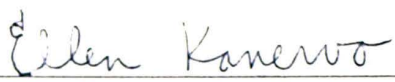


THE X-FILES : A CONTENT ANALYSIS
IN GENDER REPRESENTATION

JOYCE THOMPSON

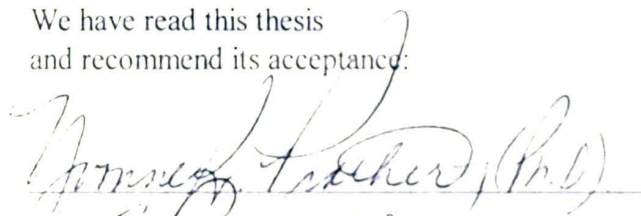
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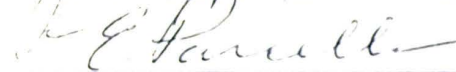
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The X-Files: A Content Analysis
in Gender Representation

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

Austin Peay State University

Joyce Thompson

December 2001

DEDICATION

This publication is dedicated to my son

Christopher Thompson

who has been my constant support

through the good times and the bad.

He is my friend, my favorite, and my only child.

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I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Ellen Kanervo, for her guidance and for never giving up on me. I also gratefully thank the other committee members, Dr. Yvonne Prather and Dr. Frank Parcells, who all gave wonderful comments and assistance.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the method which Chris Carter employs in portraying the main characters of Fox Mulder and Dana Scully used during the first year of the television show The X-Files. Bem's gender schema theory (Bem 1981, 1983, 1993) relates to the processing of information in gender roles. A content analysis of 12 videos from the first year's programs does reveal androgynous, or non-gender stereotypical characters, which Carter maintains he has achieved. Additional findings indicate Mulder, the male character, exhibits masculine traits of assertiveness, forcefulness, and leadership while also displaying feminine traits of tenderness and caring. Research reveals the female character Scully portrays both the feminine traits of tenderness and caring and the masculine traits of leadership and willingness to take risks.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction, Literature Review, and Hypotheses

Introduction

In the home-video release of the 1993 The X-Files "Pilot," the creator Chris Carter stated in his introductory comments that he set out to create androgynous characters in both the female lead, Dana Scully, and the male lead, Fox Mulder. Typically during this decade females were still shown primarily in home situations with roles which were submissive to males. Males were still being shown in traditional roles which portrayed them as aggressive and assertive (Durkin & Nugent, 1998). Unlike the stereotypical characterization being portrayed in most programs at that time, Carter wanted to use androgynous characters which have both feminine and masculine qualities (Banikiotes, Kubinski, & Pursell, 1981; Bem, 1981). According to Carter, he wanted to reverse the image of the typical male and female role which had been considered the norm in television for decades. As such, The X-Files was introduced into a medium that had continuously shown males and females in stereotypical gender roles. This research attempted to disprove Carter's claim of having achieved androgynous male and female characters.

First, this chapter will explain why Chris Carter's The X-Files was an important transition for television. Next, this study will provide a review of the literature that reveals how television has depicted males and females over the last four decades. Additionally, this chapter will identify two leading theoretical media-effect paradigms, Bandura's Social Learning Theory and Gerbner's Cultivation Theory, and will suggest Bem's Gender Schema Theory as an effective way to study media's effects of gender portrayal.

The X-Files

Described as a “lauded, respectable, and profitable prime-time drama” (McLean, 1998, p. 2), The X-Files has established a strong cult following (Bellon, 1999; Bischoff, 1994; McLean, 1998) which places the program in a position of influence to the viewing audience due to its top-twenty rating in the market share (McLean, 1998). By cultivating a social reality based on counter-stereotypical characters, The X-Files has the potential of greatly influencing the audience’s view of gender roles and of sex-role stereotypes especially due to its high degree of audience involvement (McLean, 1998; Morgan, 1982; Steinke, 1998). According to Bellon (1999), The X-Files reflects and generates concepts of popular culture. Television critics noted that Mulder and Scully had, in fact, crossed the stereotypical barriers to become androgynous and maintain these characteristics (Wildermuth, 1999).

Later studies described Scully as asexual, or devoid of sexuality. Scully represented the rational one who respected and obeyed authority (Braun, 2000). McLean (1998) described her as having little emotional relationship to her own family members. This lack of emotional attachment to family and rationality are counter-stereotypical traits for females. Wildermuth (1999) remarked that Mulder appeared feminine through his use of intuitive reasoning rather than through the masculine trait of rationality.

Only a small portion of the population owned and watched television in the 1950s (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). Today it has become the most pervasive mass medium with an unprecedented influential role in American culture (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980; Koivula, 1999; Knox, Funk, Elliott, & Bush, 1999; Neto & Pinto, 1998). According to the Nielsen’s 1999 Media Research (World Almanac, 2001), 98% of

the households in the United States had at least one television set. In October 1999, Nielsen estimated that the total amount of television viewing of various age breakdowns ranged from 20 hours a week to more than 41.

It is the effect that these gender messages along with the overall effect which heavy television viewing can have on people as posed by cultivation theorists that this paper addresses as it pertains to The X-Files.

Relevant Television Gender Portrayal

Gender Portrayal: 1950s

Research on the effects of television viewing began as early as 1954 with Smythe's research that discovered that women were underrepresented on television (Vande Berg & Streckfuss, 1992). The traditional gender roles and stereotypes for men were that they were the breadwinners who worked outside the house while women were responsible for raising the children and maintaining the household through cleaning, cooking, and decorating (Moya, Exposito, & Ruiz, 2000). Research by Sherriff and Jarrett (1953) showed that sex role stereotypes and characteristics had already been firmly established in television programs at that time (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975). In the 1950s I love Lucy and Gunsmoke were the top-rated programs (World Almanac, 2001). In I Love Lucy both the women leads, Lucy and Ethel, were unemployed housewives who were generally incompetent in areas outside the kitchen or the house and both the male leads, Ricky and Fred, were the breadwinners and generally had to bail their wives out of all the trouble they made for themselves. In Gunsmoke, the male lead, Matt Dillon, was the marshal and the hero. The female lead, Kitty, was a saloon owner and her main job was to soothe the overworked marshal.

Gender Portrayal: 1960s

The top-rated programs in the 1960s according to the Nielsen 1999 Media Research were Wagon Train, Gunsmoke, Beverly Hillbillies, Bonanza, Andy Griffith, and Rowan & Martin Laugh-In (World Almanac, 2001). Wagon Train and Bonanza focused on male cowboys, who continued the traditional role of the self-sufficient hero. In Gunsmoke, the men were the aggressors or the protectors. Andy Griffith showed the sheriff as a single-parent trying to raise his son Opie with the help of his Aunt Bea, who was always seen in the kitchen cooking, attending church, or in a dilemma over something that Opie had done. In both Bonanza and Andy Griffith the men were portrayed as very capable of crossing over to what was previously considered a female duty, that of raising children.

Personality traits obtained from studies showed little difference from those that were displayed in the 1950s (Tuchman, 1979). Men were still shown as aggressive and assertive while women were still portrayed as subservient, passive, and emotional (Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, Hepburn, 1980). Researchers discovered that basic gender stereotypical traits for women continued as warm and expressive while men were still competent and rational (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). Women were still traditionally being overrepresented as housewives, underrepresented as workers outside the home, and underrepresented demographically.

Researchers additionally found that females were most often cast in comic roles while males were given the serious roles. Marital status continued to be an important part of the feminine gender stereotype. At this time more than 50% of females were married with 66% unemployed. Of the males, only 33% were married and only 36% were

unemployed (Tedesco, 1974). Although That Girl, starring Marlo Thomas, showed an independent career woman, most plots showed her strong interest in her fiancé more than her career. Similarly the 1968-71 series Julia, starring Diahann Carroll, showed an African American nurse although many plots revolved around her role as a single parent. (Holtzman, 2000).

Men continued being portrayed as the breadwinners in traditional jobs (Moya et al., 2000). Although traditional gender stereotypical roles continued, researchers did find a small amount of gender role expansion in the area of male occupational areas (Atkin, 1991; Ferrante, Haynes, & Kingsley, 1988).

Gender Portrayal: 1970s

Nielsen 1999 Media Research lists top-rated television programs in the 1970s. They included Marcus Welby, MD, All in the Family, Happy Days, Laverne and Shirley, and 60 Minutes (World Almanac, 2001). While the genre of television programs certainly showed changes in this decade, research showed that changes in gender portrayal were very few. Few women held jobs while those who did were employed in jobs which gave them little authority (McNeil, 1975). Neither of the wives/mothers in All in the Family nor in Happy Days worked. In Laverne and Shirley both the young lead female characters worked, but only in a factory as line operators, thus showing no authority. The introductory clips to the show portrayed them as incompetent dreamers who could not do their job well. The young men in the show, however, were portrayed as even more incompetent than the girls. This was a counter-stereotypical portrayal for young men. Mr. Cunningham of Happy Days portrayed a successful businessman who had his own hardware store. Mrs. Cunningham, a housewife, was there to wait on him when he

returned home after working all day. Additionally, Marcus Welby, MD had a female nurse, which served as a stereotypical woman's job (Busby, 1975). Dr. Welby, played by actor Robert Young, was always correct in his diagnoses. Interestingly Young, who had no medical degree, received more than 250,000 letters asking for medical advice from the viewers (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). This occurrence revealed the social learning effect that television had on the viewing audience as they were willing to believe what they saw through the medium of television as being the truth.

While male and female personality traits showed little difference from previous decades, women were still shown as subservient to their male counterpart. An example of this servitude can best be found in a scene whereby a female policeman is knocked to the ground, and helped to her feet by the male policeman (Tuchman, 1979). During this period, researchers also found sex-role portrayals depicting women as having a lack of power in the workplace (Atkin, 1991). The demography of women still remained underrepresented and the marriage state of females was much more identifiable according to McNeil (1975). Bottomline, female roles on television continued to remain basically unchanged (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999).

In addition, further changes are noted by media researchers regarding the depiction of women in television roles. Tedesco's (1974) research showed the portrayal of males continued as powerful and intelligent as well as rational and stable. Females were displayed with positive characteristics such as attractive, sociable, peaceful, and young. These attributes maintained the basic stereotype of both men and women at that time. Unfortunately, the depiction of women continued to show less intelligence and power than their male counterparts. While women were mainly depicted as homemakers and mothers

and men portrayed in employment outside the home, men were employed in a broader range of professions than had been previously noted (Ferrante et al., 1988). Men and women also differed in terms of credibility (Furnham & Thomson, 1999) and importance. A prime example is that the man's career was shown as more important than the woman's (Conway & Vartanian, 2000; Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Corrado-Taylor, 1984).

Busby (1975) wrote a composite of the main research that had been done in the early 1970s concerning gender portrayal as seen on television programs through their main characters. According to her summaries, research focused on how females were exhibited in television shows, commercials, and advertising. This portrayal of women proved to be primarily in home situations and submissive roles to males (Seggar, 1975; Steenland, 1990). According to gender research, casting of males' roles as heroes and women's roles as victims illustrated the stereotyping used in television characters. Some researchers theorized that the male-dominated field in decision-making positions, sometimes called the "gatekeepers" of the media, could have influenced the recurring gender stereotypes seen on television (Busby, 1975, p. 126).

Furthermore, research done in the 1970s began to focus not only on gender portrayal, but also on the effects the gender portrayal had on the viewing audience, especially the effects it had on children.

Gender Portrayal: 1980s

Most researchers concluded that from the 1970s through the 1980s there was relatively little change in data collected from media studies (Furnham & Thomson, 1999). Comprehensively, men were still most often the stars of the programs, more often employed in higher status jobs, more violent, but also more rational. Females, with a few

notable exceptions like Claire Huxtable on the Cosby Show, continued to be employed in stereotypical jobs such as nurses, teachers, and secretaries. Furthermore, they were often identified by their marital status, were usually younger, more often victims, and more emotional (Busby, 1975; Durkin, 1985; Geis, Corrado-Taylor, et al., 1984; Reep & Dambrot, 1988; Tuchman, 1979). The CBS series Cagney and Lacey (1982-88) broke many of these stereotypical portrayals of women on television. This story featured two female police officers who solved their own cases without male help. It was the first television drama to star two women. Holzman (2000) points out that after “a few episodes, CBS said the women were too tough and aggressive, ‘too women’s lib’ and said they would only continue the series if (Meg) Foster was replaced. Meg Foster was subsequently replaced by Sharon Glass” (pp. 78-79).

Being beautiful and thin have always been important in the portrayal of women. In the 1970s the public considered only 26% of women in soap operas “less than good-looking” (Downing, 1974, p. 132). In the original program of The X-Files, Scully’s portrayal was definitely less than good-looking and illustrated a reversal of the common stereotype, which adhered to Carter’s goal.

Nielsen 1999 Media Research’s (World Almanac, 2001) top-rated television programs in the 1980s were Dallas, 60 Minutes, Dynasty, Cosby Show, and Roseanne. Dallas and Dynasty were based on rich families where the women did not have to work and the men were in control of all the wealth and family corporations. The Cosby Show successfully crossed the stereotypical gender line. Both Claire Huxtable, the wife, who was also a very successful lawyer, and Cliff, the husband who was also a very successful obstetrician, shared care of the home and care of the children. In the Roseanne show,

parenting was actually the primary focus rather than what the television world portrayed it to be. Although the parents were shown in stereotypical roles, the manner in which the mother stayed at home and cared for the children, in addition to the way the father went to work to earn a living were all seen in a realistic manner compared to any other programs during that time. The roles of Mom and Dad in Roseanne were presented as grouchy, including regular scenes of children fighting, financial problems, and parental issues concerning teenagers. This was the essence real world genre that has crossed over into the television world.

During the 1980s, Geis, Corrado-Taylor, et al. (1984) discovered that the role of the actor was more important than the sex of the actor to the viewing audience. When females were shown with power and status and performed male-oriented activities, viewers supported them because their role required it. The same results were obtained when the female to male roles were reversed. As long as the role called for specific actions and the status and power were there for cross-stereotypical activities, the viewing audience showed approval (Peevers, 1979).

It was during this time that researchers began to notice effects that soap operas, in particular, were having on its viewing audience (Schrag & Rosenfeld, 1987). Morgan (1982) argued that television was a strong source for sex role stereotypes. Other researchers (Seidman, 1992) reported that in music videos females were being portrayed in a less desirable manner in both behavior and through their occupations of waitresses, dancers, hair stylists, fashion models, and telephone operators which perpetuated the stereotypical gender view of females just as they had been viewed in the past several decades.

Additionally, they were being portrayed as sex objects. Males were portrayed in a much more favorable light, but they were also portrayed in stereotypical jobs of soldiers, security personnel and policemen, photographers, athletes, scientists, politicians, and business executives (Seidman, 1992). This discrepancy from the real world was substantial. Demography statistics were inaccurate. According to Seidman's research, in the real world between one third to one half of managerial positions were held by women, one eighth to two fifths of the scientists were females, and more than one tenth of the Armed Forces of the United States were women. None of these percentages were displayed accurately by television programs. Atkin's (1991) composite of various research conducted in the 1980s revealed that the television world of females continued to differ from the real world. Furthermore, studies revealed that the characterization of women continued demonstrating the underrepresentation of number, stereotypical career, and casting with little or no authority in television roles.

Gender Portrayal: 1990s

Top-rated television shows of the 1990s were Cheers, Home Improvement, 60 Minutes, Seinfeld, E.R., and Who Wants to Be a Millionaire (World Almanac, 2001). Cheers showed the bar owner Sam as a woman-chaser whose only ambition in life was to get the woman in bed. Women were shown as waitresses; however one educated waitress, who occasionally revealed her education, was put down and demeaned whenever possible. In the show Home Improvement, stereotypical characteristics of the father as the breadwinner were shown. However, he was also counter-stereotypified at times when he generally made a mess of everything. The woman was shown as a stay-at-home-mom who had to put up with all the messes that her husband made. Eventually the plot line

allowed her to go back to school and become a psychologist. One important aspect of this show in gender portrayal was that the husband Tim tried to understand the wife and how she felt and would go to the “faceless” neighbor to get advice in dealing with the emotional side of their marriage so that he could understand his wife better.

Juxtaposed to this shift in stereotypical gender portrayal in the 1990s programs were the commercials. Research consistently demonstrated that television commercials were showing both males and females in stereotypical gender portrayals (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). The men were knowledgeable, independent, powerful, and successful. Women were young, sexy, submissive, and thin. Consistently, decade by decade, television has continued to provide male characters over female characters by a ratio of approximately three men for every one female (Kubey, Shifflet, Weerakkody, Ukeiley, 1995). In the 1990s researchers began to notice that MTV (Music Television) was having distinct influences in personality characteristic changes. They also considered the media of television as a reinforcer of sex-role stereotypes (Seidman, 1992).

While decade by decade little has changed in gender portrayals, the changes that have occurred have been small (Hetsroni, 2000; Kaufman, 1999). Researchers have found a causal effect generated by television on its viewing audience, based on the paradigms of social learning and the cultivation effect. Specifically, gender portrayals can have a detrimental effect on a woman's self-image and her goals in life (Ford, Vooli, Honnecutt, Case, 1998; Lafky, Duffy, Steinmaus, & Berkowitz, 1996). Not only does gender portrayal have an effect on women, but due to the manner in which children learn through imitation, it can have a beneficial or detrimental effect on their gender specific personality

(Graves, 1999), and can also affect society in general (Ford et al., 1998). This effect for children and for some adults occurs through the area of social learning.

Relevant Theoretical Approaches to Media Effects of Gender Portrayal

As a result of research such as this on gender stereotypes and due to concern over the effects which gender portrayals can have on the viewing audience, three theoretical paradigms particularly concerned with effects of television viewing are being used:

Banduras's Social Learning theory, Gerbner's Cultivation theory, and Bem's Gender Schema theory. Social Learning theory is discussed first as it posits that one's social identity is derived by what one sees in the world. A boy sees a man's actions and that boy decides that the man's actions define what a man is or does. The world encourages the boy to adopt this social behavior. If he does, he is said to be masculine, based on gender schema.

Additionally, social learning is reinforced by what researchers call the cultivation theory. Cultivation theory refers to a continual repetition of these perceptions and views until they become incorporated into the person's cultural or personal beliefs. However, it is Bem's Gender Schema theory that posits how these perceptions are internalized in order to be masculine or feminine.

Social Learning Theory

According to Bandura's Social Learning Theory, gender is not biologically determined, but learned through day-to-day exposure to existing social environments (Bradway, 1996; Bursik, 1998). Connell (Vigorito, 1998) believed that one's gender identity was the most significant social identity. Researchers such as Bandura and Hicks have shown that children imitate behavior and that they imitate what they see on television

(Busby, 1975). They pretend to be different things, like doctor, nurse, mother or father (Dietz, 1998). It is through the process of socialization that boys and girls are encouraged to adopt certain personality traits that make them masculine or feminine (Brownlow, Jacobi, & Rogers, 2000; Carothers, 1999; Dietz, 1998; Hibbard, 1998; Karniol, 1998; Riggs, 1998; Wood, 2000). They then internalize these gender role stereotypes (Witt, 2000), and decide from these visual images how they should behave as male or female. This learning process continues over a period of years (Fung & Ma, 2000). Thus, television content may have a prominent place in developing a person's beliefs and expectations in life. Common rituals and mythologies are agencies of symbolic socialization, which is a part of social learning (Gerbner & Gross, 1976).

Beginning in the early 1950s, researchers have attempted to find television's influences on the population (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). Cultivation theorists suggest that television is at least partially responsible for watchers' perceptions of social reality and have investigated television's effect. As a result of this research, they developed the theory of cultivation which postulates a social learning theory which develops a social reality, or a reality based on what they see on television as opposed to the real world, due to large amounts of television viewing. This media effect actively teaches its viewers about the world around them (Black & Bryant, 1995) and influences the gender socialization process (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Kaufman, 1999). According to the cultivation theory, massive television viewing creates distorted perceptions of the reality of the world around them, otherwise known as mainstreaming, which can be thought of as a commonality of outlooks or perceptions that television tends to cultivate (Gerbner et al., 1980). Through mainstreaming, television creates its own culture for viewers and

produces a global community with a new reality and values (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1980). This new culture can present a mean world view of everyday life where fear, distrust, and danger prevail (Gerbner et al., 1980). It can also provide a culture which can greatly misrepresent the real world in the form of population distribution of men, women (Atkin, 1999), and minorities; or in the form of gender role portrayal of men/male and women/female. Gender roles or stereotypes refer to the manner in which society expects a man or a woman to act or respond in a given situation as well as to certain personality characteristics for each sex (Holt & Ellis, 1998; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999).

In 1959 Hartley and Klein studied sex role perceptions in elementary female students ranging from eight to eleven (Franzwa, 1974). The results of their study showed that girls chose almost without exception jobs that were stereotypical. Furthermore, 26 of the 27 planned to marry and have children and 24 planned to not work after they were married. Each of the results of this study mimicked the stereotypical gender portrayal that was perpetuated in popular television programs of the 1950s. According to Busby (1975) and Dietz (1998), research by Bandura (1965) and Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963) demonstrated that children imitated the behavior they observed in the media. Additionally the research found minority and low-income children appeared more likely to model behavior witnessed through the media.

Postman (1985) referred to television as having the purpose of influencing, teaching, and cultivating the minds and characters of youth (Bradway, 1996; Dietz, 1998). Parents, educators, and media researchers are concerned about the negative stereotypes that children might acquire through television viewing (Browne, 1998). Researchers have

found that television viewing and the influence it has over children are even more powerful than the influence parents have on their children (Browne, 1998).

Mayes and Valentine (1979) found that children even perceived cartoon characters as displaying gender-typed characteristics (Signorielli, 1989). Researchers have established that children know what sex they are between the ages of seventeen months and three years of age (Beuf, 1974; Durkin & Nugent, 1998) and how each should behave according to their gender (Signorielli, 1989). During the testing portion of research done by Beuf (1974), the children aged three to six selected pictures that were "O.K." according to what was acceptable based on society's perception of gender specific jobs (p. 144). However, when they were specifically asked what they would like to be when they grew up if they were a boy instead of a girl and vice versa, the girls mentioned jobs that were acceptable at that time for males, but one girl told the interviewer that that job could never be hers because she was not a boy. Most of the boys, however, did not want to answer the question and one who did said he would have to grow up to be nothing (Beuf, 1974). Thus, Beuf demonstrated that television viewing had a definite influence on both boys and girls concerning selection of career choices. Beuf also discovered that those children who were heavy viewers of television chose gender stereotypical jobs over conventional careers (Durkin & Nugent, 1998). While girls aspired to typical male occupations, boys showed no interest in doing stereotypical female jobs (Beuf, 1974).

Television sends forceful and persuasive messages about society and its accepted gender roles and these messages are repeated, even though outdated, biased, or contrary to the family's beliefs, every day to children as they grow and develop. According to the gender schema theory, children raised in a society that emphasizes the differences based on

gender will easily and quickly process and organize information that they input concerning themselves based on the existing cultural definition of gender (Bem, 1981, 1983, 1993; Steinke, 1998). In describing the difference between gender and gender role, Jackson (1998) relates gender as being the cultural aspect that is seen and assumed by the individual in being male or female, while the gender role comes from the expectations that that individual believes he/she should display, feel, and think.

Not only children but teenage girls are strongly influenced by the images of gender that are portrayed by programs and commercials through television viewing. Lafky et al. (1996) discovered that even brief exposure to an image has an effect on the audience's perception of social reality immediately after that exposure. They also found that showing gender stereotypical advertisements reinforced gender role stereotypes.

These gender roles are social categories of areas associated with men or areas associated with women. Feelings one has about oneself have an effect on one's cognitive development and one's gender schema perspectives (O'Brien, Peyton, Mistry, Hrudá, Jacobs, Caldera, Huston, & Roy, 2000; Raag, 1999; Smith, Noll, & Bryant, 1999). Furthermore, perceived social constraints also have an effect on their gender-typed decisions, as seen in studies performed on children in their choices of toys (Lobel, Bar-David, Gruber, Lau, & Bar-Tal, 2000). Pipher (1995) stated that people's minds are shaped by the society in which they live and this can be an advantage or a disadvantage (26-27). Additionally, researchers have found that boys receive more negative feedback for counter-stereotypical behavior than girls do (Raag, 1999). Boys are much more rigid in their gender roles than girls are through middle childhood (O'Brien et al., 2000). Girls show increasing flexibility in gender role as they mature in age (Powlishta, 2000). These

gender specific behavioral traits are known as gender-role stereotypes (Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999). By the time children reach middle childhood, they have acquired gender role stereotyping of personality traits (Powlishta, 2000). Part of this acquisition of gender stereotypes may be due to how children are treated by adults as cultures play an important part in social norms (Lobel et al., 2000). As the adults continue to treat children in a stereotypical manner, they may aid in the children's socialization (Powlishta, 2000). Bem (1981, 1993) suggested that many of the decisions that people make in their lives come from the stress that society puts on gender stereotypes (Smith et al., 1999). Pipher (1995) defined it as having two faces, the private face and the public face. In her studies, she found that adolescent girls tend to be themselves when they were alone, but the other face comes out when they have to behave as society would have them behave.

Cultivation researchers have claimed that the average child in the United States today spends more time in front of a television set than behind a school desk (Funkhouser & Shaw, 1990; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986). Since television is such a prevalent part of everyone's life and the main source of repetitive and ritualized symbol systems for the masses (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), it is crucial that the effects of the images that it exposes to the viewing audience, commonly termed media effects (Black & Bryant, 1995), be studied.

According to Potter (1993), while heavy television viewing has the strongest influence on watchers, even light television viewing influences a viewer through exposure to television gender messages over time. Morgan (1982) believes television has not only achieved a consistency in the messages conveyed over time (Locksley et al, 1980; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999), but also demonstrates a vivid and powerful source of sex role

stereotypes. It is the effect that these gender messages can have along with the overall effect which heavy television viewing can have on people that this paper addresses as it pertains to The X-Files.

Cultivation Theory

According to Gerbner and Gross (1976) by the time a child enters school, he/she has watched more television than he/she will spend in a college classroom. When Gerbner and other cultivation theorists began their studies on the effects of television viewing, the researchers focused their studies on stereotypes, on number representations of the real world, and on the perception of violence in the television world versus the real world. The findings revealed that the televised perception of the world encompassed more violence, showed underrepresentation of minorities, and an inequality between the amount of male and female roles than in the real world. Furthermore, male roles were viewed more favorably and had more authority. According to recent research previously cited, this is still true. Children judge careers on what they see that has been obtainable by boys but not by the girls. This research demonstrates the effects of television on society's perceptions.

In the 1990s while women's roles were changing, men's roles were changing even less (Leppard, Ogletree, & Wallen, 1993). Content analysis studies performed in the 1990s continued to show men portrayed more often as advising and ordering with women depicted as sympathetic and nurturing (Kubey et al., 1995; Vande Berg & Streckfuss, 1992; Vest, 1992). In films Carroll (1990) found women as passive characters who portrayed sex objects while men participated in active roles who did the ordering and the accomplishing. Seidman's research (1992) on music videos confirmed the perpetual

stereotypical portrayal of men and women. Dietz (1998) theorized that video games have the same socialization effect on children that television and music videos do. Socialization develops traits which define a child as masculine or feminine. This daily bombarding of images defines gender and gender expectations for the viewers. In the decade of the 1990's the average teenager spent twenty-one hours watching television each week, less than six hours studying, and less than two hours reading (Pipher, 1995).

In an interview on the video version of the pilot program of The X-Files, Chris Carter, creator of the show The X-Files, stated that his goal was to try to reverse the stereotypical characteristics of gender roles in the main two characters. Consequently, Dana Scully, the female FBI agent, has more masculine qualities and Fox Mulder, the male FBI agent, has less masculine traits. Scully and Mulder depict androgynous characters.

Cultivation research has already shown that sex-role stereotyping remains more prominent in heavy viewers of television (Gerbner et al., 1980; Tan, 1982), in children, and in girls (Graves, 1999; Lafky et al., 1996; Potter, 1986; Rubin, Perse, & Taylor, 1988). Children even perceive stereotypical behaviors in cartoon characters (Signorielli, 1989). The power of television on its viewers has received thorough documentation (Shrum & O'Guinn, 1993). Zmach and Cohen (1986) theorize a person recognizes three levels of reality. The first level consists of objective social reality, a reality which a person actually experiences. The second level illustrates a symbolic social reality, a reality that a person receives from exposure to mass media. Finally, researchers suggest that television creates the culture rather than displays the culture (Bellon, 1999; Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Porter, 1984). The third level of reality characterizes subjective social reality where objective and symbolic realities merge to form the reality that each person accepts as his

or her own. Potter (1986) termed this the Magic Window dimension. The subjective social reality encompasses the degree to which a viewer believes television content actually represents real life. Based on the social learning theory, Potter's Identity dimension states that people identify with the gender role models as presented on television.

According to researchers, the importance of the social learning theory (Bem, 1981; Beuf, 1974; Morgan, 1982; Potter, 1986; Rubin et al., 1988; Seidman, 1992; Steinke, 1998; Tan, 1982; Volgy & Schwarz, 1980; Zemach & Cohen, 1986) describes heavy viewers (Gerbner et al., 1980; Tan, 1982), girls (Lafky et al., 1996), and children as the most influenced group in their images about sex roles. With increased television viewing arises an increase in acceptance of traditional sex roles. Television viewing cultivates conceptions of social reality. Both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical role presentations influence how a person views the world and his or her own gender role. Even after brief viewings of programs with stereotyped women, teenage girls chose stereotypical answers in survey questions relating to gender role activities (Lafky et al., 1996).

Surprisingly, the female stereotype of today still focuses on the traits of dependence, submissiveness, emotions, sensitivity, nurturing, affection, warmth, and tenderness (Atwood, Zahn, & Webber, 1986; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrants, 1972; Geis, Corrado-Taylor, et al., 1984; Goff, Goff, & Lehrer, 1980; Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982; Witt, 2000). Loo & Thorpe (1998) found the traditional gender role image remained even though progress had been made in liberating the woman since the 1970s. The male stereotype centers on the traits of independence,

dominance, rationality, self-reliance, competitiveness, physical and intellectual power, and leadership. Bem (1981) argues people learn masculine and feminine traits through a process of sex typing called schema, rather than through the male or female sex. The researcher argues socialization patterns in the culture presented by television prepare children for their adult role.

According to the Nielsen's 1999 Media Research (World Almanac, 2001), of the 99.4 million homes, which comprised 98.2 percent of the households in the United States with at least one television set, 35 percent had at least two sets, and 41 percent had three or more television sets. In October 1999, Nielsen estimated the average of all the different age categories of people together totaled 28 hours of television viewing a week. Of these different categories of people, women 18 years and older spent the greatest amount of total television viewing at nearly 33 hours a week. Women of 55 years of age or older spent more than 41 hours a week viewing television. Teens from 12 to 17 spent an average of nearly 20 hours of viewing per week, as did children from ages two to 12.

Massive television viewing, according to the cultivation theory, creates distorted perceptions of the reality of the world around them, otherwise known as mainstreaming, which can be thought of as commonality of outlooks or perceptions that television tends to cultivate (Gerbner et al., 1980). Through the process of mainstreaming, television creates its own culture for viewers and produces a global community with a new reality and values (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1980). This new culture can present a mean world view of everyday life where fear, distrust, and danger prevail (Gerbner et al., 1980). Moreover, mainstreaming provides a culture which can also greatly misrepresent the real world in the form of population distribution of men, women (Atkin, 1999), and

minorities; or in the form of gender role portrayal of men/male and women/female.

Gender roles or stereotypes refer to the manner in which society expects a man or a woman to act or respond in a given situation as well as to certain personality characteristics for each sex (Holt & Ellis, 1998, Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). According to Potter (1993), while heavy television viewing has the strongest influence on watchers, even light television viewing influences a viewer through exposure to television gender messages over time.

Viewers of large amounts of television are more likely to believe the real world and the television world are alike (Potter, 1991). Researchers believe that continuous exposure to television stereotypes, values, beliefs, social reality, and others has the power to change the viewer's own values, beliefs, and stereotypical views of gender portrayals by providing role models (Fung & Ma, 2000). This constant exposure could over time and heavy viewing of television programs lead the viewers to change their perceptions of the real world into the world of television. Thus, it becomes the social reality of the viewer (Hawkins, Pingree & Adler, 1987; Graves, 1999). It is suggested that by watching television children will imitate what they see because they grow and develop by imitation and modeling. According to researchers, role models are more likely to have an effect in the development of or change in gender stereotypes or areas such as prejudice (Graves, 1999). As previously stated, since television images have changed very little in the last few decades, television may be contributing to the development of some mistaken images of demography of women and minorities, and gender stereotyping (Signorielli, 1989).

Mares (1996) suggested that people may be mistaken in their judgments of fact or fiction when it comes from television viewing and that this confusion, which can result in a

social reality perception, is the cultivation effect (Shrum, 1997). When people base judgments from what they have seen, they construct social reality judgments. Mares posits that the cultivation theory may cause source confusion, causing people to confuse fiction with fact. Lack of cultivation effect does not mean that there has not been an influence on the social reality of some viewers.

Carveth and Alexander (1985) found the cultivation effect appears strongest when viewers watch television for enjoyment or boredom, otherwise known as ritualistic behavior. They posited people who frequently and ritualistically view television are the most vulnerable to the cultivation effect. The theory leads to the conclusion that the effects of cultivation as exemplified by viewers of soap operas (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981; Carveth & Alexander, 1985), in which the real world and the television world merge in the viewer's perception; likewise, The X-Files has the potential to combine the two worlds, the real world and the television world, for its viewing audience.

Cultivation effects on cultural reality tends to affect the more vulnerable groups of children, who spend more time watching television than studying in school (Funkhouser & Shaw, 1990), in teenage girls (Lafky et al., 1996), and in heavy television viewing adults (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorielli, 1978; Gerbner et al., 1980). The cultivation theory suggests that television is the leading source for creating and reinforcing gender stereotypes and other social norms (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Dietz, 1998; Fung & Ma, 2000; Furnham & Mak, 1999; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Graves, 1999; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes (1981) contended that just as television distorts the real world's perceptions, television also distorts the viewer's own perceptions. As supported in their research on soap opera

viewing, Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes' (1981) results supported previous research on the social reality construct, which Carveth and Alexander (1985) also defended. As a rule heavy viewers of television tend to accept and mimic televised stereotypical gender roles (Morgan, 1982). Research by Hawkins et al. (1987) and by Rubin et al. (1988) endorsed the findings by other researchers that television does affect personal perceptions; an example is the perception of the world as mean. Hawkins and associates disagreed about the extent of the effect which mainstreaming had on sex roles. The researchers felt that while the effect influenced beliefs about violence, mainstreaming proved less effective in changing beliefs about sex roles. Carroll (1990), on the other hand, believed that the recurring images of women in the media, and the same can be said for men, may have an influence in how people view women, or men, in real life.

The cultivation theory also contains a portion called resonance (Sarin, 1996) that refers to the repetition of images that are portrayed through television programming and have special meaning for the viewer, or one with which the viewer can specifically identify (Gerbner et al., 1980). The more often a viewer sees a gender stereotype portrayed on television, the more that person will accept the image as a social reality, whether it is fact or fiction. According to Gerbner et al. (1980), the more people are exposed to television, the more they accept the reality presented on the programs (Morgan, 1982). Besides children, the other vulnerable group that is most influenced by television's portrayal of sex role stereotypes is girls (Morgan, 1982). Social learning, gender schema, and cultivation all work together to change viewers' perspective on the world reality versus television reality. Given the potential for such viewer impact through television, this researcher will examine gender portrayal as it appears on The X-Files.

Bem's Gender Schema Theory

Gender Schema Theory refers to the basis which researchers use to describe how children learn gender roles and how their perceptions of these roles guide their behavior, the cognitive process a person goes through when determining the maleness or femaleness of that person. Through gender schema they learn the cultural differences that gender and gender roles can bring (Bem, 1981, 1983, 1993). Gender roles can refer to feelings, behaviors, or cognitions in internalizing masculinity and femininity (Kurpius, 2000). Gender roles are expectations about what is considered appropriate behavior for each sex (Holt & Ellis, 1998). The gender schema aids a child in how he/she perceives him/herself, the world, and his/her role, or social context, within that cultural world (Steinke, 1998) based on social practices (Durkin & Nugent, 1998; Warfel, 1984). A schema is the framework which organizes and directs the understanding of incoming information that bombards every person everyday. Maleness or femaleness develops through a process of associations that the persons sees, hears, etc., that he/she determines is a masculine or a feminine trait (Larsen & Seidman, 1986; Hudak, 1993; Lobel et al., 2000; Slavkin & Stright, 2000) through the schema. According to Bem and others (1981; Hudak, 1993; Levy, 2000), gender schema is posited to be a filter or framework through which information is sorted, organized, and conceptualized according to gender as an aid to understanding information including one's knowledge of male and female, knowledge of one's own sex and the other sex (Bem, 1981; Fisher-Thompson, 1998; Levy, 1999; Lobel et al., 2000; Slavkin & Stright, 2000).

Both Kagan (1964) and Kohlberg (1966) described gender as a sex role identity that is an acquired self-concept. Both of their theories posited that sex role identity was

based on a relationship of sex role stereotypes and sex role attributes (Storms, 1979).

According to Hudak (1993), Bem's Gender Schema Theory demonstrates the tendency of a person to use gender as a primary schema as it is linked very closely to his/her self-concept. Additionally, Bem posited that many of the gender behavior choices that one makes is based in part by the cultural expectations of one's gender (Smith et al., 1999). Studies show that there is some evidence that people are rewarded for following accepted norms for gender stereotypes or punished when they deviate from the accepted societal sex roles (O'Leary & Donoghue, 1978). The schema is a construct for understanding and processing information that is received and organizing it internally (Hudak, 1993).

According to Halpern (1985), stereotypes are the working equivalent of schemas (Hudak, 1993).

From the moment parents know the sex of an unborn baby, they are on the road to teach gender role self-perception to that child (Dietz, 1998; Oliver, Sargenti, & Weaver, 1998). Girls' rooms and clothing are pink while boys' room and clothing are blue. Dolls and quiet toys like tea sets or tiny kitchen appliances are chosen for girls. Noisy toys, such as wind-up boats for the bathtub, toys that can be pounded on with a hammer, or loud guns are chosen for boys (Raag, 1999). As soon as a baby is born, he/she is faced with the concept of gender. According to Kohlberg (1966), a child has to acquire certain awareness of gender before their social experiences will influence them (Helwig, 1998).

Children often internalize gender role portrayals through reading books, magazines, and catalogs, as well as viewing videos, video games, movies, or other avenues offered through the media of television. In this way television represents a symbolic social reality. Studies show that television has a large impact on children's lives since the

majority return home from school to spend leisure time watching programs on television (Witt, 2000). Through watching television programs, children acquire the Magic Window dimension (Potter, 1986), which encompasses the new gender socialization as well as having their own gender impressions reinforced. Children watch after-school programming which includes soap operas, cartoons, and various other syndicated programs, such as The X-Files, now shown on a daily basis. As stated in Witt's research, children who do not watch television have less stereotypical views of gender role perceptions while children who do view television with non-traditional gender roles generally have non-traditional gender role perceptions. Television reinforces and changes the way children perceive approved societal views of gender roles, values, and self-esteem (Browne, 1998). Bem (1981, 1983) has argued that children process cultural gender information on television and media programming material.

Television influences the socialization of gender roles and gender stereotypes associated with the schemata as it pertains to human interaction (Browne, 1998). According to Bem's Gender Schema Theory, once girls internalize the gender identities as portrayed by the symbolic social reality of television, females begin to identify themselves with those standards (Steinke, 1998). These perceptions of gender role identities have a lasting effect on the manner in which the adult female will live her life. Although boys' lives change, girls' lives transform more through this internalization of gender portrayal. Frequency of exposure and the age at which the exposure occurs make up two of the key conditions for creating gender schema changes.

The schema is separate from sex (Kirtley & Weaver, 1999). Researchers' studies, such as those done by Bem (1993) and Eagly (1987) several years before, show that there

are two main constructs behind gender schema, communal traits and agentic traits. These traits can be measured by using the long or short form of Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, BSRI-SF; Bem, 1974, 1981) or the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Marusic & Bratko, 1998, Conway & Vartanian, 2000; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975).

Communal traits are those that demonstrate that the person prefers sharing, communicating; showing selflessness, affection, and helpfulness; sensitive and nurturing (Kirtley & Weaver, 1999; Eagly, 1987; Gianakos, 2000; Knox et al., 1998; McCreary, Newcomb, & Sadava, 1998). The communal traits are generally associated with females because they are more likely than males to express emotions (Oliver et al., 1998). These attributes are considered basic features of the gender stereotype (Conway & Vartanian, 2000). Lobel, Gewirtz, Pras, Shoeshine-Rokach, & Ginton (1999) demonstrated that gender and self-perception were related to the acquisition of traditionally masculine and feminine traits (Knox et al., 1998).

The second is composed of agentic traits where the person prefers a dominating and assertive form of communication and is goal oriented. Agentic traits are used to improve personal status more than personal liking (Hibbard, 1998). The agentic traits are generally associated with males (Kirtley & Weaver, 1999; Eagly, 1987; Gianakos, 2000; McCreary et al., 1998). These gender schema processes are closely related to the development of one's self-concept, self-understanding, and aids a person in the cognitive and behavioral processes (Kirtley & Weaver, 1999). Stereotypes are the working equivalent of schemas (Hudak, 1993) and would be demonstrated through traits such as assertiveness, independence, competitiveness, and self-confidence (Conway & Vartanian,

2000; McCreary et al., 1998). Hudak (1993) also posited that the self-perception that a person has may also affect the way in which others are perceived. In addition, stereotyping also is an important aid in social perception (Knox et al., 1998).

A great deal of evidence suggests women do not possess as much social status or credibility as men do in American society (Bradley, 1981). Women tend to suppress certain traits when sex role demands require them to behave outside their cluster of traits. Because masculine traits receive more value than feminine traits, women appropriately acquire masculine traits when the appropriate situation occurs. According to research by Geller & Hobfoll (1993), if a woman desires professional success, the female must free herself of the characteristics of warm and expressive and acquire the characteristics of competent and powerful. Also, some researchers have theorized individuals can possess both masculine and feminine qualities (Banikiotes et al., 1981; Bem, 1981) known as androgynous characteristics. Today, the androgynous individual emerges as the ideal role model for contemporary society (Bem & Lenney, 1976). Chris Carter, creator of The X-Files, believes he has created in the characters of Scully and Mulder androgynous traits.

According to Bem's studies on gender schema, there are persons who have both expressive, or communal, and instrumental, or agentic, characteristics (Bem, 1981). Both men and women are believed to internalize both the masculine and feminine gender traits as they develop their self-concepts (Knox et al., 1998; Marusic & Bratko, 1998; McCreary et al., 1998). These people are labeled as androgynous. Some researchers have shown that androgynous individuals tend to be psychologically better adjusted (Banikiotes, et al, 1981) and have higher self-esteem (Marusic & Bratko, 1998). However, some researchers have shown that masculine traits are valued more than feminine traits (Conway

& Vartanian, 2000; Hudak, 1993; Knox et al., 1998; Lobel et al., 1999; McCreary et al., 1998) and that gender role reversal is more acceptable in females than it is in males. Additionally, research has shown evidence that, according to college students, the perceptions of gender role have not changed since the 1970s (Holt & Ellis, 1998). These gender differences exist despite all the progress that has been accomplished by the feminist movement (Blustein, 2000).

Bem's listing of masculine and feminine traits has been discussed extensively by many researchers (Conway & Vartanian, 2000; Hudak, 1993; Knox et al., 1998; Lobel et al., 1999; McCreary et al., 1998; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979) as have the traits of being androgynous. Researchers do agree that being androgynous indicates that a person has both masculine and feminine traits. The person would be assertive and yielding or instrumental and expressive (Hudak, 1993), both opposite ends of the male/female characteristic measuring stick. Androgynous subjects have incorporated both the masculine schema and the feminine schema in their self-schema concept (Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982). The androgynous sex-role represents the alternative to the traditional sex role stereotype (Peevers, 1979; Slavkin & Stright, 2000). It is through the gender schema that a person accepts or rejects traits and attributes that make him/her male or female.

An androgynous conception of sex role maintains each sex will cultivate some of the traits usually associated with the other gender in traditional sex role definitions (Gump, 1972). Women, for example, described as warm, expressive, affectionate, gentle, soft-spoken, helpful, kind, and sympathetic, will acquire some of the men's descriptions of competence, power, self-assertiveness, aggressiveness, adventurous, perseverance, self-

reliance, self-sufficiency, ambitiousness, and independence (Eagly, 1987; Geller & Hobfoll, 1993; Locksley et al., 1980; Oakley, 1972). This duality of gender traits is termed psychological androgyny (Bem, 1981; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), meaning individuals of both sexes manifest high levels of both masculine and feminine sex role orientations.

According to Shrum (1996), Gerbner's contention states television provides one of the most powerful socializing forces in today's society, and a person's perception of the world, social beliefs, and values emerge distorted and replaced by heavily viewing television. Shrum and O'Guinn (1993) suggested a social reality receives acceptance more readily by those who view television often. Cultivation theorists have postulated gender role bias in television programming has a mainstreaming effect on people.

Television viewing cultivates conceptions of social reality through both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical role presentations. Potter (1986) described the Magic Window dimension as the degree to which a viewer believes that television content is a true and unaltered, representation of actual life. Children receive the greatest influence (Durkin, 1985) as they view television as a magic window in which truth abounds to the child (Potter, 1986). Likewise, girls obtain enormous influences in their images by television sex roles (Potter, 1986; Rubin et al., 1988; Lafky et al., 1996). Cited by Kubey et al. (1995), research shows television content affects children's perceptions of stereotypes, especially negative ones. Adults also develop susceptibility to belief in the Magic Window construct. When adult television viewers believe the Magic Window dimension, they display strong vulnerability to the cultivation effect. Images of sex roles also affect heavy viewers of television (Morgan, 1982; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1980).

The second dimension, termed the Instruction dimension, concerns the viewer's belief that television instructs, informs, and teaches moral values. The third dimension, called the Identity dimension, refers to the degree which the viewer relates television content to his/her own life possibilities (Potter, 1986). According to Potter, viewers who rate higher on the Identity dimension readily accept what they observe on television as truth.

Once the child has developed a gender schema and this schema has been internalized, everything he/she is exposed to is filtered through those gendered perceptions and it influences choices that are made throughout life. Gender schema is a predictor of attitudes and behaviors that the person will exhibit during his/her lifetime (Bem, 1981). Frequency of exposure to role models reinforces the stereotypical gender perceptions that are already in place. These perceptions are resistant to new and contradictory information to which the child may be exposed (Steinke, 1998). These social patterns in all cultures are there to aid the child in preparing for his/her adult role. (Warfel, 1984). Thus, there is concern over the impact that television's sex-stereotyped portrayals can have on the development of the viewer's sex-roles (Goff, Goff, & Lehrer, 1980). One theory which offers an explanation of how the presence of stereotyped portrayals could affect the development, change, or maintaining of attitudes, knowledge, or behavior of children (Graves, 1999) is the cultivation theory. Cultivation theorists argue cultural defining of incoming information emerges through exposure to television. Gerbner's theory of cultivation points to television as one of the most dominant socializing forces in American society (Gerbner & Gross, 1976).

Bellon (1999) describes Scully's androgynous role as objective while attempting to change Mulder's perspectives on the cases. Scully's television role represents the authority of the government, thus demonstrating the masculine image. According to Bellon's studies on scripts of The X-Files, Scully's aggressive and objective character often rescues Mulder. She presents the unemotional analysis of the cases.

While Scully uses her intellect when solving a case, Bellon states Mulder uses his intuition, a characteristic usually attributed to women. Bellon states his research shows that Mulder represents the emotional side. Both Mulder and Scully cross society's stereotypical barriers in their roles on The X-Files.

The research will, therefore, investigate Chris Carter's gender goals of achieving androgynous characters by compiling a content analysis of the 12 The X-Files episodes from the first year's production that were released on home-videos. This research investigates gender portrayal of both roles to demonstrate Carter's success in obtaining androgynous characteristics in Scully and Mulder. This study's hypotheses assume the portrayal of both Scully and Mulder does not noticeably depict counter-stereotypification. Through the visibility of television programs and music videos, the importance of this research relates to the influence on the psychological development of gender role behavior guidelines which role models possess (Bem, 1981; Browne, 1998). The hypotheses employ the following characteristics:

Hypothesis 1: The female role, Scully, will perform more interpersonal/relational actions than the male role.

Hypothesis 2: The male character, Mulder, will perform more forceful activities than the female character.

Hypothesis 3: Scully's wardrobe will consist primarily of women's wear.

Hypothesis 4: Scully will receive more job-related orders than she gives.

Hypothesis 5: Mulder will correct Scully's knowledge of occupational affairs more than she corrects him.

Hypothesis 6: Mulder will drive the car more when the two of them are together.

In a study of popular films during the period of 1970 through 1990, Simpson (1993) found that during this 20-year period, although the opportunities for women to rescue men increased, men rescued women twice as often. The following hypothesis monitors this gender role representation.

Hypothesis 7: Mulder will save Scully more often than she rescues him.

This research, couched in social learning, cultivation, and gender schema theories, maintains television boasts a powerful culture builder for society and has a strong influence on a person's gender role perception (Browne, 1998; Dietz, 1998; Durkin & Nugent, 1998; Witt, 2000). The high number of hours which people spend watching television suggests television provides a strong source of cultural realities (Shrum & O'Guinn, 1993; Zemach & Cohen, 1986) and greatly influences a person's gender schema. According to Bem (1981), young males and females acquire a gender schema, sex-specific self-concepts, skills, and personality attributes based on the current culture's definition. Therefore, The X-Files has the potential to affect the viewer's perception of his/her gender schema.

CHAPTER 2

Methods

One of the first uses of content analysis in sex-role portrayal research began with McArthur and Resko in 1975 (Furnham & Mak, 1999). Researchers have continued to use content analyses (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Franzwa, 1974; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Tedesco, 1974; Vest, 1992) as it represents a collection method which provides detailed descriptions of gender portrayals in areas of quantity and quality (Kolbe & Langefeld, 1993). Therefore, a content analysis is used to provide the quantity of male traits, or agentic traits, displayed by the male character Mulder and female characteristics, or communal traits, displayed by the female character Scully as they are depicted throughout the 12 programs on video tapes released from the first season of The X-Files.

Sample

As the researcher is attempting to disprove producer Chris Carter's claims that Scully and Mulder represent counter-stereotypification or androgynous characters in The X-Files programs, the first 12 episodes of The X-Files from the first year of production that were made available on home-video form the selection of the televised programs in the study. The first year was selected for testing as Chris Carter would be more careful to adhere to androgynous traits in early character development. Popular literature of the time said that television still clung to stereotypical feminine/masculine roles. "Eve," "Pilot," "Deep Throat," "Fallen Angel," "Ice," "Conduit," "Darkness Falls," "The Erlenmeyer Flask," "Squeeze," "Tooms," "Beyond the Sea," and "E.B.E." form the 12 programs released for sale on video from the first season.

Student coders

The researcher and a graduate student coder were chosen to count the occurrences of gender characteristics displayed. Both coders were familiar with Bem's gender schema theory and methods of coding gender portrayal in videos. Therefore, training consisted only of being part of the final development of codes and procedures. One informal pilot test was performed and the results were discussed prior to the final examination and coding of the videos.

Instruments

The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) are the most frequently used measures for gender role (Holt & Ellis, 1998; Hudak, 1993; Oliver et al., 1998; McCreary et al., 1998). The BSRI index has been used for over two decades and has survived retesting of the adjectives used as the variables for describing the more desirable man or woman in today's society (Holt & Ellis, 1998). However, as these measures are for self-assessment or for assessing the social norm (Bem, 1974, 1981; Kolbe & Langefeld, 1993), the researcher manipulated the measure by pulling out the adjectives which related to femininity to describe the communal traits and those which related to masculinity to describe the agentic traits. The BSRI re-validation test by Holt & Ellis (1998) had excluded the neutral adjectives and their findings revealed that the perceptions of gender roles have not changed in the last 20 years. Additionally, adjectives referring to interpersonal interactions as listed by Busby (1975) and Gump (1972) were also incorporated.

A coding sheet was developed for a content analysis which included a count on the number of scenes or times in which Scully or Mulder exhibited stereotypical traits

operationalized in ways such as who ordered, consoled, drove the car, did the fighting or rescuing, and how often Scully wore pants.

Pre-test of Instruments and Procedures

One pilot study was done. A video chosen at random served as the instructional video. Following a discussion of definitions and counting methods for clarification or change, each coder individually tested the sample video's coding sheet by watching the video alone. Discussion followed concerning the results and any differences or problems encountered during the test. Wording and counting procedures were adjusted to develop comfortable levels with the coding sheets and the methods of counting. Both coders felt comfortable and confident regarding the descriptions and instructions concerning the time to begin or end a count before the actual coding began.

Procedures

The hypotheses in this study assumed that the portrayal of the female FBI agent, Dana Scully, and the male FBI agent, Fox Mulder, did not noticeably depict counter-stereotypification. Interpersonal/relational actions as defined by Gump (1972), Busby (1975), and Bem (1974, 1981) include the characteristics of yielding, cheerfulness, shyness, affectionate, loyal, sympathetic, sensitive, understanding, compassionate, soothing, warm, soft-spoken, tender, gullible, childlike, loving, gentle, consoling and counseling. Consequently, the coders observed both Mulder and Scully for interpersonal/relational actions. The coders counted traits once per person per incident in a given scene. If the camera focus changed and returned to the same person in the same setting, the trait was counted a second time.

The way a woman dresses may display androgynous characteristics. While American society does not easily accept men wearing dresses, society does accept pants for women's wear. However, wearing a dress still stresses the feminine side of a woman. A logical conclusion assumes when a woman wears pants, her personality stresses the masculine side. Therefore, this study chose a dress as stereotypical clothing for Scully. The coders counted on a per outfit basis.

Masculine traits of self-reliance, defense of beliefs, independence, athletic ability, assertiveness, strong personality, forcefulness, analytical ability, leadership qualities, adventurousness, decisiveness, self-sufficiency, dominance, aggressiveness, individualistic, competitiveness, ambitiousness, and contentiousness were operationalized through four concrete types of action: physical aggression, giving orders, correcting partner, and driving. To measure physical aggression, the coders completed a count performed once per person per incident of violence, whether the person gave or received the violence. The incident had to include personal contact between the individuals. These masculine traits further the perception of the male gender role which hypothesizes four through seven operationalize in the following ways. The coders counted the quantity of times that Scully received or gave orders. Including both verbal and nonverbal commands, the orders applied to anyone; furthermore, anyone could direct an order to Scully. The command form did not include suggestive phrases such as come on, let's, look at, and think about, because the giver of these phrases does not always expect a reaction. Instead, the order required a broader, outward physical response. Additionally, further descriptions operationalized in ways that the research investigated were the number of times Mulder corrected Scully's knowledge of affairs as compared to the number of times she corrected

him. The coders also counted the number of times that Mulder drove the car when the two of them traveled together. If both Mulder and Scully got out of the car and then reentered, the reentry counted as another trip. Likewise, they counted the number of times Mulder saved Scully, or Scully saved Mulder.

This research uses Gerbner's definitions for the following terms. A program comprises a single fictional story presented in dramatic form (Gerbner et al., 1978). The portrayal of violence involves using physical force against oneself or another causing hurt or death with or without weapons as part of the script's plot. A violent episode as a unit of analysis refers to a scene of any amount of violence which involves the same participants. Any change in the cast of characters or any change in camera focus from the current scene to another scene begins another episode. The violence must occur due to some intent to hurt or to kill the other person or persons. Held against one's will for one's own good such as receiving unwanted medical treatment does not constitute a violent episode.

After viewing all of the videos separately, the coders came together, compared, and discussed the results.

CHAPTER 3

Results

Table 1, Number of Interpersonal Actions by Character, illustrates the outcome of Hypothesis 1, which predicted Scully would perform more interpersonal/relational actions than Mulder. The interpersonal/relational actions include yielding, cheerfulness, shyness, affectionate, loyal, sympathetic, sensitive, understanding, compassionate, soothing, soft-spoken, warm, tender, gullible, childlike, loving, gentle, consoling, and counseling. The coders observed Mulder and Scully for these interpersonal/relational actions by counting each trait performed once per person per incident in a given scene. The interrater reliability for this variable was 83.7%.

Table 1

Number of Interpersonal Actions by Character

Video	Scully	Mulder	Total
1. "Eve"	3	4	7
2. "Pilot"	5	3	8
3. "Deep Throat"	3	1	4
4. "Fallen Angel"	2	3	5
5. "Ice"	3	1	4
6. "Conduit"	2	3	5
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	1	1
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	0	0	0
9. "Squeeze"	1	0	1
10. "Tooms"	0	0	0
11. "Beyond the Sea"	3	0	3
12. "E.B.E."	0	1	1
Total	22	17	39

Table 1 shows the number of times each individual rater counted the interpersonal

actions per video per character and the overall totals. As illustrated by this table, interpersonal actions vary by episode; however, totals for each character do not vary greatly. The difference in exhibiting interpersonal actions between Mulder and Scully was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = .032, p > .05$). The data therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 2, Number of Forceful Activities, reveals the results for Hypothesis 2 which predicted that Mulder would perform more forceful activities than Scully. The coders observed and totaled each character's performance of forceful activities.

Table 2

Number of Forceful Activities by Character

Video	Scully	Mulder	Total
1. "Eve"	3	4	7
2. "Pilot"	1	1	2
3. "Deep Throat"	4	4	8
4. "Fallen Angel"	2	6	8
5. "Ice"	2	4	6
6. "Conduit"	0	0	0
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	0	0
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	1	0	1
9. "Squeeze"	1	3	4
10. "Tooms"	4	0	4
11. "Beyond the Sea"	1	1	2
12. "E.B.E."	1	1	2
Total	20	24	44

These forceful activities operationalized the stereotypical masculine characteristics of self-reliance, defense of own beliefs, independence, athletic ability, assertiveness, strong personality, forcefulness, analytical ability, leadership qualities, adventurousness,

decisiveness, self-sufficiency, dominance, masculinity, aggressiveness, individuality, competitiveness, ambitiousness, and contentiousness. This activity required physical contact. The character could either give or receive the violence. The coders counted each activity of physical contact once per person per incident. Examples include scuffling and grabbing. The interrater reliability for all counts was 100%.

Although the total forceful activities rate slightly higher for the male character than for the female character, the margin is small and little difference exists between characters within individual videos. The difference between Mulder and Scully in forceful activities is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = .032$, $p > .05$). The data failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 3 illustrates the outcome of Hypothesis 3 which predicted Scully would wear

Table 3

Number of Clothing Changes by Category

Video	Pants	Skirt/Dress	Other	Undistinguishable
1. "Eve"	2	2	0	2
2. "Pilot"	5	2	1	3
3. "Deep Throat"	2	3	0	1
4. "Fallen Angel"	1	1	0	1
5. "Ice"	1	1	0	0
6. "Conduit"	2	3	1	1
7. "Darkness Falls"	2	0	0	2
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	3	0	0	1
9. "Squeeze"	3	0	0	3
10. "Tooms"	4	0	0	2
11. "Beyond the Sea"	4	2	0	2
12. "E.B.E."	3	1	0	1
Total	32	15	2	19

skirts more than she wore pants. The coders counted each occurrence once per change of clothing. The interrater reliability for these variables was 93.9%.

Nineteen outfits were undistinguishable as the camera never panned below the waist and two outfits were pajamas. Although totals reveal the wearing of pants more than double the use of skirts, the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.584$, $p > .05$). Therefore, the data failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 4, Number of Orders Given and Received by Character, shows the results for Hypothesis 4 which predicted Scully would receive more orders than she gave. The coders counted the number of occurrences of giving orders and receiving orders for both Scully and Mulder. The interrater reliability is 77.8%. These commands might include verbal directives such as a direct address, or nonverbal actions such as a jerk of the head indicating a move in a certain direction. Scully could both give orders to anyone and receive orders from anyone. A suggestion encompasses the command form including the tone of voice. For example, Scully's commander may say, "I suggest you do as told" in a forceful tone of voice, and Scully perceives the statement an order. Orders do not include come on, let's, look at, and think about. An order requires a physical response which begins or carries through during the entire episode.

Scully shows a larger total for giving orders, but orders are elevated for "Deep Throat" and "Conduit" episodes. The character's giving and receiving orders within the

Table 4

Number of Orders Given and Received by Character

Video	Scully		Mulder		Gives Total	Receives Total
	Gives	Receives	Gives	Receives		
1. "Eve"	2	1	1	2	3	3
2. "Pilot"	1	2	2	3	3	5
3. "Deep Throat"	9	1	1	3	10	4
4. "Fallen Angel"	1	3	3	1	4	4
5. "Ice"	5	0	4	0	9	0
6. "Conduit"	9	1	1	0	10	1
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	1	0	0	0	1	0
9. "Squeeze"	1	0	2	0	3	0
10. "Tooms"	0	0	0	1	0	1
11. "Beyond the Sea"	4	3	1	0	5	3
12. "E.B.E."	0	3	2	3	2	6
Total	33	14	17	13	47	27

other individual episodes closely total each other. The difference in giving and receiving orders between Mulder and Scully was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = .389, p > .05$).

The data therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Number of Times Scully and Mulder Correct Each Other illustrated in Table 5 shows the results for Hypothesis 5 which predicted Mulder would correct Scully's knowledge of affairs more than she corrected him. A content analysis, done to obtain the number of times which Scully corrected Mulder and the number of times Mulder corrected her, reflects the coders' findings, as demonstrated in Table 5. The interrater reliability for all counts was 100%.

The total number of corrections per character inclines to remain even, although a slight increase occurs in the number of times Mulder corrected Scully. The difference

Table 5

Number of Times Scully and Mulder Correct Each Other

Video	Scully Corrects Mulder	Mulder Corrects Scully	Total
1. "Eve"	3	5	8
2. "Pilot"	3	3	6
3. "Deep Throat"	3	3	6
4. "Fallen Angel"	2	2	4
5. "Ice"	0	0	0
6. "Conduit"	0	2	2
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	0	0
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	2	1	3
9. "Squeeze"	2	2	4
10. "Tooms"	1	0	1
11. "Beyond the Sea"	0	1	1
12. "E.B.E."	2	1	3
Total	18	20	38

was statistically not significant ($\chi^2 = .006$, $p > .05$). The data therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 6, Number of Times Each Character Drives the Car, illustrates the results of Hypothesis 6 which predicted Mulder would drive the car more when both Scully and Mulder travelled together. As seen in Table 6, a large variance occurs in the number of times Mulder drove over the number of times Scully drove. Of the occurrences where Scully drove, only one episode, "E.B.E.," showed Scully signing the rental agreement when returning the car. However, no one was ever shown driving the car.

Table 6

Number of Times Each Character Drives the Car

Video	Scully	Mulder	Total
1. "Eve"	0	6	6
2. "Pilot"	0	4	4
3. "Deep Throat"	1	5	6
4. "Fallen Angel"	0	1	1
5. "Ice"	0	0	0
6. "Conduit"	0	5	5
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	1	1
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	1	0	1
9. "Squeeze"	0	1	1
10. "Tooms"	0	1	1
11. "Beyond the Sea"	1	0	1
12. "E.B.E."	1	3	4
Total	4	27	31

One time when Scully drove the car, it was her car and she was dropping off Mulder.

Another occurred in an episode in which she saved Mulder, and his injuries prevented him from driving. Despite the intricacies of coding this variable, the interrater reliability was 100%. Even though the data show Mulder as more than six times as likely to drive as Scully, when a χ^2 was calculated, it did not show the difference between the two as statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.101$, $p > .05$). The data therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 7, Number of Times Scully and Mulder Save Each Other, shows the results of Hypothesis 7 which predicted Mulder would save Scully more than she saved him. The interrater reliability was 100%. The totals reveal little difference exists in the

total number of times Scully and Mulder save each other. This difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = .222$, $p > .05$). The data therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 7

Number of Times Scully and Mulder Save Each Other

Video	Scully Saves Mulder	Mulder Saves Scully	Total
1. "Eve"	0	1	1
2. "Pilot"	0	0	0
3. "Deep Throat"	1	0	1
4. "Fallen Angel"	1	0	1
5. "Ice"	0	0	0
6. "Conduit"	0	0	0
7. "Darkness Falls"	0	0	0
8. "The Erlenmeyer Flask"	1	0	1
9. "Squeeze"	0	1	1
10. "Tooms"	1	0	1
11. "Beyond the Sea"	0	0	0
12. "E.B.E."	0	0	0
Total	4	2	6

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

Today nearly everyone lives to some extent in the world of television. Research presented earlier has demonstrated belief in television's being an unaltered and accurate picture of real life. It has also demonstrated the powerful effect television programs have on its watchers, whether children, teenagers, or adults (Neto & Pinto, 1998). It affects one's beliefs, attitudes, and values. According to A. C. Nielsen, people watch between 28 to 41 hours of television a week (World Almanac, 2001). This translates into more than 2,400 hours per year, the most time consuming activity besides sleeping (International Television Almanac, 1990, p. 26-A). This constant drip of images can change one's perception of the world. People rely on television to understand and interpret their lives, shape images, and set boundaries (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). These images and boundaries can be gender-based stereotypes or prejudices and are passed on through television.

Television has also become the popular babysitter of choice for many parents. Research based on Bandura's Social Learning Theory, such as that done by Bandura and Hicks, has shown that children use television to understand appropriate behavior and their sex roles because they learn by imitation (Busby, 1974). This influence makes the study of television's effect on its viewers a vital area for researchers.

Morgan (1982) found that students who watch more television tend to be more sexist. Research cited by Holt & Ellis (1998) demonstrated that college students' perceptions of gender roles have not changed in the nearly 20 years since Morgan's findings. Signorielli (1989) refers to research done in Canada by Kimball (1986) who

studied children's perceptions to sex roles before television and after television. Children who saw no television had less sex-typed perceptions to sex roles than they did after watching television for two years. Based on research done over nearly 50 years of television watching, content of programs has a definite effect on self-perceptions of the watchers. According to the researchers, the importance of the social learning theory describes heavy viewers, girls, and children as the most influenced groups in their images about sex roles (Lafky et al., 1996; Potter, 1993). However, even men and women internalize both masculine and feminine gender roles into their self-concepts (McCreary et al., 1998). For this reason, it is imperative that researchers continue their studies.

Of the 24 programs that were produced for the opening year, 12 were studied in this research. In this study Hypothesis 1, though originally appearing to be easily judged by the raters, ended with a high variance on one video. It is interesting to note that when the male performed the interpersonal actions, it did not appear to be quite as difficult to judge as when the female was doing it. Possibly, both raters being female caused them to take for granted interpersonal actions of Scully while those of Mulder stood out as being more unusual.

Hypothesis 2 suggested that Mulder would perform more forceful activities than Scully. The total occurrences did suggest that Mulder was the more powerful figure. However, only one program had a higher count for him than for Scully. The others showed consistent numbers for both. Once again, Chris Clark appeared to have accomplished his goal of androgynous characters.

Hypothesis 3 tested Scully's wearing feminine versus androgynous clothing. The number of times Scully wore pants or a skirt was almost the same, 10 for pants and 8 for

skirts. However, any skirt that was worn was in a business suit. She never wore any item of clothing that could be considered sexy. She even wore pajamas rather than a nightgown. Future research involving annual change progression of the character should be able to identify any changes that have occurred in her wardrobe.

Hypothesis 4 investigated the number of times each character gave or received orders. The tally is higher for Scully than for Mulder, with one episode ranking unusually high. The script had a good deal to do with this as it focused on Mulder's getting himself into trouble. Scully had to rescue him and issued many orders in the process. More programs would have to be watched to ascertain a definitive conclusion, but for this study the content analysis did demonstrate that Chris Carter had achieved his goal for androgyny.

Hypothesis 5 was the number of times Scully and Mulder corrected each other. Although it was expected that Mulder would correct Scully much more than she would correct him, the totals were only two higher. In fact, each video nearly totaled the same for each character.

Only Hypothesis 6 concerning the number of times Mulder or Scully drove the car showed a definite preference of male over female in the control area of driving the car. This could be due to the sample size and it is recommended that a larger sample size be used in future studies. Also, script differences can affect the characters and how they react. A further study of script requirements could prove valuable.

Hypothesis 7 suggested that Mulder would save Scully more than she saved him. However, the numbers maintained a near equality of occurrences. Both characters saved other people more than each other.

“Beauty is in the eye of the beholder” may be the reason for the lack of extensive research in the area of beauty. In “Pilot” Scully has a plain hairstyle and little makeup. In the next episode she is attractive, with a more flattering hairstyle and her makeup is done to take the accent off her nose, which is not the best part of her face, and put the accent on her eyes. Future research in this area might be beneficial.

Since the coders’ ages and nationalities vary, cultural and age differences may affect the results of this study (see Coltrane & Messineo, 2000, on the nuances of sex-role portrayal). Any future studies should include male coders to prevent prejudice due to sexual orientation by both the current female coders.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I

"Beyond the Sea." Writ. Glen Morgan & James Wong. Dir. David Nutter. The X-Files. FOX. Jan. 7, 1994.

"Conduit." Writ. Alex Gansa & Howard Gordon. Dir. Daniel Sackheim. The X-Files. FOX. Oct. 1, 1993.

"Darkness Falls." Writ. Chris Carter. Dir. Joe Napolitano. The X-Files. FOX. Apr. 15, 1994.

"Deep Throat." Writ. Chris Carter. Dir. Daniel Sackheim. The X-Files. FOX. Sept. 17, 1993.

"E.B.E." Writ. Glen Morgan & James Wong. Dir. William Graham. The X-Files. FOX. Feb. 18, 1994.

"The Erlenmeyer Flask." Writ. Chris Carter. Dir. R. W. Goodwin. The X-Files. FOX. May 13, 1994.

"Eve." Writ. Kenneth Biller and Chris Brancato. Dir. Fred Gerber. The X-Files. FOX. Dec. 10, 1993.

"Fallen Angel." Writ. Howard Gordon and Alex Gansa. Dir. Larry Shaw. The X-Files. FOX. Nov. 19, 1993.

"Ice." Writ. Glen Morgan & James Wong. Dir. David Nutter. The X-Files. FOX. Nov., 5, 1993.

"Pilot." Writ. Chris Carter. Dir. Robert Mandel. The X-Files. FOX. Sept. 10, 1993.

"Squeeze." Writ. Glen Morgan & James Wong. Dir. Harry Longstreet. The X-Files. FOX. Sept. 24, 1993.

"Tooms." Writ. Glen Morgan & James Wong. Dir. David Nutter. The X-Files. FOX. Apr. 22, 1994.

Appendix II

Guide & Scoring Sheet

Hypothesis 1: Scully will perform more interpersonal/relational actions, i.e., consoling, counseling, than Mulder.

Both Mulder and Scully are checked for performing interpersonal/relational actions (yielding, cheerful, shy, affectionate, flatterable, loyal, sympathetic, sensitive to the needs of others, understanding, compassionate, eager to soothe hurt feelings, soft-spoken, warm, tender, gullible, childlike, does not use harsh language, loves children, gentle, consoles, counsels). Traits are counted once per person per incident.

Mulder _____ Scully _____

Hypothesis 2: Mulder will perform more forceful activities, i.e., fighting, than Scully.

Each character is observed for performing more forceful activities (self-reliant, defends own beliefs, independent, athletic, assertive, strong personality, forceful, analytical, has leadership abilities, willing to take risks, makes decisions easily, self-sufficient, dominant, masculine, willing to take a stand, aggressive, acts as a leader, individualistic, competitive, ambitious, fights). This activity has to be physical. The person can be the giver or receiver of the violence. This activity is counted once per person per incident. It can involve scuffling and grabbing.

Mulder _____ Scully _____

Hypothesis 3: Scully will wear skirts more than she wears pants.
Occurrences are counted once per change of clothing.

Pants _____ Dress/Skirt _____ Other _____ Can't tell _____

Hypothesis 4: Scully will receive more orders than she gives.

Mulder:	Gives _____	Scully:	Gives _____
	Receives _____		Receives _____

Can be verbal or nonverbal. Order can be given to anyone and anyone can give an order to him/her. "Suggestion" must be in command form. Does not include "come on," "Let's," "Look at," "Think about." Order must require a physical response.

Hypothesis 5: Mulder will correct Scully's knowledge of affairs more than she corrects him.

Mulder corrects Scully _____ Scully corrects Mulder _____

Hypothesis 6: Mulder will drive the car more when the two of them are together.
Count one per trip.

Mulder _____ Scully _____

Hypothesis 7: Mulder will save Scully more than she saves him.
Can be to get him/her out of jail.

Mulder saves Scully _____ Scully saves Mulder _____