

The Nurse as a Sex Object in Motion Pictures, 1930 to 1980

Beatrice J. Kalisch, Philip A. Kalisch, and Mary L. McHugh

A content analysis of 191 motion pictures featuring 211 nurses as significant characters was conducted to determine the nature and extent of the motion picture industry's depiction of the nurse as a sex object and to identify changes in that portrayal from 1930 to 1980. Seventy-three percent of the nurse roles characterized nurses as sex objects. The frequency and intensity of stereotypes of nurses as sex objects rose significantly during the 1960s and 1970s ($p < .0001$). Exploitation of the nurse as a sex object was more common in the larger nurse roles. However, in films with a strong emphasis on professional nursing in either the story or in character development, sexual stereotyping of nurses was uncommon. It was concluded that the image of the nurse as a professional care giver was incompatible with that of the nurse as sex object, and that the motion picture industry has opted primarily to present the latter image. The extremely negative sexual stereotype of nursing promulgated during the past 20 years is cause for concern. Actions that the nursing profession can employ to counter the unfavorable portrayal of nurses in 1980s motion pictures are suggested.

American motion pictures have contributed a potent public message system about nurses and nursing since the early years of this century. Because of this power of the feature film as a social and cultural force in American society the investigators have examined the industry's depiction of nurses during the sound era of film since 1930. No form of mass communication so explicitly offers sexuality to its audiences as does the motion picture. When that sexuality is intertwined with the depiction of the nurse, examination of this connection is in order.

Film media present a high level of information to two senses, while specifically controlling and minimizing other diluting influences by reason of setting (Schiller, 1970). Various audience needs can be manipulated through portrayal of motion picture images (Croce, 1967). Findings indicated that "movies may serve to motivate a viewer to

perform acts related to those he has seen in the movie and further, the movie may increase for him the importance of the freedom to do so" (Worchel, 1972, p. 431). Thus the feature film is an important component of the social construction of reality as it relates to an identifiable group (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

The power of motion pictures to influence public opinion has stimulated various groups to analyze critically the quality of their images in the medium. The motion picture image of minority ethnic groups has been the object of critical analysis in several recent studies. Research findings on the image of Blacks in motion pictures (Cripps, 1977; Mapp, 1970), of Native American Indians (Bataille & Silet, 1980), and of Hispanics (Pettit, 1980) have led to public protests by representatives of these groups against their negative treatment by the motion picture

Dr. Beatrice J. Kalisch is the Titus Distinguished Professor of Nursing and chairperson of Parent-Child Nursing, and Dr. Philip A. Kalisch is professor of History and Politics of Nursing at the School of Nursing, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Both are coprincipal investigators of the Image of the Nurse in the Mass Media Research Project at the School of Nursing. Mary McHugh is a research associate on the Image of the Nurse in the Mass Media Research Project, and a doctoral student at the School of Nursing.

This study was supported by the U.S. Public Health Service Division of Nursing, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Grant No. NU00579, awarded to Dr. Beatrice Kalisch and Dr. Philip Kalisch.

This article was received February 9, 1981, was revised, and on November 20, 1981, was accepted for publication.

Requests for reprints may be addressed to Dr. Beatrice Kalisch, Nursing in the Mass Media Research Project, 609 East Liberty Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48108.

industry. Both Haskell (1973) and Rosen (1973) found that increasingly women were the object of degrading depictions in feature films from 1930 to 1972. Stoddard (1980) concluded that aging woman also regularly has been characterized negatively in motion pictures. Additionally, studies of the treatment of a least three occupational groups have been completed. Worden (1962) discovered that young ministers were stereotyped as either hypocritical and ambitious or as awkward and inept in motion pictures. He related the negative image of ministers in motion pictures to the shortage of young people entering the ministry of the Protestant Church. Negative stereotyping in motion pictures, however, was not found when the images studied were of newspaper reporters (Barris, 1976), or teachers (Gerbner, 1964). The latter group was depicted as learned, moral, and unselfish.

These studies have documented Hollywood's tendency to portray negatively certain groups in society, and also have shown that negative stereotyping of a professional group can contribute to a shortage of talent for that profession. It was recognized that plans to counteract an active tendency to stereotype nurses and nursing negatively in motion pictures should be based on documentation of the nature of the problem, especially since such negative stereotyping of another predominantly female profession, teachers, has not occurred. The specific purposes of this study were to:

1. Determine the extent to which nurses have been used as sex objects in motion pictures produced during the past 50 years,
2. Discover changes over time in the use of the nurse as a sex object by the motion picture industry,
3. Examine the connection between exploitation of the nurse as a sex object and motion picture themes, character development, and type of dramatization, and
4. Explore the extent to which aspects of professional nursing are associated with negative sexual imagery in motion pictures.

METHODS

Sample

The study sample consisted of 211 nurse characters who appeared in 191 Hollywood motion pictures produced and distributed during the years 1930 through 1979. All nurse characters were found to be female and ranged in age from approximately 18 to over 65 years. Motion pic-

tures were identified by an exhaustive review of the cumulative reprints of the *New York Times Film Reviews* (Note 1), the *American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures* (Note 2), and through personal contact with public and private film archives. Criteria for inclusion in the sample were that the film language was English and at least one character with a significant part in the plot was a nurse.

Twelve percent of the sample films were advertised as suitable for children, 43% were recommended for audiences of any age, and 45% were produced for adult audiences. Because of their limited appeal and distribution, pornographic films were excluded. The one exception, *Deep Throat*, was included because of its wide distribution and heavy promotion. The other "adult" films were rated as PG (Parental Guidance), R (Restricted), or by equivalent ratings established by the production codes of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America or the Legion of Decency, a Catholic censorship board founded in 1934 by a committee of U.S. bishops.

Instruments

This study is part of a larger project titled: *Image of the Nurse in the Mass Media* (Note 3), for which content analysis tools were developed to capture multiple aspects of the image of the nurse. Test items measured objective impressions conveyed by narrator comment, behavior of other characters in the film, situational text, and filming technique.

Thirteen items in the instruments measured sexual appeal and sexual behavior of the nurse characters. These items were used to develop an index of the extent that the nurse was used as a sex object. The Sex Object Index was tested for skewness and kurtosis (Snedecor & Cochran, 1967; Statistical Research Laboratory, 1976) and found to be normally distributed. The index was then submitted to reliability testing using coefficient alpha (Nunnally, 1978; Peter, 1979). It was found that the items included in the index demonstrated a sufficient degree of internal consistency to proceed with the study, $\alpha = .78$, $SE = .04$. Specifically, the Index consisted of six interval- and seven ordinal-scaled items that measured the physical attributes of the character, such as attractiveness of her face, voice, figure, and body motions, as well as sexual behavior evidenced by such features as style of dress and grooming, type of sexual activity in which the character engaged, her value towards sex, and the extent to which the

character's sex appeal was stressed in the motion picture.

In addition to items in the Sex Object Index, other variables used in this study involved aspects of the motion picture and of the personal and professional lives of nurse characters. Narrative feature variables which were nominally-scaled identified type of dramatization and the audience to which the motion picture was directed. Another group of variables were used to capture aspects of the character's position and behavior in the context of professional nursing. Nominally-scaled items, such as professional role and level of education, and ordinally-scaled items, such as time spent in the professional setting and attitude toward nursing, constituted components of this aspect of the image of the nurse. Intervally-scaled items measured the character's value for her work and the extent to which the nurse was seen performing nursing activities, for example, providing physical or emotional care, carrying out technical procedures, and performing menial or nonnursing duties. Other items elicited information about the nurse character's professional power and leadership. These interally-scaled items were: extent to which the character directed patient care activities of other health care providers, amount of administrative work performed by the character, and extent to which the nurse made patient care decisions.

The final group of items measured qualities of the nurse's personal character. Several dimensions of the character's personality were empirical constructs previously developed and reported (Kalisch, Kalisch, & McHugh, 1980). These interally-scaled constructs were nurturance, value for work, value for home and family, and value for control. Ordinally-scaled personality traits included intelligence, submissiveness, vulnerability, ambitiousness, and femininity.

Intrarater reliability was determined by having 5% of the sample coded twice during an interval of several months by the same raters. All items in the instruments reached a minimum of 69% agreement between the first and second coding. The intrarater reliability among all raters and all items was 93.1%. Interrater reliability was determined by having all raters code 20% of the 191 motion pictures studied. Percent agreement among raters for each item showed that all items reached at least a 73% agreement. Interrater reliability among all coders and all items was 91.6%.

Instrument development was achieved through the process of identifying those elements in a motion picture that effect viewer impressions of

nursing and that were judged to be representative of the important contributors to the image of nursing in films. Once study instruments had been developed and tested, they were submitted to an expert panel. The panel evaluated the instruments in terms of whether they felt the items were adequate and appropriate for the purpose of the study and for the research questions developed.

Validity of the Sex Object Index was established by testing its strength of association with other theoretically-related variables in the data set. For example, significant associations were found between portrayal of the nurse as a sex object and both the importance of romantic relationships in which the nurse was involved, $r = .55, p < .0001$, and the overall attractiveness of the character as a person, $r = .46, p < .0001$.

Procedure

Coders were recruited, underwent a standardized training program, and were tested for reliability. Once a motion picture was identified as appropriate for the study it was rented, purchased, or viewed at a film archive and coded. All available films that met selected criteria were included in the study. Data were analyzed with the Michigan Interactive Data Analysis System (MIDAS) statistical program.

RESULTS

Ninety-four nurse roles (45%) included well-developed characterizations of the nurse as a sex object, and an additional 60 (28%) included a medium emphasis on the nurse as sex object. Only 57 (27%) of the roles exhibited little or no characterization of the nurse as a sex object (Figure 1).

Significant differences in mean index scores among the five decades studied are found, $F(4,206) = 6.85, p < .001$. Presentation of the nurse as sex object was seldom a dominant theme in character development during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s (Figure 2). Actresses playing nurses were usually quite attractive (85%). The nurse characters were frequently (67%) involved in romances which served as important plot elements. However, the nurses' romances during those years rarely (3%) included blatant sexual activity and the nurse characters had low Sex Object Index scores. During the 1960s, Sex Object Index scores show a significant increase over the scores of the previous three decades, $F(3,177) = 9.87, p < .005$. This trend continues

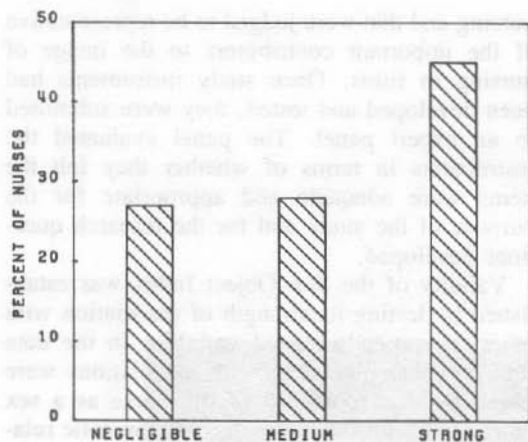


Figure 1. Degree of emphasis upon the nurse as a sex object in motion pictures (N=211).

through the 1970s. Nurse roles during the 1960s and 1970s frequently (32%) included blatant sexual activity. In fact, all but four nurse characters scoring in the top 10% on the Sex Object Index appeared in motion pictures of the 1960s and 1970s.

As would be expected, nurse characters appearing in films advertised for an adult audience scored significantly higher on the Index than did nurses in films suitable for young viewers, $t(209) = 2.01, p < .05$. When the motion picture was produced for male audiences, the nurse characters received extremely high Sex Object Index scores ($M = .42$) as compared with films for female viewers ($M = -.57$) or for both male and female audiences ($M = .02$), $F(2,208) = 3.82$,

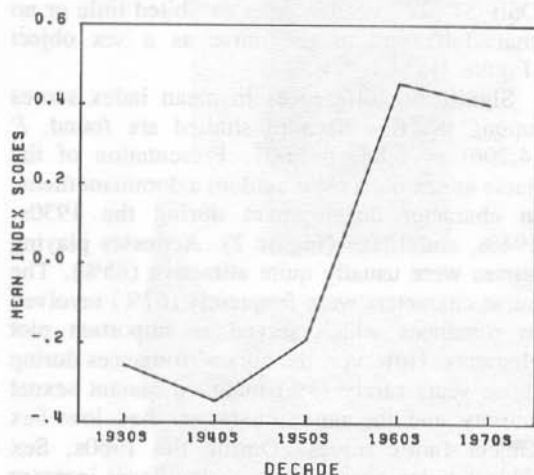


Figure 2. Mean Sex Object Index scores by decade (N=211).

$p < .05$. Dramas and mystery films were least likely to portray the nurse as a sex object, while comedies and other miscellaneous categories such as fright/horror and criminal case films were most likely to use nurses as sex objects, $F(3,208) = 2.92, p < .05$.

As professional nursing increased in importance as a plot theme, scores on the Index declined, $Rho(209) = -.21, p < .01$. In other words, motion pictures that used nursing as an important theme did not make extensive use of the nurse as a sex object. On the other hand, size of the nurse character's role was correlated positively with use of the nurse as a sex object, $Rho(209) = .18, p < .01$. These data show that the larger roles for nurses usually emphasized their sexual attractiveness and behavior rather than their professional work.

There was an inverse association between portrayal of the nurse as a sex object and the nurse's age, $Rho(199) = -.37, p < .001$. Gray-haired nurses received extremely low ($M = -2.0$) Index scores while, in true Hollywood fashion, most nurses with high Index scores were blonde, $F(4,200) = 11.38, p < .001$. Nurses with high Sex Object Index scores were likely to be married during part of their life covered in the film, $t(175) = 2.75, p < .01$, and to give up nursing for marriage (Mann-Whitney $U(209) = 1457, p < .001$). The fact that motion picture nurses with high scores gave up their professional lives after marriage was not surprising since throughout the films they exhibited a strong value for a home and family life, $r(209) = .28, p < .001$, and a low value for their work, $r(209) = -.19, p < .01$. They fit the traditional female stereotype. They were submissive, $Rho(206) = .16, p < .05$, nurturant, $r(140) = .41, p < .001$, vulnerable, $Rho(201) = .24, p < .001$, and feminine, $Rho(207) = .25, p < .001$. Nurses with high Index scores also lacked ambition, $Rho(156) = -.23, p < .01$, and were not very intelligent, $Rho(206) = -.16, p < .05$.

When the nurse character evidenced a firmer commitment to her profession, she was less often used as a sex object. As nursing care increased in importance for character development, Sex Object Index scores declined, $Rho(208) = -.39, p < .001$; as her professional position rose, Index scores declined, $F(3,202) = 3.47, p < .95$ (Figure 3). Sex Object Index Scores also declined as the nurse gave evidence of leadership qualities and power, such as value for control, $r(209) = -.17, p < .05$; directing the patient care activities of other health care providers, Mann-Whitney $U(209) = 3086.0, p < .01$; or managing patient

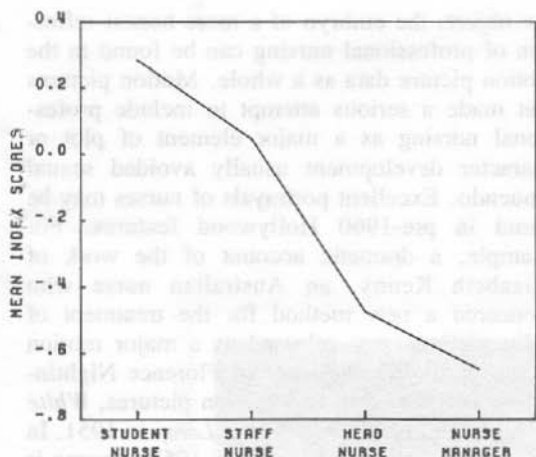


Figure 3. Mean Sex Object Index scores by employment position ($N=211$).

units, hospitals, or schools of nursing, $r(209) = -.23, p < .01$. Even at the individual patient care level, nurses who were seen making autonomous clinical decisions scored significantly lower on the Sex Object Index than did nurses who rarely or never made decisions about patient care, $r(209) = 2.37, p < .05$. These data point out a subtle bias in the motion picture stereotype of the nurse. Nurses in motion pictures seldom exhibit both leadership qualities and sexual attractiveness. Over the entire 50 year period, only six characters (2.8%) combined these qualities. While nurses having low Sex Object Index scores were seen making decisions, caring for patients, and behaving in a professional manner, nurses with high scores on the Index were usually viewed as spending their job time idly chatting and gossiping with other nurses, physicians, or visitors, $r(209) = .15, p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

These data show that the motion picture industry has been responsible for presenting a very inaccurate and damaging image of nurses and nursing. The absence of male roles in nursing served to make "nurse" synonymous with "female" in this medium. The extensive exploitation of nurses as sex objects (the combined "medium" and "strong" categories in Figure 1 represent 73% of the motion picture nurses) is an insult to the profession.

Since the early 1960s, the motion picture image of the nurse as sex object has increased in frequency and intensity to the point that it now assumes the character of a damaging stereotype.

During previous decades (1930s–1950s), nurse characters were treated quite differently. Far from identifying the character as a sex object, a nursing career served to label the character as disciplined, noble, and virtuous. This image was particularly clear when the nurse served in the military. Nurse Brooke Elliott (played by Anna Lee) in the 1942 picture, *Flying Tigers*, provides an example of the standard characterization of the nurse prior to 1960. Working in a military unit in China at the outbreak of World War II, Nurse Elliott clearly served as a model of upstanding American womanhood. The near-angelic innocence projected by this character was in large part, a function of her well scrubbed appearance, her white uniform, her tender ministrations to orphaned Chinese children, and the fact that she was loved by John Wayne. Nurse Elliott was proud of her profession and honored by all her comrades in arms.

During the 1960s and 1970s, nurse characters were often presented as sexual mascots for the medical team. Director Robert Altman's 1970 black comedy *M*A*S*H*, a film about the antics of surgeons and nurses in a Mobile Army Surgical Hospital during the Korean conflict provides an excellent example of the denigration of the nurse. The most well-known nurse character, Hot Lips (played by Sally Kellerman), was the object of the most blatant disregard for the dignity and value of the nurses working in the unit. Despite the fact that the physicians believed her to be a good surgical nurse, her obsession with militarism and efficiency earned her the extreme dislike of the "good guy" physicians, such as Hawkeye (Donald Sutherland). Her behavior rendered her unworthy of sharing Hawkeye's bed and thus he had no further use for her. The epitome of the film's concept of "a good nurse" was exemplified by another sexually attractive and willing nurse found calmly in bed with the commanding officer.

An even more bitter image of nursing was found in Joseph Heller's amorphous, surrealistic, satirical antiwar film *Catch 22*. The nurses contributed to the film's overall premise that military institutions are meaningless at best and life-denying and vicious at worst. The only scene of nurses delivering professional nursing care occurred in an army hospital. Two shapely nurses with skin-tight, abbreviated uniforms and elaborate make-up casually hung a full urine bottle as an intravenous fluid container. The nurses' hardened sexuality, their whispering gossip, and their total indifference to their patient all underscored the film's negative perception of the nursing

profession. Even the nurses' sexuality, their most obvious feature, was developed to reveal their lack of warmth and generosity. An amorous patient received repetitive kicks in the groin from sexy Nurse Duckett (Paula Prentiss), who tantalized the lustful pilot but felt no response to his lovemaking. The nurses were contrasted unfavorably with a more sympathetic group of Italian whores who represented a coarse but real haven for the men by providing the only natural comfort available in an insane world.

During the 1970s, a most disturbing phenomenon emerged. Although many nurse characters had high Index scores, there was a group with extremely low scores, and there were few scores between the extremes. Unfortunately, the nurses with low Sex Object Index scores did not replicate the pre-1960s nurse image. Rather, they were cruel and abrasive nurses who held positions of power that permitted free reign to their abominable behavior. The widely acclaimed Nurse Ratched (played by Louise Fletcher) in the 1975 film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* was perhaps the most obvious example. A cold, sexless man-hater, Ratched hid whatever vestiges of sexuality that existed behind her outdated coiffure, starched uniform, and stern deportment. However, despite the existence of the sadistic nurse stereotype, the sexy playmate stereotype has dominated the motion picture image of nursing during the past 20 years.

The findings related to the importance of nursing in the plot and in character development are somewhat more encouraging. Although most important nurse characters were treated as sex objects, the presence of professional nursing activities as a prominent theme in either the plot or in character development counteracted negative sexual stereotyping. The relatively low incidence of the portrayal of nurses as sex objects in the more serious entertainment films, such as biographical, historical, and religious types as opposed to comedy, horror, adventure, romance, and other fantasy films, may also lessen the damage to nursing's professional image. One would hope that audiences would place less credence on the image of nursing presented in films that do not claim to reflect reality. Unfortunately, nurses were more likely to appear in fantasy films during the last 20 years (40%) than during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s (18%). Constant repetition of the negative stereotypes in the large number of fantasy and comedy pictures during the 1960s and 1970s may well have rendered the fiction about nurses believable.

Despite the prevalent image of the nurse as a

sex object, the embryo of a more honest reflection of professional nursing can be found in the motion picture data as a whole. Motion pictures that made a serious attempt to include professional nursing as a major element of plot or character development usually avoided sexual innuendo. Excellent portrayals of nurses may be found in pre-1960 Hollywood features. For example, a dramatic account of the work of Elizabeth Kenny, an Australian nurse who pioneered a new method for the treatment of polio victims, was released as a major motion picture in 1946. The story of Florence Nightingale was featured in two motion pictures, *White Angel* in 1936 and *Lady With A Lamp* in 1951. In *White Witch Doctor* released in 1953, a nurse is seen surmounting great odds and personal hardship to bring health care to a tribe of natives in the African jungle. A brutally realistic portrayal of a nurse was found in the 1971 anti-war picture, *Johnny Got His Gun*. This was a surrealistic account of a World War I soldier who lost his arms, legs, sight, hearing, and speech in battle but who was kept alive by military physicians for experimental purposes. Johnny's nurse never lost sight of her patient's humanity. She cared for him, eased his pain, and finally helped him to find a way to communicate.

Films that emphasized nursing care may have avoided stereotyping nurses as sex objects because the image of a serious professional is incompatible with the image of a flighty sex object. If the motion picture industry insists upon negatively stereotyping nurses, the nursing profession should make an effort to ensure that inaccuracies are recognized for what they are—unfair attacks on a professional group which contributes much to the public welfare.

Implications for Nursing

Just as Blacks have attacked the "Amos and Andy" and "Superspade" mode of presentation, Hispanics have opposed the "sneaky Mexican" and "Latin lover" depictions, Native American Indians have countered the "dumb Indian" and "Tonto" portrayals, and Italians the "Godfather" and "underworld czar" stereotypes, so must nurses protest their portrayal in motion pictures as sexually promiscuous and unprofessional people. Several potential strategies are available to counter this alarming trend.

Nurses must first develop media awareness groups so they can gather information and act collectively. Whether they are at national, state, or local levels, these groups should carry out a

number of functions, including monitoring and reacting to the media and fostering a more positive nurse image. The systematic monitoring of motion pictures as they are released is one important element of this activity. The basic question to ask when viewing a motion picture is whether nursing is being conveyed in a constructive or destructive manner. More specific to the subject of this paper is the question: "Are film nurses portrayed as sex objects or referred to in sexually demeaning terms?"

The second strategy involves an active response to film portrayal of nurses and nursing. This is accomplished by writing letters to distributors, producers, directors, actors, and actresses, not only to protest negative portrayals but also to commend positive depictions. To assure a large response from nurses, a media watch news letter is needed to keep nurses informed of specific media portrayal problems and the appropriate actions that may be necessary.

Many poorly depicted groups picket motion picture theaters, hoping that the public will take note of their dissatisfaction and not cross the picket line to see the film. This approach has been used effectively both to deter attendance and to gain news media publicity about the source of the discontent. This strategy was employed recently by nursing students at the University of Pennsylvania in protest of a campus showing of the film, *The Student Nurses*:

"Elissa Ladd is a student nurse, and something told her an R-rated movie called *The Student Nurses* definitely would not be a sober documentary. So Ladd went to see the film at the University of Pennsylvania's Irvine Auditorium on Saturday night. She cringed when this line cropped up in the 1970 movie, which chronicles the lives and loves of several young women who attend what can generously be described as nursing school: 'We hear that you cater to more than just your patients.' And, (spoken by a psychiatrist who, in the movie, is looking to hire a nurse): 'We'll be needing a girl. You'd be a great addition to the decor.' Another low point for Ladd, a senior at U of P's School of Nursing, came when two men wearing uniforms from the Nursing School walked into the auditorium. 'They walked down the aisle and started to take their clothes off,' Ladd said last night. It was not known whether they finished. The film's screening was preceded by about a month of controversy generated by Nursing School students, with faculty and student organizations joining in as Saturday drew nearer. A Nursing School poll found that 94% of the students there objected to *Student Nurses*. Students and professors wrote letters to the university's student newspaper, the *Daily Pennsylvanian*. An advertise-

ment in the paper said the movie was "an irresponsible selection of entertainment for the university community." And finally, about 35 professors and students, some from the Nursing School, protested quietly outside Irvine on Saturday night. The demonstrators carried signs, one of which read, "Nurses Are With You From Birth To Death" (Penn student nurses, Note 4, p. A4).

In addition to monitoring and reacting to film portrayals of nurses and nursing, an active campaign is needed to improve the existing negative stereotypic image. Consultation services from nursing associations should be extended free of charge to the media industry. Such services would allow the nursing profession to achieve greater input into film production as the films are being developed. Awards of recognition should be given to producers, actresses, and actors who portray positive images of nurses and nursing; this has been a routine policy in other professional groups such as medicine. Talented nurse authors should also be encouraged to write scripts or novels which may later be developed into motion pictures about nursing. Nursing offers a vast potential of creative and exciting subject matter, and this is largely untapped. The impact of a popular author who is also a nurse was demonstrated in the earlier part of this century through the work of Mary Roberts Rinehart, R.N., the all-time best selling American author. Her novels, many of which developed into early motion pictures, presented the nurse as an intelligent and essential health care professional.

The need for intervention by nursing groups is great, as the acute nursing shortage may relate to the absence of attractive nurse role models in the media. Films provide young women and men with few nurse images to emulate and offer few positive images of nursing for the public and policy makers to respect. Only when Hollywood discontinues the depiction of nurses as unprofessional and mere sex objects will public attitudes change. Nurses will then secure a greater share of the scarce health care resources that are essential to improve the quantity and quality of nursing services.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. *The New York Times Film Review, 1913-1979* (12 vols.). New York: The New York Times and Arno Press, 1968-1980.
2. *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures, 1961-1970* (2 vols.). New York & London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1976.
3. Kalisch, B., & Kalisch, P. *Image of the Nurse in*

- the Mass Media. Technical report, Ann Arbor: School of Nursing, University of Michigan, 1981.
4. Penn student nurses call skin flick sick. *Philadelphia Daily News*, October 22, 1979, p. A4.

REFERENCES

- Barris, A. *Stop the Presses: The newspaperman in American films*. South Brunswick & New York: A.S. Barnes, 1976.
- Bataille, G., & Silet, C. (Eds.). *The pretend Indians*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. *The social construction of reality*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday-Anchor, 1967.
- Cripps, T. *Slow fade to black: The Negro in American film, 1900-1942*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Croce, M. *Condizionamenti sociali attraverso tecniche cinematografiche: Determinazione dell'Effetto 'Power' di proiezioni filmiche*. *Contributi dell'Istituto di Psicologia*, 1967, 28, 173-177.
- Gerbner, G. *Mass communications and popular conceptions of education: A cross-cultural study* (Cooperative Research Project Technical Report, No. 876). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of HEW, Office of Education, 1964.
- Haskell, M. *From reverence to rape: The treatment of women in the movies*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973.
- Kalisch, B., Kalisch, P., & McHugh, M. Content analysis of film stereotypes of nurses. *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 1980, 3, 531-558.
- Mapp, C. *The portrayal of the Negro in American motion pictures, 1962-1968* (Doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1970).
- Dissertation Abstracts International*, 1970, 31, 1929A-3092A. (University Microfilms No. 70-21, 137).
- Nunnally, J. *Psychometric Theory* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978.
- Peter, J. Reliability: A review of psychometric basics and percent marketing practices. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1979, 16, 6-17.
- Pettit, A. *Images of the Mexican American in fiction and film*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1980.
- Rosen, M. *Popcorn Venus: Women, movies and the American dream*. New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, 1973.
- Schiller, P. *Effects of mass media on the sexual behavior of adolescent females* (U.S. Commission on Obscenity and Pornography Technical Report Vol. 1). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.
- Snedecor, G., & Cochran, W. *Statistical methods*. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1967.
- Stoddard, K. *The image of the aging woman in American popular film* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1980). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 1980, 41, 2328A-2801A. (University Microfilms No. 80-27, 143).
- Statistical Research Laboratory. *Elementary statistics using MIDAS* (2nd ed.). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1976.
- Worchel, S. The effect of films on the importance of behavioral freedom. *Journal of Personality*, 1972, 40, 417-433.
- Worden, J. *The portrayal of the protestant minister in American motion pictures, 1951-1960, and its implications for the church today* (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 1962). *Dissertation Abstracts*, 1962, 23, 1137-1464. (University Microfilms No. 62-04, 528).