; Petrie 1962; Kauwar and Sorensen
                1969

11. Religious - Scott 1972; Houghton 1957; Halstead in Rosen
                1973
    Spiritual Guidance - Cruikshank 1949; Kauwar and Sorensen
                1969; Wagenknecht 1966; Ruskin in Houghton
                1957
    Cultural Teaching - Scott 1972; Ellis in Houghton 1957
    Moral Instruction - Kauwar and Sorensen 1969; Ruskin in
                Houghton 1957; Brown in Houghton 1957

12. Unselfish Acts - Cruikshank 1949; Wagenknecht 1966
    Loyalty - Kauwar and Sorensen 1969; Tingston 1972
    Devotion - Page in Scott 1972; Cruikshank 1949; Quennel
                1937; Wagenknecht 1966
    Acts of Self Denial - Scott 1972
    Self Sacrificing - Kauwar and S

17. Indecisiveness - Ellictson in Petrie 1962
    Capricious - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972
    Fickle - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972
    Frivolous - Petrie 1962; Cruikshank 1949; Wagenknecht 1966
    Changeable - Petrie 1962
    Vacillation - Delafield 1937
    Hesitancy - Delafield 1937

18. Emotional - Tingsten 1972; Tennyson in Houghton 1957
    Unstable - Cruikshank 1949; Petrie 1962; Wagenknecht 1966
    Nervous - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972
    Irrational - Petrie 1962

19. Acts of Weakness - Petrie 1962
    Submission - Scott 1972; Petrie 1962 Kauwar and Sorensen
                 1969; Tingston 1972
    Physical - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972; Petrie 1962
    Psychological - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972; Petrie 1962 Walker
                 in Houghton 1957; Sewell in Houghton 1957;
                 Wagenknecht 1966
    Dependence - Fitzhugh in Scott 1972; Petrie 1962; Kauwar and
                 Sorensen 1969
    Powerlessness - Walker in Petrie 1962
    Obedient - Scott 1972; Fitzhugh in Scott 1972; Kauwar and
                 Sorensen 1969; Tingston 1972; Walker in
                 Houghton 1957; Tennyson in Houghton 1957

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