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THE CHANGING FACE OF THE WESTERN:
AN ANALYSIS OF HOLLYWOOD WESTERN FILMS
FROM DIRECTOR JOHN FORD AND OTHERS
DURING THE YEARS 1939 TO 1964

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Bachelor of Arts in Film and Digital Media
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December, 2010

submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree
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ABSTRACT

This content analysis uses the entire selection of John Ford's Westerns from 1939 to 1964, as well as top Westerns by other directors over the course of the same years in order to see more universal trends in the Western genre that are not unique only to John Ford. Items involving character portrayals and plot themes are used to ascertain how the films changed during those years. The psychological dimensions of the characters are also important, and it was speculated that a gradual change would take place in the types of character traits that were exhibited in the films. The findings revealed that the psychological portrayals moved in cycles, with traits reappearing over and over again during the years analyzed. It was found that John Ford Westerns portray more diverse ethnic groups overall, while portraying violence as generally less heroic than it is in non-Ford Westerns. It was further found that Westerns in general showed violence toward Native Americans as less heroic as the years passed, and violence toward Caucasians was shown as more heroic.

Keywords: Western film genre, Content analysis

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been a plethora of research regarding media genres (Altman, 2003; Cawelti, 2003; Gallagher, 2003; Gehring, 1988; Jeffres, Bracken, Atkin, & Neuendorf, 2010; Jeffres, Neuendorf, & Giles, 1990; Schatz, 1981; Schatz, 2003; Tudor, 2003). However, none of these studies have specifically used a content analysis to try to discover genre trends and to place audiovisual media into specific categories. In film studies, the term genre represents the division of films into categories that have a similar focus or similar plot themes. The genre is

...on one hand, a product of a commercial, highly conventionalized popular art form and subject to certain demands imposed by both the audience and the cinematic system itself. On the other hand, the genre film represents a distinct manifestation of contemporary society's basic mythic impulse, its desire to confront elemental conflicts inherent in modern culture and while at the same time participating in the projection of an idealized collective self-image (Schatz, 2003, p. 100).

In this way, a genre film can be very much a product of its time, and the task of defining genres can be a difficult process. The Western usually focuses on the American West in the second half of the nineteenth century, making the genre somewhat easier to

define than some (Gehring, 1988). However, a Western is more than simply the setting. It is also made up of themes. "In short, to talk about the western is (arbitrary definitions apart) to appeal to a common set of meanings in our culture" (Tudor, 2003, p. 6). The important stipulations that define a genre are not simply traits inherent in the films themselves. They also reflect the particular culture in which they are operating (Tudor, 2003).

Audiences might define genres on the basis of the characters and their roles in the story, the activities involved, audience reactions to the story, material objects and metaphorical meanings, time period and setting, and also characteristics and production values (Jeffres, Bracken, Atkin, & Neuendorf, 2010; Jeffres, Neuendorf, & Giles, 1990). These standards are useful for viewing genre categories from the perspective of an audience member.

Within the Western, there is often a rather arbitrary demarcation drawn between the Pre-war Western and the Revisionist Western. In this way, the genre of the Western is split into categories. Part of the purpose of this paper will be to examine how Westerns from 1939 to 1964 evolved in their style. The Psychological Western will also be discussed because it exists within the Revisionist time frame, also representing the rejection of classic themes and the acceptance of a certain cynicism regarding the Old West. The years 1939 to 1964 were selected because they represent a time when the Western peaked in popularity and director John Ford seemed to lead the trend in its growing dominance over the silver screen.

The Western has emerged as a cultural staple in the American community, and yet the Western across the ages has changed dramatically, often reflecting larger media

trends or even societal changes. The themes within the Western may seem familiar at first glance, but the rich underlying constructs and cultural justifications for much of Western lore has, for the large part, gone unexamined by empirical methods. The aim of this paper is to analyze the Western and to view the emerging trends within the genre in order to understand how the Western changed over time, specifically from 1939 to 1964, the era during which the legendary director of Westerns, John Ford, worked in that genre.

The Western

As noted above, the Western film genre is based on a specific time and place, although the Western itself was a highly stylized representation.

In essence of course, the western is both historically and geographically specific; it traces the settling of the American West (defined generally as the land West of the Mississippi) from the end of the Civil War until the early twentieth century. In this sense the Western is tied more directly to social and historical ‘reality’ than virtually every other film genre, with the possible exception of the gangster films and bio-pics of the 1930s, and the combat films made during and after World War II. But as Robert Warshaw so aptly pointed out in his study of the gangster film, every genre generates its own distinct reality (Gehring, 1988, p. 26).

The Western portrays the vast, unexplored continent and the impact of a strong Puritanical surge preoccupied by the ideas of good and evil (Wright, 1975). “Poised on the border between the fictional narratives they inhabit and the real history of American settlement, traumatic representations such as those discussed here are best read through a vernier attuned to memory and history both—*they cannot be taken at face value*” (Walker, 2001, p. 247). The Western, being a product of its own contemporary culture and the history it represents, requires a complex, multi-faceted definition.

There are variant and invariant conventions in genre. The variant conventions track changes in American culture rather than changes in the story of the history of the Old West. Changes in American identity are followed by the genre (Slotkin, 1992). Also,

“the themes and settings of this kind of film made it an appropriate vehicle for allegorizing public concerns about foreign affairs: the rise of anticolonial movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America; the Great Power rivalries that divided Europe and Asia into Democratic, Facist, and Stalinist camps.” In this way, even Westerns of the 1930s and 40s were concerned with contemporary global issues rather than simply historical fiction.

Era

The Old West, historically speaking, was an extremely important period in American history. “1870-1890 was the era of American industrialization, making unprecedented progress in the technological development of the nation. It was an era, also, of increasing urbanization and massive foreign immigration. And it was a time of political evil, economic corruption, and vicious racism” (Maynard, 1974, p. 1). The rise of new technology in America, personified by the railroads and the increasingly industrialized western landscape, brought with it the corruption from the East and the death of the imagined Utopian dream which involves the idealized farmer and the presumed bravery of heroic figures such as Buffalo Bill (Slotkin, 1992). The Western is often thought to be the result of a yearning for a heroic past. The golden age following the cataclysmic national rupture of the Civil War was seen as the application of wartime values, such as mass contribution toward a common goal, to a moral mission of civilizing and taming the West (Slotkin, 1992).

However, “in spite of the vast complexity of the major events of 1870-1890, American popular culture only chooses to portray and commemorate a very minor occurrence of that period—the conquest of the Western plains” (Maynard, 1974, p. 1).

The Western represents intercultural conflict, as many ethnicities and worldviews clash in the towns and cattle ranches of the Old West.

The fictional interaction of different kinds of men often makes details of motivation unnecessary and intensifies the force of their situational antagonisms. Set in a historical context where these differences are believable, stories that utilize this potential can readily portray fundamental conflicts by relying on the established meanings of the various types (Wright, 1975, p. 6).

Filmmakers who created Westerns were able to use the backdrop of the West to create epic morality tales, which would not have been credible in a different setting. These stories were an exploration of the relationship between law and morality (Wright, 1975). The format of the typical Western involves a villain transgressing upon the hero and society, then society is unable to come to the aid of the hero, and the hero proceeds to step outside of societal boundaries to seek vengeance on the villain. This practice provokes moral contemplation on the nature of ethical violence and necessary lawlessness (Wright, 1975).

The role of Native Americans is also highly relevant in the Western.

It is widely believed that the Myth of the Frontier constitutes the single most important frame of reference for America's self-understanding. The frontier myth alloys two major themes. On the one hand, it depicts the territory lying beyond the frontier as an abundant and unappropriated land that is simply there for the taking. On the other hand, it conceives of American history as a heroic and necessarily violent war against the Indians for possession of the land. Peculiarly, the myth appears to synthesize the two main traditional versions of Western history: one written by Frederick Jackson Turner and the other enacted by Buffalo Cody in his "Wild West" (Walker, 2001, p. 49).

Turner explains the development of America as the encroachment of civilization on wilderness. Buffalo Bill explains it as pioneers of civilization clashing with “savages” (Walker, 2001). The “frontier myth in its duality came to represent the essence of American history” (Walker, 2001, p. 49). This dichotomy of wilderness versus progress and civilization is perhaps the quintessential Western theme, whether that wilderness is represented by Native American communities, or by lawless bandits who, conforming to their own supposed code of the frontier, have decided that he with the quickest draw can pilfer whatever strikes his fancy.

The Rise of Western Films: The Silent Era and Beyond

The Western came out of popular dime store fiction of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When it was brought to the screen, it transformed how films of all genres were shot and edited by filmmakers.

Edwin S. Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery*, produced for the Edison Company in 1903, has long figured in the folklore of American mass culture as the progenitor of narrative cinema: “the first story film,” the first to use a close-up, “the first Western.” In fact, many of its technical and narrative innovations had been anticipated in earlier productions. The legend is closer to the truth in identifying *The Great Train Robbery* as the foundation of the Western as a movie genre. The film was a commercial success on a scale that no single movie had previously achieved (Slotkin, 1992, p. 231).

By 1908, the Western was a major genre in the film world. The formula of *The Great Train Robbery* was repeatedly imitated by other Western filmmakers. This formula seemed to grow stale, as the genre was constantly revisited without being reimagined. By “1914 reviewers were complaining that Westerns were already old-hat—‘a style of motion picture that we had hoped was a thing of the past’” (Slotkin, 1992, p. 231). The Western began a period of decreasing popularity. In 1934, no “A” Westerns were produced (Slotkin, 1992). The Western was relegated to B-movie status, suitable more

for childish fun than morally provocative drama. Then, John Ford's *Stagecoach* was released in 1939, when there was a "renaissance" of the Western (Slotkin, 1992). For *Stagecoach*, John Ford had used a B-movie formula while adding cultural and moral complexity to capture the nuances of American culture. "The 'renaissance' inaugurated a thirty-year period—briefly interrupted during the war years 1942-1945—in which the Western was the most consistently popular and most widely produced form of action film and a significant field for the active fabrication and revision of public myth and ideology" (Slotkin, 1992, p. 256). While the renaissance of the Western was replaced by that of the combat film from 1942 to 1947, the two genres became more intertwined after the war as the Western setting was used to tackle global issues.

In fabricating the combat film Hollywood would use Western-movie myth and the Myth of the Frontier" to draw comparisons between present conflicts and wars of the distant past, such as the Indian wars, where Heroic civilization was shown struggling against the darkness of a "savage," barbarous native population (Slotkin, 1992, p. 317).

Gunfighter

The gunfighter is a staple of film Westerns of this period.

The instrument of a gunfighter's appeal is his pistol. Without it he is meaningless, for the gun signifies his strength and purpose. In his hands it is the tool of justice or destruction, each shot finding its mark, for 'Judge Colt and his jury of six' is unerring in its verdict of death to wrongdoers (Maynard, 1974, p. 15).

The fast draw, a common element of Western films, was a fantasy conceived to intrigue the contemporary audience. The gunfighter, however, is based on a distant reality. Ultimately, "Buffalo Bill's wild west shows, and modern Western novels, movies, and television shows all contributed to the myth. Admirers of the fast draw, caring not that the supposed originator wore a tarnished halo, elevate his modern counterpart to a

kind of sainthood” (Maynard, 1974, p. 16). In *Shane*, the gunfighters are shown confronting each other on the border between civilization and the wilderness, between a world where their profession was outdated and one where anything was possible. The action of the film culminates in a violent shootout, where Shane, the man with moral superiority, achieves victory over the frontier nihilism and senseless violence with which he is confronted. However, Shane is tarnished by his actions which, although have been for the long term benefit of civilizing the “savagery” of the North American continent, have rendered him unsuitable to enter society. He disregards his brief glimpse of family and civilized life and rides off into the proverbial sunset, presumably to engage again in a rugged and uncivilized lifestyle. An alternative interpretation of the ending scene of *Shane* is that he is riding off to die from a wound he suffered during the shootout, and wants to shield the boy from that reality. He even slumps on his horse as he rides into the darkness. The gunfight was a key element of this narrative tradition. The Pre-war Western invests the shootout with a purely mythic quality and confers upon the one climactic scene the moral judgment "he wins who is fastest, and he is fastest who is good" (Prats, 1995, p. 107).

Westerns, having grown out of uniquely American settings and themes, present the instantly recognizable though somehow alien world of a more primitive time. The genre presents instantly identifiable character types such as the lone hero, the saloon girl, the outlaw and the villain.

The Outlaw

The outlaw is a common facet of the Western that grew out of the nineteenth century tradition of dime novels depicting good versus evil where the good were rogue

heroes, tougher and more resilient than their environment. “Long before the days of the cowboys of the silver screen, America had heroic images of Westerners. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the literacy rate in the country increased, the 'dime novel' became America's best-selling book format” (Maynard, 1974, p. 29). Jesse James was a hero of the dime novels. "While the origins of the James story may be traced to folktale and song, Jesse became a popular hero during the late nineteenth century, at the moment when the development of industrial capitalism had given rise to mass culture as we know it. A first-generation, mass-media celebrity" (Anderson, 1986, p. 44).

Hegemony

In Westerns immediately post WWII, audiences are asked to engage affectively in a “view of the American nation that allows for acts of empire or hegemony to be seen as the expression of a national and moral imperative that will ensure progress and promote the development of civilization” (Corkin, 2000, p. 74). Furthermore, these “Post-World War II Westerns built on antecedents within the genre and provided a conceptual bridge between the frontier mythology and Cold War imperatives” (Corkin, 2000, p. 70). In this way, the Western is very much a product of the time in which the story was conceived, rather than an accurate depiction of the Old West itself. This is also an example of agenda setting by the Hollywood filmmakers, because relevant historical events were portrayed due to the lucrative potential of appealing to values such as national interest, patriotism, and the struggle against communism. Social situation gives rise to certain values, the affirmation and reinforcement of which is facilitated by the consumption of congruent media materials. This might explain much of the success of the Western during that time.

Contradictions

One of the distinguishing traits in any Western is the presence of contradictory ideas.

East/West, America versus Europe, garden versus desert, social order versus anarchy, individual versus community, town versus wilderness, cowboy versus Indian, schoolmarm versus dancehall girl, and on and on. The narrative trajectory of any western animates the governing civilization-savagery opposition, generating a conflict—or more likely a whole series of conflicts—that are steadily intensified until a consummate, climactic confrontation becomes inevitable (Gehring, 1988, p. 28).

However, a conflict of civilization versus wilderness is not limited to “cowboys versus Indians.” In fact, the tidy schoolhouse next to the garish, rowdy brothel is another contradiction present in the “Old West.” The cowboy is often torn between the schoolteacher and the dancehall girl, between settling down to live a civilized life and continuing to embrace a wild, untamed existence. His decision to tame the West seems to run counter to his own best interests, because a civilized society could never openly welcome an outlaw such as he. “This potent myth is able to express, then, the universal tendency of humans to both divide from and identify with one another, and to do so in a uniquely American manner” (Rushing, 1983, p.17).

The East/West conflict stems from the mild-mannered easterner faced with the terrifying Old West, in all its violence and primitivism. In *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valence*, James Stewart plays a straight-laced lawyer from the East whose mission, he thinks, is to bring law and order to the West. He faces the brutality of the old West with a steadfast defiance and a determination to bring the light of civilization to a very dark time and place.

Manifest Destiny

The notion of manifest destiny is crucial to any film that pretends to be a window to nineteenth century American imperialism. The Western “distorts the ideal of moral equality through its presentation of a species of individualism equating freedom with lawlessness and the spectacle of space as an object of wonder with territory to be conquered” (Borden & Essman, 2000, p. 31). In this way, “the very geography of the West and the camera’s treatment of that space provides the site and the mise-en-scene in which individuals of magnitude can assert their sense of order” (Corkin, 2000, p. 72). This opportunity for conquest was portrayed in different ways, depending on the type of Western.

Violence

The Western is known for its violence and brutality. Although many genres contain this element, the Western’s violence is built into the fabric of American myth.

Although screen violence is common in many genres of American cinema, the Western film provides a useful entry point to the study. One finds in the Western both a codified treatment of violence and countless revisions and reworkings of that treatment. The traditional Western embodies an American ideology of redemptive and purgative violence (Plantinga, 1998, p. 65).

As time passed, the violence in the Western seemed to increase and grow more graphic. There was also a presence of nihilism and senseless cruelty.

This sort of choreographed brutality is repeated to excess, but in excess, there is point, to a film in which realism would be unbearable. *The Wild Bunch* takes the basic elements of the Western movie myth, which once defined a simple, morally comprehensible world, and by bending them turns them into symbols of futility and aimless corruption (Canby, 1974, p. 109).

Pre-War Versus Revisionist

The “Revisionist Western” is a vague term applied to how Westerns of the early 1960s and even 1950s onward started to change their perspective on how best to tell the story of the West. The earlier “Pre-war Western” is one which

...upholds--with varying degrees of success--the codes and conventions of the form, its Anglo male protagonist, and the national project, but which contains resistant elements that undermine its cultural logic and status as a discrete, coherent identity. On the other hand may be found the anti-Western (revisionist), itself an unstable and shifting form that engages in a critical dialogue with the genre but that is also shaped by a certain desire for and attraction to the classic features of the Western” (Kollin, 2001, p. 560).

The pre-war format was often used even after the war occurred, and there are classic elements even in much later Westerns. Westerns can be Pre-war in their themes and still have been shot and released after World War Two.

The “anti” or “revisionist” Western can, according to Hall, begin to be viewed as somewhat out-of-date by future generations.

There is a long history of Westerns positioning themselves against previous Westerns, claiming to present a newly sympathetic and realistic view of Indian culture and a new condemnation of white conquest, only to find themselves a generation or two later the traditional Westerns against which the new ones are positioned” (Hall, 2001, p. 3).

Even in a more contemporary revisionist film, *Dances with Wolves*, “long-held stereotypes erupt through the thin crust of liberal sediment, belying the film’s pretense to present an enlightened picture of Native Americans” (Walker, 2001, p. 222). It seems that a true Revisionist Western is an elusive concept, the pursuit of which is a task of constantly distancing oneself from the Pre-war format, where the Native American is depicted as a barbarous savage, not a three-dimensional character. The enlightened portrayal of the Native American and also of female characters is the most important

facet of the revisionist definition and will be the one most often used in this paper. This category is included mostly to measure constructs such as ethnic violence and heroic or non-heroic portrayals within those violent scenes. The definitions of many of these terms can be broad and somewhat confusing at times, but parts of the categorical definitions are emphasized because of their ability to help interpret the data in the results section. There is also significant overlap between pre-war Westerns and revisionist Westerns.

Stagecoach has the optimistic and clear-cut hero and villain of a pre-war Western.

However, it criticizes the established order and many of the characters are outsiders, making the film somewhat revisionist.

Psychological Western

Pre-war and Revisionist Westerns seem to divide the landscape of Western portrayals dramatically into two separate perspectives. However, a third category of the Western began to take form after World War II, when all faith in modern society and progress seemed to fade into a dismal skepticism about whether mankind was truly evolving into a better state of existence. This doubt in humanity started with the war itself and was made worse by the atomic bomb. Images of the western community changed accordingly, which also affected the hero's motivation and sense of mission. Hence, the "psychological" westerns of the late 1940s and 1950s displayed the hero's largely ineffectual efforts to handle his growing incompatibility with civilization as well as the weight of society's unreasonable expectations. This genre would likely fit within the broad column of Revisionist Westerns, because it dramatically contradicted the optimism of earlier Westerns. *High Noon* and *Rio Bravo* would fit into the category of a psychological Western because they both portray struggling heroes failing to receive

assistance from the inept townspeople. This is a key indicator of not only a certain disillusionment with fellow humankind, but also serves as a commentary on the isolation of modern life. *Winchester '73* would fall under the category of Psychological Western because it uses the landscape to portray the inner workings of the protagonists' mental state. "The terrain is so coloured by the action that it finally seems an inner landscape, the unnatural world of a disturbed mind" (Kitses, 1969, p. 72). These psychological presentations "display the formal and stylistic characteristics of the traumatic mindscape in which disturbances of memory are prominent" (Walker, 2001, p. 225). This is the case in *The Searchers*, where the characters suffer great trauma and are changed by it, becoming more bitter and selfish. In this way, the Psychological Western is driven largely by internal struggles rather than the rip-roaring climactic action sequences of earlier Westerns. The researcher would caution at this point that there are no objective, concrete divisions between the categories. Psychological Westerns are often seen as revisionist. The definition of "psychological" that will be useful is that of cynical Western with an isolated protagonist, unaided by the townspeople. The characters experience psychological turmoil and their thoughts and feelings are of great importance. There are no clear divisions in that the Anthony Mann Westerns such as *Winchester '73* are often seen as revisionist, but there is a lot of gray area because they also have pre-war themes in some instances, and revisionist in others.

Portrayal of Women

Another rupture in the traditional fabric of the Western occurred with the portrayals of women in the West. In a traditional Western, a female character can fulfill one of two expectations. She is often doomed to be the saloon girl, a dangerous and

seductive flirt with loose morals who is usually a plot device rather than a fully rendered character. A similarly two dimensional character type is the wholesome schoolteacher or wife, bringing her civilizing influence to the wild frontier. There were some departures from these two character types, but these departures are more often the exception rather than the rule. For example, *Johnny Guitar* (1953) and *Forty Guns* (1957) portray rough and competent female characters, but these women still eventually end up yielding to a brave frontier man by the end of the film. Their independence is not fully realized. None of these films was quite so revolutionary or artistic as *High Noon* (1952). *High Noon* includes two female characters. Similar to the classic Western, one is the youthful schoolmarm, and the other is the Mexican saloon girl. This harkens back to the contradictions that exist in a Western between civilization and the wilderness, in that the saloon is a wild place full of untamed cattle rustlers and gunfighters who behave in raucous and uncivilized ways. By contrast, the schoolteacher is striving to bring literacy and learning to the frontier in an effort to help tame the wilderness and bring the East to the West.

While the Pre-war Western contains two-dimensional female characters, Helen, the Mexican girl in *High Noon*, is a character of great depth. In fact, no character in the film “excepting Will Kane, possesses as much knowledge or as much integrity as Helen Ramirez. A woman who has been misused at the hands of men, she has developed into a strong resilient person of great dignity” (Graham, 1980, p. 247).

The character of Amy Kane the Quaker is also a character full of depth and strength. “Amy abhors violence and insists that her husband avoid killing at any cost. A pacifist, indeed a Quaker, Amy, until the last few minutes of the film, argues for and acts

upon nonviolent premises” (Graham, 1980, p. 247). Her family was killed in a gunfight, making her pacifist motivations stronger and more salient. However, she ultimately picks up a gun on behalf of her husband and replaces her pacifist notions with her duty to protect him. The complex female characters in *High Noon* make it a relevant example of female portrayals in Westerns, also causing the film to attain more elements of Psychological or Revisionist Western themes rather than Pre-war elements. Another noteworthy example emerges upon the examination of film director John Ford’s work.

In *My Darling Clementine* (1946), there is also a juxtaposition between the worldly Mexican saloon girl, Chihuahua, and Clementine Carter, who is a chaste and gentle woman from the East. “Ford values women as fundamentally different figures outside the world of daylight and logic” (Movshovitz, 1984, p. 70). In *Stagecoach* (1939), they are portrayed as mysterious, though not above class distinctions as is evident in the scene where Mrs. Mallory snubs Dallas and acts superior to her. Dallas is a prostitute who is shown courtesy and deference only by Ringo (John Wayne), an escaped convict whose father and brother were killed by a dangerous gunman. He now seeks revenge for their deaths, for which he was wrongfully imprisoned.

In *The Searchers*, Ethan (John Wayne) and Marty (Jeffrey Hunter) pursue a group of Native Americans who have kidnapped Ethan’s niece Debbie (Natalie Wood). The action takes place over several years and Debbie has grown up with the Native American tribe. In the ending battle scene, it is clear that she has assimilated and become one of the tribe, but there is still a glimmer of her former role as a White female. This is made evident when she stays still long enough for John Wayne to take her in his arms and tell her that they are returning home. “It seems that when Debbie moves she is in an ‘Indian

mode,' but when she is still, she is in a 'white woman mode.' When Debbie runs, Ethan pursues her; when she stops he can see her as his niece" (Movshovitz, 1984, p. 71).

In Ford films, much of the action is motivated by the female characters. For instance, it is evident in *Stagecoach* that Dallas helped Mrs. Mallory with her childbirth. This is implied when we see her sitting in a rocking chair beside her bed the next morning. However, in this case and in many others, the female characters are shown as static and unmoving. Ford is trying to convey what he sees as the female role in society, to stay still and silent, a motivation for action but not a part of it. The mysterious and multi-layered way in which he portrays women is made more curious by how he interprets their role in life, as the driving force of the story but not as the active participant. In this way, John Ford's early work may display a great deal of similarity to Pre-war Westerns rather than Psychological or Revisionist Western films.

Portrayal of the Indian

Another common facet of Westerns is how the Indian (Native American) is portrayed. Indians in film are sometimes hostile, sometimes victims, but rarely if ever portrayed as equal to the white man. In the early days of film, the directors had a certain sympathy for the cause of the Native Americans, trampled under foot by the White conquerors. This sympathy was usually expressed in Indian characters who were noble but wrong or doomed, although the bloodthirsty image became more popular toward the end of the silent era. In the silent film *Vanishing American*, Nophaie, an Indian male, falls in love with a white Christian schoolteacher on a reservation. At the end of the film, Nophaie tries to stop an evil Indian agent who has taken their land and caused the death of an Indian woman. Nophaie is injured by one of his own people, and dies believing that

“one who finds life will lose it and one who loses it will find everlasting life” (Hilger, 1986, p. 8). Nophaie has become a Christian martyr, having embraced a White mythology rather than his own Native American belief system. This portrait of the Indian as a noble but doomed savage in need of Christianity was common to the early silent era. Later on, as was mentioned, the Indian would be more commonly portrayed as a ruthless barbarian. “In the early sound films, especially as the Western took on a distinct form, Indians became more a part of the landscape, a hidden enemy, an adversary for the white hero” (Hilger, 1986, p. 51). Furthermore, “to create escapist entertainment and portray the heroes America needed during this time of war, the makers of Westerns were very willing to play with history” (Hilger, 1986, p. 51). In the case of *They Died with Their Boots On*, “In their attempt to mythologize Custer (Errol Flynn) into a hero who, in the Battle of Little Big Horn, sacrifices himself to ensure the safety of whites in the West, the filmmakers distort the role of the Indians by diminishing them to a hidden threat or only an Indian for the attack and battle sequences” (Hilger, 1986, p. 51). In this way, “Such a connection between fighting and killing Indians and patriotism suggests that films like this might be an outlet for the hatred and fear Americans felt during and after WWII,” that, despite the time frame, still show a great deal of similarity with Pre-war Western themes (Hilger, 1986, p. 54). The action in these films parallels “the efforts of American soldiers to defeat the hated Germans and Japanese. Racial hatred provides an ultimate motivation for the hero to perform his deeds, and continues to touch a chord in American audiences” (Hilger, 1986, p. 54). There is a long line of Indian-hating “heroes” in Westerns. Revisionist Westerns were slightly different in their portrayal of the Indian.

However, “sympathy for the Indians as victims never really gives way to empathy, especially in *Cheyenne Autumn*” (Hilger, 1986, p. 54).

The Indians are only symbols of white exploitation, not fictional characters significant as individuals. Although *Broken Arrow* (1950) shows more empathy than *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), it also uses Indians as symbols of white guilt. Although both these films mark a growth of awareness in the portrayal of Indians, common to a number of films of this era, sympathy doesn’t give way to real empathy until the contemporary period” (Hilger, 1986, p. 85).

Director John Ford (*Cheyenne Autumn*) worked on his major works mostly from the 1930’s up through the 1960’s. He saw many changes in the Western, and made many innovations in plot, character, and portrayal of that historical period.

Cheyenne Autumn portrayed a tragic group of Native Americans at the mercy of the White majority. It emphasized the victims of manifest destiny. This slightly more even-handed portrayal of Native Americans was a departure from Ford's earlier work and it was created at a time and place where it was in synch with the Native American rights movement (Davis, 1995). Ford expressed an interest in telling the truth about the Native Americans rather than simply making them threatening elements of the harsh landscape, or even plot devices to move the story forward. Ford's work with the Navajo had sensitized him to the plight of the Native Americans, and he made the film to give them a voice.

John Ford

John Ford was perhaps the definitive director of Hollywood Westerns. Ford was brought up in an age where the culture was saturated by the mythology of the old West. There were many venues where the Wild West was “recreated” with all the adventure and excitement of the frontier brought to live theater.

“American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier,” Turner explained. “This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West” (McBride, 2001, p. 52).

The fascination that the Old West held, from the perspective of the East Coast of the early twentieth century, was a point of view that was shared by Ford.

Ford’s filmmaking style evolved over time, adapting to both the Psychological and Revisionist formats, and perhaps even inventing them. He brought the Western to a state of massive popular appeal and his work is thus a perfect example of Western filmmaking. *Stagecoach* was a Western with Pre-war themes, *The Searchers* is more Psychological, and *Cheyenne Autumn* is clearly a Revisionist epic, demonstrating a slightly more enlightened portrayal of Native Americans. John Ford's films defined a genre and they peaked in popularity around the same time that Westerns by other directors became noteworthy as well. He has, to a great extent, defined the Western film.

In 1927, when films with synchronized sound recording entered the scene, the Western was, for a while, seen as impractical due to the sound difficulties of outdoor production. However, John Ford had bought the rights to a magazine story that would become *Stagecoach* (1939), and he was convinced that the suspenseful and action-packed content made the Western a story that could be told in a unique way using the film medium (Davis, 1995). Ford himself had taken a break from directing Westerns before he made *Stagecoach* in 1939. John Ford had made many Westerns during the silent era. After making *3 Bad Men* (1926), “the greatest director of Westerns made no films in that genre for thirteen years. It was not until the mid-1930’s that his films began to reflect a clear personality, and it was not until 1939, the year of *Young Mr. Lincoln*, *Stagecoach*,

and *Drums Along the Mohawk*, that he made his first masterpieces” (Stoehr & Connolly, 2008, p. 18).

Filmmakers during the Great Depression rediscovered the American heartland and tried to capture Americana on screen, as well as to emphasize old fashioned values. Running parallel to Ford's skepticism regarding the established order was a yearning for the traditional virtues of the past. He created a history that restored faith and taught lessons while he glorified White Anglo-Saxon America and declared its superiority to other forms of existence (Davis, 1995).

John Ford's films are rooted in Romanticism. The Romantic worldview is one that celebrates those very things that make his films so “Fordian”: the striving of human passion and the imagination, the sublime power and beauty of nature, the importance of one's origins in a unique culture or homeland, and the code of chivalry practiced by pioneering heroes who hearken back to the knights of medieval myths (Stoehr & Connolly, 2008, p. 17).

In *The Searchers* (1956), Ford's nostalgic view of Americana was replaced by anguish and dread while his protagonist hero had gone from optimistic to hard and jaded. Ethan Edwards was nearly insane in his dark obsession to find his niece, who was abducted by Indians. These dark themes reflected the essence of postwar American character, and John Ford was continually adapting his style (Davis, 1995).

As time went on, portrayals of both female and Native American characters in John Ford Westerns and Westerns from other directors grew more three-dimensional and the portrayal of the hero changed from optimistic to helpless. Morality became less clear-cut and more encumbered by deeper questions about mankind and civilization.

Rationale and Research Questions

Part of the justification for undertaking this project resides in the notion that from 1939 to 1964 there were many social changes in America and one World War came and

went. The Hollywood Western was always an iconic American feature, but it was not a static event. The Western was as changeable as society itself and a further examination of the Western from a communication perspective is not only useful to the discussion of genres but also needed from a film studies perspective, to bridge the gap in research that leaves the Western as merely a single, unified genre, without any empirical evidence to show the many ways in which it evolved. The emerging trends in the evolution of the Western from pre-war to psychological to revisionist will reflect important trends in not only filmmaking but in society and viewer perceptions as well. From 1939 to 1964 there was a peak in the popularity of the Western, making that time frame an ideal point to examine for the purposes of this study. Also, this was a period during which many of the Westerns from influential director John Ford were released. There has been very diverse research on the Western, and the premise of this thesis was a general focus on certain concepts. Each of these research questions is important because they help to measure the trends and changes in the Western, as well as the role that John Ford played in the development of the genre. These questions cover a lot of ground, but, granted, not everything in the genre research that was cited in the Literature review is covered by the questions or the results. There is room for further research, but the items that this study focuses on are fundamental concepts that are elemental to the understanding of the genre. Those are the portrayal of Native American and Caucasian violence (relevant to pre-war versus revisionist Westerns' portrait of the Indian), the psychology of the characters (relevant to psychological Westerns and revisionist Westerns with anti-heroes), and also how John Ford's films, arguably by one of the most influential Western directors, are related to other Westerns from the same era.

Research Questions:

RQ1: Will there be evident trends/changes over time in the portrayal of heroism in violence between Caucasians and Native Americans?

RQ2: Will there be evident trends/changes over time in the character portrayals on a psychological level?

RQ3: Will John Ford Westerns from 1939 to 1964 exhibit the same characteristics shown in Westerns from other directors during the same years?

CHAPTER II

METHODS

This study examined the films listed in Appendix A, using the codebook shown in Appendix B, which assesses all areas from character portrayals to the inclusion of objects and constructs such as manifest destiny and the psychology of the characters. The strength of the study is the uniqueness in performing a content analysis on a popular film genre that is most often the topic of non-quantitative, critical-cultural film studies rather than empirical research.

The Sample

All of director John Ford's Westerns during the time frame were chosen for the study, spanning from 1939 with *Stagecoach*, an early black and white Western, to 1964 with *Cheyenne Autumn*, a later Western, often considered revisionist because the story is told with a clear consideration of the perspective of the Native American characters. The time frame, 1939-1964, was selected partly because it is during these years that the Western experienced the most change and upheaval, shifting, according to film theorists

cited earlier, from the Pre-war Western to the Psychological Western (which are often revisionist as well, but see Literature review for a clearer division), and ultimately to the Revisionist Western. It is also during this time that John Ford's films became extremely popular and brought about a Renaissance in the mass appeal of the Western, enhancing the genre's attraction for adults as well as children. In short, this time frame was chosen because there was a peak in the Western's popularity, and especially that of the John Ford Westerns (see Appendix G). The popular film *Drums Along the Mohawk* was discarded because it takes place in the East during the eighteenth century prior to the war for independence, rather than the nineteenth century setting that would enable the researcher to better compare and contrast with the other Westerns. *Destry Rides Again* was also eliminated because it was a comedy Western that, while useful for explaining elements of the genre, does not coincide with the other, more serious Westerns in the sample. *How the West Was Won* was removed from the sample because it only had one segment directed by John Ford, and thus did not fall into either the "directed by John Ford," or the "not directed by John Ford" categories for choosing the Westerns. *A Fistful of Dollars* was taken out of the sample because it was not an American Western, and thus could not be examined by this study, which looked at trends in the American Western, as determined by the national origin of the other 27 films.

In sum, 13 John Ford Westerns were examined, and 14 era-matched popular other Westerns were studied, for a total of 27 films analyzed.

The Codebook

Both the films and character codebooks begin with spaces for the coder ID, film ID, and in the case of the character codebook, the character ID should also be provided.

The year of the film was added later. In the film codebook, this is followed by demographic information about the number of characters of different ethnicities shown in the film. Then, there are questions about whether certain ideological terms are used, implied, or demonstrated, specifically the concepts of “Manifest Destiny” and “Genocide.” The next items measure whether certain types of technology are shown in the film, such as the Automobile or the Steam Train. The items after that were inserted in order to see if that technology was mentioned in the dialogue. Then there are items measuring violence towards humans and animals, with both guns and alternative weapons. Violence between ethnicities is also measured. For instance, number 30 asks how many Caucasians are injured by other Caucasians. This is to see if the violence is portrayed in a positive or negative way. If violence towards Native Americans is shown in a negative way, then the film is more likely to fall into the category of a newer Western that portrays the Native American in a sympathetic light. However, the researcher cautions that there are “good Caucasians” and “bad Caucasians,” making the results somewhat difficult to interpret. But in the end, the main purpose of the section was simply a quick examination of Ethnic violence, although it is flawed, given that much of the violence against “bad” characters may be portrayed as justifiable aggression in the film, while the coding scheme does not specify. Item 33 asks the coder to measure the number of seconds that the camera lingers on the faces of deceased characters, as well as their gender, race, and age. This item is included because, if the camera shows the face of a deceased character for a considerable duration, then their death is portrayed a consequential and meaningful. If this is done with a Native American character, then the director is likely to be sympathetic toward the Native American cause. Also, the lingering

camera humanizes the dead characters and makes the violence seem more negative. This makes it less likely that the Western is a Pre-war Western that portrays the world in a simple, “black and white” fashion where the violence is something enacted by the “good guys” in the white hats and used as a tool to vanquish evil-doers. Number 34 asks whether certain locations were present in the films, including “Fort” and “Town.” Number 35 measures the presence of structural oppositions within the films. This includes oppositions such as “Frontier law vs. man’s law” and “Civilization vs. Wilderness.” These were items that were emphasized in genre research regarding the Western, and this will help to show whether the Western follows a traditional format and meets the classic criteria, which a few of the later Westerns may not, showing themselves to be more “revisionist” and unconventional.

The character codebook begins by asking demographic information about the character, such as the gender, race, age, and occupation. Then, psychological dimension scales measure the character’s personality and mental state. These are measured on a 0-10 semantic differential scale. For instance, one item, titled “Impersonal,” has “impersonal” at the high end of the scale, and “deeply emotional” at the zero end. The coder would choose any number along the scale to help determine the character’s psychology. Next, question 129 measures the negative life events that the character experienced including his/her own death, being wrongly imprisoned, etc. The negative life events sometimes indicate whether the character will be troubled or psychologically traumatized by the events of the past, this being an indicator of whether the Western is more psychological and focused on the character’s internal workings, rather than simply an action-adventure film, as is the case with some earlier Westerns.

Coders

Three coders volunteered from the undergraduate Communication program at a Midwestern, Urban University. They were assigned coder ID numbers. They trained for four weeks, watching four half hour segments from the Westerns included in the sample. They coded items on copies of the codebook and then transferred the data to a spreadsheet codeform in Microsoft Excel. They were often given two days, or up to one week to complete each coding process. They also completed coding two full-length feature films, one of which was not part of the sample and one of which is included. Inter-coder reliability was run using PRAM (Neuendorf, 2002). The coders were shown to often disagree on the psychological scale items, the structural opposition items, and the Heroic or Non-Heroic violence and aggression items, but the reliability was acceptable for some of the other items. Another training session occurred before the final full-length film was coded for training, and the numbers improved.

Reliability coefficients are reported in Appendix C. As may be seen, reliabilities for the psychological variables were quite varied, and included some that were poor, and so the findings relevant to these variables should be interpreted with caution. It is also true the coders were reporting latent rather than manifest content, so many of the coding of abstract concepts may have suffered because those items are not universally quantifiable.

The Kappas do not show the coders to be extremely reliable on all items. However, in Neuendorf (2002), Banerjee et al. are cited as proposing a .40 to .75 as “fair to good agreement beyond chance,” while below .40 is poor agreement beyond chance (Neuendorf, 2002, p.143). Many of the Kappas presented in Appendix C, then, are

representative of “fair to good agreement.” Items with a Pearson’s r of less than .50 will be reported as unreliable.

Furthermore, Pearson’s r is included in many cases where it adds further depth to the findings. It often seemed to show more reliability between the coders than the other measures. Lin’s concordance is also included. The reliability table in Appendix C came from the analysis of five of the films watched during the training process, except for the psychological dimension results, which came from an analysis of eight characters from one film: *Stagecoach*.

It was then determined that the study would begin the following week. The films were compiled in an alphabetical list and randomly chosen for each coder. The films were distributed on DVDs, all with the aspect ratio that the studio originally intended. The coding began, and the data were compiled into two data sets, one for the film codings and one for the character codings. SPSS was used to run frequency measures, factor analysis, crosstabs, ANOVAs, and correlations.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The results of the frequency measures, factor analysis, crosstabs, ANOVAs, and correlations are all listed below. The resulting data was used to define, categorize, and compare the Westerns. Many of the results were not significant, but those that were speak volumes about the changing face of the Western.

The Selection of the Westerns

The graph in Appendix G shows the distribution and ratings of Westerns, with their ratings on The Internet Movie Database. It is representative of the golden era of Westerns, using both John Ford and non-John Ford films. We caution that these are contemporary viewers judging older films, but their opinions of the Westerns, and the fact that those Westerns are well-known enough to appear in their sample, all point to the fact that these are the major Westerns of focus. From the ones listed on the Internet Movie Database, the non-John Ford Western films were chosen because the year of their release coincided approximately with the years of the John Ford Westerns, as well as

because they were the ones emphasized in the genre research as being important Westerns in the genre. That enabled this thesis to explore trends in John Ford and non-John Ford Westerns simultaneously. In the graph in Appendix G, the dark dots represent John Ford Westerns and the white dots represent non-John Ford Westerns. When all Westerns were measured, the mean report for John Ford Western ratings was much higher at 7.3267 versus 6.7187. The difference was significant at $p=.011$. Thus, John Ford Westerns received higher ratings. For Westerns only between 1939 and 1964, the mean for John Ford Westerns is still higher at 7.3267 versus 7.1667. The difference, however, is not significant at $p=.288$. For Westerns before 1964, the mean rating is 7.2027, while Western post 1964 had a lower rating at 6.5070. The difference is significant at $p<.001$, showing that Westerns after 1964 may have been less popular, or at least received a lower rating. The Pearson's r for the scatterplot is significant at $-.474$, meaning that as the years increase, the ratings decrease.

Reliability

Using PRAM (Neuendorf, 2002), a number of unreliable items were discovered on the film analysis items. Unreliable items included "Time Period," which had a Kappa of .20, "Electricity Mentioned," which had a Kappa of $-.07$, and "Heroic gun drawn animal," which had a Pearson's r of $-.25$. The Structural Oppositions had only one acceptable Kappa, which was "Sophisticated Eastern Girl versus Saloon Girl," at .40. There were also some items on the psychological dimension scales that were not reliable, and they will be mentioned later in the text.

Results Summary for Research Questions

Bar charts were created in order to gain a visual representation of how the Western changed over the years, as well as how John Ford and non-Ford Westerns differ. The first research question was examined.

RQ1: Will there be evident trends/changes in the portrayal of heroism in violence between Caucasian and Native Americans?

Refer to Appendix D for the following section. These events are often infrequently occurring, meaning that there are not very many data points on a single graph. That makes this section more of an ideographic analysis, because there is not data for every year. More data would be needed to run a statistical test of differences. As shown in Figure D1, it was found that Caucasians killing Native Americans was seen as decreasing in heroic portrayals over the years. The numbers on the vertical axis represent the mean (average) number of occurrences per films released that year. The year is represented on the horizontal axis. The white bars represent John Ford films while the dark bars represent non-John Ford films. For D2, Caucasians killing Native Americans was seen as dramatically more non-heroic in 1964, with the John Ford film, *Cheyenne Autumn*. However, this phenomenon only occurred during one other year, 1962. As shown in Figure D3, it was also shown that Caucasians injuring Native Americans in a heroic manner decreased sharply after 1950, however, there are too few data points to confidently assert why this happened. Caucasians injuring Native Americans was seen as highly non-heroic in 1964, again because of *Cheyenne Autumn*, in Figure D4. However, it is important to note that this only occurred in 1964, and thus cannot be seen to represent a change from one year to the next. As can be seen in Figure D5, Caucasians being killed

by Native Americans was seen as more heroic in 1964 than it was in 1948. Native Americans injuring Caucasians is highly non-heroic in 1950 (Figure D8), but much less so in later years or in the years leading up to 1950. The researcher once again cautions that the data points are very few and that these events did not occur for all of the years. It could be interpreted that portrayals of violence toward Native Americans grew less heroic and violence toward Caucasians grew more heroic at the same time as genre research states that the directors adopted a certain skepticism toward Manifest Destiny and the duty of Anglo Saxons to civilize and tame the continent. This seems to make sense, given that the portrayal of Native Americans would have grown more sympathetic. The first research question is thus answered affirmatively—there are evident changes over the time period of the study in the portrayals of heroism in violence between different ethnicities. Violence committed by Caucasians against Native Americans becomes less heroic and violence committed by Native Americans against Caucasians becomes more heroic.

RQ2: Will there be evident trends/changes in the character portrayals on a psychological level?

In order to provide a concise summarization of the Psychological Dimensions, an exploratory factor analysis was run on the “end of film” psychological dimension scales (refer to the table in Appendix E) with principal components factoring, oblique rotation, and an extraction cutoff of eigenvalue=1.0 (i.e., latent root criterion). This resulted in four factors with extraction eigenvalues ranging from 7.525 (39.607% of total variance) to 1.040 (5.476% of total variance). The full four-factor solution explained 74.507% of the total variance at extraction. The communalities ranged from a low of .496 to a high of .872, indicating a reasonable amount of shared variance for all items.

The four factors were given labels based on those items loading highly and cleanly on each factor. Factor 1, “Positive and Nurturing,” is labeled as such because of high loadings for items relating to kindness, warmth, and goodness. Factor 2 was titled “Rugged” based on high loadings for items relating to a rough, strong, masculine and competent lifestyle. Factor 3 was titled “Bitter” based on high loadings for items relating to being troubled, disillusioned, angry, and generally negative and pessimistic. Factor 4 was titled “Selfish” based on high loadings for items relating to concern with the self rather than the surrounding world.

An over-time analysis was run on these factors, using an ANOVA test of four time groupings. The researcher cautions that there was generally a poor reliability of era differences. The over-time trends are displayed visually in the graphs of Appendix F. Using an ANOVA test of four groupings (“1. 1939-1945,” “2. 1946 through 1952,” “3. 1953 through 1957,” and “4. 1958 through 1964”), significance was found only for the “Positive and Nurturing” factor, where it had four significantly different eras in the ANOVA, such that eras 2 and 4 were very high in this factor, as shown in Figure F1. Grouping one had a mean of -.29 and an n of 6, grouping two had a mean of .24 and an n of 27, grouping 3 had a mean of -.53 and an n of 17, grouping four had a mean of .19 and an n of 22. The F was 2.772, and degrees of freedom were 3 and 68, and $p=.048$. No other factors were significant on a comparison of these four eras. However, using an ANOVA test of four other time groupings (“1. 1939-1951,” “2. 1952 through 1955,” “3. 1956 through 1958,” and “4. 1959 through 1964”), near significance was found for the “Rugged” factor. The mean for grouping one was -.17 and the n was 30, grouping two had a mean of .15 and an n of 14, grouping three had a mean of -.55 and an n of 9,

grouping four had a mean of .42 and an n of 19. The F was 2.597, the degrees of freedom were 3 and 68, and $p=.059$. No other factors were found to be significant.

In Appendix F, it was found that there is an increase in what the researcher has termed the “Rugged” factor in the early 1950’s and again in 1959 through the early 1960s. Other factors, termed the “Bitter” factor, the “Selfish” factor and the “Positive and Nurturing” factor also went in cycles. This seems to point to the conclusion that rather than a steady, gradual change in the psychology of Western characters, there was a cycle of portrayals that emerged again and again throughout the Western’s history, during that time frame.

The reliability table in Appendix C shows that a number of the psychological variables were poor when it came to the reliability coefficients, and therefore the findings should be interpreted with caution. Those were “Egocentric,” “Impersonal,” “Impulsive,” “Individualistic,” “Disillusioned,” “Competent,” “Angry,” and “Troubled,” because they all have a Pearson’s r of less than .50. “Egocentric” had a Pearson’s r of .29, “Impersonal” had a Pearson’s r of .13, “Impulsive” had a Pearson’s r of -.04, “Individualistic” had a Pearson’s r of .31, “Disillusioned” had a Pearson’s r of -.15, “Competent” had a Pearson’s r of .37, “Angry” had a Pearson’s r of .29, and “Troubled” had a Pearson’s r of .06. Most of these psychological measures with poor intercoder reliabilities were measures that appeared in the third and fourth factors (“Bitter” and “Selfish”), which were the factors without significant trends over time.

RQ3: Will John Ford Westerns from 1939 to 1964 exhibit the same characteristics shown in Westerns from other directors during the same years?

Research Question 3 asked whether there were apparent differences between Ford and non-Ford Western films. The first step was to determine the chi-squares of variables in the Film Analysis that were measured at the nominal level. This was done in order to see whether there are significant differences between John Ford directed films and those by other directors. The coding sheet in Appendix B will be referred to in this section.

For the technology items, significance was found for some of the data. For the item 19A “Automobile or Truck” (shown on the screen), it was found that it was never shown in the Ford films. The chi-square is 3.134, the degrees of freedom is 1, and the item was near-significant at $p=.077$. 19F Industrial technology was also never shown in Ford films, with a chi-square of 4.360, degrees of freedom 1, and it was found to be significant at $p=.037$. The telegraph was shown to be significant. The chi-square was 3.825, the degrees of freedom was 1, and it was significant at $p=.050$. The other technology items (i.e., Rapid fire gun, Electricity, and Other) were not found to be significant, indicating no difference between their occurrences in Ford and non-Ford films.

The next step was to judge if certain locations were featured more in the John Ford or in the non-John Ford Westerns. The Forest location was used more in non-Ford Westerns at 71.4% versus 30.8%. The chi square was 4.464, the degrees of freedom was 1, and the item was significant at $p=.035$. The Fort location was never used in Western films not directed by John Ford. The chi-square was 10.177, the degrees of freedom was 1, and the difference was significant at $p=.001$. The Town location was used more in non-Ford films at 92.9% versus 61.5%. The chi-square was 3.825, the degrees of freedom was 1, and it was found to be significant at $p=.050$. The Desert location (not including

Monument Valley) was used more in non-Ford films at 85.7% versus 30.8%. The chi-square was 8.429, the degrees of freedom was 1, and it was significant at $p=.004$. The Mountains location was shown more in non-John Ford Westerns at 85.7% versus 38.5%. The chi-square was 6.454, the degrees of freedom was 1, and the item was significant at $p=.011$. The Monument Valley location was shown only in John Ford Westerns. It appeared in 69.2% of Ford films. The chi-square was 14.538, the degrees of freedom was 1, and the significance was $p<.001$. The other location variables (i.e., City, Plains, Farm/Ranch, Lake/River) were found to be not significantly different between Ford and non-Ford Westerns.

The structural opposition items were also assessed to find out if there were significant differences between John Ford and non-Ford Westerns. The opposition “Frontier law versus man’s law” was used more in non-Ford films at 92.9% versus 61.5%. The chi-square was 3.825, the degrees of freedom was 1, and the item was significant at $p=.050$. The opposition “Civilization versus wilderness” was used more in Ford films at 69.2% versus 28.6%. The chi-square was 4.464, the degrees of freedom was 1, and there was significance at $p=.030$. The other structural opposition variables (i.e., Community vs. Individual, Sophisticated Eastern Girl vs. Saloon girl, Ranchers vs. Cattlemen) did not differ significantly between Ford and non-Ford Westerns.

Also, crosstabs were run for Ford/non-Ford films and the five character demographics questions. It was found that the occupation “Soldier” was found only in John Ford Westerns, while the non-occupation, “Other/None identified,” was found often in both. This might be because the “Civilization versus Wilderness” dichotomy is not always conducive for characters with occupations in realm of decent society. More often

than not, the characters are mostly living from hand-to-mouth or taking work where they can, without what could be conceived as a steady job or career. Also, there was unfortunately no category for “Outlaw,” a way of life shared by many of the antagonists in the films, and some protagonists as well. Most of the characters were found to be young adults, with middle-aged being the second most selected category. The most prominent race in the films was Caucasian, with Hispanic being a much lower second category. There are very few Native Americans with large speaking roles, and few Black characters. Most of the characters were categorized as being protagonists, less coded as “other” and very few were seen as being antagonists.

The researcher cautions that some of the chi-square data tables included empty cells or small numbers, making the statistical findings somewhat unstable. These were still included because of the ability of this data to help explain the differences between John Ford and non-John Ford Westerns.

Next, ANOVAs were run on the Interval/Ratio items to compare mean values for Ford and non-Ford Westerns. The “Character Ethnic Composition” measures were examined first. There were found to be more Native American Adult Males in John Ford Westerns at 95.2 versus 19.4 (average number per film). The F was 4.094, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25. This was found to be near-significant at $p=.054$. There were more Native American Adult Females in Ford films at an average of 21.5 per film versus 2.4. The F was 2.047 the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and it was found to be near significant at $p=.055$. There were more White Male Adults in Ford films at 249.8 versus 108.2. The F was 6.991, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and it was significant at $p=.014$. There were also more White Female Adults in Ford films at 55.7 versus 25.7.

The F was 5.301, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and it was significant at $p=.030$. There were more Black Male Adults in Ford films at an average of 6.2 such characters per film versus an average of only 0.1. The F was 4.730, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and it was significant at $p=.039$.

The other Ethnic Composition measures (i.e., Native American Children, White Children, Black Adult Females, Black children, Male Hispanics, Female Hispanics, Hispanic children) were found not to be significantly different between Ford and non-Ford Westerns.

For the section “Aggression and Violence Towards Humans and Animals,” two of the items were found to be significantly different between Ford and non-Ford Westerns. 23B asked how many times an alternative weapon is drawn with intent to harm or threaten an animal. There were two options; this action was either portrayed in a heroic way or a non-heroic way. For the non-heroic option, this occurred more often in Ford films than in films by other directors at an average of 3.9 times per film versus 1.4. The F was 4.699, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and the item was significant at $p=.040$. 24B asked how many times an alternative weapon is used in harming a human. It was found to be used in a non-heroic way most often in Ford films at 2.2 versus 0.5 times per film. The F was 4.742, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and the item was significant at $p=.039$.

The other Aggression and Violence Towards Human and Animals measures (i.e., 21A. Gun drawn to threaten an animal heroic/non-heroic, 21B. Drawn to threaten a human heroic/non-heroic, 22A. Gun used to harm an animal heroic/non-heroic, 22B. Gun used to harm a human heroic/non-heroic, 23A Alternative weapon drawn to harm an

animal heroic/non-heroic, 23B Drawn to harm a human heroic, 24A. Used in harming an animal heroic /non-heroic, 24B Used in harming a human heroic,) did not differ significantly between Ford and non-Ford films.

The section on Ethnic Violence was examined next. Question 29 asks how many times a Caucasian killed a Caucasian, shown in a non-heroic way. It occurred more in non-Ford films at 2.1 versus 0.3. The F was 3.939, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 25, and the item was significant at $p=.024$. The other Ethnic Violence measures (i.e., 25. Caucasians killing Native Americans heroic/non-heroic, 26. Caucasians injuring Native Americans heroic/non-heroic, 27. Native Americans killing Caucasians heroic/non-heroic, 27. Native Americans injuring Caucasians heroic/non-heroic, 29. Caucasian killing Caucasians heroic, 30. Caucasians injuring Caucasians heroic/non-heroic, 31. Native Americans killing Native Americans heroic/non-heroic, 32. Native Americans injuring Native Americans heroic/non-heroic.) were shown to not be significantly different between Ford and non-Ford films.

The Psychological items were then examined. The analysis for item 110B Rough revealed that characters in non-Ford films were rated on average higher on roughness than were characters in Ford films, at 6.6 versus 5.1. The F-test was 4.964, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 70, and the item was significant at $p=.029$. The next significant item was 122B Individual, which was rated higher for characters in non-Ford films, with means of 7.3 versus 5.4; the F was 9.812, the degrees of freedom were 1 and 70, and it was significant at $p=.003$. The numerous other Psychological items were not significantly different between characters in Ford and non-Ford films.

John Ford uses more characters in general than other directors, and uses more Caucasian, Black, and Native American characters as well. However, other directors use more Hispanic characters. It was thus found that according to the character demographics, the John Ford Westerns differ sharply. Also, John Ford seems to portray violence in general in a more non-heroic fashion in most cases.

Correlations were run for time (year of release) and heroic/non-heroic violence variables. Significant and near-significant correlations are reported here. For the question “How many times is a gun drawn with intent to harm an animal?,” there is a significant positive correlation for the heroic variable, with an r of .405 and $p=.036$. This means that, over time, there were more portrayals of heroic intended harm to animals. The question “How many Native Americans are killed by Caucasian characters?” (heroic) had a negative correlation, with an r of $-.334$ and $p=.089$, meaning that the heroic portrayal of this action decreased over time. The same question non-heroic exhibited a positive correlation with an r of .344 and $p=.079$, meaning that the non-heroic version of this action was portrayed less frequently as time passed. “How many Native Americans are injured by Caucasians?” had a near-significant positive correlation for the non-heroic variable, with an r of .328 and $p=.095$, meaning that it was shown more frequently over time. The question “How many Caucasians are killed by Native Americans?” was seen as less non-heroic over time, with an r of $-.333$ and $p=.089$, meaning that the non-heroic portrayals became less frequent over time. This displays a negative correlation, probably because the Native American became a more sympathetic and morally correct character.

In sum, John Ford Westerns, when compared to non-Ford Westerns:

Table 1: John Ford vs. Non-John Ford Westerns

John Ford Westerns	Non-John Ford Westerns
Ethnicity:	Ethnicity:
More White male characters.	Fewer White male characters.
More Black male characters.	Fewer Black male characters.
Fewer Hispanic characters.	More Hispanic characters.
Portrayal of violence:	Portrayal of violence:
Non-heroic portrayal of violence.	Heroic portrayal of violence.

Overall Sample Description for Films

The film analysis was conducted before the assessment of research questions, and the overall results for percentage of characters of different ethnicities, the ideologies included in the film, types of technology shown, violence portrayed, treatment of deceased characters, locations shown, and the structural oppositions within the film are all represented in the tables and text below.

It was found, using PRAM, that the measure for time period was not reliable, with a Kappa of .20. This was most likely due to the fact that the time period is often not explicitly stated within the dialogue of the film, leaving the coders to make an estimate. It was also found that “Electricity Mentioned” had an unreliable Kappa of -.07, “Heroic gun drawn animal” had an unreliable Pearson’s r of -.25, and “Structural Oppositions” had

only one reliable Kappa at .40 (which was the measure “Sophisticated Eastern Girl versus Saloon Girl).

Table 2 represents the ethnic compositions of the casts for the Westerns. The percentage of characters of different ethnicities was an item included to try to see if the Western was more Pre-war, Psychological, or Revisionist. Nearly half (44.4%) of the films have no Native American adult males. All the films have Caucasian adult males. Only 3.7% of the films do not have Native American adult females. About three-quarters (74.4%) had no Black adult males and 92.6% had no Black adult females. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the films had no Hispanic children.

Table 2. Character Ethnic Composition.

Ethnicity	% of films with none	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Median	Skew
Native American Adult Males	44.4	0	436	55.8889	102.79080	1	2.567
Native American Adult Females	59.3	0	115	11.6296	26.06818	0	2.956
Native American Children	85.2	0	54	3.4074	11.06714	0	4.093
White Male Adults	0	28	755	176.3704	154.18599	141	2.334
White Adult Females	3.7	0	172	40.1481	36.49521	42	2.222
White Children	22.2	0	132	13.2222	25.18597	6	4.310
Black Male Adults	74.1	0	28	3.0370	7.67354	0	2.568
Black Adult Females	92.6	0	29	1.3333	5.69075	0	4.801
Black Children	96.3	0	29	1.3333	5.69075	0	4.801
Adult Male Hispanics	40.7	0	265	18.5556	52.81123	2	4.305
Adult Female Hispanics	48.1	0	83	6.0370	16.73661	1	4.166
Hispanic Children	63	0	37	3.4444	8.73249	0	3.241

Ideologies within the film were examined to see if any larger genre trends could be extrapolated from the data. Table 3 shows the results for whether certain terminology was used within the film, as well as whether the concepts, such as Manifest Destiny and

genocide, were mentioned or referred to explicitly, or whether those concepts were demonstrated by the actions of the characters. The actual terms, “Manifest Destiny” and “genocide” are never explicitly stated, and they are implied more often than they are visually shown. “Manifest Destiny” is present in 11.1% of the films, while the term is not used. 14.8% of the films imply genocide.

Table 3: Ideology

Ideology	% of films with ideology present
Manifest Destiny-is the term used?	0
Is it described?	11.1
Is the action shown?	7.4
Genocide of Native Americans-is the term used?	0
Is it implied?	14.8
Is the action shown?	3.7

Table 4 refers to the percentage of films in which certain technological devices are shown. The steam train is shown in the most films (48.1%), while the rapid fire gun is not shown at all. 14.8% of the films show electricity. 37% of the films show a telegraph machine or telegraph lines at some point.

Table 4: Technology Shown

Technology	% of films with technology shown
Automobile or Truck	11.1
Steam Train	48.1
Rapid Fire Gun	0
Electricity	14.8
Telegraph	37
Industrial Technology	14.8
Other	29.6

Table 5 shows the percentage of films in which those technologies are mentioned in the dialogue. The technologies are shown more often than they are mentioned. Automobiles and trucks are mentioned in 7.4% of the films. Steam trains are mentioned in 33.3% of the films.

Table 5: Technology Mentioned

Technology	% of films with technology mentioned in the dialogue
Automobile or Truck	7.4
Steam Train	33.3
Rapid Fire Gun	0
Electricity	3.7
Telegraph	22.2
Industrial Technology	14.8
Other	18.5

Table 6 shows violence directed toward humans and animals. It also shows whether the action in the film was judged as having been portrayed in a heroic or a non-heroic fashion. The questions ask how many times a gun is drawn on a human, as well as how often it is drawn on an animal. It also asks how many times it is actually used in harming them and the same is asked with regard to alternative weapons such as a whip or a rock. For each item there was a space for either heroic or non-heroic. 74.1% of the films had no gun drawn on an animal, as portrayed in a heroic way. 88.9% had no heroic animal harm. Only 3.7% did not have a gun drawn on a human, in a heroic way. 74.1% did not have an alternative weapon harming a human in a heroic way.

Table 6: Aggression and Violence Toward Humans and Animals

Violence	% of films with none	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Skew
Gun drawn-animal heroic	74.1	0	13	1.0370	0	2.76630	3.608
Gun drawn-animal nonheroic	85.2	0	20	1.2222	0	4.16333	4.061
Gun drawn-human heroic	3.7	0	229	42.7037	16	55.28793	2.069
Gun drawn-human nonheroic	0	4	153	28.7407	19	32.82306	2.642
Used in harming an animal heroic	88.9	0	1	.1111	0	.32026	2.623
Used in harming an animal nonheroic	100	0	0	0	0	0	
Used in harming a human heroic	14.8	0	54	11.1481	4	15.39157	1.942
Used in harming a human nonheroic	22.2	0	28	3.2963	2	5.42654	3.905
Alternative weapon drawn to harm an animal heroic	96.3	0	2	.0741	0	.38490	5.196
Alternative weapon drawn to harm an animal nonheroic	100	0	0	0	0	0	
Alternative weapon drawn to harm a human heroic	44.4	0	15	2.2963	1	3.72945	2.103
Alternative weapon drawn to harm a human nonheroic	29.6	0	10	2.5926	1	3.28469	1.319
Used in harming an animal heroic	96.3	0	1	.0370	0	.19245	5.196
Used in harming an animal nonheroic	92.6	0	2	.1111	0	.42366	4.046
Used in harming a human heroic	74.1	0	34	2.4074	0	7.52564	3.673
Used in harming a human nonheroic	51.9	0	9	1.2963	0	2.10886	2.421

Table 7 shows ethnic violence. Many films portrayed Caucasian characters aggressing upon Native American characters, but the majority of the films portray this action in a non-heroic way. 74.1% of the films have no Native Americans being killed by

Caucasians. 37% do not have Caucasians killing Caucasians in a heroic way. 51.9% do not have Caucasians killing Caucasians in a non-heroic way.

Table 7: Ethnic Violence

Ethnic Violence	% of films with none	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Skew
Native Americans killed by Caucasians heroic?	74.1	0	16	1.9259	0	4.05658	2.328
Native Americans killed by Caucasians nonheroic?	92.6	0	17	.6667	0	3.26991	5.168
Native Americans injured by Caucasians heroic?	81.5	0	26	1.5185	0	5.14685	4.503
Native Americans injured by Caucasians nonheroic?	96.3	0	1	.0370	0	.19245	5.196
Caucasians killed by Native Americans heroic?	88.9	0	31	1.8519	0	6.77497	3.850
Caucasians killed by Native Americans nonheroic?	77.8	0	6	.5926	0	1.42125	2.880
Caucasians injured by Native Americans heroic?	85.2	0	11	.8889	0	2.63604	3.191
Caucasians injured by Native Americans non-heroic?	74.1	0	36	2	0	6.96695	4.818
Caucasians killed by Caucasians heroic?	37	0	37	4.5926	1	8.57213	2.887
Caucasians killed by Caucasians nonheroic?	51.9	0	10	1.2593	0	2.15893	2.907
Caucasians injured by Caucasians heroic?	25.9	0	35	7.704	1	11.48776	1.498
Caucasians injured by Caucasians nonheroic?	51.9	0	52	5.2222	0	11.98503	3.269
Native Americans killed by Native Americans heroic?	96.3	0	1	.0370	0	.19245	5.196
Native Americans killed by Native Americans nonheroic?	100	0	0	0	0	0	
Native Americans injured by Native Americans heroic?	100	0	0	0	0	0	
Native Americans injured by Native Americans nonheroic?	100	0	0	0	0	0	

There were measures of the demographics of characters shown deceased, as well as a measure for the number of seconds that the camera lingered on the faces of deceased characters. There were 61 discernible dead characters shown, for an average of 2.26 per Western. The mean number of seconds for a shot of a discernible dead character was 5.1803. The standard deviation was 3.96866. 91.8% of the deceased characters the camera lingered on were male. 62.3% were Caucasian. 1.6% were African American. 1.6% were Hispanic, and 34.4% were Native American. 6.6% were adolescents, 77% were young adults, 14.8% were middle-aged, and 1.6% were mature adults.

Table 8 below shows the percentage of films that contained the given locations. This measure was included to try and assess a basic profile of a Western. Notice that the majority include a desert (59.3%) and most include a lake or river and mountains. A town was the most widely depicted location because 77.8% of the films contained images of a town. A city is very rarely shown (14.8%). Monument Valley is shown 33.3% of the time. Note that Monument Valley is essentially a desert, but the coders were trained to recognize its distinct land formations. In the sample, only the Ford films include Monument Valley, although Monument Valley was used by other directors whose films are not in the sample. Note that if Monument Valley was coded simply as desert, then the Western locations would be dominated by the desert landscape.

Table 8: Locations

Locations	% of films with the location
Fort	25.9
Forest	51.9
Town	77.8
City	14.8
Desert	59.3
Plains	25.9
Mountains	63
Monument Valley	33.3
Farm/Ranch	40.7
Lake/River	63

Table 9 shows structural oppositions within the films that were important because they were standard contradictions present in all Westerns. 77.8% of the Westerns contained the opposition “Frontier law vs. man’s law,” which is not surprising because most genre research recognizes that concept as essential to the Hollywood Western. “Community vs. Individual” was present in 66.7% of the films. This probably includes images such as the lone cowboy who is not suitable for the community, but who civilizes the West and makes the land safe for progress. “Ranchers vs. Cattlemen” was not depicted in most of the films (11.1%).

Table 9: Structural Oppositions

Structural Oppositions	% of films with these elements
Frontier law vs. man's law	77.8
Community vs. individual	66.7
Civilization vs. wilderness	48.1
Sophisticated eastern girl vs. saloon girl	25.9
Ranchers vs. cattlemen	11.1

Overall Sample Description for Characters

The next step was the character analysis. This portion of the coding scheme measured items such as demographics and psychological scale items. Around two to five characters were analyzed from each film, selected on the basis of whether they were important to the plot or central action of the film. It was important that the characters had large speaking parts and played substantial roles in the films, so that they could be analyzed using the psychological dimension scales. They were also selected because of the researcher's intention to include characters of multiple ethnicities and of both genders. This was often difficult, given that most of the characters in the films were Caucasian males. There was a total of 74 characters analyzed across the 27 films in the study.

The characters were psychologically measured at their first appearance, or their first scene in the film, and then assessed at the end of the film in order to see how they changed, if at all. The characters were selected by the researcher in order to attain a diverse sample, mostly in terms of ethnicity and gender. A few antagonists were also

selected in order to measure their psychology as well as their demographic information. Item 105 measured whether the character was a protagonist, an antagonist or other. Table 10 shows the percent of occurrence for each of the three options. Most of the characters were coded as protagonists (55.6%) while many were coded as other (33.3%) showing the nuanced portrayals of the characters, where they cannot be clearly identified as a hindrance to the main character’s goals, but neither can they be classified simply as protagonists because of the ambiguous portrayal in the films. A small minority were actually antagonists (11.1%) even though great care was taken to try and select both “good” and “bad” characters. This could suggest that, in many cases, the antagonists did not have large speaking roles or were a hidden, threatening feature of the desert landscape, such as how the Indian is portrayed in older Westerns.

Table 10: Character Protagonist or Antagonist

What is the character?	% for each of the three options
Protagonist	55.6
Antagonist	11.1
Other	33.3

The next item measured gender. Table 11 shows the percentage of characters who were male or female. The quantity of male characters (69.4%) greatly outweighs the percentage of female characters (30.6%).

Table 11: Gender

Gender	% of characters who were male or female
Male	69.4
Female	30.6

Then, ethnicity was measured for each of the characters. Table 12 shows the percentage that characters were shown representing each ethnicity. The number of Caucasians, 62 (86.11%), greatly outweighs the presence of other races. Only two of the characters are African American. There was originally only one character who is “Native American but raised as White” which was Jeffrey Hunter in *The Searchers*. However, it was later decided that Jeffrey Hunter’s character is only a small percentage Native American, and thus should not have been included in that category, so he was added to the Caucasian category.

Table 12: Ethnicity

Ethnicity	% of each ethnicity shown in the film
Caucasian	87.5
African-American	2.78
Hispanic	6.94
Native American	2.78
Native American but raised as White	0

Next, age demographics were measured. Refer to Table 13. There are very few children or adolescent characters as a central focus (2.8%). 65.3% of the characters are young adult. 23.6% are middle aged adults, which makes sense because John Wayne had begun to play the roles of middle-aged characters around the 1950s and he was always

chosen for analysis when those films were analyzed, based on his character's importance to the plot.

Table 13: Age

Age	% of each age range showing in the film
Child, 3-12 years old	2.8
Adolescent, 13-19 years old	2.8
Young adult, 20-39 years old	65.3
Middle aged adult, 40-54 years old	23.6
Mature adult, 55-64 years old	5.6

The next item for measure was occupation. Refer to Table 14. The character's central profession would be measured, or the one that is most important to the story. For instance, if a character is a blacksmith for a brief time around the middle of the film, but is a bounty hunter at the beginning and the end, then they would be coded as "bounty hunter." The most popular category was gunfighter at 11.1%. The least represented categories, of those that were shown at all, were "doctor," "farmer," and "deputy sheriff." The category of "Outlaw" should have been included because many of the characters have that lifestyle. Part of the reason it was not was that "Gunfighter" was assumed to include that category, however, a character may have been a professional gunfighter and still might not have been an outlaw. A future study could include that category.

Table 14: Occupation

Occupation	% of each occupation performed by the character in the films
None Identified	30.6
Gunfighter	11.1
Farmer	1.4
Sheriff	5.6
Deputy Sheriff	1.4
Schoolteacher	2.8
Ranch Hand	2.8
Ranch Owner	6.9
Soldier	12.5
Doctor	1.4
Lawyer	2.8
Trader/Shop Owner	2.8
Convict	4.2
Native American Warrior	2.8
Other	5.6

The next measures were used to assess the psychological dimensions of the characters. Refer to Table 15. For instance, the item “Very Rough” had “very rough” and “very gentle” at opposite ends of an eleven point scale, from zero to ten. “Very Rough” was at the high end. For example, for “Warm Personality/ Cold,” warm is at the high end. The first psych trait mentioned, whether it be “very warm,” “very rough,” “very kind,”

“very strong,” are all items at the high end of the scale (10). If the score was somewhere toward the middle, that would indicate that the character was not very rough, but neither were they very gentle. The first measure (A) represents the character’s rating shortly after their first appearance, usually toward the beginning of the film. The “B” measure is taken at the end of the film using the same scale. The table below shows the frequency measures for the major characters in all the films. The rows for the “A” variables name the two opposing scale poles (e.g., Rough/Gentle). The first-named descriptor denotes the higher value on that scale.

Table 15: Psychological Dimensions

Psychological dimensions	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Skew
Very Rough/Very Gentle A	0	9	5.2778	6	2.58502	-.256
Very Rough B	0	10	5.9306	6	3.02257	-.357
Very Strong /Very Weak A	0	9	6.2778	7	2.22800	-.761
Very Strong B	0	10	7.3056	8	2.28676	-1.231
Very Kind/ Not at all kind A	1	9	5.8750	6	2.27626	-.365
Very Kind B	0	10	6.3472	8	2.78911	-.942
Aggressive/Passive A	0	9	5.0833	7	2.49930	-.281
Aggressive B	0	10	5.4028	2	3.01947	-.181
Warm Personality/ Cold A	2	9	5.7778	6	2.10447	-.369
Warm Personality B	0	10	6.3611	9	2.61257	-.857
Egocentric/ Embracing the community A	1	10	5.3056	3	2.34153	-.075
Egocentric B	0	10	5.1250	2	2.78293	.222
Impersonal/ Emotional A	2	9	5.1528	4	2.03225	.107
Impersonal B	0	10	3.8750	3	2.08237	.595
Impulsive/ Careful A	1	10	5.5556	6	2.27595	-.240
Impulsive B	1	10	5.6806	2	2.66868	-.067
Masculine/ Not masculine A	0	10	6.6389	8	2.91333	-.963
Masculine B	0	10	7.2222	9	2.89352	-1.089
Feminine/ Not feminine A	0	10	3.6389	1	3.12782	.701
Feminine B	0	10	3.6111	1	3.12895	.724
Law abiding/ Law Breaking A	0	10	6.7361	10	2.94070	-.553
Law abiding B	0	10	7.0139	10	3.30809	-.882
Morally Good/ Bad A	0	10	6.4028	8	2.65722	-.569
Morally Good B	0	10	7.1944	10	3.14279	-1.257
Individualistic/ Collectivistic A	1	10	5.7917	8	2.4061	-.412
Individualistic B	0	10	6.4444	8	2.69527	-.463
Disillusioned/ Not disillusioned A	0	9	4.9444	6	2.41992	-.277
Disillusioned B	0	10	5.3472	8	2.89808	-.253
Optimistic/ Pessimistic A	1	9	5.7222	6	2.15735	-.408
Optimistic B	0	10	5.9722	4	2.72687	-.339
Competent/ Incompetent A	0	10	6.7083	7	2.17176	-.979
Competent B	0	10	7.3889	9	2.45268	-1.208
Angry/ Not Angry A	0	10	4.5278	2	2.57820	.091
Angry B	0	10	4.7500	4	2.75144	-.015
Happy/ Sad A	1	9	5.0139	4	2.08612	.431
Happy B	0	10	5.4583	3	2.52278	-.050
Troubled/ Not Troubled A	0	10	5.4861	8	2.37352	-.512
Troubled B	0	10	5.6111	7	2.58683	-.294

Table 16 shows the negative life events of the characters that were measured.

19.4% of the characters experienced their own death, 5.6% experienced the death of a

spouse, 1.4% experienced the death of a child, 13.9% experienced the death of a parent, 9.7% experienced the death of a sibling, 13.9% experienced the death of another loved one, 4.2% were wrongly accused of a crime, 1.4% were wrongly imprisoned, 8.3% were imprisoned with justification, 2.8% were found to have been thrown off their homeland, and 47.2% experienced some life event other than the items mentioned. 20.8% experienced no negative life events.

Table 16: Negative Life Events

Negative Life Events	% of characters who experienced these
Death of the character	19.4
Death of a spouse	5.6
Death of a child	1.4
Death of a parent	13.9
Death of a sibling	9.7
Death of another loved one	13.9
Wrongly accused of a crime	4.2
Wrongly imprisoned	1.4
Imprisoned with justification	8.3
Being thrown off his/her homeland (as is the case with Native American characters)	2.8
Other	47.2
No negative life events noted	20.8

The research questions being answered, and the other statistics included in order to gain a better definition of the Western, there seems to be a great deal of change within

the Western, even if that change sometimes occurs in cycles, and does not always occur where it was predicted to have happened.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The results were surprising, and generally pointed to a shift from Pre-war to Revisionist, granted that Psychological fits within the category of revisionist. However, it seems that the character portrayals pointed to a cyclical pattern rather than a gradual shift in trends. There was evidence of all three categories of Pre-war, Psychological, and Revisionist within the evolution of the Western, but the data did not always fit perfectly with how genre theory describes the changes. Some people say that psychological Westerns are essentially revisionist Western, but the researcher has included them to signify Westerns that portray the inner workings of the characters and represent a cynical view, when compared with the pre-war western. The part of the revisionist definition that is being used is a Western that includes an enlightened portrayal of Native Americans. In this way, even though there is sufficient overlap between the categories, certain parts of the definitions are emphasized to give meanings to the results. The psychological Western has characters that are much meaner, rougher, and less kind. This includes protagonists, except for the hero, who is supposed to be fundamentally good.

RQ1

The majority of the films portray violence against Native Americans in a non-heroic way, despite the fact that many of these films were predicted to have pre-war Western elements that would show the Native Americans as ruthless barbarians and the white conquest a divine mission. The results convey a picture that is quite different from how the old-fashioned Western is normally regarded in genre research.

The research seems to confirm that portrayals of violence toward Native Americans grew more non-heroic over the years. Violence toward Caucasians grew more heroic. This seems to be the difference between Westerns that are more Pre-war in format and later Westerns that became more revisionist and enlightened in their portrayal of Native Americans. According to the genre research, it was around this time that Westerns portrayed Native Americans not as barbarians but as victims of oppression, as they had done to a certain extent in the silent era. Strangely, Caucasian on Caucasian violence was portrayed as increasingly more heroic, so the White characters are not portrayed as proponents of senseless violence, but rather as people with legitimate causes for discontent and their actions are validated. The results of testing for Research Question 1 seems to point to a steady move from pre-war to psychological to revisionist. Again, the researcher cautions that these events occur in only some of the years, leaving large gaps. Thus, there are very few data points. At this point, it becomes an ideographic analysis, and more data would be needed to run statistical tests of differences.

RQ2

The psychology of the characters, on the other hand, did not seem to gradually change or evolve over time, and instead moved in cycles. Around the early 1950's, the

character analyzed were found to be more rugged, more bitter, more selfish, and less positive and nurturing. This is around the time when the research points to a more psychological direction in the Western, so the characters would be suffering from internal struggles as well as external ones, making them bitterer and less kind.

It would be nice, for these items, because an 11 point semantic differential scale was used, if the program offered a within-range statistic for the psychological variables. In this way, the researcher could say that if the difference between two items was within two (ex. 6 to 8). The program would allow for a difference that was subtle in that way, and group such items together.

RQ3

The results confirm that there are some differences between John Ford and other Westerns, those being the number of characters and the ethnic composition of the characters. It was assumed that the more diverse ethnicities were included, the higher the chances were that the Western was a revisionist film, because the later Westerns often gave voice to minority groups. As was expected, the most represented ethnicity for all Westerns is White, followed by Native American. These ethnicities are mostly represented by adult males. The Ford films also contained less technology than in non-Ford films.

There were more Fort locations shown in Ford films. Furthermore, Monument Valley was shown only in Ford films, confirming Ford's implicit command over his self-selected Western domain. Other directors shot in Monument Valley, but they are not included in the sample. Also, it is important to remember that Monument Valley is essentially a desert location, which means that Western filmmakers overwhelmingly used

the desert over other locations. John Ford extensively used desert, it just does not appear that way in the table because Desert and Monument Valley are coded separately, when in reality they are the same type of landscape. “City” was rarely shown because the Western assumes a civilization/wilderness dichotomy where large cities are rare.

The structural opposition “Civilization versus Wilderness” was significantly more present in Ford films than non-Ford films. This points to the fact that the Ford films are more mythic in nature, and seem to embody what the genre research terms as a stereotypical Western, in some ways. There is a greater degree of various ethnicities in Ford films, except for Hispanics. There are only a few Black characters, most of them in John Ford films. This is possibly because of the racial tensions during that time and the reluctance to represent the ethnicities in the same proportions as they might have appeared at that time and place. Often, the characters had no professions identified (30.6%), which is not surprising given the format of the Western, with outlaws and rogue heroes unattached to civilized society. Surprisingly, the characters in John Ford Westerns are psychologically less rough and individualistic than in other Westerns. They seem to be more sensitive. This confirms the research that states while the Ford Western fit a certain template for a traditional Western in many ways, Ford Westerns contain fewer clichés in terms of the character portrayals. A Ford Western seems to be a more advanced Western in some ways, and the later ones rely on storytelling rather than stereotypes. For the negative life events, it is curious that there are so many codings for “other,” but there are many other possible negative events beyond the options provided.

The research was surprising in some ways, but it often showed empirically what many genre theorists had been speculating about for years, while at the same time calling

into question some of their claims of a gradual change in character portrayals and instead showing a cycle of reoccurring themes. Overall, it was found that there was a wave pattern to the trends in the Western, rather than a steady change from one format to another, as had been predicted earlier.

These findings support prior film scholarship because they register a change in the American Western, particularly with the results from Research Question 1. The dynamic nature of genre is typical, and the Western changed, responded and indeed, was created in order to reflect the contemporary American culture, not to stand alone as a piece of historical fiction.

It was mentioned earlier that there exists a tradition of variant and invariant conventions within a genre. The variant conventions tend to track the changes in the American social or political landscape rather than the actual time period the genre is representing. It is important to remember that a genre tracks American history at the time the film was made, rather than that of the distant past. The psychological processes of the characters occurred in cycles, so the researcher can perhaps speculate on the nature of those cycles. It seems that around the early 1950's, the characters were more rugged, bitter, selfish, and less nice. While the researcher cautions that the factor "Rugged" was only near-significant and the factors "Bitter" and "Selfish" were not found to be significant (and also included unreliable measures), this is an example of what the genre research describes as post-war American character. The hero in the Psychological Western is a fundamentally good character but ultimately flawed and jaded, finding himself outdated and outmoded by the progress taking place around him and isolated by the townspeople's unwillingness to help him. This surely represents what the genre

research describes as the sentiment of the post-war American, lost in modern isolation and finding his principles challenged by mechanized warfare and the atomic bomb, a technology so advanced and so devastating that the state of mankind, as a fundamentally good and worthy population, must be questioned.

Limitations and Future Directions

The researcher cautions that the coders were not blind, in that two of them were film majors at Cleveland State University, and may have brought their own personal bias into the coding process.

Another caution is that many of the items had very low reliabilities. However, the numerous reliabilities that are acceptable provide data that speak to the general trends and changes that genre research suggests began to occur during those years.

There were some changes suggested by the coders that could help in future studies. One such change was that, during the coder training process, the researcher could have pre-coded all the training films so that the coders would have a format or an answer key to refer to, rather than an open discussion on possible interpretations of the coding scheme. The more organic process of arriving at a mutual interpretation would thus be replaced by a less confusing and less ambiguous strategy in which they would learn by example rather than by discussion.

Another suggestion was that the ethnic violence could have included more possible ethnicities such as Hispanics. As it was, the coders were forced to code Hispanic violence as Caucasian. While this was done because the researcher wanted to focus on Native American and Caucasian violence, adding a category for Hispanic would have

been less confusing and would have enabled the coders to more precisely determine each type of aggressive act.

The structural opposition “Sophisticated Eastern Girl vs. Saloon Girl” could have been clearer because it used specific wording for a general category with various interpretations. The intent was to be able to code for instances of class difference between major female characters. However, the wording was confusing, for instance, when the “Sophisticated Eastern Girl” was actually from a big city like San Francisco, which is geographically in the West. A less specific wording such as “Fallen Woman vs. Chaste Maiden” would have been more appropriate.

One category that could have been altered was “129. Negative Life Events.” An item could have been added to assess whether the character had committed murder in the past. This is the case with many of the characters in the Western and even “justifiable homicide” might have been a highly negative and emotionally traumatizing event in the character’s past.

A category that could be added in future studies would be a coding of the music within the films and how that changed over the years. Even a lack of an orchestral score could signal that the film is revisionist, given the fact that they were trying to break away from the big-budget, overproduced feel of previous Westerns. For instance, *The Horse Soldiers* had music sung by characters while *Bad Day at Black Rock* and the *Ox-Bow Incident* had little other than natural sounds on the soundtrack. Other films had nondiegetic music like *3:10 to Yuma* and *The Wagon Master*. The presence and type of music, or the lack thereof, can tell us a great deal about the overall tone that the film was intended to have, as well as how serious or how realistic it was intended to be.

Stagecoach has no shortage of travelling music as the characters are riding through the countryside, suggesting a light or adventurous tone to the film rather than the heavy psychological mood of the quiet but intense film, *Bad Day at Black Rock*. Items regarding the diegetic nature of the music could have been included to assess whether the film characters heard the music or whether it was only for the audience to hear. For example, *Rio Bravo* included scenes where the characters sang or played music, and this has a different mood and feel than if the music was simply a soundtrack orchestral piece overlaid onto the action in post-production.

Foley sounds such as gunshots or soldiers yelling could have been measured for the intensity they brought to the experience of viewing the film. Gunshots would have been included because every time a gun is fired, the sound indicates that there was an intent to harm or kill an animal or a person. That sound would have been a good measure for whether this intent was actually present in the film. For example, in *Stagecoach* or *Fort Apache*, there are far more gunshots heard than guns shown being drawn from their holster, but those gunshot sounds represent an intent to harm or kill just as much as when a character is shown drawing a gun. These gun shots could have been included as specifically heroic or nonheroic because, according to the coders, the films all made a clear point of distinguishing between who was firing and who was being fired upon, whether it was Indians, soldiers, cowboys or ranchers. The only problem is that there are so many gunshots in *The Horse Soldiers* and *Fort Apache* that those sounds might run together or be difficult to count.

Another element that could have been coded was “attempted gun draws.” For example, in *The Ox-Bow Incident*, when the suspected killers are surrounded by the lynch

mob, a few of the character reach for their guns but only one character actually draws their gun. In the current coding system only the draw would count, not the attempted draw. This is also true in *Shane* when he is in the bar and reaches for his side but he is not wearing his gun belt at the time. Even these actions could have been classified as heroic or non-heroic. These attempted gun draws could play a crucial role in plot and character assessment, and they would be easy to code given the fact that they rarely occur.

One clear limitation of the study is that even if the coders are reliable, they were selected from the same University and Midwestern location, such that their perceptions may be congruent with each other, but not altogether representative of the entire population of potential spectators, nor representative of spectators at the times of the films' release dates.

Another limitation is the limited sample, from 1939 to 1964, which although seemed to be the period for most popularity and, according to genre theorists, the beginnings of extensive changes within the genre, it may have been useful to include films from later dates such as the late 1960s or the 1970s in order to attain a fuller picture of what type of film the changes in the Western eventually led to and created. Films like *The Wild Bunch* or *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* could have been included to show the sharp contrast that they have when compared to older, early sound, or even later 1950s Westerns. *The Unforgiven*, *Dances with Wolves*, and perhaps *Little Big Man* could be included in a future study in order to show how revisionist Westerns have evolved. Also, those are the only modern Oscar-winning Westerns, perhaps representing a resurgence in popularity. *Dances with Wolves*, in particular, has a very different portrayal of the Native Americans. The hero even lives with them. However, the implication that

they need a “White savior” to help them actually makes that Western reminiscent of the silent Westerns in which the Native American is portrayed as a victim, but is only a 3-dimensional human character in so far as the Caucasian hero validates them by choosing to help them. They are not portrayed as significant in and of themselves.

Part of the reason for the overall decline of the Western’s popularity after 1964 might be that the mythology was no longer applicable. The reason for the changing state of the Western was often because directors were trying to adapt their films to the contemporary culture. The Western continued to change and adapt, but after 1964, with the social revolutions and political upheaval of the mid 1960’s, the traditional messages of the Western were no longer valued and the Western either could not change quickly enough, or had no way to alter itself further because of the limitations of the format. Part of the reason for the mythology becoming no longer applicable was that the frontier myth, with conquering new land and establishing Anglo-Saxon dominance as a priority, became outmoded as the 1960’s saw messages such as peace and tolerance become more popular. The Western made an effort to enter a revisionist phase, but the new types of Westerns did not have the appeal that older Westerns had for audiences during the 1940’s and 50’s. The rise of youth culture, which took on an ironic, sarcastic attitude toward the Western and other artifacts left over from the hey-day of American imperialism, seemed to contribute toward the Western’s demise. Furthermore, there was a rejection of films about law, which was a big theme in the Western. The faith in the superiority of American law and justice was shattered by the Vietnam War. John Ford films were often about the concept of law and bringing civilization to the wilderness. This was less popular as faith in man’s law became a thing of the past. Also, the collapse of the big-

budget Westerns was due to the end of the studio system, which had depended on the reliable Western format for its lucrative potential. The epic fell out of favor with audiences, as did the Western.

There was a remythologization of the Western in the 1970's, in which the Western was revised and re-shaped in order to appeal more to the contemporary audience. *The Long Riders*, which was a story about outlaws, included slow motion shots of bloody action scenes which satisfied the slightly more cynical audience's taste for films about nihilism and depravity. Films such as *Pale Rider*, *The Outlaw Josie Wales*, *Two Mules for Sister Sara*, *Soldier Blue*, and *The Wild Bunch* all helped to bring about a re-telling of the Western. From clear cut "good guys" and "bad guys" to portraits of senseless violence and corruption, the Western had been reborn, although it never achieved the popularity it had once had. One way to analyze the decline of the Western is through books and television, rather than simply examining Hollywood films.

The works of Louis L'Amour, such as *Bootie for Bad Men* and *Bowdrie Rides a Coyote Trail* are important to the study of the Western. Indeed, after and during the age of the dime novel many other authors published Western fiction. Owen Wister's *The Virginian* is an example of a 1902 Western novel, which has many of the elements adapted by Western films. These include the shootout and the hero riding off into the proverbial sunset at the end. Television programming, such as *Gunsmoke* and *Bonanza*, continued to be successful for many years. However, even Western television shows faded in popularity after the mid 1960's. Shows such as *F-Troop* emerged as parody in response to the dying genre. Parody had a way of killing the original format of the genre, by revealing its flaws for the sake of humor. It is difficult to say whether parody actually

did destroy the genre or if Westerns, on the verge of their decline, became vulnerable to comedic interpretation. A likely scenario is that the ideals and values of America changed, coupled with the rise of a “smart-aleck” youth culture that viewed the Western as old-fashioned and irrelevant, and this led the Western to diminish in popularity, thus inspiring comedic parody both for the sake of examining the curious idiosyncrasies of the genre and also for the purpose of paying homage to the proverbial sinking ship.

One specific element of the study that could have been improved was that the sample could also have been broadened to include some non-American Westerns such as the “Spaghetti Westerns” of Sergio Leone during the 1960s. These were heavily influential on future Westerns and they included an element of surrealism and graphic violence common to some of the later Westerns. Thus, by broadening the sample, a more complete image of the ideas present in later Westerns as well as how international Westerns influenced American ones and vice versa could have been learned.

This is the case with many of the technology items in the coding scheme, which would have made more sense with a broader sample. While the early or mid-range Westerns examined in the sample mostly took place shortly after the civil war, later Revisionist Westerns took place at a slightly more contemporary time, such as the late nineteenth or even early twentieth century. Thus, more modern technology is represented in such films, emphasizing the themes of the end of the Old West era and the replacement of old fashioned values with progress and development. These themes were highly represented in Revisionist Westerns, which were often concerned with the way in which the landscape of the West changed.

Perhaps a future study could be conducted to assess changes in the Western from the point where this one left off (1964), up to the present day. This would help determine whether the findings from this study predicted a larger trend or simply more wave-like patterns and cyclical themes, lost and found again and again later by Westerns throughout the later half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

A different study could be completed on the evolution of the early Western from 1903's *The Great Train Robbery* up until this study picks up in 1939 with *Stagecoach*. This would examine the roots of the Western and how it incorporated themes from the dime store novels of the nineteenth century. It would also examine how the Western stories gave rise to editing techniques still common in cinema today, as well as how Westerns of that period eventually faded from popularity due to excessive cliché and lack of originality, that is, until John Ford reinvented and popularized the Western.

Another related subject that could be studied is how Westerns gave rise to other genres. Using similar but somewhat adapted measures as were used in this study, different genres could be compared to Westerns and assessed for whether the Hollywood Western influenced their conception and their popularity. "Space Westerns" such as *Star Wars* or *Cowboys and Aliens* among others could be examined. Audience surveys could measure which features of genres they find most compelling, and the traditional Western could be examined to determine whether these features were present in, or indeed invented by the early Western.

One possible direction for a future study would be to analyze Westerns that are comedies, or parodies of the Western genre. *Cat Ballou* and *Blazing Saddles* are examples of the types of films that could be included. The Western changed the

American film and television landscape to such an extent that there were a large number of films that pirated the Western formula and created comedies and spoofs off of the originally somber and serious genre. The parody stage of the Western could be examined, if for no other reason than it yields a thorough definition of the genre and displays its unique characteristics in an obvious way, making parodies a suitable subject in order to study Westerns in more depth.

The purpose of this study resided in the researcher's desire to define trends within the Western and the link to John Ford's Western films during that same period. No causal link can ever be statistically proven, but it is clear from the data and from genre theory that John Ford helped give the Western credibility and a status as a new American art form. Perhaps other studies could examine other genres, or multiple genres, to ascertain whether our traditional genre definitions and barriers are correct, or whether genre theory in conjunction with empirical data can help determine a more accurate definition of popular genre, and establish a change in how the audience views films within those categories.

Filmography

Bad Day at Black Rock –1955. John Sturges.
The Big Country – 1958. William Wyler
Cheyenne Autumn – 1964. John Ford.
Fort Apache – 1948. John Ford.
The Gunfighter – 1950. Henry King.
High Noon – 1952. Fred Zinnemann.
The Horse Soldiers – 1959. John Ford.
Johnny Guitar – 1954. Nicholas Ray.
Lonely are the Brave – 1962. David Miller.
The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance – 1962. John Ford.
Magnificent Seven – 1960. John Sturges.
My Darling Clementine – 1946. John Ford.
Ox Bow Incident – 1943. William A. Wellman.
Red River –1948. Howard Hawks.
Rio Bravo – 1959. Howard Hawks.
Rio Grande – 1950. John Ford.
The Searchers – 1956. John Ford.
Sergeant Rutledge – 1960. John Ford.
Shane – 1953. George Stevens.
She Wore a Yellow Ribbon – 1949. John Ford.
Stagecoach – 1939. John Ford.
3 Godfathers – 1948. John Ford.
3:10 to Yuma – 1957. Delmer Daves.
Treasure of the Sierra Madre – 1948. John Huston.
Two Rode Together – 1961. John Ford
Wagon Master – 1950. John Ford.
Winchester '73 – 1950. Anthony Mann.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

List of Films Studied

Table A1.
List of Films Studied

Year of Release	Directed by John Ford	Not Directed by John Ford
1939	Stagecoach	
1940		
1941		
1942		
1943		The Ox-Bow Incident
1944		
1945		
1946	My Darling Clementine	
1947		
1948	Fort Apache 3 Godfathers	Treasure of the Sierra Madre Red River
1949	She Wore a Yellow Ribbon	
1950	Rio Grand Wagon Master	The Gunfighter Winchester '73
1951		
1952		High Noon
1953		Shane
1954		Johnny Guitar
1955		Bad Day at Black Rock
1956	The Searchers	
1957		3:10 to Yuma
1958		The Big Country
1959	The Horse Soldiers	Rio Bravo
1960	Sergeant Rutledge	Magnificent Seven
1961	Two Rode Together	
1962	The Man Who Shot Liberty Valence	Lonely are the Brave
1963		
1964	Cheyenne Autumn	

Appendix B

Film and Character Codebooks

The Changing Face of the Western:
An Analysis of Hollywood Western Films
From Director John Ford and Others
During the Years 1939 to 1964

Codebook

Film Analysis

1. Coder ID#:

1. Jeff Spicer
2. Tyler Grano
3. Jeff (Phoenix)
4. Anthony Grande
5. Brandon Rife

2. ID# of film: _____

3. Year of Film's Release: _____

4. Is this a John Ford Film?

- (0) No _____
(1) Yes _____

5. Time Period in which the film takes place:

- (1) Earlier than 1800. _____
(2) 1800's to 1850's. _____
(3) 1860's to 1900. _____
(4) After 1900. _____
(9999) cannot determine _____

Cast Composition (provide estimates. Count each character you can see in the frame, regardless of distance. Count each character only once.)

6. How many Native American adult male characters are shown during the course of the film?

7. How many Native American adult Female characters appear in the film?

8. How many Native American children (appear to be 16 years old or under) appear in the film?

9. How many White Male adult characters appear in the film?

10. How many White adult Female characters appear in the film?

11. How many White children (appear to be 16 years old or under) appear in the film?

12. How many Black Male adult characters appear in the film?

13. How many Black adult Female characters appear in the film?

14. How many Black children (appear to be 16 years old or under) appear in the film?

15. How many adult Male Hispanic characters appear in the film?

16. How many adult Female Hispanic characters appear in the film?

17. How many Hispanic children (appear to be 16 years old or under) appear in the film?

	(0) No	(1) Yes
18A. Manifest Destiny- is the term manifest destiny used?	_____	_____
18B. Is it described (is there dialogue that argues for the violent conquest of the Native Americans or the right of the settlers to own the land)?	_____	_____
18C. Is the action shown (are white settlers shown taking land away from the Native Americans or killing them in order to assert their dominance)?	_____	_____

18D. Genocide of the Native Americans-
is the term genocide used?

18E. Is it implied (do any of the characters describe a massacre
that has or will take place, or do white characters discuss
their intention or desire to kill a group of Native Americans)?

18F. Is the action shown (do White settlers kill a group of Native
Americans, not by virtue of self-defense)?

Is technology shown on the screen (whether being used or not being used)?

(0)
No

(1)
Yes

19A. Automobile or truck (any type of wheeled, gas-fueled device
used for transportation.)

19B. Steam Train (Locomotive that travels on tracks.
Sounds such as a train whistle in the distance should also be
noted.)

19C. Rapid fire Gun (Large gun which fires more
than 5 rounds per second.)

19D. Electricity (Can be used in lighting or in machines.
Also, power lines are of importance. This will usually not appear
in films set before 1890, and the power lines will be for telegraphs
in those cases)

19E. Telegraph (telegraph machines can be counted when
an operator is sending a message by clicking a device to
produce a code that may be received miles away. Also code
for this when the device is clearly shown on the screen, not
being operated. Telegraph lines are to be counted as well.)

19F: Industrial technology: Any mining or factory technology
that is visible in the frame. This includes anything that is aiding the
characters in accessing the land's resources.

19G. Other (any technology other than those mentioned above.)

Note: If you cannot tell if power lines are for electricity or the telegraph, simply judge which technology is
being shown used in the film. If neither are shown but the lines are visible, count them as telegraph.

Is the term mentioned in the dialogue, or is an equivalent word or description used?

20A. Automobile

20B. Steam Train

20C. Rapid fire Gun

20D. Electricity

20E. Telegraph

20F. Industrial technology

20G. Other

Decide whether the following actions occur, how many times they are shown, and if they are portrayed in a heroic or non-heroic way. Heroic is defined as courageous, noble, or admirable. Non-heroic will be defined as lacking in courage, righteousness, or a positive moral purpose. NOTE: The action should not be coded if the camera cuts away to a different location prior to the action. It should only be coded if the camera stays in the same location and is rolling, during the action, although the camera does not have to be filming the action itself, so a cutaway, for example, to another character's reaction shot, still counts because the camera is still rolling and the location remains the same.

Also, harming can be defined as either injuring or killing a living thing, but not an inanimate object.

	<u>Heroic</u>	<u>Non- Heroic</u>
21. A. How many times is a gun drawn with intent to harm or threaten an animal?	_____	_____
B. How many times is a gun drawn with intent to harm or threaten a human?	_____	_____
22. A. How many times it used in harming an animal?	_____	_____
B. How many times is it used in harming a human?	_____	_____
23. A. How many times is an alternative weapon (other than a gun, but capable of destruction) drawn with intent to harm or threaten an animal?	_____	_____
B. How many times is it drawn with intent to harm a human?	_____	_____
24. A. How many times is it used in harming an animal?	_____	_____
B. How many times is it used in harming a human?	_____	_____

Character to character violence. The same rule applies here: do not code an action that is not seen unless it is in the same location and the camera is rolling during the action.

Indicate how often Native American characters are shown being aggressed upon by the Caucasian characters.

25. How many Native Americans are killed?	_____	_____
26. How many Native Americans are injured?	_____	_____

Indicate how often Caucasian characters are shown being aggressed upon by the Native Americans?

27. How many Caucasians are killed?	_____	_____
28. How many Caucasians are injured?	_____	_____

Indicate how many Caucasian characters are shown being aggressed upon by other Caucasians?

29. How many are killed?	_____	_____
30. How many are injured?	_____	_____

Indicate how many Native Americans are shown being hurt by other Native Americans?

31. How many are Native Americans are killed? _____

32. How many Native Americans are injured? _____

33. Does the camera show the faces of deceased characters in the film? Record each instance and indicate how long each face is visible. You may need to add up the number of seconds in a series of brief shots. For example, do not count the seconds when a living character's reaction to the dead body is shown, but resume counting when the corpse's face is shown once more. Number of seconds. (use codes as established below for demographics.) Limit this to 10 instances.

	Gender	Race	Age	# of seconds
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____

34. Locations. 1=applies, 0=does not apply. NOTE: While monument valley is in the desert, only code monument valley and not desert when monument valley is shown. Code desert when the desert is not monument valley. In other words, code one or the other.

Fort	_____
Forest	_____
Town	_____
City	_____
Desert	_____
Plains	_____
Mountains	_____
Monument Valley	_____
Farm/Ranch	_____
Lake/River	_____

35. Structural oppositions. These are items that seem contradictory within the film, or are opposites. 1=applies, 0=does not apply:

Frontier law is defined as a primitive law of survival and honor including contests of violence such as gunfights. Man's law includes legal aspects such as the court system and law enforcement, as is often exemplified by the sheriff.

A. Frontier law vs. man's law _____

Community is often shown as the town within which the characters live. The notion of society and a close relationship between a network of people is relevant here. The spirit of the individual is that of a loner who, in some way, does not fit in with or identify with the community.

B. Community vs. individual _____

Civilization is a human society with customs and traditions. This type of society is at an advanced stage of development in the arts and sciences and social, political, and cultural complexity. The wilderness is portrayed as more primitive and more similar to nature itself. Native Americans are portrayed in this way.

C. Civilization vs. wilderness _____

The polite and well-educated girl, often a schoolteacher, is a symbol of the East. She is civilized, polite, and often determined to educate Westerners, who are usually portrayed as illiterate barbarians. She is often a symbol of purity, having been raised in civilization and now choosing to live among the less fortunate. She is often shown helping orphans and Native American children. The saloon girl, by contrast, is rowdy, wild, and uncivilized. She represents the frontier, and the cowboy often faces a choice between her and the schoolteacher. NOTE: stick to the definition, and only code this as "applies" if the characters literally match this description.

D. Sophisticated Eastern girl vs. saloon girl _____

The dispute over the use of land is an important aspect of many Westerns. This can apply to any instance of conflicting visions of what the land should be used for, and is not restricted merely to the literal interpretation of ranchers vs. cattlemen. For example, a cattleman whose stream is poisoned because of a mine upstream would fall under this category, because of the differing perspectives of how the land should be used. Also, a farmer that is threatened by the interests of big cattle companies wanting to use his land to move their herds is also an instance of ranchers vs. cattlemen.

E. "Ranchers versus cattlemen" _____

Codebook

Major Character Analysis (used for characters who appear in more than five scenes. This will be decided apriori by the researcher).

100. Coder ID#:

1. Jeff Spicer
2. Tyler Grano
3. Jeff (Phoenix)
4. Anthony Grande
5. Brandon Rife

101. ID# of film: _____

102. 4. Is this a John Ford Film?

(0) No _____

(1) Yes _____

103. Year of Film? _____

104. ID of character: _____

105. Is the character: _____

(1) Protagonist (story is told from their perspective, they drive the main action of the story with the choices they make.) _____

(2) Antagonist (opposed to the protagonist in such a way that they become counter to the central purpose of the plot. They try to stop the protagonist from achieving his/her core objectives.) _____

(3) Other _____

106. Gender

1-Male

2-Female

107. Write in the number corresponding with the apparent racial characteristics of the character.

1-Caucasian

2-African-American

3-Asian

4-Hispanic

5-Native American

6-White but raised as Native American

7-Native American but raised as White

8-Other (and write in)

9-Cannot tell

108. Write in the number corresponding with the apparent age of the character:

1-Infant, 0-2 years old

2-Child, 3-12 years old

3-Adolescent, 13-19 years old

4-Young Adult, 20-39 years old

5-Middle-Age Adult, 40-54 years old

6-Mature Adult, 55-64 years old

7-Senior Adult, greater than or equal to 65 years old

8-Cannot tell

109. Occupation: Write in the number corresponding with the apparent occupation of the character. If they have more than one, choose the one that features as most important throughout the course of the film.

01-None identified

02-Gunfighter

03-Farmer

04-Sheriff

05-Deputy Sheriff

06-Saloon Worker

07-Gunsmith

08-Schoolteacher

09-Blacksmith

10-Cattle Rustler

11-Ranch Hand

- 12-Ranch Owner
- 13-Soldier
- 14-Reverend/Preacher/Priest
- 15-Doctor
- 16-Lawyer
- 17-Political Figure
- 18-Tax Collector
- 19-Accountant
- 20-Trader/Shop Owner
- 21-Railroad Worker
- 22-Railroad Boss
- 23-Convict
- 24-Spiritual Healer
- 25-Banker
- 26-Cook
- 27-Bar Tender
- 28-Native American Chief
- 29-Native American Warrior
- 30- Native American Villager
- 31-Bounty Hunter
- 32-Other

Character Traits (measured at the first introduction of the character, then at the end):

Rough-Characterized by harshness, violence, or force. Coarse or rugged in character.
 Gentle-Free from harshness, sternness, or violence. Passive.

110. Very gentle 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Very rough

Strong-displaying the ability to continue functioning in a healthy way despite setbacks. Resistant to giving up.

Weak-greatly impaired and upset by the events that take place. Changeable to the extent of conforming to values that they otherwise would not hold. Susceptible to temptation or fear.

111. Very weak 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Very strong

Kind-Of a sympathetic nature. Disposed to being helpful and concerned toward others. Good-hearted, friendly.

112. Not at all kind 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Very kind

Psychoticism Traits (also measured at the beginning of the film, then at the end):

Aggressive-Tendency toward or practicing aggression, defined as, a forceful action or procedure (as an unprovoked attack) especially when intended to dominate or master. Hostile, injurious, or destructive behavior or outlook especially when caused by frustration. Aggression can be physical or verbal.

113. Passive and without intent to harm 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Aggressive

Warm personality- Kind, open, welcoming, and sympathetic
 Cold- Marked by a lack of sympathy, interest or sensitivity

114. Cold 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Warm personality

Egocentric- Concerned with the individual rather than society. Selfish.

115. Embracing the community 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Egocentric

Impersonal- Not engaging the human personality or emotions. Not emotional in relationship to others.

116. Deeply Emotional 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Impersonal

Impulsive- Prone to act on impulse; acting momentarily; spontaneous.

117. Carefully considers options before acting 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Impulsive

Other character measures. NOTE: fill out both the masculine and feminine scales regardless of the character's gender.

Masculine- Displaying traits representative of the male sex. In this case, these traits should include decisiveness, power, and resourcefulness.

118. Not masculine 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Masculine

Feminine- Marked by qualities attributed to women. In this case, these traits should include Eastern politeness and courtesy. Also, a dependence on one or more male characters might be shown.

119. Not feminine 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Feminine

Law abiding- Acting on or according to the laws of society.

120. Law breaking 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Law abiding

Morally good- Displaying qualities that demonstrate a genuine regard for human welfare. Virtuous, loyal, and admirable.

121. Morally bad 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Morally good

Individualistic- Expresses independent thought or action, as distinct from a group or a community.

122. Collectivistic 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Individualistic

Disillusioned- The character's hopes or faiths were shattered, and they now see the world through a pessimistic lens.

123. Not disillusioned 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Disillusioned

Optimistic- Expecting the best possible outcome or dwelling on the most hopeful aspects of a situation.

124. Pessimistic 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Optimistic

Competent- Well qualified or capable.

125. Incompetent 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Competent

Angry- Strong negative feelings, often culminating in aggression.

126. Not Angry 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Angry

Happy- Joyful or content. Marked by a an attitude that says “things are looking up” or “things are ok.”

127. Sad 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Happy

Troubled- Psychologically worried by an unpleasant idea or an unhealthy attitude.

128. Not troubled 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 Troubled

Negative Life Events (indicate all that apply to the character; 0 = does not apply. 1 = applies). These events may be shown or talked about, and do not need to be shown within the diegesis of the film. For “Wrongly accused of a crime,” only code when the character is not actually sent to prison. If the character is sent to prison, code only as “Wrongly imprisoned.” In other words, use one or the other.

- 129A. Death (if the character dies during the course of the film.)
- 129B. Death of a spouse
- 129C. Death of a child
- 129D. Death of a parent
- 129E. Death of a sibling
- 129F. Death of another loved one (family member or close personal friend.)
- 129G. Wrongly accused of a crime
- 129H. Wrongly imprisoned
- 129I. Imprisoned with justification
- 129J. Being thrown off his/her homeland by federal government (Relocation of Native Americans)
- 129K. Other
- 129L. No negative life events noted

Appendix C

All Variables with Percent Agreement and Reliability Coefficients

(Refer to codebook for corresponding full variable names.)

Table C1.

All Variables with Percent Agreement and Reliability Coefficients

Variable Name	Percent Agreement	Reliability Coefficient
FILM ANALYSES		
V5.Time Period	67%	Kappa = .20
V6.N.A. Adult Males	80%	Lin's r = .78 Pearson's r = .997
V7.N.A. Adult Females	67%	Lin's r = .68 Pearson's r = .90
V8.N.A. Children	100%	NA
V9.White Male Adults	27%	Lin's r = .84 Pearson's r = .98
V10.White Adult Females	40%	Lin's r = .74 Pearson's r = .80
V11.White Children	53%	Lin's r = .99 Pearson's r = .99
V12.Black Male Adults	87%	Lin's r = .70 Pearson's r = .74
V13.Black Adult Females	100%	NA
V14.Black Children	100%	NA
V15.Adult Male Hispanics	100%	Lin's r = 1.00 Pearson's r = 1.00
V16. Adult Female Hispanics	67%	Lin's r = .48 Pearson's r = .79
V17.Hispanic Children	80%	Lin's r = .33 Pearson's r = 1.0
V18A.Manifest Destiny: is the term used?	100%	NA
V18B:Is it described?	100%	NA
V18C:Is the action shown?	100%	NA
V18D:Genocide: is the term used?	100%	NA
V18E:Is it implied?	87%	Kappa = -.07
V18F:Is the action shown?	100%	NA
V19A:Automobile or truck shown?	100%	NA
V19B:Steam Train shown?	100%	NA
V19C:Rapid Fire Gun shown?	100%	NA
V19D:Electricity shown?	87%	Kappa = .42
V19E:Telegraph shown?	87%	Kappa = .66
V19F:Ind. Tech. Shown?	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V19G:Other shown?	87%	Kappa = -.07
V20A:Automobile mentioned?	100%	NA
V20B:Steam Train mentioned?	87%	Kappa = .70
V20C:Rapid Fire Gun mentioned?	100%	NA
V20D:Electricity mentioned?	87%	Kappa = -.07
V20E:Telegraph mentioned?	87%	Kappa = .42
V20F:Ind. Tech shown?	100%	NA

V20G:Other	100%	NA
V21Aheroic:gun drawn animal	73%	Lin's r = -.05; Pearson's r = -.25
V21Anon-heroic:gun drawn animal	100%	NA
V21Bheroic:gun drawn human	60%	Lin's r = .70; Pearson's r = .80
V21Bnon-heroic:gun drawn human	67%	Lin's r = .51; Pearson's r = .79
V22Aheroic:gun harm animal	100%	NA
V22Anon-heroic: gun harm animal	100%	NA
V22Bheroic:gun harm human?	67%	Lin's r = .32; Pearson's r = .97
V22Bnon-heroic:gun harm human?	80%	Lin's r = .25; Pearson's r = 1.0
V23Aheroic:alt. Weapon intent to harm animal	100%	NA
V23Anon-heroic:alt. Weapon intent to harm animal	100%	NA
V23Bheroic:alt. Weapon intent to harm human?	80%	Lin's r = .24; Pearson's r = 1.0
V23Bnon-heroic:alt. Weapon intent to harm human	67%	Lin's r = .14; Pearson's r = .61
V24Aheroic:alt. Weapon harm animal	100%	NA
V24Anon-heroic:alt. Weapon harm animal	100%	NA
V24Bheroic:alt. Weapon harm human	80%	Lin's r = .30; Pearson's r = 1.0
24Bnon-heroic:alt. Weapon harm human	80%	Lin's r = .25; Pearson's r = 1.0
V25heroic:Whites killing N. A.	87%	NA
V25non-heroic:Whites killing N. A.	100%	NA
V26heroic:Whites injuring N. A.	87%	NA
V26non-heroic:Whites injuring N. A.	100%	NA
V27heroic:N. A. killing Whites	87%	Lin's r = .33; Pearson's r = 1.0
V27non-heroic:N.A. killing Whites	100%	NA
V28heroic:N.A. injuring Whites	87%	NA
V28non-heroic:N.A. injuring Whites	87%	NA
V29heroic:Whites killing Whites	87%	NA
V29non-heroic:Whites killing Whites	100%	NA
V30heroic:Whites injuring Whites	47%	Lin's r = .29; Pearson's r = .95
V30non-heroic:Whites injuring Whites	80%	Lin's r = .18; Pearson's r = 1.0
V31heroic:N.A. killing N.A.	87%	NA
V31non-heroic:N.A. killing N.A.	100%	NA
V32heroic:N.A. injuring N.A.	87%	NA
V32non-heroic:N.A. injuring N.A.	100%	NA
V33: Gender	87%	Kappa = .42
V33: Race	87%	Kappa = .42
V33: Age	87%	Kappa = .42
V33: Seconds	80%	Lin's r = .30; Pearson r = 1.0
V34:Fort	87%	Kappa = -.07
V34:Forest	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V34:Town	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V34:City	87%	Kappa = -.07

V34Desert	60%	Kappa = -.02
V34:Plains	73%	Kappa = .40
V34:Mountains	87%	Kappa = .73
V34:Monument Valley	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V34:Farm/Ranch	87%	Kappa = .66
V34:Lake/River	100%	NA
V35A:Front. Law vs. Man's Law	73%	Kappa = .17
V35B:Community vs. Ind.	73%	Kappa = -.15
V35C:Civ. Vs. wild.	60%	Kappa = .17
V35D:Eastern girl Vs. saloon girl	73%	Kappa = .40
V35E:Rancher's vs. Cattlemen	100%	Kappa = 1.0
CHARACTER ANALYSES: NOTE: Psychological variables' reliability analyses are from supplementary <i>Stagecoach</i> coding		
V106:Gender	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V107:Race	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V108:Age	80%	Kappa = .57
V109:Occupation	50%	Kappa = .41
V110B:Rough	13%	Lin's r = .54 Pearson's r = .58
V111B:Strong	25%	Lin's r = .65 Pearson's r = .84
V112B:Kind	25%	Lin's r = .37 Pearson's r = .59
V113B:Aggressive	33%	Lin's r = .69 Pearson's r = .75
V114B:Warm	21%	Lin's r = .37 Pearson's r = .51
V115B:Egocentric	8%	Lin's r = .23 Pearson's r = .29
V116B:Impersonal	13%	Lin's r = .12 Pearson's r = .13
V117B:Impulsive	13%	Lin's r = -.03 Pearson's r = -.04
V118B:Masculine	17%	Lin's r = .68 Pearson's r = .81
V119B:Feminine	17%	Lin's r = .73 Pearson's r = .78
V120B:Law Abiding	17%	Lin's r = .65 Pearson's r = .76
V121B:Good	8%	Lin's r = .56 Pearson's r = .64
V122B:Individualistic	4%	Lin's r = .26 Pearson's r = .31
V123B:Disillusioned	17%	Lin's r = -.13 Pearson's r = -.15
V124B:Optimistic	13%	Lin's r = .46 Pearson's r = .62
V125B:Competent	17%	Lin's r = .33 Pearson's r = .37
V126B:Angry	25%	Lin's r = .24 Pearson's r = .29
V127B:Happy	13%	Lin's r = .42 Pearson's r = .63

V128B:Troubled	4%	Lin's = .02 Pearson's r = .06
V129A: Death of character	100%	Kappa = 1.0
V129B:Death of spouse	87%	Kappa = .26
V129C:Death of child	100%	NA
V129D:Death of parent	87%	Kappa = .63
V129E:Death of sibling	93%	Kappa = .46
V129F:Death of loved one	93%	Kappa = .46
V129G:Wrongly accused	87%	Kappa = .52
V129H:Wrongly imprisoned	100%	NA
V129I:Justly imprisoned	100%	NA
V129J:Being thrown off of homeland	67%	Kappa = .25
V129K:Other	73%	Kappa = .37

Appendix D

Bar Charts for Heroic/Non-Heroic Violence Over Time;
Ford vs. Non-Ford

Figure D1.
Caucasians Killing Native Americans Heroic

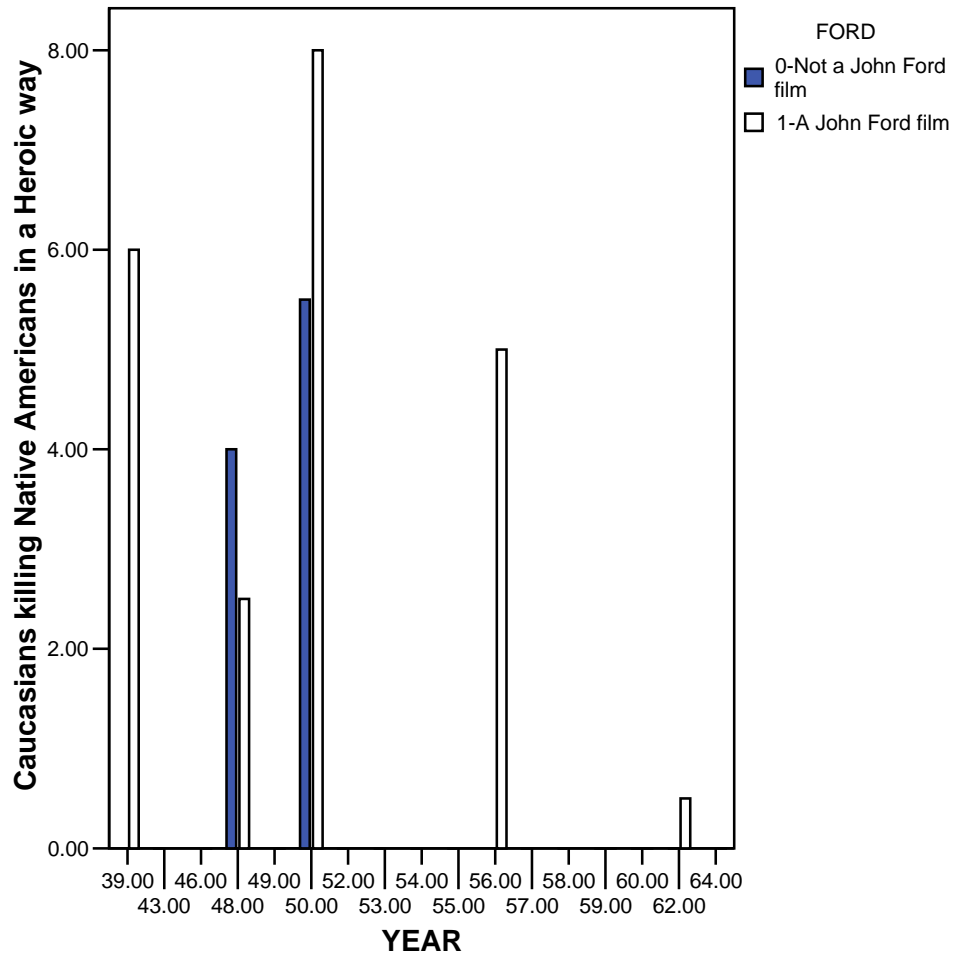


Figure D2.
Caucasians Killing Native Americans Non-Heroic

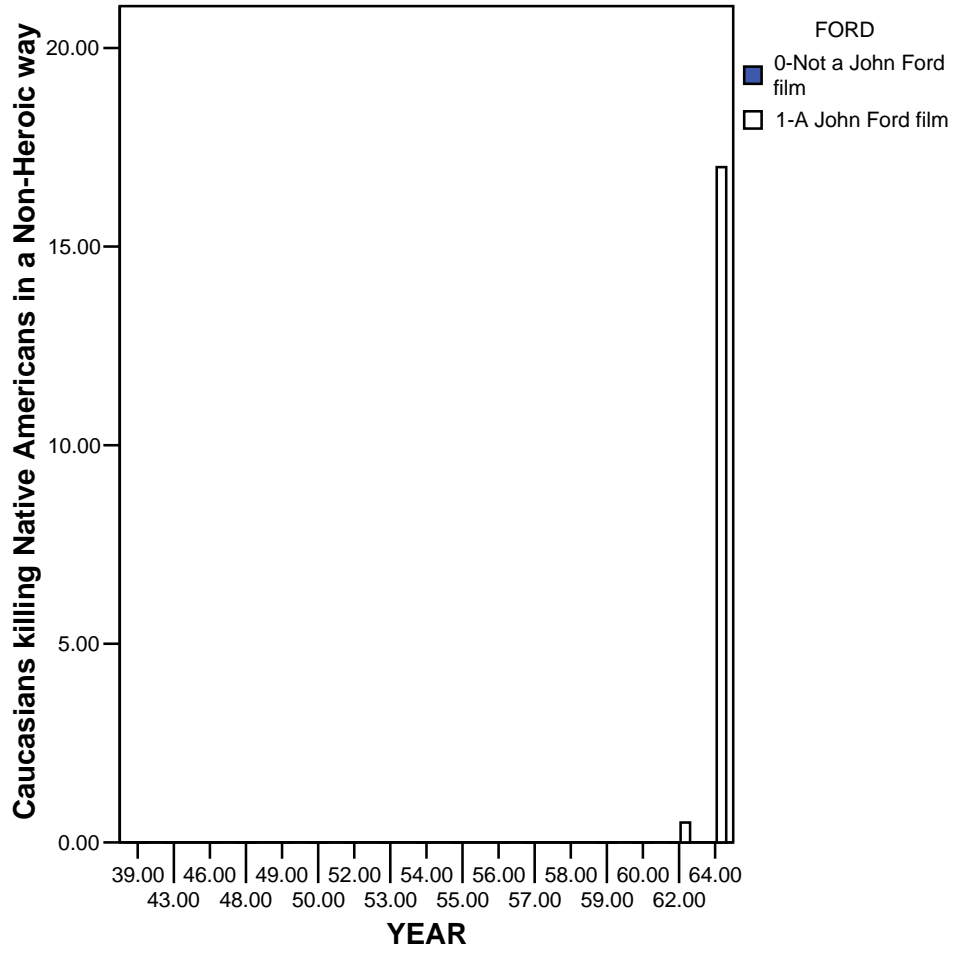


Figure D3.
Caucasians Injuring Native Americans Heroic

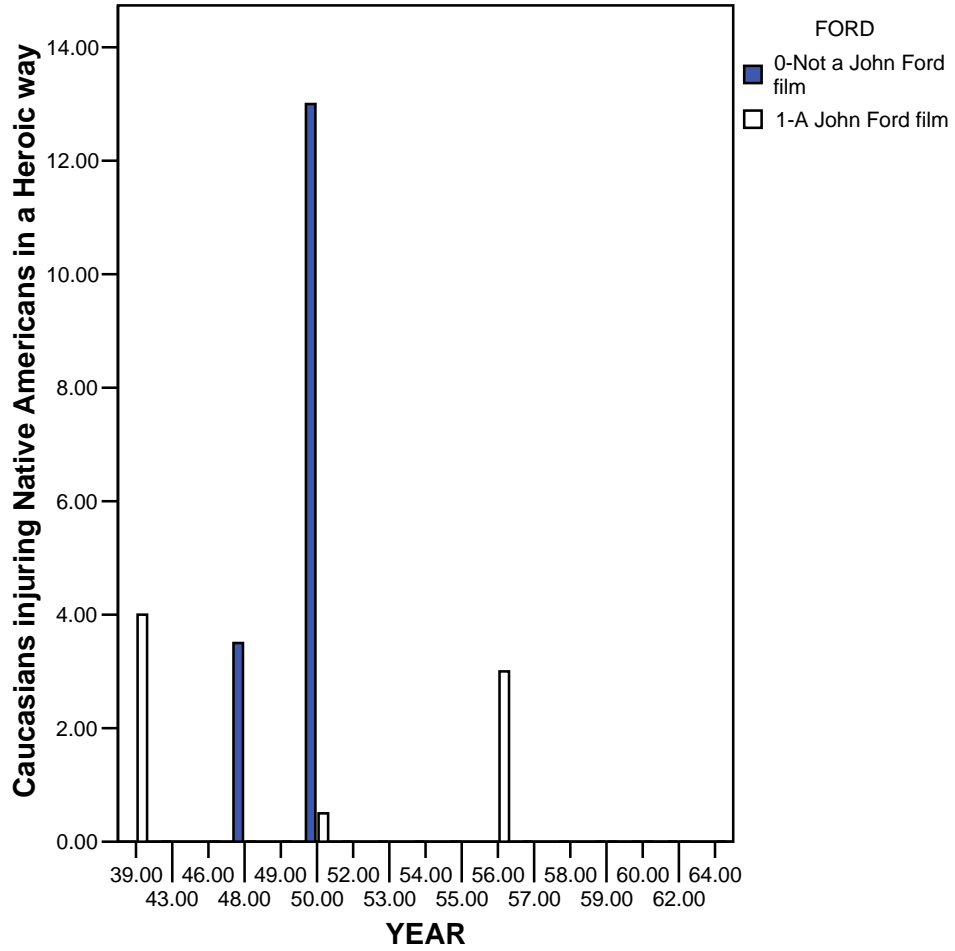


Figure D4.
Caucasians Injuring Native Americans Non-Heroic

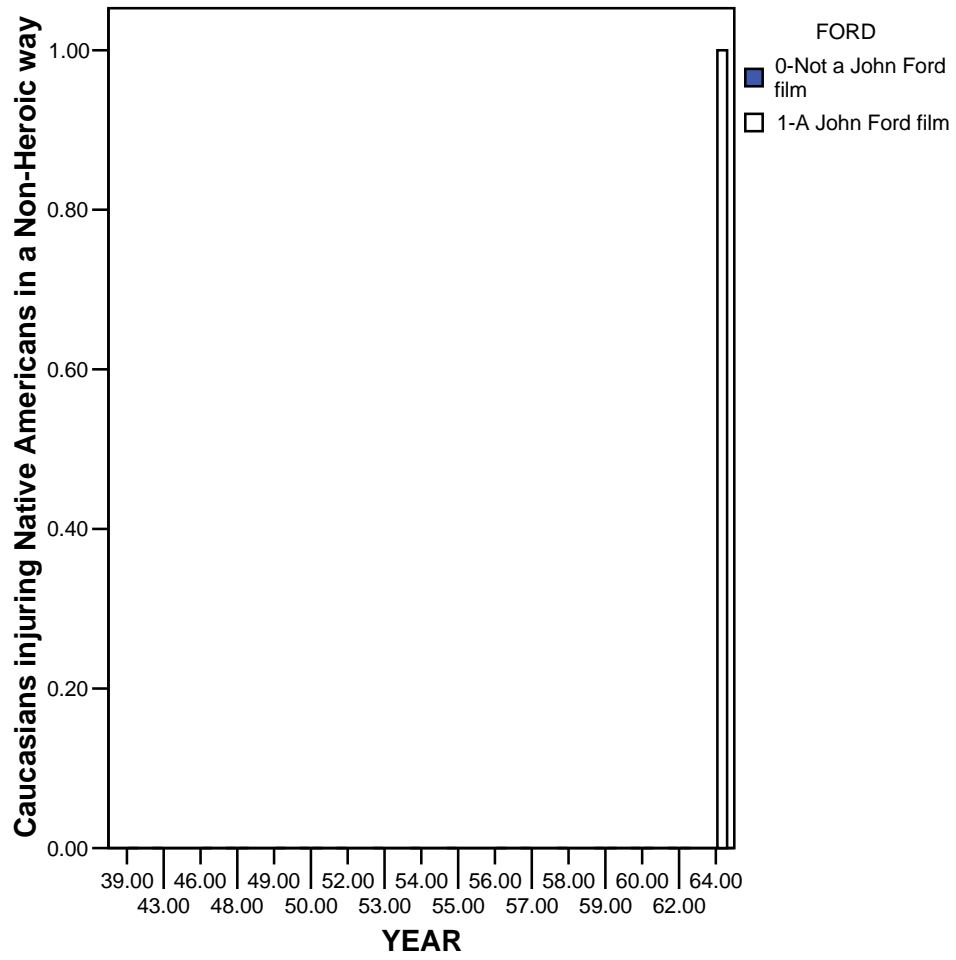


Figure D5.
Native Americans Killing Caucasians Heroic

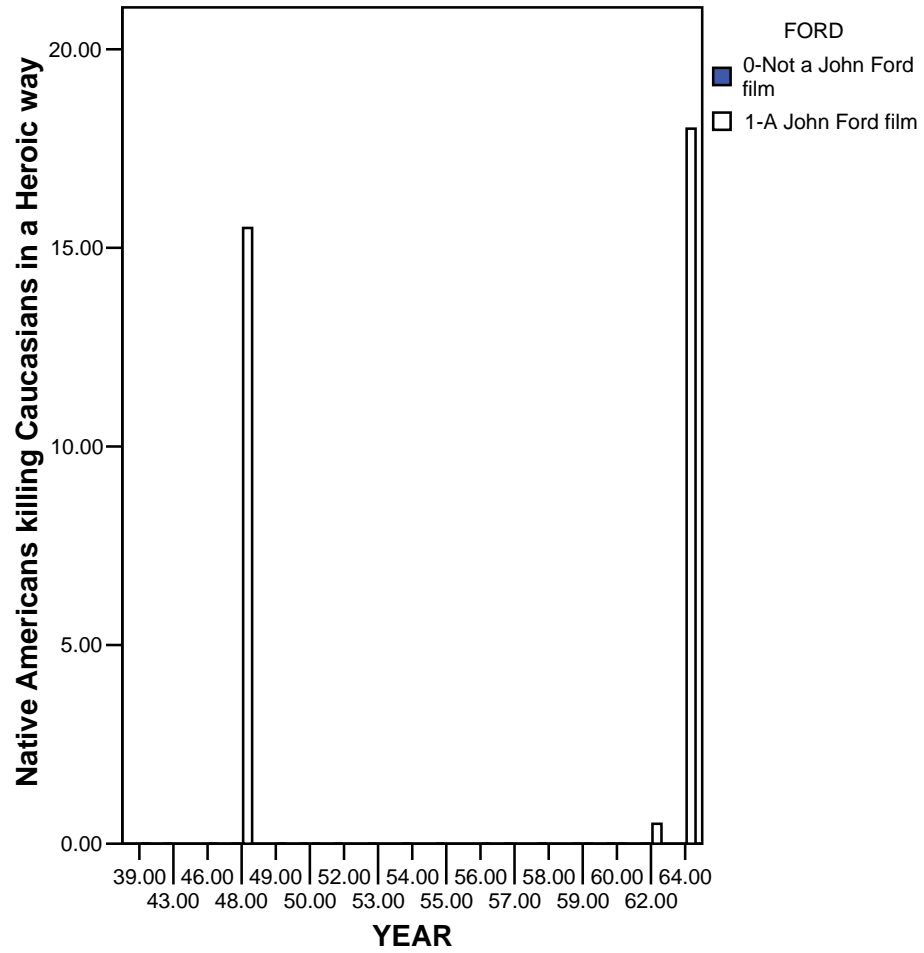


Figure D6.
Native Americans Killing Caucasians Non-Heroic

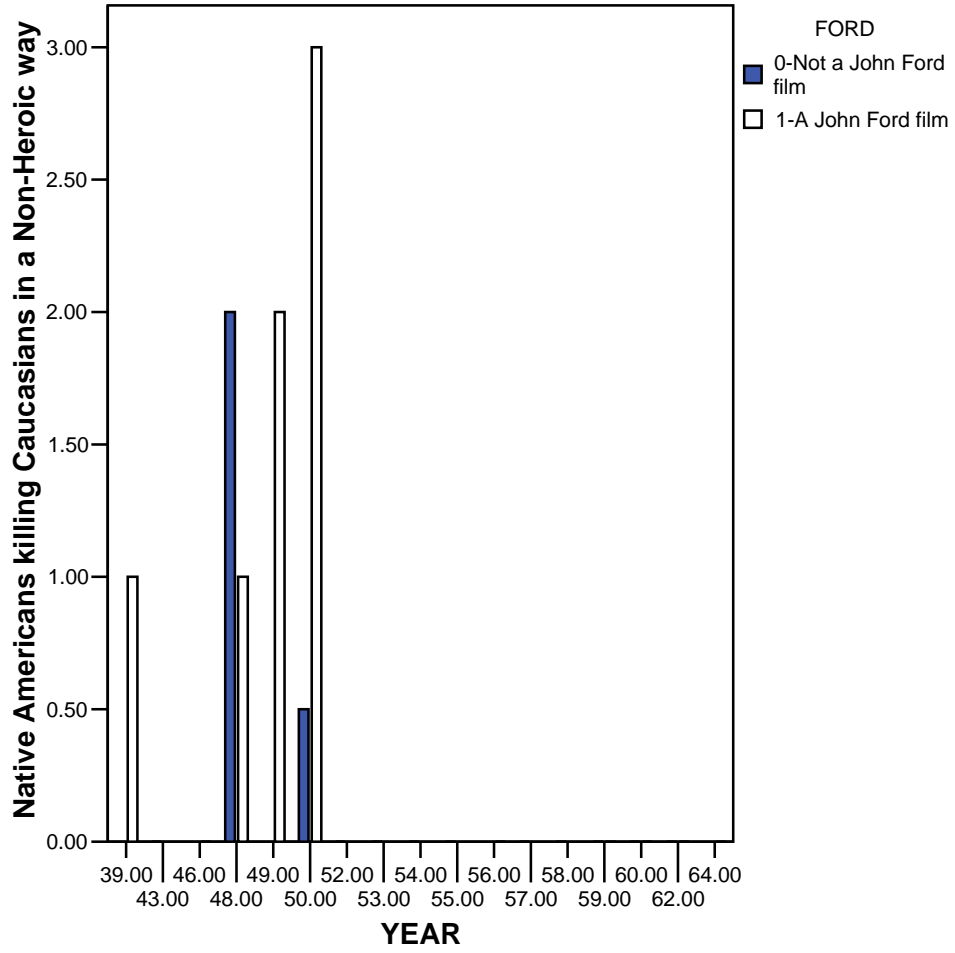


Figure D7.
Native Americans Injuring Caucasians Heroic

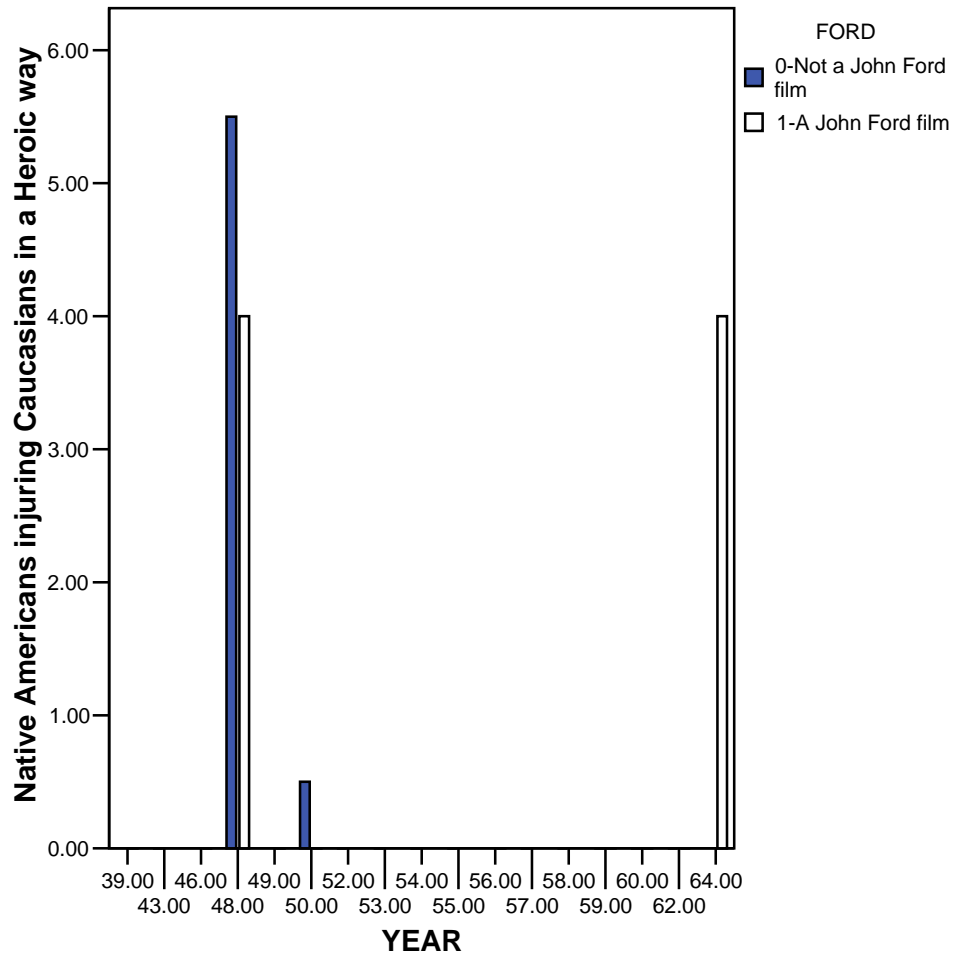


Figure D8.
Native Americans Injuring Caucasians Non-Heroic

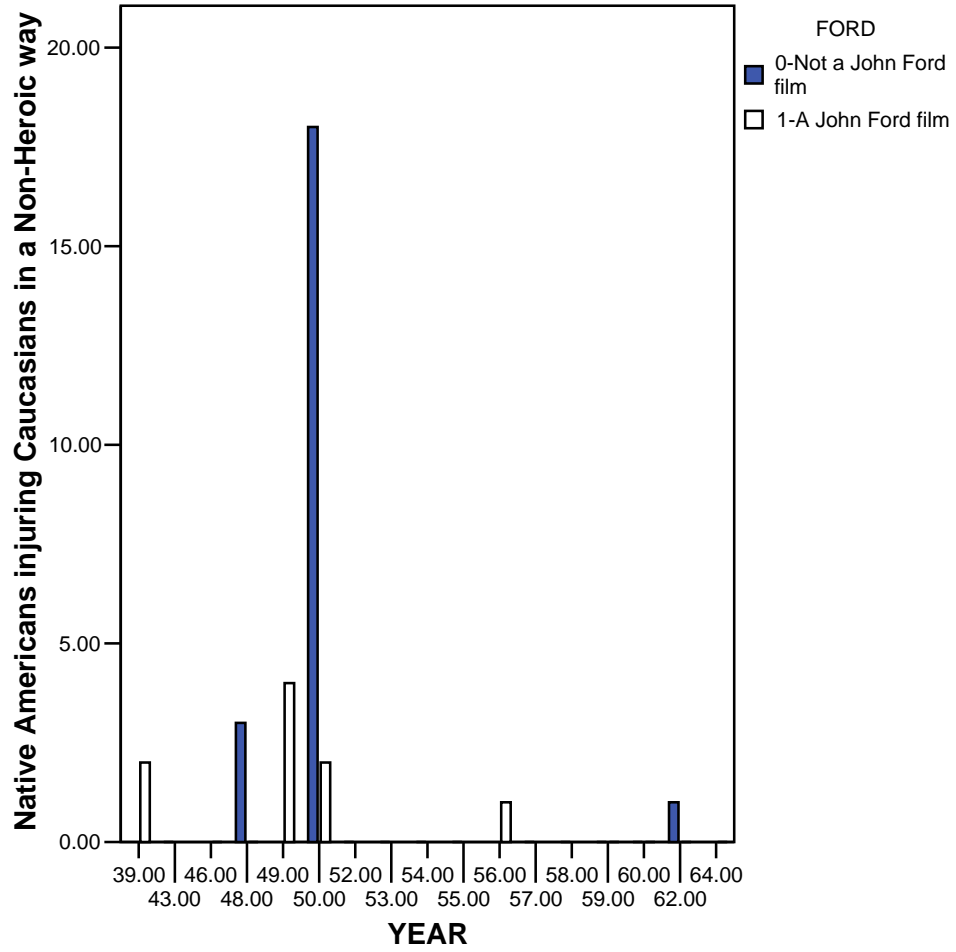
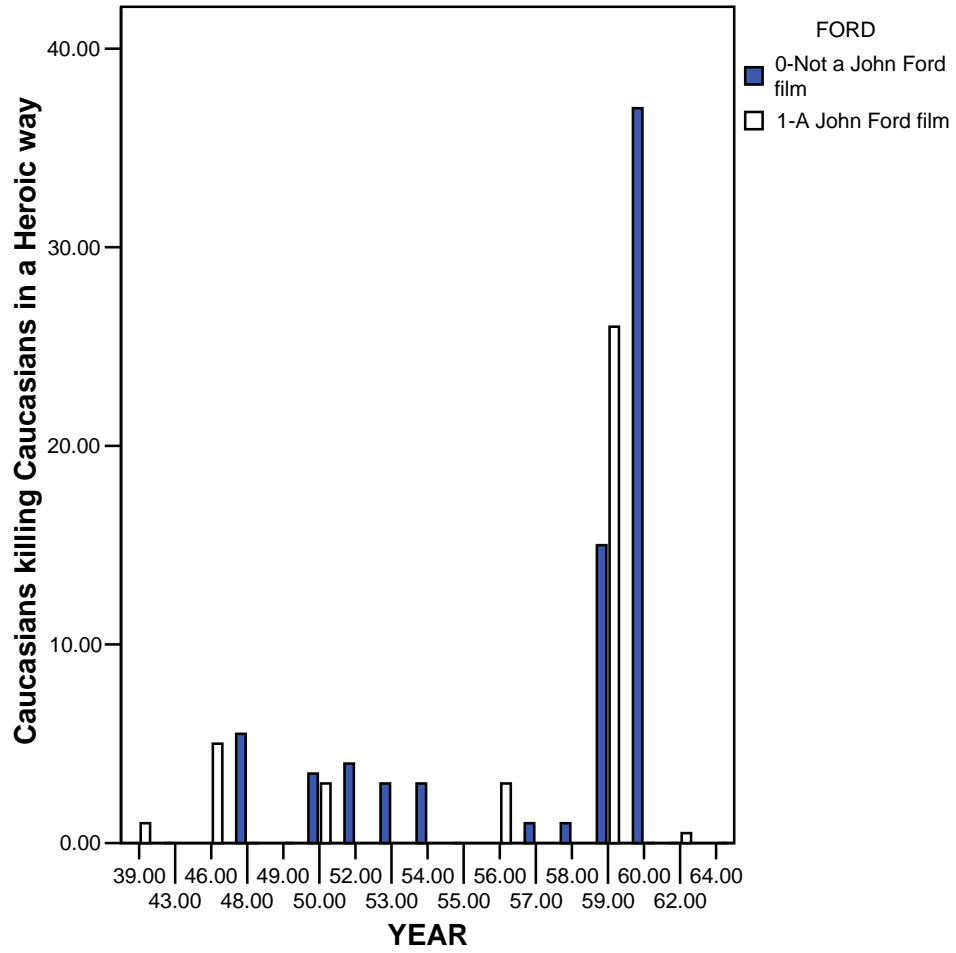


Figure D9.
Caucasians Killing Caucasians Heroic



Appendix E: Factor Analysis of Psychological Dimensions

Table E1.
Factor Analysis of Psychological Dimensions

	Positive & Nurturing	Rugged	Bitter	Selfish	Communality
	-----Factor Loadings-----				
	1	2	3	4	
121B Good	.916	.007	-.456	-.347	.840
120B Law Abiding	.854	-.219	-.429	-.209	.791
112B Kind	.852	.060	-.617	-.476	.820
114B Warm	.817	.112	-.673	-.439	.808
117B Impulsive	-.665	-.016	.433	.474	.526
113B Aggressive	-.663	.527	.471	.539	.784
118B Masculine	-.143	.906	.033	.219	.837
111B Strong	.235	.841	-.218	.189	.792
119B Feminine	.438	-.785	-.218	-.266	.798
110B Rough	-.367	.710	.246	.579	.753
125B Competence	.501	.609	-.393	-.243	.692
116B Impersonal	-.100	.547	.097	.537	.496
127B Happy	.488	.064	-.933	-.212	.872
128B Troubled	-.436	-.044	.891	.291	.805
124B Optimistic	.469	.129	-.890	-.062	.825
123B Disillusioned	-.268	.062	.827	.050	.731
126B Angry	-.506	-.028	.803	.347	.683
122B Individual	-.219	.265	.161	.851	.741
115B Egocentric	-.479	.060	.213	.700	.560
Eigenvalue at Extraction	7.525	3.899	1.691	1.040	[14.155]
Percent of Total Variance at Extraction	39.607%	20.523%	8.901%	5.476%	[74.507%]
Eigenvalue after Rotation	5.759	3.761	5.813	3.408	[18.741]
Percent of Common Variance after Rotation	30.7%	20.1%	31%	18.2%	[100%]
Component	Positive and Nurturing	Rugged	Bitter	Selfish	
Positive and Nurturing	1.000	-.021	-.488	-.353	
Rugged	-.021	1.000	-.029	.201	
Bitter	-.488	-.029	1.000	.224	
Selfish	-.353	.201	.224	1.000	

Appendix F

Bar Charts for Psychological Dimensions Over Time

Figure F1.
Positive and Nurturing

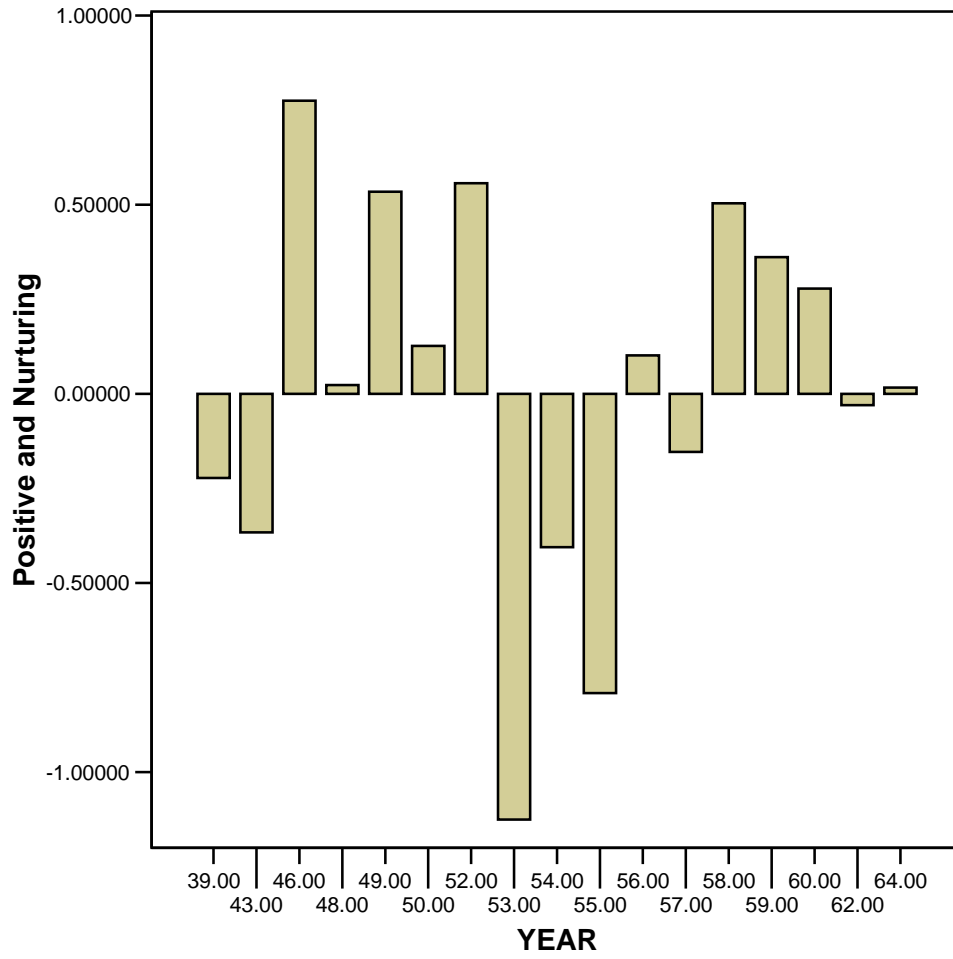


Figure F2.
Rugged

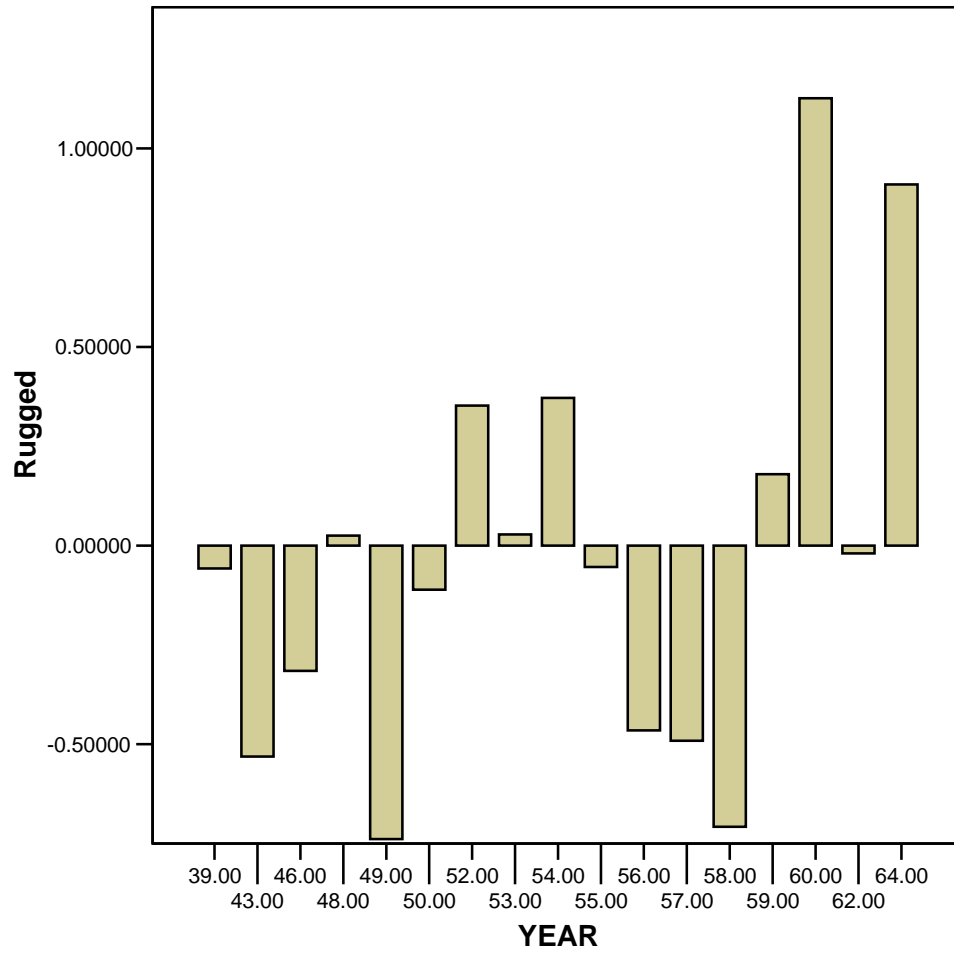


Figure F3.
Bitter

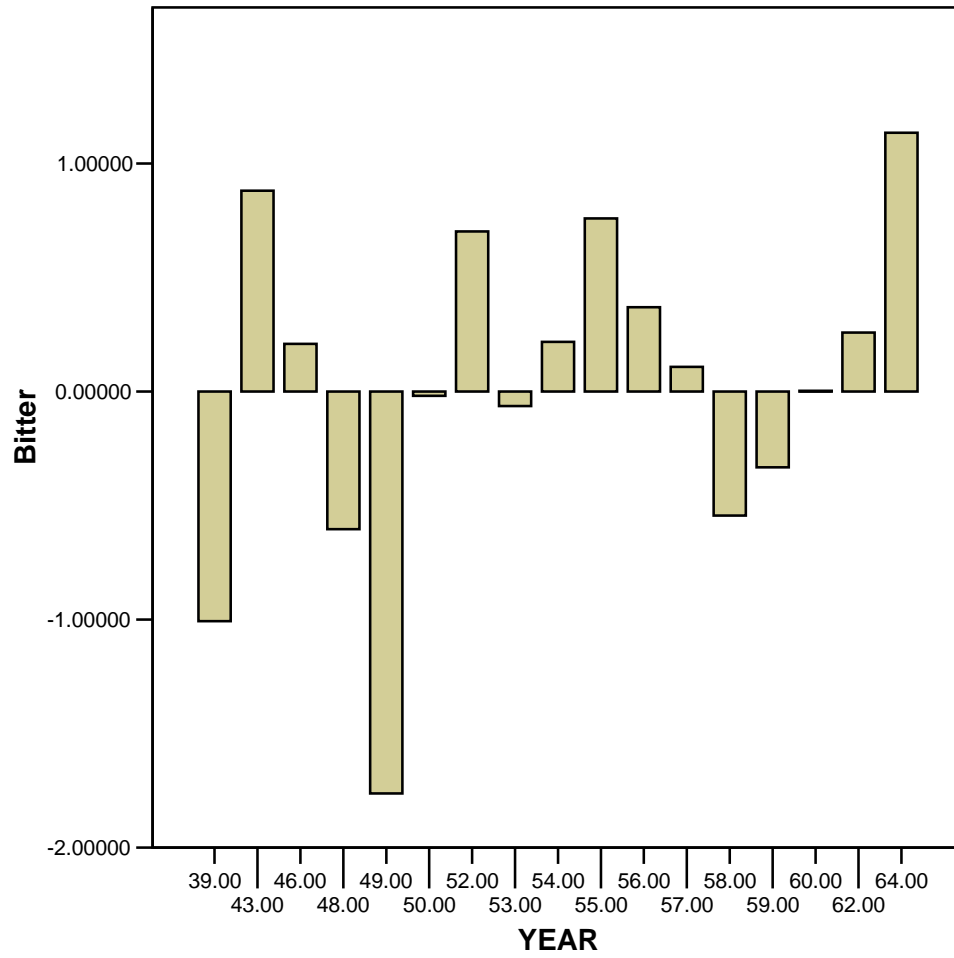
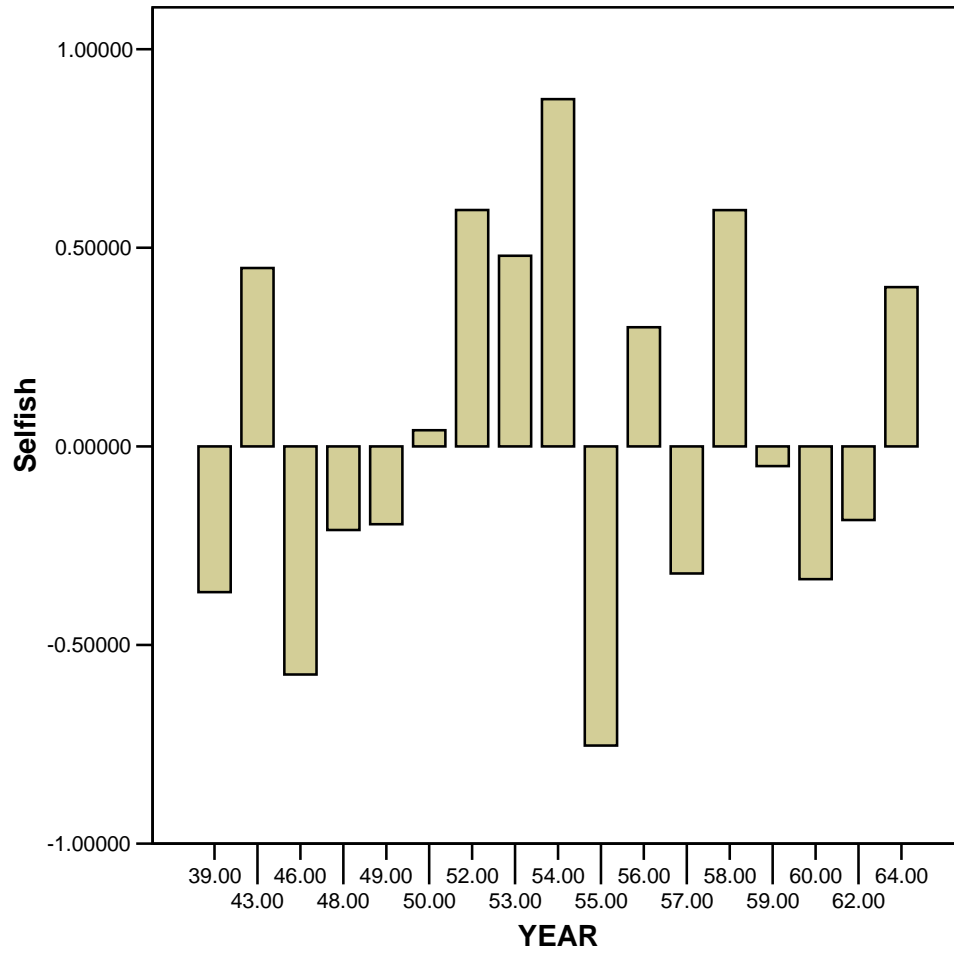


Figure F4.
Selfish



Appendix G

The Internet Movie Database Top-Rated Westerns
Scatterplot

Figure G1.
The Internet Movie Database Top-Rated Westerns Scatterplot

