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Foreword

The University Honors Committee is pleased to present the 1996-97 Student Honors Research Bulletin. Representing several colleges and departments, the papers are delightfully eclectic. Indeed, they provide readers with what amounts to a tantalizing smorgasbord: from an examination of “piano girls” in nineteenth-century England to an examination of the marketing of cigarettes to youth, from a look at the use of sexually explicit language to express anger and aggression to a look at violence in television news. The four papers on violence by Joseph Ellis, Sarah Marx, Kristen Miller, and Carrie Shaw were all written for Honors English 300 taught by Pat Carr.

The quality of research and level of writing truly make these essays models of sustained undergraduate scholarship. We salute the student authors and commend the instructors who encouraged them. A special note of thanks is due Lisa Beaty, who saw the manuscripts through to publication.

Faculty are encouraged to nominate and students are cordially invited to submit papers—along with the appropriate WordPerfect document on diskette—by May 16, 1997, for the 1997-98 edition of the Bulletin. All submissions are welcomed and will be given careful attention.

Sam McFarland & Walker Rutledge
Co-Editors
In the darkness of Gateshead Hall a young Jane Eyre listens rapturously to Bessie’s “details of certain accomplishments attained” by the young ladies of wealthy families. “She boasted of beautiful paintings of landscapes and flowers by them executed; of songs they could sing and pieces they could play, of purses they could net, of French books they could translate” until Jane’s heart beats fervently, filled with a longing to join these young ladies in their list of endless accomplishments. Jane views an education, which includes the learning of these ladylike skills, as “an entrance into a new life.” For Jane, education offers escape from the foreboding mansion in which she is imprisoned, which functions as the symbol of a paternalistic society for the fatherless child.

For the Victorian girl, the learning of accomplishments functioned as a ticket to the “Real Life,” a life apart from the stifling paternal watchdog. While girls waited for their lives to begin (usually through marriage), they were allowed to cultivate these accomplishments, their passports to another world. Who were these ladies that Bessie describes to Jane? What were their lives of waiting for marriage like? A large portion of their lives was spent cultivating accomplishments, patiently awaiting the day they might be swept away from their father’s realm—to be reinstalled in the realm of a husband. Passages from nineteenth-century literature reveal the importance of musical accomplishment for women; the impact of sexual stereotypes on nineteenth-century music, especially the association with music and the feminine; the implied restrictions placed on musical women who wished to remain “genteel”; and the value of music as an accomplishment with its impending social value.

As Jo McMurry suggests, the purpose of learning accomplishments for the Victorian girl was threefold: 1. To help her catch a husband, 2. To entertain her husband after they married, and 3. To enable her to become a governess if her season proved unfruitful (190). Although Jane Eyre has no choice in the matter of becoming a governess because she is a penniless orphan, heroines such as Gwendolyn Harleth in Daniel Deronda may consider utilizing their musical talents by becoming governesses to the children of the wealthy. From an early age, girls were taught a multitude of accomplishments; whether a girl decided to marry or become a governess, her treasured accomplishments would never lie fallow. Foremost in the taxonomy of accomplishments was music; although there were other accomplishments, including drawing, painting, “fancy work,” and other forms of light sewing, music was most favored, because “it could be shown off best while actually being accomplished” (Loesser 268).

Adele, Mr. Rochester’s young French ward in Jane Eyre, is eager—at the tender age of eight—to display her various accomplishments for her governess. Since she has finished her breakfast, Jane allows her “to give a specimen of her accomplishments” (Bronte 94); Adele sings a tuneful canzonette, recites verses, and then asks if Jane would like to see her dance. Although this example may be a bit extreme, it is true that girls began their musical instruction at a tender age. Most girls were led to the keyboard by their parents and
practiced their skills one hour daily; after the age of nine, another hour was added to the daily practice litany (Huneker 289). In Chapter 18 of *Emma*, the heroine regards her own musical skills as inferior after hearing more accomplished ladies than herself at a party; Austen tells the reader that “[Emma] did most heartily grieve over the idleness of her childhood and sat down and practiced vigorously an hour and a half” (qtd. in Loesser 274).

As George Eliot remarks in *Middlemarch* when Celia is playing an air with variations, piano playing was “a small kind of tinkling which symbolized the aesthetic part of the young ladies’ education...” (38). At times, such attention was paid to the “aesthetic” part of a girl’s education that lessons in geography, grammar, and arithmetic were left neglected and undone. These subjects were tossed aside as bookish trifles; practicing music, singing, and dancing were much more necessary to the aspiring young gentlewoman. An extreme specimen of the nominal studier is Ginevra Fanshawe, the insouciant coquette in Charlotte Bronte’s *Villette*. Miss Ginevra, extremely accomplished, neglects her practical studies in favor of the learning of drawing room skills: “I have had a continental education, and though I can’t spell, I have abundant accomplishments” (137).

Although it was favorable to be accomplished, it would never do to be too accomplished in music. To play a little was deemed appropriate and ladylike; to play too well would invite criticism and scorn. An example can be taken from this scene between Jane and her employer, Mr. Rochester, in which he interrogates Jane as to the nature of her education:

“And what did you learn at Lowood?
Can you play?”
“A little.”

“Of course: that is the established answer.”

[At this point in the dialogue, Jane gives a sampling of her talents for her employer.]

“You play a little, I see; like any other English schoolgirl; perhaps rather better than some, but not well” (115).

The rise of the piano in the nineteenth century did much to increase the accessibility of music to countless seasons of budding “piano girls.” The introduction of the upright cottage piano (Pearsall 74)—more cheaply manufactured than the concert grand—made music easily accessible for domestic use to all but the impecunious. The piano became an essential commodity of the leisure classes, especially for women; it was viewed as a reflection of social status and eventually evolved into a necessary vehicle in Victorian society.

James Huneker, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, flipantly remarks that the harp “went out with Byronic prose” (290). He points out that the harp was bothersome in that it must always be kept carefully tuned, whereas the piano is “the only instrument that can be played upon with favorable results when it is out of tune” (290). Huneker also claims, in cynical retrospect, that the cottage piano usurped the harp’s position as the favored instrument, because the piano was cheaper and also a more useful piece of furniture: “for atop a piano may be placed anything, from a bonnet to an ice-cream freezer”(290).

The intuitive parents cleverly latched onto this wondrous social tool and created veritable slaves of the keyboard, dragging their daughters daily to the instrument (Huneker 289). The daughters complied, knowing that the possession of accomplishments might enable their passage into the Real Life through
marriage. However, some girls found no joy in furthering their musical talents; for example, Catherine Moorland in Northanger Abbey abhors her musical studies. Eventually, her mother kindly allows her daughter to give them up; Austen tells the reader that "The day which dismissed the music-master was one of the happiest of Catherine's life" (2).

More often than not, this aforementioned music-master was of foreign origin--imported into England for the sole purpose of instructing young ladies. This stereotype of the foreign music-master is described by Huneker as the "stern Alberich, who pocketed the hoard of their fathers and rapped their cold, thin, and despairing fingers with a lead pencil--one usually "made in Germany"" (289). Although this picture may be greatly exaggerated by an overtly cynical Huneker, the feeling was quite strong and was even transplanted to the United States as well. In a story in Godey's Lady's Book (popular handbook clutched by fashionable ladies) titled "Amelia," Mrs. Gillingham puts a damper on Amelia's plans to teach: "Foreigners are always preferred as music teachers, and very justly. No genteel people ever have their children taught music by girls of one's own country" (qtd. in Koza 117).

The stereotype of the foreign musician appears quite frequently in the annals of nineteenth-century literature; as Mary Burgan points out, "musically gifted villains from such foreboding places as 'the East' and the Mediterranean show up in Wilkie Collins' Woman in White" (69). Similarly, in DuMaurier's Trilby, the Jewish Svengali transforms a tone-deaf girl into a magnificent singer through the employment of hypnotism (McMurty 79). The Jewish music-master turns up again in Eliot's Daniel Deronda in the form of Klesmer--Yiddish for "musician" (Burgan 74)--whose "villainy" is centered in his scathing accusations of Gwendolyn Harleth's mediocrity in music.

Another example of the popular aversion to foreign musicians exists in the character of Otto Radowitz in Mary Ward's post-Victorian novel Lady Connie. Otto, a talented young pianist who has come to England to study music at Oxford, is thoroughly despised by his peers--to the point of persecution. Because he doesn't fit the folkview of the "proper" Victorian gentleman, he is seen by his peers of Oxford as eccentric and nothing more than "a silly, affected creature--half a Pole" (78). In the words of Falloden, his main persecutor, "His music is an infernal nuisance in college. We shall suppress it and him some day" (78). Otto's music and eccentricity are so despised by the "bloods" of Oxford that they seek various methods of suppressing his musical activity. The culmination of Falloden's attempts to stifle the unfortunate Otto's musicalness leaves him maimed and unable to play after a courtyard brawl.

Otto, as a foreigner, may have been despised because he was not crafted of the same mold used for the Victorian gentleman. He is hated more for his eccentricity as a musician than he is hated for being a foreigner; as Falloden proposes, "he plays too well for a gentleman" (Ward 111). Otto typifies the stereotype of the male musician: he is foreign and eccentric and therefore not typical of the Victorian gentleman.

Although piano lessons played an integral role in the education of young ladies (Koza 103), piano lessons were not included in the curriculum for boys. In the essay Some Thoughts Concerning Education, the social philosopher John Locke rejects musical training for young men:

But [music] wastes so much of a young Man's time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it; and engages often
in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared: And I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard anyone commended, or esteemed for having an Excellency in Musick [sic], that amongst all those things, that ever came into the List of Accomplishment, I think I may give it the last place (253).

A presence of artistic ability in the Victorian boy was regarded by all as a harbinger of eccentricity (Nelson 548), the presence of which might threaten the child's passage into proper Victorian manhood.

Historically, music has generally been regarded as a pastime of women and not of men; music was to be learned by women in order to please men—to charm them during courtship and soothe them after marriage. Even Rousseau rejects musical training for young men, insisting that woman was for music born:

I am aware that strict tutors are opposed to teaching young girls singing, dancing, or any of the agreeable accomplishments. This is absurd. Who then is to learn them? Boys? For whom are these arts more important, for men or for women? (225)

Overall, Victorian society rejected piano playing for gentlemen (Burgan 60). Gentlemen did not play the piano, that task being reserved for ladies; for men, any serious interest in music was thought effeminate as well as impractical (Temperley 18). This British prejudice against male musicians is reflected in the scant handful of native musicians drafted by nineteenth-century writers of fiction: most of these characters were generally schoolmasters or clergymen, previously noted for their proclivity toward eccentricity (Burgan 58). For example, Mr. Collins, the obsequious clergymen of Pride and Prejudice, admits that he considers "music to be a very innocent diversion . . . perfectly compatible with the profession of a clergymen" (Austen 91). Schoolmasters, as well as clergymen, were far more likely to take up music as a hobby than other men of the period. For instance, the schoolmaster of Jude the Obscure packs up to leave Marygreen, taking everything save his cumbersome "cottage piano that he had bought at an auction during the year in which he thought of learning instrumental music" (Hardy 9). However, when Fred Vincy (neither clergymen nor schoolmaster) begins to play upon his flute, his sister Rosamond urges him to stop. She exclaims, quite exasperatedly, "'Really, Fred, I wish you would leave off playing the flute. A man looks very silly playing the flute.'" (Middlemarch: Book I: p. 92).

Just as Fred Vincy is faced with derision when he plays an "unmasculine" instrument, various unwritten restrictions greeted the female who wished to pursue music as an exercise in self-improvement and accomplishment. For example, women were limited in the number of instruments on which they were allowed to play, some being thought too masculine (except in the lowest social strata) (Burgan 65). The most typical female instrument was the piano, but women occasionally played the harp or the guitar. On the other hand, men were free to choose from a wide assortment of "masculine" instruments, selected from the "orchestral string and woodwind families" (Koza 107). In today's society, it is frustrating to think that in this unenlightened period of history even musical instruments were categorized according to a biased gender association. If the range of instruments on which a woman might play seems confined, her repertoire was equally
limited in scope. Women were expected only to play simplistic parlor music embellished with ornaments for “lighthearted husband-hunters” (Burgan 65), simple ballads and sacred songs, and watered-down versions of the Masters’ more difficult compositions (Burgan 57).

To venture beyond this narrow list of acceptable repertoire would invite suspicion and ultimately criticism and scorn. Female musicians were never expected to progress beyond amateur musicianship; Nicholas Tenperley explains that “women might pursue music as an accomplishment, but it was taken for granted that they were incapable of any serious attainment, particularly as composers” (18).

The horrid truth of this last statement echoes through the biography of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-47), equally talented sister of Felix Mendelssohn. Due to societal and family restrictions (especially those of her father, Abraham), her full musical development as a composer was never realized. Extracts from correspondence of Fanny’s father illustrate her plight concerning her inhibited situation:

**Abraham Mendelssohn to his daughter Fanny:**

*Paris, July 16, 1820*

*What you wrote to me about your musical occupations with reference to and in comparison with Felix was both rightly thought and expressed. Music will perhaps become his profession, whilst for you it can and must be an ornament, never the root of your being and doing* . . .

*November 14, 1828*

*You must become more steady and collected, and prepare more earnestly and eagerly for your real calling, the only calling of a young woman—I mean the state of a housewife. (qd. in Neuls-Bates 143)*

In another letter, satirically drafted and printed in a popular magazine of the century⁵, one “mother” wrote to her daughter’s pedagogue implicitly stating her request that her daughter not transcend the boundaries of amateur musicianship:

**Dear Sir:**

While I do not like to dictate to you concerning my daughter’s musical situation, feeling how entirely competent you are to direct it, yet I beg to remind you of a fact which I first expressed, if you will remember, in our first interview, viz.: that I do not care to make of my daughter a professional player, but only wish to have her accomplished for the high society in which it is my desire and intention she shall move . . . (extracted from Neuls-Bates 179-180)

Music was not to be pursued professionally by women; its practice was only considered acceptable in a domestic setting.

If there is any question why ladies labored at accomplishments, there can be no doubt as to the hoped-for pinnacle of the accomplished girl, as Thackeray illuminates for the already knowing reader:

What causes [young people] to labour at pianoforte sonatas, and to learn four songs from a fashionable master at a guinea a lesson, and to play the harp if they have handsome arms and neat elbows...but that they may bring down some “desirable” young man with those killing bows and arrows of theirs? (*Vanity Fair*; III: p.32)

As Jenni Calder explains, there were only “two alternatives open to the well-bred middle-class young woman: to be either a wife or a daughter” (53). It was certainly
better to be anyone’s wife than someone’s daughter; with marriage came a certain, if limited, independence. A woman’s life began with marriage; marriage became the nineteenth-century ultimatum. Therefore most women willingly did anything to captivate and please men, thereby increasing their chances of a good match. Girlhood was a time for cultivating accomplishments—a time to pound through the chords of “The Battle of Prague” and a time to net purses—hoping to please the fancy of a fairytale prince who might sweep her away from her father’s castle and install her in his own. In fact, the education of women revolved primarily around men: girls learned music and other accomplishments to please men: to fascinate them during courtship and soothe them after marriage. Rousseau, in his treatise upon education, provides his opinions of what the aim of women’s education should be:

Thus the whole education of women should be to please men. To please them, to be useful to them, to win their love and esteem...to advise and console them, and to make life sweet and pleasant to them; these are the duties of women at all times, and what they ought to learn from infancy. (221)

The ideal of the “perfect” woman, the pleasing husband-soother, seems to reach fulfillment in the character of Rosamond Lydgate (nee Vincy) who “appears to be that perfect piece of womanhood who would reverence her husband’s mind after the fashion of an accomplished mermaid, using her comb and looking glass and singing her song for the relaxation of his adored wisdom alone” (Eliot, Middlemarch: Book 6: Ch 58: p. 531). The idea of the soothing pleaser of men surfaces again in Chapter 26 of David Copperfield. Dora plays guitar for a weary David Copperfield and sings for him “enchanted ballads in the French language, generally to the effect that, whatever was the matter, we ought always to dance, Ta-ra-la, Ta-ra-la” (Dickens 393).

Rosamond’s husband Lydgate, who “gave adornment the first place among wifely functions” (Kirkland 9), does not find Dorothea nearly as pleasing as his own adoring wife, because she is not a bit coquettish or filigreed–unlike her foil, Rosamond. Unlike Rosamond, Dorothea does not “look at things from the proper feminine angle” (Book I: Ch.11: p. 85); Dorothea is incapable of providing a husband “with sweet laughs for bird-notes” (85), suitable reclining environment for the properly adored husband. For Mr. Chicely, Dorothea is also found lacking, because she dresses too simply for his tastes; there is no filigree about her, nor is she concerned enough with pleasing men (Book I: Ch.10: p. 79). If Dorothea fails to please, as the less than perfect specimen of ideal womanhood, what was it that attracted the Victorian gentleman? Certainly being accomplished heightened one’s chances of being included among the ranks of notable wives (such as Rosamond); accomplishments afforded interest and provided a vehicle for showcasing one’s talents in a discreet and modest fashion, both essential attributes for the character of a proper lady. In Pride and Prejudice, Mr. Bingley assists Mr. Darcy in his rather stringent definition of the truly accomplished lady, telling his sister, Caroline, and Elizabeth Bennet that “‘no one can be really esteemed accomplished, who does not greatly surpass what is usually met with. A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages, to deserve the word...’” (Austen 34).

To be considered accomplished, which
every lady fancied herself to be, meant a great deal; the "market-oriented" education entailed the learning of drawing-room skills, which played an active role in attracting a suitable husband. As Mary Burgan explains, “piano expertise was a commodity in the marriage market” (61); therefore, the link between music and courtship was quite strong: “attracting a suitable mate, marrying happily, and raising a family were the most important endeavors a woman could undertake” (Koza 111). The most common environment for music-making in the nineteenth century was the courtship scene; musical performances (perhaps deceptively innocuous elicitations of romance) created an occasion for young women to be noticed by potential suitors (Koza 109). Although the proper Victorian lady could never “run” at men, she was allowed to display her attributes and talents and hope someone might notice. Although the stated purpose was to entertain, the end result managed to be a bit more “expressive” in nature.

Employing music as a courtship vehicle lent itself as the perfect opportunity for the husband-hunting lady to showcase herself. Blanche Ingram, the coquettish tease in Jane Eyre, takes full command of the courtship scene--gleaning from the situation every possible advantage:

Miss Ingram, who had now seated herself with proud grace at the piano, spreading out her snowy robes in queenly amplitude, commenced a brilliant prelude; talking meantime.

(Bronte 168)

After the conclusion of her “brilliant” exhibition, Blanche engages Mr. Rochester in a teasing tete a tete as she continues to tinkle at the piano. She proceeds to command Mr. Rochester to sing while she provides accompaniment; Mr. Rochester--pretending to be smitten--assures Blanche that he is “all obedience,” for “commands from Miss Ingram’s lips would put spirit into a jug of milk and water” (168). Although this little scene may appear a trifle affected and perhaps rather disgusting for the modern reader, it is important to remember that music afforded an alibi for men and unmarried women to engage in intimate dialogue, without being accused of impropriety.

Husband-hunting was a family business; as Thackeray tells his reader in Vanity Fair, “the task of husband-hunting is generally, and with becoming modesty, entrusted by young persons to their mammamas” (32). Mothers were more than eager to see their daughters married and established in a house of paternalism much like their own; it naturally followed that whenever company arrived in the form of young, eligible gentlemen, the wily mother dragged her daughter(s) to the instrument (some unwillingly) so they might put to use the arduously gained accomplishments.

When Roger and Osborne Hamley arrive at Mrs. Gibson’s dinner party (Elizabeth Gaskell: Wives and Daughters), Mrs. Gibson is eager to showcase the talents of both her daughter and stepdaughter (for she insists upon her impartiality) and urges them to play for her callers. Her daughter, Cynthia, is perfectly suited for this form of display, as Gaskell tells the reader:

Cynthia’s playing and singing was light and graceful, but anything but correct, but she herself was so charming, that it was only fanatics for music who cared for false chords and omitted notes. (311)

After all, it wouldn’t do to be too accomplished; the point was to entertain and charm--no one expected anything beyond the skill of an amateur.

Unlike the flippant Cynthia, her serious
stepsister, Molly, has an “excellent ear” (311) and has reached a higher level of technical skill through her diligent practicing. However, she is extremely shy and loathes playing in company; when she is forced to perform against her will, she muddles through her performance ungracefully, “[hating] her handiwork more than anyone” (311). Her stepmother will not relent, though Molly looks up at her “with beseeching eyes,” and commands her to play “that beautiful piece of Kalkbrenner’s” (312). The unfortunate Molly, unable to disobey her stepmother, has no other choice but to sit down to her martyrdom.

Julia Koza calls musical accomplishments “passports to consideration for young women,” chances for even a poor girl to attract a rich and handsome husband (111). As Burgan states, “girls labored and wept over the pianoforte” (60), and there was at least one struggling pianist in every middle-class household. The untalented but overly eager Mary Bennet of Pride and Prejudice provides the perfect example of one who pursues music as a vehicle for social success:

[Elizabeth’s] performance was pleasing, though by no means capital. After a song or two, and before she could reply to the entreaties of several that she would sing again, she was eagerly succeeded at the instrument by her sister Mary, who having, in consequence of being the only plain one in the family, worked hard for knowledge and accomplishments, was always impatient for display. (20)

Music elevates character and provides a focal point of interest for an ordinary girl who might otherwise have escaped notice. Without her music, Lucy Honeychurch is an ordinary individual: “...Miss Honeychurch, disjoined from her music-stool, was only a young lady with a quantity of dark hair and a very pretty, pale, underdeveloped face” (Forster: A Room with a View: p.33). In Gaskell’s tale of ordinary working-class laborers Mary Barton, Margaret (without her music) is only a poor blind girl, unnoticed by the handsome sailor, Will. However, she becomes beautiful and enticing when the young Will hears her incredible singing voice. Eventually the two marry, proving that even a plain girl could hope to marry favorably through the aid of beautifying music.

These skills acquired during girlhood were far from forgotten after courtship; in fact, these same accomplishments would also prove to be useful after the woman married, serving her well for the rest of her life. For the “superior classes” a certain well-sustained idleness was synonymous with gentility, and the gentry certainly played their part in keeping up appearances. As Alfred Loesser explains, “the lord and master of a house understood that the idleness of his wife and daughters was a necessary feature of his status as a gentleman” (267). However, to be simply idle was seen as a negative state of being; it was far more ladylike and becoming to continue the cultivation of accomplishments than merely lounge on the divan. And so the lady of leisure calls again upon her previous interests, however “uselessly pretty” they may be (Loesser 267).

An example of the lady of leisure presents itself in the character of the eternally lounging Lady Bertram of Mansfield Park; Austen describes Lady Bertram as “a woman who spent her days in sitting nicely dressed on a sofa, doing some long piece of needlework, of little use and no beauty...” (55). Her languor is a reflection of her gentility and station; like most “genteel” women she is most likely occupied with busywork (even if the activity in question is not particularly useful). Most of Austen’s heroines, states Calder, rarely
experience boredom and never fall prey to the dangers of “empty hands” syndrome (56). They are always readily employed in the womanly vocations of needlework, sketching, music, or visiting (Calder 56); they have mastered the fine art of utilizing music and other accomplishments pour passer le temps without appearing to be too busy—which might jeopardize their assumed aura of gentility.

The poorer classes despised these ladies of leisure, and they viewed the rich as a lazy, useless, and frivolous breed. In Mary Barton, Mary’s father forbids her to learn to play the piano for fear she will become “a do-nothing lady, worrying shopmen all morning, and screeching at her pianiny all afternoon, and going to bed without having done a good turn to any one of God’s creatures but herself” (44).

With marriage, true of both the middle classes and the landed gentry, came an accompanying boredom—a spirit of ennui descended upon the lady of the house. Although this appearance of unabated leisure seemed to be welcomed with open arms by the superior classes, middle-class women were not always so receptive nor willing to surrender to a life of vacuity. For these women, music and other accomplishments had a much stronger function in their lives; music was not merely a pretty way of engaging the hands but a way to engage the mind as well. Music was a pleasurable entertainment that could fill the long, solitary hours of vigil kept during the woman’s career as the angel at her hearthdom.

As John Gregory states in his 1774 work, A Father’s Legacy to His Daughters, the purpose of women being taught music and similar accomplishments was “to enable [women] to fill up, in a tolerably agreeable way, some of the many solitary hours [women] must necessarily pass at home” (qtd. in Calder p. 20). It would seem that the ultimate fate of married life, for women, was a lifetime of boredom; Eliot sums up Victorian womanhood in her last novel, Daniel Deronda:

We women can’t go in search of adventures...We must stay where we grow, or where the gardeners like to transplant us. We are brought up like the flowers, to look as pretty as we can, and be dull without complaining. That is my notion about the plants: they are often bored, and that is the reason why some of them have got poisonous. (99)

In this interesting image of woman’s lot in life, woman is portrayed as a flower—planted in the garden of her husband, the “gardener.” Unlike the gardener, a wife was rarely given permission to actively cultivate anything; she was not allowed to participate in any noble occupations such as independent work or learning. The exception, of course, was the permission society bestowed upon women everywhere, enabling them to cultivate music, painting, and other less than gymnastic activities. Some women rejected this notion of an uneventful, sedentary life—a life spent relegated to the cultivation of accomplishments and nothing more. Jane Eyre, for example, in a revolt against the futility of drawing-room skills, cries passionately that

it is narrow-minded...to say that [women] ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex. (Bronte 101)
“Custom,” an important concept in the Victorian realm, slowly began to slip away with the end of the nineteenth century. When Queen Victoria’s son, Edward, took the throne in 1901, the old system had begun to relax a bit as a new era of history was dawning. No longer were women confined exclusively to the role of drawing-room musician; Lucy Honeychurch in *A Room with a View* plays Beethoven sonatas (scandalous repertoire indeed) for an appreciative Mr. Beebe in their Italian pension; later, she even dares to venture out alone, unchaperoned! Times were changing; Huneker, writing in the midst of this change in thought, assessed the situation accurately (if somewhat cynically) when he wrote this in the first decade of the twentieth century:

> And now at the beginning of the century the girls who devote time to the keyboard merely for the purpose of social display are almost as rare as the lavender water ladies of morbid sensibilities in the Richardson and Fielding novels. (286)

The piano girl was slowly becoming extinct, and the idea of music as nothing more than an accomplishment was quickly decaying. Soon women would be able to explore all aspects of music seriously (as well as diligently), unhindered by the limitations and restrictions of society.

**Notes**

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Chapter 22, “Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel”

**Works Cited**


Kirkland, Vicki L. “George Eliot and the


It was about eight in the evening on the tenth of December, 1992, when the four-vehicle convoy made its way quickly but cautiously through the narrow streets of northeastern Mogadishu. No Marines had been in this part of the city during the day, let alone in the dead of night, so navigation was a bit of a problem, and since we were near the “green line” that divided the warring factions of Mohammed Farah Aidual and Ali Mahdi Mohammed, tensions ran high. On this particular night, which was our second in Somalia, our mission was to transport three operatives from the State Department into the “green line” area so that they could make contact with one of the warlords. Suddenly, a long burst of gunfire ripped across the path of the lead vehicle which carried my lieutenant and the senior operative. Then all was silent except for the whispered curses of my gunner and driver, having just had their baptisms of fire. My first thought was that the lieutenant must be dead or the convoy would not have stopped. As I jumped from the Hummer and started toward the lieutenant’s vehicle to see if he was still alive, I saw the silhouette of a boy no more than ten years old running down an alley in my direction, an AK-47 at his side. In one motion I chambered a round, put my rifle into my shoulder, and aimed at the figure. The child stopped, and so did time.

That moment defined Operation Restore Hope. What exactly were we in the middle of? Was it worthwhile to try to bring peace and stability to an area of the world that had known only war for over twenty years? Who were our friends and who were the enemies? We had to adapt to an environment that was ruled by the law of the gun. We learned quickly that in order to gain any level of success in any task that we were given, we would have to meet force with force.

While the challenges of the U.S. intervention seemed to multiply daily, the most immediate and consistent problems were the massive numbers of weapons available to almost every member of Mogadishu’s population; the use of drugs, especially among teen-aged males; and the history of the Somali people as a fiercely independent group of tribes accustomed to generations of violent clan warfare.

The extent to which weapons proliferation had been carried out in Somalia was demonstrated in the above account of the incident near the “green line,” which turned out to be a seriously dangerous misunderstanding. Our convoy was fired on by the contacts of the State Department officials. No one was hurt in the confrontation, but it seemed to signal the beginning of nightly episodes of attacks made on U.N. personnel who patrolled the city. However, the Somalis themselves were often the victims of violent activities throughout the U.N. involvement.

Less than an hour after making it back to the safety of the airfield in Mogadishu, my section was called out to investigate a shooting at a French Foreign Legion road-block about a kilometer from the airfield. Upon arriving at the scene, we saw a crowd of townspeople dragging a number of injured Somalis from a crashed car in order to relieve them of their clothes and sandals. Our approach drove all but the most determined of the smiling looters away, and those remaining departed after a short shouting and shoving match between them and our small group of...
bewildered Marines. It seemed that the car, unable to stop for lack of brakes, ran the roadblock, prompting the Legionnaires to open fire. The Legionnaires were stationed at Djibouti, just to the north of Somalia. Upon later conversation with them, we learned that there was no love lost between them and Africans, which explains why they didn’t bother to attend to the wounded or even to keep the looting crowd away from them.

We had only one medical corpsman in our group of twelve, so he was hard pressed to provide the needed assistance to the injured. Within a few minutes, a doctor and transport vehicles arrived to take the two dead and seven wounded Somalis to the airfield. Once there and having received nominal first aid, the wounded were put on a C-141 transport plane and flown away to a destination unknown to those of us who had brought them in. It was all done away from the eyes of the media, and I thought at the time that perhaps the higher echelon wanted to keep civilian casualties hush-hush and so would fly them somewhere where they could receive better medical care while at the same time they could be kept off the six o’clock news. I really did not know for sure what was taking place. All I knew when I helped load the bloodied, moaning Somalis onto that plane in the middle of the night was that Operation Restore Hope was going to be a long, strange trip.

Despite agreements to the contrary, random attacks on U.S. forces by warring factions became the norm in Mogadishu. The attacks were almost always at night and in the beginning were not in any way coordinated. The sheer number of weapons available in the city was seen to be one of the major problems. U.S. Special Envoy Robert Oakley described the situation as it was in December 1992, “There are three things that are most important to a Somali male,” he said, “his wife, his camel, and his weapon” (Lorenz, 30). In an effort to decrease the number of weapons, a complex program of weapons confiscation was put in place. It was complex because the U.N. allowed certain people to carry weapons out of necessity while others were strictly forbidden to own weapons. The ones allowed weapons were the bodyguards of the warlords (one can only guess at their number) and the so-called security personnel of the non-governmental humanitarian organizations (NGO’s). The latter group of individuals were nothing more than extortionists, plain and simple. These armed thugs “offered” their services in order to insure the safety of the NGO’s, assuring them that they would not be harassed by a particular faction. In short, they gave the humanitarian agencies an offer they couldn’t refuse.

For a short time in Mogadishu, a weapons exchange program was put into place whereby food or cash would be traded for guns. This program was short-lived and not very effective for a number of reasons. The plan targeted the members of the different factions, but there was little incentive for bandits to turn in their best weapons. Predictably enough, the vast majority of weapons surrendered by this group were obsolete and non-functional. There were only two real effects of the program. First, it succeeded in disarming the hungry who needed weapons for protection against hostile clans and factions. Secondly, it encouraged arms dealers from other parts of Africa to import weapons into Somalia in order to receive money (Lorenz, 31).

The massive number of weapons in Somalia was largely the fault of the Cold War. Somalia occupies a very strategic piece of the world. It meets the shores of the Gulf of Aden, which is the entrance to the southern
end of the Red Sea and gives access to the Suez Canal. It is also strategically located to the volatile, oil-rich Persian Gulf region. The country was a potential pearl desired by both the Soviet Union and the United States. When the democratic regime of Somalia was overthrown by General Said Barre in 1969, the Soviets gladly supported him and began supplying the nation with all manner of arms and assistance (O'Sullivan, 37). A number of Soviet tanks were still in Mogadishu and Baidoa (a town approximately 250 kilometers north of the capital) when U.S. forces arrived in the country. There were also Soviet aircraft found at the airfields of Mogadishu and Baldolgle (approximately 175 kilometers north of Mogadishu). Both planes and tanks were inoperable, but in many cases their weapons were removed and used on what came to be called “technicals.” Technicals were civilian vehicles with roofs and windows removed, mounted machine guns, and sporty technicolor paint jobs. Weapons on these vehicles ranged from very formidable 12.7-millimeter machine guns to huge 20-millimeter antiaircraft guns.

The Soviets, however, were not the only ones that supplied the Somalis with their weapons. In 1977, the Soviet Union ended its affair with General Barre when he invaded Ethiopia, another Soviet client state. The general found a ready friend in Washington. Despite his reputation for conducting military action against his own people, the United States sent millions in military assistance to Barre's regime. These weapons, which included British aircraft and Italian armored vehicles, were immediately put to use in torturing, maiming, and killing tens of thousands of members of the Somali National Movement, an organization that resisted the Somali dictator (O'Sullivan, 37).

If the availability of weapons and the willingness to use them wasn't bad enough, there was the added problem of drugs. The use of a drug called khat, also known as miraa, was the single largest factor contributing to the belligerence of Somali youths and subsequently, violent reprisals by U.S. personnel. Khat is a green leaf or root that secretes heavy concentrations of an amphetamine similar to speed. Muslim religious leaders have traditionally used the drug in order to endure lengthy sessions of Koran readings, but during this century it has become fashionable among Somalis as a recreational drug (Stevenson, 17).

Our first day at the airfield gave us an idea of the scope of the problem of khat. Before the planes loaded with relief supplies could land, it was necessary to clear the airfield of what seemed to be ninety percent of the Mogadishu population. At first, we felt like liberators and saviors of an oppressed and starving people, so we tried to accomplish our task by pointing people in the right direction or finding people who spoke English to act as interpreters. By the end of that very long day, rifle butts and fists were the only methods that seemed to produce any results. Strong words and gestures brought only laughter and mockery from those high on khat. These individuals weren't hard to pick out. They usually ranged from ages ten to twenty and had a green root protruding from their mouths. These persons made a game of evading Marines in order to remain on the airfield and tarmac. When finally caught they would kick, scream, curse (an activity for which they displayed a great deal of talent), give the “evil eye,” and vow bloody vengeance on their captors. While this episode was more of a nuisance than a threat, it gave us a taste of what we could expect when night fell and these same teenagers began to fire at Marine positions from the shadows.
The addictive quality of khat naturally makes trafficking the drug a very lucrative business. Most of Somalia's khat crop comes from Kenya, where it is legally and easily grown in the central part of the country, shipped to Nairobi, and then flown into Mogadishu, Kismayu, or any number of remote airfields set up especially for that purpose. During the time of the U.N. intervention in Somalia, khat entered the country at a rate of six metric tons per day. The import trade yields more than one hundred million dollars annually (Stevenson, 18).

Although little is found in print about the subject, the United States was directly involved in allowing the import of these drugs into Somalia. It was a common practice for U.S. troops to inspect aircraft upon arrival in the country. They would confiscate weapons, ammunition, and explosives but had orders to leave the drugs alone. This policy may not have been in keeping with accepted American principles, but the cessation of drug flow into the country would have most certainly produced a severe shock on Somalia's addicted society. Therefore, permitting the drug trade to continue was a necessary evil meant to preserve stability, such as it was.

Another possibility of the U.S.' non-intervention in the drug trade was for political reasons. This is purely speculation, but it is entirely possible that in an effort to establish credibility with the warlords, most notably Aidid, the United States allowed the lucrative trafficking of drugs to continue. It is possible that this gesture was perceived by U.S. officials as a bargaining chip for future negotiations with the warlord. Earlier this year the New York Times called Osman Ato "America's best hope" for establishing a government in Somalia. Ato is Somalia's main businessman, arms dealer, and drug trafficker. He is also General Aidid's right-hand man and was the Americans' main contact and negotiator with the general (Lorch, A7). Knowing this, it would be in the interest of the U.S. to appease Ato in hopes of receiving favorable treatment at the negotiating table.

America's willingness to deal with warlords and drug pushers was not based on choice. It was simply because those people, however undesirable, were the only ones who had any established base of power and therefore were the only ones who had any possibility of establishing stability in the country. Stability, however, is the one thing that Somalia has never known. Limited resources and internal disputes have historically left the country in a state of anarchy. Somalis pride themselves in their ability to recite their clan's history, but these clans have conflicted with each other since ancient times when rival groups laid claim to the same wells and grazing lands (Gregory, 34).

This situation has made Somalia a place that is all but ungovernable. Anthropologists call the predicament lineage segmentation. This can be explained simply enough through an old Arabic saying: "My brother and I against my half-brother, my brother and I against my father, my father's household against my uncle's household, our two households (my uncle's and mine) against the rest of my immediate kin, the immediate kin against non-immediate members of the clan, my clan against other clans and, finally, my nation and I against the world!" (Samatar, 16). Lineage segmentation produces a society of extreme individualism with no one endowed, legally or morally, to exercise central national authority. The U.N.'s failure to decentralize factions in order to bring about a cross-clan alliance was due to the fact that none of the
political factions, including the Somali National Alliance headed by General Aidid, was sufficiently broad-based and authoritative to deliver on reconciliation agreements (Menkhaus and Prendergast, 24).

Throughout its history, Somalia has been a difficult area to control. During the nineteenth century the country found itself under the colonial rule of both the British and the Italians. This gave the Somali people a common threat to rally against, and the Somali Youth League was established to encourage clan unity and territorial reunification. Independence for Somalia was postponed by the advent of World War II. Meanwhile, it remained under British military rule. In 1950, the United Nations allowed Italy to return to Somalia until it was deemed fit for self-rule. When independence was finally gained in 1960, the Youth League assumed control. Inexperience in democratic government, the lack of a viable economy, and, of course, cross-clan fighting led to the rise of General Barre. Barre’s blatant massacres of rival clans as well as the ending of the Cold War resulted in the cessation of U.S. support. In traditional fashion, three rival clans united to depose Said Barre and three years of civil war followed. When Barre was finally forced from the country in January 1991, the clan alliance broke up and the clans commenced fighting among themselves. The war was responsible for the deaths of thousands, the destruction of much of the country, hundreds of thousands of refugees, and a man-made famine itself responsible for even more deaths (Gregory, 34).

It is interesting to note that the most powerful clan among the alliance to overthrow General Barre was the Habergidir clan (Huband, 14). Two of the most powerful leaders of rival clans in Somalia during the time of the U.N. intervention were Generals Aidid and Mahdi, both of the Habergidir family. Their rivalry comes from the fact that they are from different sub-clans and, therefore, they are enemies. It is another example of lineage segmentation at its finest.

Although it was thought to be a destructive policy and one that was not aligned with U.S. convictions, dealing with the people responsible for bringing famine and violence on the Somali people was obligatory. Among some of us who served in Somalia, this policy seemed not only necessary but agreeable. While it may not be a morally acceptable way to survive, we respected the fact that certain elements of Somalia’s society were willing to take up arms, coordinate themselves, and fight in an effort to ensure that their clan, their family, had food to eat and a relatively safe hut to live in. After a short time in the country, we started to see looting beggars where we once saw the oppressed, starving masses. We became desensitized to the entire situation.

The mission of the United States forces in Somalia was simple in concept: Provide security for relief supplies in Somalia. It wasn’t so simple in application. Before going ashore, we had expected to put down the threat of the warlords (if they dared to show themselves). What we didn’t expect was to have to deal with a violent and uncooperative mob made up of the people that we were supposedly protecting. It was as if they were biting the hand that fed them, and we began to regard them as ungrateful, belligerent derelicts who didn’t give a damn about anything, including themselves.

The challenge faced by U.N. troops in Somalia was unique in terms of handling the civilian population, not the least of which was overcoming the growing animosity between the two. United Nations operations have traditionally sought to gain host nation
support in order to have an established base from which to work. In Somalia there was no government in place, so the United Nation Task Force, or UNITAF, would have to be totally self-sufficient. A police force, judicial system, and a system of public services, responsibilities normally assumed by the host nation, now rested in the hands of UNITAF. There was also a question of how U.N. forces accused of crimes would be tried (Lorenz, 27). We became involved in the messy and unpredictable business of nation-building.

Since it was evident that we were about to enter a hostile situation, it was necessary to establish rules of engagement. These rules were, as they should have been in this situation, based largely on individual discretion. Part C of the Joint Task Force Somalia Relief Operation Ground Forces Rules of Engagement Card stated: “When U.S. forces are attacked by unarmed hostile elements, mobs, and/or rioters, U.S. forces should use the minimum force necessary under the circumstances and proportional to the threat.” (Lorenz, 30). This “minimum force” was, by necessity, broadly interpreted by Marines. As with the incident with the rambunctious youths at the airfield, physical force, or the threat of physical force, was used in handling mobs and rioters. After journalists and members of NGO’s complained of the use of rifle butts as a means to control Somalis, an order was passed that forbade this activity. In compliance with orders, the Marines ceased using their rifles and began employing what came to be known as “Somali-be-good sticks.” These weapons, made from discarded walking sticks, axe handles, or broken fan belts (the preferred crowd control weapon of the Somalis themselves), were not only effective and non-lethal, but also permitted by higher authority.

It may seem cruel and unthinkable to beat another human being. The fact that it was condoned by established rules of engagement still gives no justification to carry out these obviously violent measures. Nor is it enough simply to say that it had to be done in order to accomplish the task at hand unless one defines exactly what that task was. There were 28,000 U.S. troops deployed to Somalia at the height of our intervention, not to mention the thousands of troops from various other U.N. member nations (Church, 45). Even at that time it was painfully obvious that we would never bring peace to that area unless we were willing to further increase troop levels, accept massive casualties, and commit to twenty years of occupation if necessary. We were told that our mission was to insure the safety of food convoys. Before we even disembarked from the ships, we asked the question, “What then?” The mission we received failed to take into account other factors that we would most assuredly have to deal with. Were we going to aggressively seek to destroy the warlords? Were we going to establish a government in Somalia, and if so, what role would the military have? Would we act as police, and if so, what kind of authority did we possess? It was as if we had no mission at all, so we made our own: watch out for each other. For right or wrong, this meant that we would not allow a Somali to get close to us. It meant that anyone who interfered with or prevented us from accomplishing our mission would be dealt with physically. At the time we did not question what we were doing because we felt no need to. There was no moral second-guessing. It was us or them. Every night in Mogadishu was bound to bring sniper fire on heavily concentrated areas such as the airfield, the port, and the embassy. The threat was real and we were taking no chances. We held firmly to the belief that any action that we
took to keep each other alive was perfectly justifiable. It might have been painful for some to strike down an unarmed Somali when he reached inside a Hummer or tried to breach a perimeter wire, but the alternative might have been a dead Marine. So fragile sensitivities were no excuse for lack of action.

The Somali mindset was based on violence, and it seemed that after a while, this mindset became contagious. At the beginning of Operation Restore Hope, we had had a problem with press vehicles intermingling with our convoys that were either on patrol or en route to deliver relief supplies, and sometimes even during operations to seize weapons or attack compounds. Our solution to this problem was to ram the press or any other vehicles that tried to enter our convoy. For most of us there was no love lost on journalists, so the news that we could ram them came to us like an early Christmas present. On the first day of the “Ramming,” one of our eight-wheeled armored vehicles, known as LAV’s, ran over the hood of a moving press vehicle as it tried to break into the convoy. My vehicle succeeded in denying access to our formation to a journalist’s truck and a Somali’s Fiat. No one was hurt in the collisions, but they prevented anyone from ever coming near our convoys again.

Other acts of violence were not so tame. One instance concerned a member of the Canadian Airborne Regiment, Michael Sox, who was court-martialed for the torture and killing of a Somali teenager in early 1995. Canadian magazines and newspapers printed a photo of Sox and other soldiers posing with the beaten and bleeding youth. Shortly after the Sox incident, one soldier complained that his unit “ain’t killed enough niggers yet” (Facts on File, 38). Two U.S. soldiers were also court-martialed for acts of violence against Somalis. The first case involved a non-commissioned officer who shot a Somali youth for stealing his sunglasses. The other case involved another NCO who shot a young Somali who was running towards him with a small box. Due to warnings of hand grenade attacks the previous day, the charges against the latter were dismissed based on self-defense (Lorenz, 33).

These and other acts of violence committed by United Nations personnel prompted a London-based human rights organization, African Rights, to release a study saying that U.N. troops routinely carried out human rights abuses against civilians and were guilty of violent, abusive, and racist behavior. This group published an incident which occurred on June 17, 1993 when U.N. troops launched a rocket attack on a hospital suspected of housing General Aidid. Another attack on Aidid’s house in Mogadishu prompted Somali civilians to turn on foreign journalists who had arrived on the scene to report the incident. Four of the journalists were stoned or shot to death (Huband, 19).

The violence and frustration continued as the “humanitarian mission” dragged on. When the U.S. decided to go on a manhunt for Aidid after his clan ambushed and killed twenty-three Pakistani troops in June of 1993, the warlord perhaps felt his power slipping away from him (Huband, 14). This is one of the possible reasons for the tragedy that occurred in Mogadishu later that same year.

In another effort to capture General Aidid, U.S. forces launched an attack on the Olympic Hotel which housed a number of Aidid’s officials and, it was thought, Aidid himself. Nineteen officials were taken prisoner, but as the American soldiers led them out of the hotel, the streets erupted with automatic weapons fire. The soldiers were pinned down for over nine hours and suffered fourteen dead and seventy-seven wounded. It was also
during this time that three helicopters were shot down (Church, 42). The pilot of one of the aircraft, Michael Durant, was captured and tortured by the Somalis. The body of an American crew member from one of the aircraft was shown on CNN being dragged naked through the streets while other Somalis danced on the wreckage of the helicopters and held up pieces of charred American uniforms as if they were prizes. The American people, who were extremely supportive of the operation in the beginning, found themselves asking the same question that troops had been asking since December 1992: Why are we in Somalia?

It was not until November 1994 that a decision was made by the U.N. Security Council to withdraw the then 17,300 strong peacekeeping force which was to take place by April 1995. And when the last troops withdrew on March third, Somalia was left just the way it was found—in complete chaos. The U.S. price tag for the twenty-six month operation was two billion dollars and thirty American lives (Facts on File, 161). More than one thousand Somalis were killed during the intervention (Lorch, A3).

Less than two weeks after the withdrawal, fighting broke out between two of the warlords in Kismayu. During the fighting, there were reports of women and children being used as shields while armed clan members advanced behind them. This is a traditional tactic of Somali warfare. Their methods and culture are complex and probably cannot be understood by someone who is not a native. Their tactics were developed over hundreds of years and have only recently reached a high degree of destructiveness owing to the availability of modern weapons (Lorenz, 36). This episode only adds credence to the opinion that I developed of the Somalis as a people. I found myself capable of extreme prejudice towards a people who apparently placed so little value on human life. Looking back, I am also surprised at how easily I was willing to adapt to their rules of violence and how natural it became to feel hatred.

The levels to which people will go (or descend to, depending upon your point of view) in violent situations cannot be fully realized or explained unless one actually experiences those situations. But perhaps this is a only justification for the one of the tragic flaws of humanity. It can only be said that both we and the Somalis reacted to the conditions in which we found ourselves. Those who would reproach us for our methods are certainly justified in doing so, for they are only expressing their beliefs as they have known them. There's an old saying that says that the laws end at the palace gates. What rules apply beyond them is anyone's guess. For the majority of those involved with Operation Restore Hope, Somalia was more than beyond the gates. It was a different world.

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EXPECTATIONS OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS:
PERCEPTIONS OF THE DOCTOR AND PATIENT

By Mary Eva Farrar

Introduction
Interest in patients’ expectations of their physicians is not new. In fact, in 1957, Reader et al. [1] published an article entitled “What Patients Expect From Their Doctors.” Not surprisingly, patients expected that their doctors would ask them about their present and past illnesses, and some patients expected that tests would be run. The Reader et al. study also found that patients “seemed to have a need for explanations of their condition,” yet did not make an effort to obtain this knowledge. The researchers contended that this “passivity” resulted because patients did not expect their doctors to fulfill their need for information.

However, more recent research by Southgate and Bass [2] indicated that patients expected explanations of their illnesses and diagnoses. Similarly, Korsch, Gozzi, and Francis [3] found that pediatric patients expected their doctors to be friendly, concerned, and willing to answer questions and give explanations.

The discrepancies between these findings suggest that further research is in order. The desire to examine patient expectations and to determine whether family physicians could perceive these expectations was the impetus for my research.

Explorations of patient expectations are essential in order to provide patients with the most satisfying and best possible care. Research has shown that patient expectations of the patient-physician relationship are related to patient satisfaction [4-6]. Larsen and Rootman [4] found that the more physicians met the patients’ expectations, the more satisfied the patients were. Similarly, Hsieh and Kagle [5] found that expectations were the best predictors of satisfaction, and Linder-Pelz [6] stated that “expectations were the most important social psychological antecedent to patient satisfaction.”

In their paper “Patient Requests and Expectations,” Uhmann et al. [7] discussed the often inconsistent use of patient expectations and desires. Expectations were defined as “anticipations that given events are likely to occur,” while desires were considered “wishes” and reflected an event that was wanted. Uhmann et al. also pointed out that the two terms were closely related, i.e., patients expected to receive some of their desires. Therefore, it was not unreasonable to consider research on patients’ desires when studying expectations of the family physician. Research has shown that patients desire information and support from their physicians [8-12], and fulfillment of these desires has been correlated with patient satisfaction [8-11]. Brody et al. [8] reported that satisfaction was related to physicians’ attempts to fulfill their patients’ needs for information, control, and support. Joos, Hickman, and Borders [9] found that patients’ satisfaction was not strongly related to whether the physicians met the patients’ desires for tests, examinations, or medications, but was related to the physicians’ ability to meet the patients’ desires for information and support. Similarly, Smith et al. [10] and Wolf et al. [11] found that providing information to the patients increased satisfaction. DiMatteo, Prince, and Taranta [12] found that patients viewed caring about them, taking time to be with them, and explaining and listening to them as the most important aspects of the physicians’ behavior.
Patients did not expect or desire some things to occur when they visited their physicians. Joos, Hickman, and Borders [9] reported that patients least desired assistance with emotional or personal problems and least desired to share their point of view with the physicians. Similarly, Southgate and Bass [2] found that few patients expected to discuss nonmedical problems or their own ideas during the visit.

Different demographic groups tended to expect and desire different things from their physicians [5,13]. Hsieh and Kagle [5] found that women were more concerned with future care and services than were men. Good, Good, and Nassi [13] found that divorced patients requested treatment of psychosocial problems more often than patients who were living with someone. They also found that the unemployed were more likely to request psychosocial assistance than patients who were employed.

A significant amount of research has been conducted on patient expectations, yet physicians often are unable to perceive what their patients expect [9, 14, 15]. Although Joos, Hickman, and Borders [9] found only a few patients who desired assistance with emotional and personal problems and who desired to share their own point of view, these desires were concerns of patients. However, these desires were the least likely to be met for those who desired them. Joos, Hickman, and Borders [9] stated that this might have been because physicians did not feel prepared to deal with their patients' psychological needs. To explain the discrepancy between patient desires and physician conduct, they stated that "physicians may also overestimate the extent to which their patients expect help." Patients may expect only a referral rather than "expert care."

Salmon et al. [14] reported that general practitioners were not able to perceive their patients' intentions for seeking medical treatment and information. Salmon et al. did find that physicians could perceive patients' intentions for seeking support. Strull, Lo, and Charles [15] concluded that physicians overestimated their patients' desires for making decisions, but underestimated the patients' desires for information.

Although considerable research has been conducted in the area of patient expectations, not all areas have been thoroughly investigated, such as patient expectations of family physicians in Kentucky. This study specifically investigated Kentucky patients and physicians by posing three questions: 1) What are the expectations of family practice patients? 2) Can family physicians perceive these expectations? and 3) Are the expectations of patients affected by any sociodemographic factors?

Methods

Subjects

Twenty family physicians and 149 patients from Kentucky participated in the survey. The subjects for this study were recruited in cooperation with the Kentucky Academy of Family Physicians (KAFP). Surveys were first distributed to physicians attending a KAFP board meeting; sixteen surveys were completed. The physicians that attended the conference were later contacted by mail and asked to allow their patients to be surveyed. Additional physician surveys were also included in this mail-out, and four more surveys were received. Six doctors agreed to participate and were mailed 40 surveys to distribute to their patients.

The patient sample was 26.2% male and 69.1% female (4.7% did not designate a gender). Concerning the age of the patients, 2% were under 18 years of age, 36% were 18-30 years old, 43% were 31-45 years old, 42%
were 46-60 years old, 18% were 61-75 years old, and 4% were older than 75. The majority of the patients had been to their physicians either 1-3 times or 4-6 times within the survey year. Of the patients, 38.9% had completed high school, 32% had completed undergraduate studies, and 42% had completed some graduate education. The majority of the patient sample (89.3%) were Caucasians. Patients earning under $5,000 made up 9.4% of the patient sample; 19.5% of the patients had an income of $5,000-$15,000; 30.9% had an income of $15,001 to $30,000; 12.1% had an income of $30,001-50,000; 10.1% had an income of 50,001-75,000; and 2% had an income of more than $75,000.

The physician sample was composed of 15 males and 4 females; one physician did not respond to this question. Concerning the age of the physicians, 40% of the doctors were 36-45 years old, 25% were 46-55 years old, 15% were 56-65 years old, and 15% were older than 65. Physicians who had been in practice fewer than ten years made up 20% of the physician sample, 25% of the physicians had been practicing 11-20 years, 20% had been practicing 21-30 years, 20% had been practicing 31-40, and 10% had been practicing more than 40 years. Of the physicians, 40% saw 1-25 patients a day, and 55% saw 26-50 patients per day.

Survey instrument

The survey used in the study was derived from several prior valid surveys [4,9,10,11,13,16,17,18]. Both physicians and patients received the same 38-item survey. The survey differed only in the instructions and demographic questions. Physicians were instructed to complete the survey as they felt their patients would, and patients were asked to answer the questions with respect to family physicians in general, not just their personal physician. The responses were rated using a five-item Likert-type scale registering level of agreement with each item.

Analysis

The surveys were analyzed using the Mann-Whitney U test, an analysis used to evaluate two independent samples. The independent samples in this study were from patient and physician populations in Kentucky. The dependent variables were their responses. The responses were assigned a value from one to five, with strongly agree being one and strongly disagree being five. A comparison was made between the responses of the patients and physicians and between the responses of the different demographic groups within the patient sample. Differences in the responses from the two samples must have had a chance occurrence of 5% or less to be considered significantly different.

Results and Discussion

Comparison of Patient and Physician Responses

The responses of patients and physicians were not significantly different on the majority of the sample items. Although some lack of significant difference was due to the difference in responses within a subject group (large standard deviation), several of the responses were not significantly different because physicians were excellent predictors of their patients’ expectations. For example, both patients and physicians had very similar responses for item 2 (See Appendix A for a list of survey items) with a mean of 1.66 and 1.6 respectively. Similarly, the mean responses to item 12 were identical. Physicians correctly perceived patients’ responses to item 37; physicians had a mean response of 2.16, while patients had a mean response of 2.17.

The data from Item 37 “I expect to make the final decision about which treatment I will have” differed from data reported by Strull,
Lo, and Charles [15], who found that physicians overestimated their patients' desires concerning decision making. In the current study, physicians correctly perceived their patients' expectancies in regard to final decision making. Of course, it could be argued that the patients in the current study did expect to make the final decision concerning treatment, but really didn't want to make that decision.

Not all of the physicians' perceptions were coincided with those of their patients. Significant differences were noted on items 4, 8, 11, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 28, and 33. Both patients' and physicians' responses clustered around the agree response to item four "I expect the doctor to take a continuing interest in me, not just when I am sick." However, the responses were significantly different (P<0.005). While the physicians were correct in assuming that their patients would agree with this statement, they overestimated this agreement. Patients may have felt that their physicians' large and mobile patient load would prevent them from taking an interest in their lives outside of their medical concerns, or patients may not have expected continuing interest because they desired a strictly business relationship with their physicians. This difference is surprising because the family physician is viewed as one of the few in the medical profession who is able to establish a long-term and more personal relationship with patients.

The patients' responses to item eight were similar to the responses of patients in the Southgate and Bass study [2]: patients expect that the physicians will be interested in the patients' ideas. Physicians' responses were also clustered around the agree response on this statement, but the physicians overestimated the patients' expectancy (P<0.05).

On items 11 and 19 (P<0.03 and P<0.05), physicians underestimated their patients' expectancy. Patients expected the doctor to tell them what was happening during the examination and how serious their problems were. Physicians may not realize their patients' expectations for an explanation of what is occurring during an exam because the physicians have done so many exams. A certain procedure may be second nature to the physicians but is a whole new experience for the patients. The underestimation of telling patients how serious their problems are may stem from the physicians' dislike of telling bad news to their patients and the desire to keep hope alive for their patients.

Items 25 and 33 (P<0.0006 and P<0.00005) are related in that they both deal with the psychosocial aspect of the physician-patient relationship. While patients tended to disagree or to be neutral in responding to the statements involving emotional problems and counseling, the physicians tended to agree with these statements. Joos et al. [9] also reported that physicians may overestimate their patients' expectancy for help and that patients may only want help in the way of a referral rather than "expert help."

Items 18 and 23 (P<0.04 and P<0.03) "I expect the doctor to consider my feelings" and "I expect the doctor to relieve my worries about my medical condition" also deal with the psychosocial aspect of the physician-patient relationship. Both the patients' and physicians' responses clustered around the agree response on these items, but the physicians tended to indicate stronger agreement. The stronger agreement by the physicians may have been the result of the physicians believing that their patients expected an ideal physician, a situation which is not necessarily true as indicated by item one. While patients tended to agree with item one "I expect to have care from the doctor that
is just about perfect,” their responses did not indicate strong agreement. Patients may realize that it is not realistic to expect their physicians to address every psychosocial issue when the physicians’ main concern is toward their physical health.

Physicians tended to more strongly disagree with item 21 (P<0.01) “I expect the doctor to act like he is doing me a favor by treating me” than their patients did. It is not unexpected for physicians to strongly disagree with a statement that is derogatory toward their profession. The patients may have been less adamant about their disagreement because they have encountered physicians who gave the wrong impression during their visits with the patients, even if this impression was incorrect.

Item 28 (P<0.01) dealt with a more practical aspect of the patient-physician encounter. Patients expected more information concerning the side effects of their medicine than the physicians realized. Physicians may feel that it is the pharmacist’s job rather than their own to describe the effects of the medication.

Comparison of Gender Responses

A comparison of the responses of different age groups and genders was also conducted. Male and female responses differed on five items: 10, 29, 30, 32, and 35. Females expected more consideration of their physical comfort than males did. The type of physical examinations that females are subjected to may make them more sensitive to physical comfort. Both males and females marked the disagree response to item 29 (P<0.04) “I expect that the doctor won’t be friendly toward me.” However, females more strongly disagreed with the statement.

Males tended to agree with item 30 (P<0.02) concerning the devotion of their doctor, while females tended to be neutral on this item. Males also expected their doctor to ask them about their families. Female responses indicated that they were neutral or even in disagreement with this item. Both males’ and females’ responses clustered around the neutral or disagree responses on item 35 (P<0.01) “I expect to be able to see the doctor at night if I am busy during the day,” but females indicated stronger disagreement to the statement. The females who took part in this survey may have had more flexibility in their schedules in order to be able to see the doctor during the day, while the males may have had more difficulty working around their schedules.

Comparison of Age Group Responses

Three comparisons were done concerning difference in the responses of different age groups: 18-30 vs. 46-60, 18-30 vs. 31-45, and 31-45 vs. 46-60. The responses to item five “I expect to see the same doctor every time I go for medical care” generated significant differences between 18-30 and 46-60 (P<0.03) and between 31-45 and 46-60 (P<0.04). In both comparisons, the older age group tended to more strongly agree with this statement than the younger age group. The older age group may have been going to the same physician for years and have expected to continue doing so. The younger age groups may have been more mobile and did not expect to be able to see the same physician when they needed medical care.

Item 17 “I don’t expect the doctor to explain all the medical treatment choices open to me” generated significantly different responses between 18-30 and 46-60 (P<0.0006) and between 18-30 and 31-45 (P<0.05). The younger age groups’ responses clustered around the disagree response to this statement while the older groups tended to be neutral. The responsiveness of the younger group may indicate more assertiveness with
regard to their care, which is not surprising considering the recent emphasis in the media on the importance of being a wise medical consumer.

Responses to item 19 also generated significant differences between 18-30 and 31-45 (P<0.04) and between 18-30 and 46-60 (P<0.01). The younger age group tended to more strongly agree with item 19 “I expect the doctor to tell me how serious my problem is” than the older groups. While the older groups’ responses did cluster around the agree response on this item, the assertiveness of the younger subjects may cause them to more strongly agree.

Item 20 “I expect the doctor to try to explain my illness and treatment in a way that I can understand” only resulted in significant differences in the responses of 18-30 and 46-60 (P<0.02). The younger subjects tended to more strongly agree with this statement than the older subjects. The younger subjects’ responses may once again be due to the emphasis on being a wise medical consumer. In order to make wise decisions, patients need to understand their medical problems.

Responses to item 25 also generated differences between 18-30 and 46-60 (P<0.007). The older subjects expected more help with emotional problems than did the younger subjects. The older subjects may have stronger and longer relationships with their physicians (according to item 5, they expect to see the same doctor), which makes them more comfortable in revealing personal emotional problems and which makes the doctor more able to help them simply because he knows them well.

Comparisons between 18-30 and 31-45 (P<0.003) and between 31-45 and 46-60 (P<0.03) generated different responses on item 27 “I expect the doctor to tell me how and when to take the medicine he gives me.” The 18-30 sample and the 46-60 sample both more strongly agreed with this statement than did the 31-45 sample. The 31-45 sample may rely more on their pharmacists than the other age groups.

Item 34 “I don’t expect the doctor to tell me everything I want to know about my illness” generated different responses between the 18-30 and 31-45 groups (P<0.007). The older group tended to be neutral on this item, while the younger group tended to disagree with this statement. The response of the younger subjects is not surprising considering that they agreed with item 20 “I expect the doctor to try to explain my illness and treatment in a way that I can understand” and disagreed with item 17 “I don’t expect the doctor to explain all the medical treatment choices open to me.” Obviously, the younger subjects expect a considerable amount of information from their physicians.

General Patient Expectations

In addition to describing the differences in expectations between the age and gender of the patients, this survey also indicates patients’ expectations when considering the patient group as a whole. Patients tended to more strongly agree with items 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, and 36 than the other items. Patients tended to more strongly disagree with items 21 and 26.

Conclusions

The results of this study are encouraging. For the majority of the items, the physicians could adequately perceive their patients’ expectations. The physicians’ overestimation of their patients’ expectancies may be because the physicians were expecting their patients to expect an ideal physician or because physicians are simply making an effort to be more sensitive to their patients’ expectancies. In regard to the items in which the physicians underestimated their patients’ expectations, it
is the duty of the patients to express their expectations to their physicians, and it is the duty of the physicians to be sensitive to these expectations. Only then can patients have more satisfying care from their physicians.

The differences between demographic groups within the patient sample illustrate that all patients are not alike and that physicians need to be aware of the individual and unique needs of each of their patients. Once again, both patients and physicians need to communicate in order that the individual patient’s expectancies be fulfilled and satisfying care be provided.

Works Cited


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Appendix A
1. I expect to have care from the doctor that is just about perfect.
2. I expect to see a doctor at a reasonable cost.
3. I expect the doctor to be on time for my appointment.
4. I expect the doctor to take a continuing interest in me, not just when I am sick.
5. I expect to see the same doctor every time I go for medical care.
6. When I go see the doctor for a new problem, I expect him to check up on previous problems.
7. I expect to be able to tell the doctor my problem without his interrupting me.
8. I expect the doctor to listen to me while I tell him what I think the problem might be.
9. I expect the doctor to examine me carefully before deciding what is wrong.
10. I expect the doctor will consider my physical comfort when he examines me.
11. I expect the doctor to tell me what is happening during the examination.
12. I expect my doctor to be honest and tell me if he doesn’t know what is wrong with me.
13. I expect the doctor to tell me what my symptoms mean.
14. I expect the doctor to tell me if he thinks my problem will get worse.
15. I expect the doctor to tell me why he ordered tests.
16. I expect the doctor to tell me what to expect during treatment.
17. I don’t expect the doctor to explain all the medical treatment choices open to me.
18. I expect the doctor to consider my feelings.
19. I expect the doctor to tell me how serious my problem is.
20. I expect the doctor to try to explain my illness and treatment in a way that I can understand.
21. I expect the doctor to act like he is doing me a favor by treating me.
22. I expect the doctor will not spend enough time with me.
23. I expect the doctor to relieve my worries about my medical condition.
24. I expect to reach a doctor to ask him questions at any time.
25. I expect the doctor to help me with personal emotional problems.
26. I expect that the doctor will ignore my feelings.
27. I expect the doctor to tell me how and when to take the medicine he gives me.
28. I expect the doctor to explain the side effects of the medicine he gives me.
29. I expect that the doctor won’t be friendly toward me.
30. I expect my doctor to be devoted to me.
31. I expect that the doctor won’t get to know me because he has so many patients to see.
32. I expect the doctor to ask me about my family.
33. I expect the doctor to provide me with family counseling.
34. I don’t expect the doctor to tell me everything I want to know about my illness.
35. I expect to be able to see the doctor at night if I am busy during the day.
36. I expect the doctor’s staff to be courteous and friendly.
37. I expect to make the final decision about which treatment I will have.
38. I don’t expect my doctor to be perfect.
MARTHA GELLHORN: THE HEMINGWAY YEARS
Tracy Freeman

Martha Gellhorn: Daughter of a physician and a social-activist mother. Journalist. War correspondent. Writer of fiction. All of these descriptions capture some aspect of the life and career of Martha Gellhorn. And all would suit Martha Gellhorn just fine. There is but one small catch. The phrase most often used in describing Gellhorn, much to her chagrin, is Martha Gellhorn—third wife of Ernest Hemingway.

Although Hemingway brings Gellhorn into the limelight of the American public, Gellhorn would much prefer to be recognized for her own accomplishments, and those accomplishments are many. Martha Gellhorn is born in St. Louis in 1908 (Rollyson 3). Her father, a gynecologist/obstetrician from Breslau, Germany (7-8), and her mother, a St. Louis social reformer and suffragette (3), raise Gellhorn in a somewhat socially radical family with three brothers, George, Walter, and Alfred (8). She attends Bryn Mawr college but drops out as a junior, spending the next few years pursuing her interest in writing.

During these years she also works as a field investigator for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. By the time Gellhorn meets Hemingway in 1936, she has already published articles and has written two novels, one of which, The Trouble I’ve Seen, receives critical acclaim. The time between 1936 and 1945 is tumultuous for both the world and Gellhorn. Perhaps confusion concerning Gellhorn’s writing is amplified by her relationship to Hemingway. Constantly having her own writing compared to his takes its toll on Gellhorn’s patience, and her accomplishments during this period most definitely frustrate their relationship.

While the public compares Gellhorn to Hemingway, they continue to celebrate the superiority of Gellhorn’s journalism over her works of fiction. Leaving behind the success of The Trouble I’ve Seen, Gellhorn publishes two novels and one book of short stories during the years she is involved with Hemingway. Along with these works of fiction, she produces countless front-line articles from various military conflicts. The Trouble I’ve Seen is viewed as “journalistic fiction” by some, and Gellhorn’s articles are viewed as something beyond strict journalism. This situation presents an ambiguity concerning Gellhorn’s style of writing. And always present in the background is the shadow of Ernest Hemingway.

Looking back upon the years between 1936 and 1945, the reader and reviewer may see Gellhorn not simply as a mediocre writer of fiction or as a superb journalist, but as a writer who is incorporating all the genres a writer may feel compelled to explore. That decade represents an exploration for Gellhorn—a voyage of self-discovery and growing independence as a writer—years during which Gellhorn establishes a literary identity.

Before Hemingway

Why are the years before Hemingway important? By examining the two works Gellhorn publishes before she meets Hemingway, looking at the critical response to these pieces, and observing extraneous response to Gellhorn’s writings, the reader learns three important facts. One: Martha Gellhorn sets a pattern for writing about social concerns early in her writing career. Two: Although Gellhorn earns high critical praise for The Trouble I’ve Seen, she writes two works during this period which she does not
attempts to publish an exhibition of a writer struggling to create, through her writing, a cohesive bond between her subject and her intended theme. Three: When Gellhorn meets Hemingway, although his presence is sure to have some effect upon her writing, Gellhorn has already proven she can produce writing worthy of critical praise without his guidance. Her writing is her own.

Two years before meeting Ernest Hemingway, Gellhorn publishes her first novel, *What Mad Pursuit* (1934). Following a portion of the life of a heroine named Charis Day (Rollyson 65), the novel becomes available to the public around the time Gellhorn returns to the United States from traveling and writing abroad (Orsagh 18).

Charis is an individual who fights injustice with a naive idealism. She drops out of college in protest over the dismissal of a fellow female student for sleeping with a male student in his dorm room. The male student is not dismissed. (Rollyson 65) Several episodes follow with Charis defending various social causes. One of the later incidents in the novel finds Charis in Paris, having her first sexual encounter and discovering that she has now contracted syphilis (66).

Rollyson observes that the end of the novel “...gives a brief glimpse of a chastened but still determined Charis...” (66). Rollyson also notes that Gellhorn is not particularly fond of *What Mad Pursuit* and that she “...would like to expunge it from history; she never lists it among her published works” (67).

He follows with some comments on the difficulties he perceives in the novel:

Nothing measures up. The college Charis attends has almost no distinguishing features; and the same is true of the newspaper that employs her and of most of the other American and European settings. The best parts of the novel are when Charis is by herself—mountain climbing, for example—because there the rhythm of the scene actually evokes her fitful, reckless nature. Otherwise, episodes are introduced only to dismiss other characters and places as unworthy of Charis’s noble aspirations. Although Charis is criticized for her heedless pursuit of the ideal, in the end she is practically worshipped as a sojourner after truth. (67)

Jacqueline Orsagh agrees: “Gellhorn is not yet able to reorder fact into fiction. She is too closely involved with her story” (19). *What Mad Pursuit* “...is a female initiation story, rare in an American literary canon abounding in Holden Caulfields and Huck Finns. While it would never be considered a major work, the novel should perhaps be analyzed as a new genre and a new challenge” (19).

Gellhorn marries Bertrand de Jouvenel in the summer of 1933, but “[the] couple were separated while Martha (in the Midi since the early spring of 1934) worked on a second novel, which she was never to publish...” (Rollyson 67). Returning to the United States later in 1934, her marriage unofficially dissolved, Gellhorn is introduced to Harry Hopkins, head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. After their meeting, she is hired to be a field investigator for FERA (72). Gellhorn observes the economic difficulties Americans are suffering during the Great Depression, and she watches frustrated administrators as they deal with corruption among their own ranks and with limited funds for public assistance. From her investigations, *The Trouble I’ve Seen* (1936) develops. Although it is a work of fiction, the portraits of the characters—their hardships and trials—are based upon Gellhorn’s own
observances.

While *What Mad Pursuit* (1934) is not well-received, *The Trouble I’ve Seen* is quite a success. Critics feel the character sketches in the novel aptly portray the poverty-stricken conditions in which many people find themselves during the Great Depression. Edith Walton observes in *The New York Times* that “Through the medium of tiny individual dramas, she shows one what it is like to live on relief, what stratagems it necessitates [sic], what sacrifices of hope and integrity it entails” (6-3). *Saturday Review’s* Mabel S. Ulrich concurs: “When a book seems woven not out of words but out of the very tissues of human beings, on first reading its evaluation as literature is almost impossible even to a hardened reviewer” (7).

One of the most astute assessments of Gellhorn’s work appears in *The Times Literary Supplement*:

> It is no diminution—in the circumstances rather an enhancement—of Miss Gellhorn's value and accomplishment to declare her more reporter than artist; she is photographing, not weaving personal patterns. (477)

The latter review of *The Trouble I’ve Seen* reveals a sentiment held by many of the reviewers and critics of Martha Gellhorn’s writings—opinions which hold Martha Gellhorn to be a far better journalist than writer of fiction. While commenting on Gellhorn’s first novel, Carl Rollyson, author of the only biography written on Gellhorn, states:

> The trouble is that Gellhorn was very close to her heroine but contemptuous of nearly everything else in the heroine’s environment...The truth is that Gellhorn was not perceptive enough about the very things she rejected to make them come alive in fiction. (67)

The difference between Gellhorn’s first novel and her second seems to lie in that while both are works of fiction, *The Trouble I’ve Seen* is written with Gellhorn’s journalistic focus on the details of the lives she has witnessed during her investigations for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

By August of 1935 Gellhorn and Jouvenel officially agree to go their separate ways, but the two part on friendly terms—attitudes they would maintain in the years to come (Rollyson 75). *The Trouble I’ve Seen* is published in 1936. Each section of the novel portrays citizens who suffer during the Great Depression, the first sketch detailing the life of Mrs. Maddison, an elderly woman who sees her family disintegrate.

Two men involved in a factory strike, Joe and Pete, are described in the second section. Joe is heading up a strike, while Pete is one of the workers who is participating in it. Gellhorn captures the feeling of the times quite accurately when Joe reflects: “Everything’s too slow...Sometimes, it seems like there must be millions of people not doing anything but waiting; all of them waiting for something to happen, or somebody to say something. And nothing does happen. Things just go on” (105).

Section three covers the life of Jim, a member of the younger generation whose young adulthood is marred by the restrictions the Depression puts upon him. He falls in love with a girl named Lou, and he must steal their wedding clothes from the store for which he works. The two are now doomed to a future of poverty and a life on the run.

In the final section Gellhorn explores the tragedy of child prostitution, which she has observed during her time with FERA. She follows a year in the life of a young girl named Ruby. Soon after Ruby’s eleventh
birthday, she follows the promise of money and agrees to work with a group of young prostitutes—she does not even understand what she will be required to do. She only wants the money to have a pair of roller skates. The end of the novel sees Ruby separated from her mother after the girls’ activities are discovered by the police.

The descriptions throughout the collection are numerous, and they present a portrait of the Great Depression which is effective to this day. Orsagh feels one of the reasons these stories are so powerful is because

...[m]ost of us have been aesthetically conditioned by literature and fairy tales to believe in an equalizing process. We expect in this terribly desperate story a tragedy over which the protagonist triumphs finally, to live happily ever after. A great reward must eventually compensate the character for his/her great suffering. Here, however, the author’s point is that reality lies in another direction. There is no recompense, no happy ending, and the character’s goodness is irrelevant. (45)

The book receives an abundance of attention when it comes out. Eleanor Roosevelt, by now a good friend of Gellhorn’s, discusses the fine nature of The Trouble I’ve Seen in three of her “My Day” columns (Orsagh 50).

Gellhorn leaves the United States in the middle of 1936 and travels to Europe (Orsagh 57). She apparently visits libraries in Europe in an attempt to lay groundwork for a novel concerning pacifism (Orsagh 56). Observing the situation in Europe and watching Nazi propaganda firsthand, Gellhorn decides she is no longer a pacifist but an anti-fascist (56). She returns to the United States and finishes the book on pacifism, but after its completion she puts “...it forever into a closet and has never allowed anyone to read it” (57).

In November Gellhorn begins work on yet another novel while giving some lectures and continuing to write articles (57). And then in December of 1936, Gellhorn, her mother, and her brother Alfred vacation in Miami, Florida. Finding their location to be uninspiring, Alfred spots a bus bound for Key West. None of them has heard of Key West—it has not yet become the established tourist town it will be in later years—but they are always ready for an adventure. While there, the threesome walk into a bar called Sloppy Joe’s, where Martha encounters Ernest Hemingway. At the time, Hemingway is married to his second wife, Pauline. This brief meeting begins the relationship between Ernest and Martha which will last until 1945 (Rollyson 89-90).

The years before Gellhorn becomes involved with Hemingway are important for delineating comparisons of Gellhorn’s early writings with later literary efforts written in the company of Hemingway. As evidenced in What Mad Pursuit and The Trouble I’ve Seen, a strong concern for humanity becomes a standard theme in Gellhorn’s works. Gellhorn’s two novels which she stashes away without attempting publication indicate her continued efforts to establish a specific form of writing for herself, and her great success with The Trouble I’ve Seen proves she is a writer of merit before Hemingway enters her life. The start of her relationship with Hemingway parallels the beginning of Gellhorn’s serious exploration of her journalistic talents and her continued efforts at writing successful fiction—efforts which produce works less praised by the critics than The Trouble I’ve Seen.

The Early Years

The early Hemingway years witness Gellhorn’s emergence as a an effective journalist—she firmly ensconces herself in a
narrative style which uses word choice and understatement to achieve her desired effect. Her journalistic style established, Gellhorn is also taking note of these wartime experiences for future use as background material in her collection of short stories, *The Heart of Another*. While her fictional endeavors are not perceived in an entirely bad light during these years, they lack the unanimous praise given to *The Trouble I’ve Seen*. Gellhorn still seems to be searching for a fictional method which works for her.

Martha decides to stay on in Key West after meeting Hemingway. Long after her brother and mother have traveled on, Gellhorn remains to keep Hemingway company (Baker 299). She also starts work on another novel, which she continues to develop while in Key West (Orsagh 62). She does not leave Key West until some time in January of 1937 (Baker 299).

As Martha drives back toward Miami on her way to St. Louis, Hemingway claims he has business in New York and leaves Key West hurriedly. After dining together in Miami, Gellhorn and Hemingway ride the same train for some way before they separate to complete their individual journeys (299). Orsagh suggests Gellhorn and Hemingway may have sketched out a plan to meet again after this first connection (63).

Then in February of 1937, Hemingway leaves for Madrid to begin his coverage of the Spanish Civil War. Gellhorn remains in the States until March because she has been working on a book and aiding the Red Cross in its relief efforts to help victims of a flood in Missouri (Orsagh 63). With no plan as to what she is going to do while in Spain, Gellhorn departs, intent on aiding the cause of the Republicans (64).

In her introduction to her selection of articles on Spain, compiled in a book entitled *The Face of War*, Gellhorn mentions her arrival in Madrid, the first war front she ever covered. With a “knapsack and approximately fifty dollars” (12), she carries a letter of introduction from *Collier’s* stating that she is a war correspondent for them, but Gellhorn notes that the letter was meant to help her get there and that it did not mean she was truly a correspondent for them (12).

Gellhorn, tired from her travels, becomes upset when Hemingway claims he has arranged for her passage to Madrid. Gellhorn knows Hemingway has made a phone call or two, but she has arranged the majority of her journey herself with only her meager supplies and her letter from *Collier’s* (Baker 304).

Hemingway works on his documentary entitled *The Spanish Earth* in April of 1937 (Baker 307). During this time, the official discovery of the romantic affair between Gellhorn and Hemingway is made one evening when the hot-water tank in their hotel is destroyed by a shell. Steam forces the guests of Madrid’s Hotel Florida to move to the basement, and Gellhorn and Hemingway are discovered to be sharing the same bedroom (309).

For a time, Gellhorn simply observes the actions of the more experienced journalists (Orsagh 68). She writes her first article after Hemingway suggests she occupy her time by writing about Madrid (Orsagh 68). Having *Collier’s* address on her letter of introduction, she sends them the article, and much to Gellhorn’s surprise, they publish it. With her second piece on Spain, Gellhorn earns her place on the masthead. In Gellhorn’s words, “Once on the masthead, I was evidently a war correspondent. It began like that” (12).

This development inaugurates a journalism career which spans five decades and sees Martha Gellhorn covering just about every major military conflict which occurs during
this time period. Her articles, often written speedily for quick dispatch back to the magazine, show a flair for effective understatement and word choice, as evidenced in her first lines. "The Besieged City," reprinted in *The Face of War*, begins: "At the end of the day the wind swooped down from the mountains into Madrid and blew the broken glass from the windows of the shelled houses" (14). The sentence "In Barcelona, it was perfect bombing weather" (26) begins "The Third Winter," also reprinted in *The Face of War*. And "Bombs on Helsinki," in the same collection, has an opening announcement: "War started at nine o’clock promptly" (56).

Gellhorn chooses just the right words and phrases to present a picture of life during wartime. She allows a minimum number of words to stand for a horror so huge some feel it indescribable; yet Gellhorn has a gift of revealing the true essence of the destruction of war by showing the effect war has on individual persons. Instead of reporting statistics or battle stratagems, Gellhorn reports the plight of the individual--soldier or citizen, leader or follower. She allows herself to be the eyes for the part of the world which could not see the fronts directly, and her writing allows the readers to see the devastating effects of the war for themselves.

Hemingway’s simple suggestion leads Gellhorn into her serious wartime writing, but this prompt will also lead to tension between Gellhorn and Hemingway in the later years of their relationship as insecurity and jealousy affect Hemingway’s opinions of Gellhorn’s efforts.

In May, Hemingway returns to the United States to complete work on a novel. Both Gellhorn and Hemingway speak at the Second American Writer’s Congress in New York in June (Orsagh 313). Gellhorn makes “...clear her belief that a writer cannot write in isolation, but must attend to the world’s injustice in order to say something of value...” (Orsagh 80-81). Because of her friendship with the Roosevelts, Martha Gellhorn is able to arrange for a showing of *The Spanish Earth* at the White House the month after the conference (313). The pair attends the showing on July 8 (Baker 315).

By September, Hemingway and Martha have returned to Spain, where they once again take up residence in the Hotel Florida (319). They resume writing articles based upon their examinations of the front and the war-torn towns (318). Hemingway even begins working on a play in which the protagonists actually spoof Gellhorn and him (321).

All the while, Gellhorn is sending articles to *Collier’s*. The previously mentioned “Besieged City” (November 1937) opens with a collage of questions and discussions which can be heard on a given day--all surrounding the “coming offensive” (14). Gellhorn goes on to describe a party that the hotel guests and a few injured soldiers decide to have just to remove themselves from the topic of war. They pull out all of their canned goods--spinach, sardines, et cetera--and their two bottles of red wine. The party has not lasted long when a shell hits the building next door, and the revelers have to turn off the lights and wait out the shelling (14-15).

Gellhorn’s people admire the new shell holes and find creative solutions for the unexploded shells (the elevator man makes lamps with the unexploded shells, and the concierge paints the lamp shades). First aid is even administered to “wounded houses” in Madrid. Electricians and construction people work on damaged buildings while other crews dig out the bodies. They also plan for the reconstruction which will surely occur after the war is over (16).
The last half of the article describes Gellhorn’s tour of the residential areas as she tags along with one of the repair crews. Her brilliance lies in her well-chosen “faces”—a family which simply moves to the back of their apartment when the front is destroyed by a shelling, an old woman who keeps stating, “I do not understand...you see, it is my home” (18).

Gellhorn also includes her tour of the trenches. She writes an almost comical section on the propaganda exchanged between the two sides. Each night one of them plays propaganda and music. Gellhorn’s guide explains, “One of our boys usually tells them they are liars and are destroying Spain, and they tell him he is a murderous Red, and later they will get angry and throw mortars at one another. Their loudspeaker is a waste of time, but the music is agreeable” (22).

Each scene, impressionistic in nature, gives the reader an image and an atmosphere that aids in creating a mental picture of what life must be like for these people living on the front. Gellhorn also mentions a park in Madrid, a park she later describes in a short story entitled “Zoo in Madrid,” which appears in her collection The Heart of Another (1941). The two images show how Gellhorn has learned to use her life experiences for two entirely different genres. The scene in “Zoo in Madrid” presents journalists walking through a park in Madrid:

It was as usual cold, and that day we walked through all the trenches in that particular park. In these trenches, in this once fine Madrid park, the mud was like chewing gum. We admired the dugouts smelling of fresh wood and of wood smoke from the little stoves, the bright blankets over the machine guns, the pictures of movie stars on the walls, the curious serenity—and, after all, there was no news in it. But on the other hand, it was different at night. Every night, clearly, you could hear from the hotel the machine guns hammering, and the echoing thud of mortars, and what was normal in the daytime became a strange business at night. (20)

Also in “Zoo in Madrid,” a description of Chico’s, a bar journalists apparently frequented, is offered when the narrator mentions blood on the sidewalk:

Just a little way down from Chico’s on the Gray Via we saw a wide new hole, the granite cobblestones lying smashed and dusty around it, and leading to the nearest doorway was a neat straight fresh trail of blood. Chico’s was crowded with soldiers and civilians and handsome Spanish girls with peroxided hair. The beer was cold and good. (128)

In “The Besieged City” Chico’s is described in this manner:

Chico’s used to be a bar where the elegant young men of Madrid came to drink a few cocktails before dinner. Now it is like a dugout on the Gray Via, that wide rich street where you can hear the shells, even when there is silence...A group of us were sitting in Chico’s wondering whether to drink the sherry, which was tasteless, or the gin, which was frankly fatal...[t]he smoke from black tobacco was choking, the noise deafening; soldiers at other tables shouted their news; the indomitable girls with dyed hair and amazing high heels waved and smiled; people walked in through the sand-bagged door and stared and saw no one they knew or nothing they liked and walked out again. In this crowded
din, one could be entirely alone and quiet, and think one's own thoughts about Spain and the war and the people. (25)

Gellhorn seems to develop a sense of the writer during this period. As she negotiates facts for her articles, she is already storing this information away for future use in her fiction.

By December 1937, Pauline meets Hemingway in Paris, intent on saving her failing marriage (Baker 323). Staying together at the Hotel Elysee Park, the pair spend the majority of their time arguing--mostly about Gellhorn (324).

In January of 1938, Hemingway and Pauline leave for the United States (324); however, Hemingway will be back in Spain by the end of March (326) and once again companion to Martha in May of 1938 (330). Both Gellhorn and Hemingway make trips to the States after May, but they are together once again in Paris during September (334).

Gellhorn maintains her journalistic style. In "The Third Winter" (November 1938) she uses an imaginative approach to the conditions of daily life and work in wartime Spain: She employs a conversation she has with a particular family as a springboard for her various topics. Gellhorn has gone in search of the Hernandez family, trying to obtain a picture frame for a friend. Mr. Hernandez, a carpenter, has been unable to make the picture frame because all of the wood has to be saved for the war effort. He explains to Gellhorn, "Wood is for dugouts and trenches, bridges, railroad ties, to prop up bombed houses, to make artificial arms and legs, for coffins" (27).

Gellhorn describes their ten-year-old grandson, Miguel, who discloses how he stands in the food lines each day for his grandmother. His grandmother admonishes him when he says that the fights which break out in the food lines amuse him. Gellhorn then uses this statement to introduce a small section on the food lines in Barcelona. She outlines the activities and chores people work on while standing in line--lines which can extend for five blocks. All the while, the people suffer from shortage of food; "A sack the size of a cigarette package, full of rice: that will have to do two people for two weeks. A sack half that big, full of dried peas: for one person for two weeks" (28).

Gellhorn returns to the Hernandez family after describing the food lines. The talk turns to Frederico, the Hernandezes' son, who is in the Army. Lola, his wife, and her newborn baby live with the Hernandezes. Gellhorn uses the mention of the Army as a transition to her next aside, in which she presents a picture of the International Brigades--how they appear before they are sent home. She hauntingly observes the various nationalities:

I wonder what happened to the German who was the best man for night patrols in the 11th International Brigade. He was a somber man, whose teeth were irregularly broken, whose fingertips were nailless pulp; the first graduate of Gestapo torture I had known. (31)

Next, Gellhorn mentions a conversation with Lola. After the baby is shown to her, Gellhorn comments to the readers on the sick appearance of the child. The mother feels that if the child had the right food, it would not be sick. Gellhorn uses this statement to introduce her description of the children in the hospital wards she has visited. One of her most striking comments in this section is that "There was not one child in the hospital for any peacetime reason, tonsils or adenoids or mastoid or appendicitis. These children were all wounded" (33).

The discussion of the sick child leads to a
question about the opera, giving Gellhorn a catalyst for her next descriptive narrative—this one on the people’s favorite escapes, the movies and the opera. The last discussion concerns the only daughter of the Hernandezes, a girl who works in a munitions factory. Gellhorn now chronicles her own visit to one of these munitions factories, a visit during which an air raid halts production for thirty minutes. The workers proceed outside to wait for the return of the electricity so that they may continue their work. Gellhorn observes:

The women dragged out empty packing cases, in which bullets would be shipped later, and sat down in the sunshine and started knitting. They did not bother to look up...They all like working in a munitions factory because they get two rolls of bread each day as a bonus. (40-41)

Gellhorn’s conversation with the Hernandezes concludes, as do her descriptions of the daily life and work of the people. Orsagh comments in her critical biography that after the publishing of *The Face of War*, which was highly praised for Gellhorn’s effective journalism, “...Gellhorn had surely noted that while critics acknowledged her as a superior journalist, they hesitated to give her similar laurels as a writer of fiction” (306).

Although the articles and short stories focus on different subjects, the articles seem to have a more “literary” feeling than the short stories. For example, in her description of Chicote’s, the information in the short story is pared down; it is minimalistic. In the article, though, the reader can almost taste the drinks which are “frankly fatal” and hear the activity of the bar around her. What Gellhorn does is use the techniques of fiction in her non-fiction and the techniques of non-fiction in her fiction. She uses the descriptive qualities most associated with fiction in her articles, while allowing her short stories to be blunt—methods which some believe make her articles the superior of the two.

Gellhorn’s journalism does not follow a strict journalistic format, either. Of the variety of techniques used for writing media articles, the standard is called inverted-pyramid style. This style puts the most important information at the beginning of the story, followed by supporting facts and details (Itule and Anderson 100-101). The inverted-pyramid style is designed to allow the editor to edit a story from the end of the piece to the beginning, that is, to cut minor details while leaving the strongest news information intact (Dwyer 226).

There are other styles, but the inverted-pyramid style is the most commonly used style for straight reporting. The style allows for fast distribution of information by incorporating the “...who, what, where, when and how” (Kennedy 103) of the story into the first few paragraphs. The remaining space in the article is devoted to supporting details.

The reason Gellhorn’s journalism may be considered better than her early fiction might be because she uses a format quite different from the standard. She employs a reporter-narrator in her articles and often makes use of a first-person narrative style. Instead of fusing all of the main ideas into the first paragraph, Gellhorn allows the entire article to reveal her points. During her years in Spain, Gellhorn makes this construction the basis for all of her articles. They seem to exist in a category all their own.

Gellhorn continues to write articles of high quality while interspersing her trips to the fronts with breaks in the States. For example, Hemingway and Gellhorn are found in each other’s company in April of 1939 in Cuba (Baker 340). Hemingway has not found a
house in which to stay, so Gellhorn takes the chore upon herself. Although Hemingway initially dismisses the house as unacceptable, after Martha brings in workers to make improvements, Hemingway immediately takes up residence there (341). Rollyson documents that Gellhorn writes steadily from April to August, writing many of the stories which will wind up in *The Heart of Another*, and she completes a draft of *A Stricken Field* (139).

In August of 1939 Hemingway goes back to the States while Gellhorn travels to St. Louis, where she visits her mother (341). After staying with Pauline for awhile, Ernest meets Gellhorn in Sun Valley, Idaho (342).

Gellhorn continues to work on *A Stricken Field* while in Sun Valley in October. Europe is officially at war by this time. Russia threatens Finland because the Finns will not "...grant Russia border territories or yield military rights within the country" (Orsagh 108). *Collier's* assigns Gellhorn to cover the possible conflict. The first bombs land the day after she arrives (Orsagh 108-109).

Gellhorn once again uses the journalistic format she found so effective in Spain. "Bombs on Helsinki" is written in December of 1939 and describes the land of Finland--its weather, its countryside, its government, its people, and its first week of war. Gellhorn makes the scenes all too real for those who are reading. She describes the gray weather, the shock of the people when the first bombs hit, and the efforts of the firemen to extinguish the myriad fires caused by the attacks: "Firemen worked fast and silently, but there was nothing much to do except try to put out the fire. Later they could dig for the bodies" (57).

She goes into detail describing the lost children (separated from family either by confusion or death), the dead bodies, the people headed for the forests in an attempt to escape, and the people in the hospitals (57-58). She relates:

There was a woman in one of the hospitals who had been pinned under the wreckage of her home and was now waiting to die, pushing the blankets from her body because any weight was intolerable. Her child was dead but she did not know it, and her husband lay in another world staring in front of him with fixed, mad eyes. The husband was a house painter. In the bed beside him a handsome dark boy with the bright face of fever held himself very still because with a hole like that in his back, even breathing was torture. He had been a plumber. (59)

Gellhorn continues to describe scene after scene of a people trying to deal with the insanity of war. She also discusses the treacherous conditions Finland's landscape presents for those who try to travel or for those who are simply trying to survive in the wilderness. Bitter cold and icy roads are ever-present dangers. She concludes with a view of a nine-year-old boy standing resolutely watching the Russian bombers. After the bombers pass, Gellhorn overhears the boy comment, "'Little by little, I am getting really angry'" (62). She sums up the feeling of all of those people who are confused and threatened by the war. Gellhorn lets her own anger vent in the form of an article--an article which brings the effect of war on the single individual, an article which turns statistics into fellow humans, an article which perhaps brings reality a little bit closer to home for those who cannot see war firsthand.

Gellhorn again stores her wartime experiences away for later use in her fiction. Yet another story which appears in *The Heart of Another*, "Portrait of a Lady," is based on Gellhorn's experiences--this time in Finland.
The area described in “The Karelian Front” (December 1939) is also mentioned in “Portrait of a Lady.” The comparisons show Gellhorn’s efforts to bring the feeling of reality to her fiction. Ann Maynard, the female protagonist of “Portrait of a Lady,” is a journalist covering the war in Finland. She notices upon her arrival a row of sleds lined up beside the barracks where she will be staying. The driver and guide who accompany her explain how the sleds serve a variety of uses—including bringing the wounded back to base (51). The paragraph after this explanation reads:

She looked at them again. On the short upturned runners small boxes had been nailed and the sides of these painted: the sleds were as gay as toys and it was not easy to imagine a soldier in the white snow camouflage overall, skiing through the forest, pulling another man who was folded up and helpless. (51)

“The Karelian Front” contains a similar passage:

Ahead of us a line of soldiers loaded the small lightweight sledges the Finns use for transport. Sledges are the nearest you can come to mechanized efficiency in these forests and on these roads. (64)

Later the comment is made that

The weather now was not the best for them, as it was too snowy for bicycles and too early for skis, but the new snow had started and the whole army would soon change to skis, which gives them a tremendous advantage of speed. Every Finn moves on skis as other people walk. (68)

Another conjunction of scenes occurs when both Ann Maynard and Martha Gellhorn visit the tents of the soldiers in the field. “The Karelian Front” version presents the scene as this:

The troops, who had been fighting a retreating guerrilla action for five days, giving the Army time to get in its present position, were now encamped invisibly in these woods and catching up on their sleep. We crawled through the tent opening, and twelve soldiers woke in surprise. They were all very young—boys who were doing their regular military service and had got a war instead of academic practice. (67)

Gellhorn uses the same scene in “Portrait of a Lady”:

There were twenty-four men in the tent. When they saw it was a woman they sat up straight and stared at her. They were boys, not men at all, young boys with tired eyes. This was out in front of the Mannerheim Line. They had been fighting a retreating action for five days, fighting like Indians, in small bands scattered through the forest. They slept again as she stooped to leave the tent. (67)

By now, Gellhorn’s style of journalism is firmly established. Although she continues to use her creativity, sense of irony, and knack for understatement to produce distinctly unique articles, they are all presented in the same format. She uses a narrative style and description to present the human angle of her subject. The names are turned into faces—not into statistics.

At first, there seems to be no category for Gellhorn’s articles. The pieces do not fit within the basic journalistic construction of the inverted-pyramid. In fact, her articles seem to integrate the best of her short fiction talents (irony and understatement) into her narrative pattern. This method works for Gellhorn.
Within the standards of journalism because she uses a method which has since come to be called the New Journalism, which Holman and Harmon describe as being...founded on conventional journalistic or historical coverage of events or phenomena but [it] gave up the traditional impersonality and invisibility of the journalist as such and offered instead a subjective style and voice that openly admit the personal presence and involvement of a human witness...Many of these writers also work as producers of ordinary fiction, and to their ostensibly journalistic chores they take along a number of imaginative devices—including interior monologue, flashbacks, shifts of focus from documentation to philosophy, and the invention of imaginary characters. (318)

Gellhorn gets to use the best of both genres to create her articles.

Although Hemingway seemingly approves of her trip, he often complains of being lonely in Gellhorn’s absence (Baker 344). In January of 1940, Gellhorn joins Hemingway after she returns from Finland (Baker 345). They spend time in Cuba together, and Hemingway works on another novel. Carlos Baker notes that “In the afternoons he [Hemingway] often played tennis with Martha and a group of exiled Basques who had fought for the Loyalists and were now supporting themselves as professional pelota players in Havana” (346).

In “Night Before Easter,” which appears in The Heart of Another, the female protagonist reflects on a night spent with some Spanish expatriates who are friends of hers now in Cuba. The narrator explains:

They come to my house to play tennis on the days they are not going to play pelota and we have the war in Spain between us, the memory and the understanding of the war, and that makes me their friend. (44)

Gellhorn has learned true life makes a good basis for fiction.

The publication of A Stricken Field in March 1940 brings “mixed reviews” (Rollyson 149). The novel portrays a female journalist in Czechoslovakia “...between the time of the Munich Pact and the Anschluss” (Orsagh 144). Edith Walton, writing for The New York Times, feels the novel has a plot which is “...almost nonexistent...” but believes it to be a “compelling book” nonetheless (6-7).

Although Gellhorn seems to enjoy her life in Cuba with Hemingway—all aspects of it, that is, except his nightly binge drinking—she soon grows restless and leaves for New York for awhile. Returning to Cuba at the end of June, she brings Edna Gellhorn along with her for a visit (Baker 349). Hemingway has finished his novel and has decided to celebrate at a local bar with some friends. So involved in his discourse is Hemingway that he forgets a meeting with Gellhorn and Edna. Martha finds him at the bar and confronts him—enraged that he would be so rude to her mother (349-350).

Hemingway travels to New York to finish arrangements for the publication of For Whom The Bell Tolls and proceeds to meet Gellhorn and his sons in Idaho in September (351). Pauline’s divorce from Ernest Hemingway is announced to Hemingway on November 4, 1940, while he is still in Idaho (354). Gellhorn and Hemingway leave Idaho on November 20 and marry in Cheyenne, Wyoming, on November 21 (355).

These years constitute the early years of the relationship between Martha Gellhorn and Ernest Hemingway. A suggestion from
Hemingway launches Gellhorn into her wartime journalistic endeavors. She takes that suggestion and produces pieces intent upon revealing the daily effects of war on those involved. Although her fiction seems to drift without the firm establishment of her non-fiction, Gellhorn’s effective use of the New Journalism displays her progression toward a literary identity. The final years of Gellhorn’s relationship reveal a shift in her fiction which puts her still closer to her intended goal.

The Later Years

Gellhorn publishes many articles and one novel in the early years of her relationship with Hemingway. In addition, most of the short stories appearing in *The Heart of Another*, although published after Hemingway and Gellhorn are married, are written in the time preceding their marriage. She continues to write articles after her marriage to Hemingway, but only one novel, *Liana*, is published during the later years of Gellhorn and Hemingway’s relationship.

After they are married, Gellhorn and Hemingway take a working vacation so that Gellhorn can write articles surrounding a conflict in China. Hemingway arranges for an assignment of his own, and at the end of the year, he buys the Finca Vigia, the house in Cuba, for himself and Gellhorn (355). Gellhorn’s articles maintain the high level of journalism she has established during the early years of her relationship with Hemingway.

Gellhorn and Hemingway depart for China around the end of January or beginning of February of 1941 (358). They travel together for much of the trip; however, at one point Gellhorn travels to Indonesia while Hemingway stays in China. Hemingway, angry at Gellhorn’s departure, invents a story about a night spent in the company of three Chinese women (Baker 364). After this episode, Hemingway returns to the States early in May, and Gellhorn joins him later that month in New York (365).

Gellhorn and Hemingway then head to Cuba to write and spend the summer there (Orsagh 125), traveling to Sun Valley in September (Baker 367). They are there when *The Heart of Another* is published. According to Rollyson, “...[the book was far from perfect, but she felt there were four good stories in it that gave promise of better work to come” (166). Rollyson also observes that many reviewers claimed Gellhorn’s writing displayed a Hemingway influence, but Gellhorn communicated to Eleanor Roosevelt that many writers could be described as being influenced by Hemingway, not just herself (166). In *The New York Times*, Marianne Hauser proclaims some of the stories are “...flat or even empty...” but describes “Luigi’s House” (a story based upon Gellhorn’s search for the house in Cuba) as “...an intense study of fear and unrelenting stubbornness...” which shows a “...profound psychological insight and fine poetic feeling” (6-22). She also finds “Portrait of a Lady” to be a mature piece.

*The Heart of Another* is published about midway through Gellhorn’s Hemingway years. The reception, although mediocre, shows some of her stories display signs of the maturing writer. One of the chief complaints concerning many of the stories centers on the protagonist, usually a female war correspondent, whose presence, in the eyes of some critics, intrudes upon rather than enhances the story. The pattern is now familiar: what is an asset in Gellhorn’s journalism becomes a liability in her fiction.

Gellhorn and Hemingway remain in Idaho entertaining various guests, including Hemingway’s sons, until their departure in December (Orsagh 126). They are in Texas
when they hear the news about Pearl Harbor (Baker 370). Then the summer of 1942 finds the pair in Cuba, where Hemingway’s sons once again come for a visit. Later in the season, Gellhorn travels to the Caribbean for a six-week assignment for Collier’s; indeed, the husband-wife relationship has started to unravel. Hemingway commandeers the Pilar, his boat, to hunt submarines, an action Gellhorn considers ridiculous. Another bone of contention surrounds Hemingway’s periodic drinking binges with friends at unpredictable hours. Even Gellhorn’s control of the household is called into question by Hemingway. Baker states, “Martha resented most of this, and her longing to return to journalism, though certainly genuine, was one way of fighting back” (375).

In September, having completed her work in the Caribbean, Gellhorn proceeds to Dutch Guiana. She leaves from there to travel to Washington for a visit with Eleanor Roosevelt, making Hemingway resentful of her absences (377). By November, she returns to Cuba, intent upon on her writing (378). There are difficulties at home, however. As Baker describes the situation,

Martha was convinced, after five years’ association with him, that his [Hemingway’s] egotism often carried him far beyond the call of genius. Her travels of the summer and fall had been undertaken in part to resist his evident determination to own her completely. He was full of self-dramatization, much given to lying to her about his adventures, and almost neurotic in his conviction that life was stale and weary without manufactured glamour. One night in Havana he scolded her publicly for lack of generosity in Christmas gifts to the Finca servants, and then drove the Lincoln home alone, leaving her to fend for herself. On another evening, when she insisted on driving because he had been drinking, he slapped her with the back of his hand. She braked his well-loved Lincoln to a safe ten miles an hour and deliberately drove it through a ditch and into a tree, leaving him there and walking back home. (380)

Hemingway is annoyed by Martha’s resistance to idol-worshipping him, and Gellhorn is bothered by the fact they are not in Europe covering the war (382). She finishes work on Liana and leaves for Europe in late October of 1943—once again working as a correspondent for Collier’s (Orsagh 135). Hemingway remains in Cuba, where he often complains of loneliness and abandonment (Baker 385).

Liana is seen as a turning point for Gellhorn. Written amidst growing tension between herself and her husband, the book concerns a Caribbean island where a mulatto named Liana marries a white man named Marc Royer. Marc makes Liana change her name and sequesters her from the world, later providing a tutor for Liana. Liana’s growing intellectual curiosity parallels a growing need for independence; however, her ambitions and dreams are thwarted by the very man who has allowed her to experience them—her husband. The novel ends with Liana’s suicide (Rollyson 186-187)

The novel represents a departure from Gellhorn’s war-related stories and novels. In fact, Rollyson notes the implications Liana represents for Gellhorn’s own life: “Gellhorn seemed to find herself all at once in the composition of this book. It could not have escaped Hemingway: She had written herself out of his life” (188). Also written out of Liana is the journalist-protagonist of her
earlier stories. Gellhorn has explored new territory, and the venture is a success.

At the start of 1944, Hemingway speaks of going to Europe to bring Martha back, while proclaiming to Martha through the mail that he is not interested in working at the fronts. Martha comes back in March to convince Hemingway he is needed in Europe (Baker 386), and at this point things take a rather nasty turn. Hemingway agrees to go to Europe.

Although Hemingway could have signed with any major periodical, he purposely signs with Collier’s. Each magazine is allowed only one correspondent in areas of combat. This move on Hemingway’s part means Gellhorn has restricted access to areas she could have entered before. Hemingway does not even aid her in getting to Europe (Rollyson 195). While Martha leaves on May 13 by boat, Hemingway remains in the U.S. and leaves by plane on May 17 (Baker 387), arriving in London while Gellhorn is still at sea (388). While there he meets Mary Welsh, a reporter who lives in London and who originally came from Minnesota (389).

When Martha finally arrives in England after a dangerous and tense voyage, she discovers Hemingway in the hospital after his car has wrecked while he was traveling home from a late-night party. Gellhorn is unsympathetic (391), and Hemingway begins to treat her with growing contempt. He even pretends to attack her in his hotel room one evening. Later, after apologizing to an upset Gellhorn, he invites her to dinner. On the way to eat, they encounter none other than Mary Welsh, whom Hemingway quickly invites to join them (393).

On D-Day Gellhorn manages to get to shore on a hospital ship—a feat Hemingway is unable to pull off—and one for which he never forgives Gellhorn (395). When Gellhorn encounters Hemingway again, he is seeing Mary Welsh (395). Martha subsequently leaves to cover the Italian front (395), and Hemingway continues to court Mary Welsh. Martha asks for a divorce in October 1944. They encounter each other again around Christmas of that year, but relations between the two are quite chilly (441). The official divorce does not occur until December 21, 1945 (454). During the time span between Martha and Hemingway’s last encounter in Europe, Mary Welsh has pursued a divorce from her husband and has moved into the house in Cuba with Hemingway (454). Mary Welsh and Ernest Hemingway are married March 14, 1946 (454).

With Liana, Gellhorn’s writing takes a turn. Absent is the female journalist-protagonist, who seems a bit obtrusive in the stories of The Heart of Another. Liana is a branching out for Gellhorn. She has written a novel without the shadow of war in the background and has delved into the world of Liana. That is a story of one woman’s growing need for independence and an examination of the results of a relationship too tightly controlled. Although Liana does not see the levels of success heaped upon The Trouble I’ve Seen, it is a personal triumph for Gellhorn. She has traveled a bit farther down the road of self-discovery.

Conclusion

Gellhorn’s work shows a steady progression toward a literary identity in the years from 1936 to 1945. Prior to her relationship with Hemingway, Gellhorn writes at least two novels which are so much to her dissatisfaction that she will forever put them away without attempting publication. One of these novels is written during 1933 and 1934 while Gellhorn is involved with Bertrand de Jouvenel; the other, a novel on pacifism, is written in the months just preceding
Gellhorn's first encounter with Hemingway.

She gets on the masthead at Collier's after she begins sending them her articles on the Spanish Civil War. During the early years of her wartime writing, Gellhorn establishes a unique narrative format which will come to be called the New Journalism. Her articles bring the human aspect of war to the world, showing the lives of those affected by war instead of reporting them as statistics. Gellhorn displays a flair for irony and understatement, while exhibiting just the right images to create her intended effect.

While her journalism matures early in her Hemingway days, Gellhorn's fiction receives mixed reviews after the overwhelmingly positive reception of The Trouble I’ve Seen. But with the publication of Liana, there is a shift away from the journalist-protagonist technique. Orsagh also sees the shift in the 1940's as a shift “...in her fiction from a concern with political philosophies and external movements to an exploration of the individual and his or her inner need for purpose and meaning” (ix). With this shift Orsagh believes Gellhorn’s “...characters grew more complex, her stories more profound” (ix).

Martha Gellhorn eventually succeeds in creating fictional pieces as deserving of attention as her works of non-fiction. From her first endeavors with fiction writing, while always producing non-fiction of high regard, Gellhorn struggles to find a voice which will equal the fervor of her non-fiction. Throughout all of the exclamations that she is a far better journalist than writer of fiction, Gellhorn perseveres. At the conclusion of her relationship with Hemingway and with the publication of Liana in 1945, Gellhorn finally sees critical acclaim for her fictional endeavors--acclaim not received since The Trouble I’ve Seen.

And so it is that Martha Gellhorn establishes a firm literary identity in the mid-1940's, an identity which displays the strength and fortitude of a woman whose writing captures the human spirit in a manner which could only be caught by a person of magnificent spirit and fortitude herself. Martha Gellhorn. Journalist. Author of short stories. Novelist. Playwright. And above all...writer.

Afterword

Gellhorn has steadily written works of fiction and non-fiction since her years with Hemingway, including The Wine of Astonishment (1948), His Own Man (1961), and The Lowest Trees Have Tops (1967). Four collections of her short stories have been published since the 1940's: The Honeyed Peace (1953), Two By Two (1958), Pretty Tales for Tired People (1965), and The Weather in Africa (1981). She has also written a work of nonfiction entitled Travels with Myself and Another (1978) and two collections of her articles have been reissued: The Face of War (1988; first published in 1959) and The View from the Ground (1988). Gellhorn has also co-written one play, Love Goes to Press (1947), with Virginia Cowles.

Gellhorn marries T.S. Matthews, her third and final husband, in 1954, but they divorce in 1963. Around 1950, she adopts a young boy named Sandro from an orphanage in Italy. Her most current addresses reveal she resides in London and Wales. She is eighty-six years old.

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The marriage was an immediate failure. During their last public appearance together at a May tournament in Durham, they had at least acted content, but after only six months and three days, the 1540 divorce of King Henry VIII of England from Lady Anne of Cleves was final. With the marriage also went the hope of a united Protestant front against possible Catholic attack. Why did this union fail so quickly and who was the Lady from Cleves who could not hold Henry’s attention? Was Anne the plain, unattractive soul barely mentioned in high school and college world history books, or was she more than that? The answers to these questions lie in the events surrounding the alliance and the arranged marriage.

After Martin Luther and his contemporaries initiated the Reformation, Europe divided into several religious factions. In the mid-1530’s, the Catholic powers of France, under Francis I, and the Holy Roman Empire, under Charles V, sought to isolate Protestant England politically. Since England had been involved in several previous wars against France, Henry VIII feared attack and, at the urging of his chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, he began to seek out military and religious allies on the Continent. Cromwell, former court liaison for Cardinal Wolsey, and currently principal secretary and chief member of Henry’s Privy Council, was instrumental in overseeing the legislation of the Reformation in England during the 1530’s. As an idealist with great regard for national sovereignty, he was eager to protect the newborn English Protestantism from internal and external opposition. When threatened by Catholic alliances on the Continent, Cromwell began to search for any country willing to enter a religious and defensive coalition, while Henry focused on reopening communications with France. Cromwell saw the possibility of an agreement with some of the less doctrinally rigid Lutheran princes and pressed to continue talks with them. However, because of disputes over clerical celibacy and the number of sacraments, negotiations were broken off in 1535. In the two years that followed, events further pushed England to reopen talks with the princes. One occurred when, during a reorganization of the local militias, Cromwell discovered great disparities in the English defenses, inadequacies which would make the nation even more vulnerable to Catholic attacks, especially from France. Then, in 1537, Henry’s third wife, Jane Seymour, died after giving birth to the king’s only male heir, the future Edward VI. Although Jane was rumored to be Henry’s favorite and his longest period of celibacy between wives occurred after her death, in reality, the aging monarch began searching for a new bride after only two months of mourning. Negotiations reconvened in 1538 under the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who saw the princes as prime candidates for a religious alliance. As chief negotiator, Cromwell’s first step was to waive total doctrinal agreement for a more important protective military alliance. Fear of war was further heightened when, in 1539, Catholic France and Spain suddenly recalled their ambassadors from England. From Cromwell’s viewpoint, the major powers of Europe were lining up on the other side of the battlefield; war or invasion seemed imminent.

Henry authorized overtures to several
royal houses for alliances at the same time that Cromwell and Cranmer were wrestling over general church doctrine with the Lutherans. The king instructed both men that he would prefer a pact to include marriage, not only because he wanted another wife, but more importantly so that the agreement could be cemented more firmly. However, Henry was more cautious than Cromwell in his motivation to consolidate the Reformation because he did not wish to become embroiled in a long religious war, and he still wanted to attempt to re-establish relations with Francis and Charles. Henry also favored the highly cultured women of France and Flanders, so offers of marriage were first sent to the beauties of those nations. His first choice was Mary of Lorraine, but she preferred the younger and more reputable James V of Scotland. She probably also refused Henry because many in the French royalty felt Henry treated women like horses "trotted out at a fair to be judged." His second choice was Christina, Duchess of Milan, who happened to be the Emperor’s daughter. This wise lady flatly refused also. It seemed that most of Europe did not look kindly on the infamous King Henry because he managed to get rid of his wives so quickly and so harshly.

Henry had nearly given up hope of marrying a foreign noblewoman when Minister Cromwell suggested the House of Cleves, specifically the Duke’s daughter, Anne. Cleves was a modest province, but the advantage lay in its location at a focal point between Charles’s Netherlands and the rebellious Lutheran provinces. The elderly Duke, John III, also commanded the vital route down the Rhine River that linked Hapsburg possessions in Burgundy and Italy, and upon which “any imperial invasion on England depended." The religious implications were also excellent since as a moderate Lutheran province with the motto _Candida nostra_ ("Our Faith is Spotless"), Cleves had rejected papal authority while at the same time remaining open to specific doctrinal concessions that other states refused to make. The Duke’s faith also placed him under the protection of his son-in-law, Elector John Frederic of Saxony, who was equally open to an alliance with England. In February, 1539, the old Duke died and, though at first slowing arbitration, his death actually sped closure of the deal. Anne’s brother, now Duke William, and her mother were even more determined to gain an English ally and see Anne as queen. By May, Henry’s reputation had left no other option as all marriage negotiations were terminated except those proceedings with Cleves.

At this point Cromwell and Henry had four reasons for continuing talks with the small dukedom. Two involved security concerns: England wanted friendship with Saxony and the Smalaldic League, and Henry wanted prompt assistance if attacked. The third reason was religious because Cromwell hoped Cleves could moderate religious innovations in Germany that could further distance Protestants on both sides of the Channel. Finally, the forty-eight-year-old Henry simply wanted another male heir to establish his line of succession more firmly. Now the delicacy and protocol of sixteenth-century diplomacy became evident as Henry, being the more prestigious of the nobility involved, remained aloof in his dealings with the young Duke. He vaguely suggested a match between the houses of Tudor and Cleves, and also gave orders to wait until the Germans made the actual offer of Anne’s hand. With the Elector of Saxony as an intermediary, Cromwell hoped to secure Anne as an “instrument for the suppression of Catholicism,” which was seeing a revival in
England. Unlike the ladies of France and Flanders who chose not to marry Henry, it was obvious already that Lady Anne was to be given no voice in her possible nuptials with the infamous king. Of course, Henry did require that his wife be reasonably attractive, so as a reference Cromwell used her elder sister, Sybilla. As the Duchess of Saxony since 1527, Sybilla was one of the most educated, distinguished, and beautiful women in all of Europe. Cromwell reasoned that Anne would be at least as refined and educated as her sister, and the influence she could have over Saxony and the League would be to England’s advantage.

Unfortunately, Catholic Party leaders in Parliament, assisted by dubious ambassador to France Stephen Gardiner, did not wish to have a Lutheran as queen and attempted several times to stymie negotiations. The most famous and serious of these attempts were the “sudden display of orthodoxy to disarm enemies at home and abroad” known as the Six Articles. Introduced into the House of Lords in May of 1539 by the Duke of Norfolk, a prominent Catholic and uncle of Henry’s next wife, Katherine Howard, the articles were designed to spark a national debate on transubstantiation at the same time the Dukes of Saxony and Cleves were visiting England with a multitude of Lutheran scholars. It had taken Cromwell months of strenuous planning to persuade the delegation to make the long journey from the Continent, and the Six Articles very nearly destroyed all faith the Germans had in the alliance. Even more surprising was the passage of the Articles in both houses of Parliament without major argument because of support from Catholic-minded lords. In all the Six Articles proclaimed that anyone who denied transubstantiation was a heretic and reaffirmed the doctrines of chastity, confession, celibacy of the clergy, and Holy Communion. One of the provisions even set up special ecclesiastical courts to prosecute violations of these doctrines. Cromwell’s only means of defense to stop a Catholic takeover was to reinvigorate the splintered Reform party with a new Lutheran queen. The Six Articles did delay bargaining for over two months, but Ambassador Christopher Mont managed to check pro-Catholic agitation and explain to Duke William that the king did not support the reactionary measure.

William’s interest was partially maintained by Cromwell’s suggestion that, in addition to the king’s marriage to Anne, the Duke would wed Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry and Catherine of Aragon, upon the signing of an alliance. The only stipulation was that a portrait of Anne be sent to Henry for his approval. If the lady caught the king’s eye, the mutual defense pact would be signed. In actuality, the fine print of the deal also guaranteed Henry one hundred of Cleves’ finest gunners as a protected “reserve force” in case Cleves was attacked first. Anne, it seems, was not enough to affirm Henry’s allegiance; crack reinforcements proved more enticing to the king and his sagging militia.

As for the notorious portrait, Cromwell held it in reserve as the final persuading factor for Henry to agree to the marriage. Before commissioning Hans Holbein, the king’s court painter, to do the rendering, the minister wisely placed agents in Saxony specifically to relay an accurate description of Anne. All spoke well of her, including the ambassador to Saxony and Cleves, Christopher Mont, who wrote profusely of her beauty, virtue, and honesty, but despite all his precautions, Cromwell was still duped by the Dutch master. In actuality, there were two portraits commissioned, one of Anne and also one of
her younger sister, Amelia, because certainly one of these ladies would be comparable to her distinguished older sister and would be found desirable by Henry.\textsuperscript{31} The portraits soon arrived, not as standard-sized pictures but as exquisitely detailed miniatures held in a case decorated with a Tudor rose carved from ivory.\textsuperscript{32}

Holbein portrayed Anne in her twenty-fourth year as a continental beauty with a “fair complexion, auburn hair, thick and rosy lips, and a lively air in every feature.”\textsuperscript{33} This easily confirmed everything Henry and Cromwell had heard about her and, according to G. R. Elton, Anne’s picture did not disgrace “the gallery of Henry’s generally rather unattractive wives.”\textsuperscript{34} Unfortunately, Holbein’s subject was hardly equal to his painting, because, as was the style of the time, the artist took a certain license in correcting his subject’s faults. Still, some details of her appearance are based on the unsupported accounts of single individuals. For example, it was rumored that Holbein omitted Anne’s smallpox scars, but only one witness ever mentioned their existence. This has led to the conclusion that the pock marks were either very small or a mere theory to justify Henry’s opinion of her appearance.\textsuperscript{35}

Despite some of the falsehood of the portrait, Anne was still a well-respected and admired young woman. Born on the twenty-second of September in 1516, she was the second daughter of Duke John III of Cleves and Marie, heiress to Berg, Juliers, and Ravensburgh.\textsuperscript{36} Anne was raised and educated as a Lutheran, one of the main factors which would later lead to her marriage to Henry. Beloved by her family, her symbols were two white swans, signifying candor and innocence. They were taken from a fairy tale about the Knight of Swans, a supposed ancestor who was guided down the Rhine by two wild swans.\textsuperscript{37} Nicholas Wotton, an emissary at the negotiations, wrote to Henry that she could read and write her own dialect of German, and was extremely talented at needlework. In a letter dated August 11, 1539, Wotton again told the king that Anne was gentle, very lovely, and had a special bond with her mother, Marie. He repeatedly mentioned her good wit and how quickly she would learn English once she came to England.\textsuperscript{38} Other reports to Henry spoke of Anne’s shy beauty, despite her lack of polite accomplishment. This meant that the Lady of Cleves, though well-educated by German standards, could neither speak nor write the cultured languages of Latin and French, nor was she skilled with a musical instrument.\textsuperscript{39} It seemed as though her legendary beauty and wit were expected to overcome any faults of her formal education.

Now that the infamous portrait was in England, the deception of Henry began in earnest, because Cromwell, who had been equally deceived by continental accounts, made matters worse by continuously reminding his king of how “everything in her is beautiful.”\textsuperscript{40} This, of course, made Henry even more eager to meet Anne, and probably added to his disappointment when he at last viewed his bride in person. Correspondence after correspondence overflowed with flattery for the young woman, though the details of her true appearance varied widely. Some wrote of her expressive black eyes and long raven hair, while others emphasized her calm composure under all circumstances.\textsuperscript{41} Perhaps the most famous description is the widely cited simile of Christopher Mont when he penned that Anne was “as golden sun excelleth the silvery moon” when compared to English noblewomen.\textsuperscript{42} Her exact characterization remains unknown, though it is quite obvious by the contradictions that some of these correspondents were lying, but
it is probably true that the more vicious tales of her ugliness held some degree of exaggeration also. Whatever their motives, whether they had a hidden agenda or were simply trying to keep Henry happy, the letters certainly aided negotiations. At the same time a relaxation of diplomatic tension on the Continent brought a new sense of peace that further spurred an amicable relationship with Cleves. Charles V’s renewed interest in England may have come from his need to suppress dangerous outbreaks in the Netherlands, and he required the good will of both France and England in order to do so. The detente encouraged Henry’s enthusiasm for Anne and the alliance, and he immediately sent an emissary to ask for her hand. At this point, one of the facilitators of the negotiations began to have second thoughts. John Frederic of Saxony was still wary of the Catholic Party and wanted an agreement on church doctrine first. Ambassador Mont wrote that the Elector was also concerned that his sister-in-law was to wed such an infamous king, and that he had to be persuaded that the union was in the best interest of Protestantism. Meanwhile, Cromwell encountered little objection from the Smalcalcldic League, which believed placing a princess with a Lutheran education on the throne would be a great triumph for the Reformation. Finally, with all parties in favor, the defensive alliance was signed at both Windsor and Dusseldorf in September of 1539, with the marriage treaty following in October.

The pact was sealed, and now England eagerly awaited the arrival of Henry’s new bride. Her journey would be long, taking over two months to complete, so in early October, after a tearful farewell to her family, Anne left her native Dusseldorf for England and Henry. Her itinerary proposed that she travel from Calais to Dover, where the king’s council would escort her to the wedding site at Canterbury. After the ceremony, she and her new husband would return to London for her coronation in February. On the road to Calais, her entourage was endlessly stopped by English merchants who showered her with fine gifts of velvet, gold jewelry, and fur. It was quite obvious that England wanted a new queen almost as much as Henry did, and the people were prepared to welcome Anne as lavishly as they could. To her astonishment, she was greeted on both sides of the Channel by scores of nobles, and cannons were fired by the navy as a salute. Delayed at Calais because of rough seas, Anne exhibited her initial good will toward Henry when she asked to learn English card games so as to better please her new husband. When the weather permitted, the party crossed the Channel, and according to the sixteenth century account by Raphael Holinshed, once in England, she was conducted to Rochester on the last day of 1539.

It was here that Henry chose to view his future wife, and this ill-fated first meeting was enough “to destroy the enchantment which Holbein’s pencil had created.” Wanting to be alone with Anne without the etiquette and attendants of court, Henry stole away in disguise to Rochester. The woman Henry found there lacked the grace and modesty of the portrait, but was still a fresh-looking young woman of Germanic ancestry. As chronicled by Jean Audin, the king later commented that poor Anne was “coarse, tall and vulgar.” This description is supported by H.A.L. Fisher, who remarks that she was plain and unappealing, having “lost the first bloom of youth.” However, this account is partially discredited by the fact that Fisher gives Anne’s age as thirty-four, instead of her still youthful twenty-four. Anne was also
surprised by the identity of the intruder, and though there is no written account of her thoughts on Henry, she probably was not charmed by the “beady-eyed and corpulent” appearance of her forty-eight-year-old suitor either. Still, she maintained her composure and kneeled in an attempt to greet him properly. The initial exchange between the couple scarcely lasted a few minutes, and since the Duke of Suffolk had to act as interpreter, Henry immediately disliked the sound of her “high Dutch” dialect. He did not even feel she was worthy of her New Year’s presents of a sable fur and matching muff, and instead of giving them in person, Henry sent them by courier the next morning.

Promptly after leaving her chamber, the distraught monarch began questioning and browbeating anyone who had escorted her to Rochester. He could not believe the court painter and his ministers had deceived him about this “Flemish mare,” as he referred to Anne. When interrogated, Cromwell blamed the ship’s admiral, who should have delayed the lady at Calais until the king knew of her appearance (because of storms, Anne had been delayed there anyway for several days). As could be expected, Henry thoroughly chastised his loyal minister, and with his usual brutality began calling his miserable bride-to-be “a Great Flanders mare” behind closed doors. But Henry could not completely alienate his ministers, for he charged them with finding a loophole in the alliance or in Anne’s past which would allow him to break the engagement. He even slowed her trip to Canterbury by insisting that she rest and refresh herself from the long journey; in truth, he was buying time for his ministers. They found only one possibility—Anne’s parents, at her birth, had arranged for her to wed the Marquis of Lorraine, but the betrothal had been annulled in 1535. When this hope was exhausted, Henry finally succumbed to honor and duty and decided to proceed with an extravagant wedding.

Despite their feelings toward each other, Henry and Anne managed to act with dignity and tender endearment for one another in public. Upon her formal presentation to the court and the people, one ambassador remarked that though she had little classical beauty, “her countenance is firm and determined.” This calm steadfastness was to aid Anne greatly during her marriage. After all, she received the worst end of the alliance: Henry. And though not resembling the portrait, she was still a fine young woman, much admired and loved in her own country. She always presented herself with dignity, and wore her finest gowns and jewels even though her Germanic style of dress seemed strange and outlandish when compared to the fashions of England and France. In fact, when attired in local dress, Anne appeared more appropriate and even pretty to the English eye, but not to Henry. She attempted to please the cold monarch, but finally gave up when nothing she tried would interest him. Meanwhile, she was to be married to a bloated, diseased king whom she barely knew and who was twice her age. This alone would be enough to frighten any girl who felt stranded and alone in a kingdom far from home.

The situation was made worse by Henry’s attitude toward Anne and the wedding. He told one of his attendants that if she had not come so far, if he had not made such elaborate arrangements, and if he did not fear sending her brother to Charles and Francis, he would not have married her. Accustomed to women of intellect, manners, and wit, Henry found Anne willful and stubborn because she refused to flatter him incessantly. Agnes
Strickland, sympathetic to Anne, believes she deserved a much better life than to be the wife of “a prince so devoid of the feelings of a gentleman as Henry VIII.” In fact, she probably lived in fear of death not just because of the fate of Anne Boleyn, but also because Henry had just ordered the executions of two of his childhood friends for treason.

Finally, after several tension-filled days, the ceremony was set to insure the continuance of the alliance. January 6, the Epiphany, was designated for the wedding, but Henry was still determined to make things difficult for Anne. He set the date suddenly, insisting upon an eight a.m. service, and then complained when his bride took too long to prepare. She wore a gold gown in the Dutch style with a crown of jewels and flowers, and one account reports that she even chose a yellow hairpiece which clashed horribly with her dark features. If this eyewitness description holds any truth, it illustrates how, in an attempt to please Henry, Anne unfortunately made his disdain for her worse. Although she refused to play the timid, flattering wife, Anne did earnestly try to win Henry’s approval so that her brother’s alliance would stand. Henry remained obstinate, and would not consummate the marriage both because of lack of interest and recent declines in his health. Longstanding problems like thrombosed veins and running sores on his legs left the king in great pain. Though he slept next to Lady Anne almost every night, Henry left her “as good a maid as he found her.” In addition, the stress of trying to reach a doctrinal agreement with his Lutheran allies probably also took its toll on his fitness and mood.

Less that a month after the marriage, both Anne and Henry were searching for grounds for divorce. Anne fought his stubbornness with spite and refused to conform to her husband’s wishes, such as taking lessons to learn English. Henry shamelessly admitted he had no intention of keeping her as a wife, and made every attempt to injure her honor and reputation. He replaced her German attendants with English ones, who reported directly to him, and he browbeat her with slander in order to force her into accepting a divorce. It was at this point that Anne committed the faux pas that gave Henry his grounds for a separation; in anger, she proclaimed that she would have much preferred fulfilling her other engagement. Soon after, as the first step in the divorce, he sent her to Richmond on the pretense of her health. Henry already had his eye on the more attractive Katherine Howard, niece of Catholic leader Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. The Duke’s party was hungry for revenge, and Katherine could give them a Catholic queen and the means to eliminate that perpetual thorn, Thomas Cromwell.

Henry had utilized the marriage to sow discord between France and the Empire, and the plan had initially worked, but now two participants in the alliance were simply too unhappy: Anne and himself. Henry asked privy councilor, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, a “parasite” “devoid of every generous sympathy,” to extract his majesty from the marriage by any means possible. Ironically, Wriothesley was also a vital member of Cromwell’s secretariat and managed to survive the minister’s fall by aiding Henry in Anne’s divorce and Katherine Howard’s execution. He called many witnesses, including Anne’s English attendants, to attest before Parliament of the queen’s problematic attitude. He also forged evidence to suggest Anne’s previous betrothal was not properly annulled, and proposed that the marriage was void because of her other engagement and because Henry had never truly consented due
to Cromwell's deception. After a little over six months of marriage and only eight days of testimony, Wriothesley's job was complete as Parliament unanimously passed the bill nullifying the union on July 9, 1540. Meanwhile, in Richmond, Anne clearly feared for her life and even fainted when messengers came to deliver the news. However, as soon as they explained their visit, she thanked them profusely. The agony was over, and she was finally free of the disastrous marriage. Henry, perhaps used to his wives' begging for forgiveness, was taken aback by her happiness and the letter she wrote thanking him. Anne may have also been thanking him for the generous divorce settlement. She was declared the "King's sister," a title of honor which placed her before all other women except Henry's wives and children. She also received a stipend of three thousand pounds per year and was granted the palaces at Richmond, Dartford, and Dunham Hall so long as she remained in England.

On the Continent, news of the breakup quickly traveled to all the royal houses, many of which were happy they had not accepted Henry's proposals. Duke William was understandably upset, feeling that his sister had been wronged, and refused to accept the termination of the marriage. He and John Frederic contemplated dissolving the defensive and religious alliance in retaliation for the divorce, but Henry persuaded Anne to write to her brother. The king may have ruined part of the agreement by divorce, but in no way did he want the integrity of the pact compromised, so Anne sent a letter to William explaining the situation and impressing upon her brother that she was happy with the situation. She also disclosed in a later, private letter that any disruption of the alliance could result in her beheading; that she was, in effect, Henry's hostage to insure the good intentions of the princes.

This message was punctuated by the beheading of Thomas Cromwell, Henry's most loyal and industrious minister, for treason and heresy on July twenty-eighth. Cromwell was arrested by bill of attainder almost a month before the divorce; circumstances surrounding his fall remain mysterious. In May 1540, he still retained control of Parliament and had just been elevated to peerage as the Earl of Essex. Although it was rumored that Cromwell fell because of the marriage fiasco, there is no evidence to prove this as the main cause of his demise. He was a convenient scapegoat for the failure of the union, but he was never far from Henry's supervision in formulating the alliance. Rather, there were deep divisions over religious doctrine within the Privy Council, and Henry's reluctance to break all friendly ties with France and the Empire placed him at odds with his chief minister. Cromwell also had accumulated too many enemies who saw him as a religious radical, and as his reforms grew unpopular with Catholics and Protestants across England, they seized the opportunity to silence the "detestable heretic." Two days later, three other men, including Dr. Robert Barnes, were burned as heretics. The Lutheran Barnes had been instrumental in negotiations and was sent to Germany to meet with the princes as well as Luther and Melanchthon. He also secured for Henry the title of "Patron and Protector of the League" from the Smalaldic League. Unfortunately, his overenthusiasm for reform and doctrine resulted in accusations of his being part of an Anabaptist conspiracy against the king.

Henry proceeded to marry Katherine Howard in August, only eight months after his marriage to Anne. His new bride did not fare as well as Anne, though, and was executed for
adultery in 1542. During and in between his final two marriages, Henry visited Anne several times and both discovered they got along better as friends. Meanwhile, Anne was overjoyed to have her freedom and appeared livelier and more content than during her marriage. Showing “truly queenly dignity,” she did not look for sympathy, nor did she involve herself in the political intrigues of the time. She found some sense of retribution in the disgrace of Katherine Howard, and there was a movement by her brother and the English Protestant party to reunite Henry and Anne, but nothing came of it. Anne may have taken comfort in the fact that she had survived marriage to Henry and was the “only woman Henry ever made perfectly happy.” The scars she carried from the ordeal probably kept her wisely independent even when Henry’s death would have allowed her to remarry.

Adopting the language and customs of her hosts, Anne made England her home and Henry’s daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, her close friends. Though her brother died insane from disease, she remained tranquil and prudent at a time when any other woman would have suffered depression or returned to her native land. Anne became a very private person, preferring the simple domestic life of her favorite Dartford residence to the bustle of court. Many of her closest friends were her servants and neighbors, but she made an effort to attend Mary’s coronation. In this, her last public appearance, she rode in an open carriage with future queen and friend Elizabeth. When death finally came after an exhausting battle with a long illness on July 16, 1557, forty-one-year-old Anne spent her final hours at Chelsea palace, surrounded by her beloved servants. Although a Lutheran at the time of her marriage, and the centerpiece of a Protestant alliance, she ironically died a devout Catholic, perhaps at Queen Mary’s urging, and had managed to stay on good terms with people of both religions. Her hearse was draped in white to symbolize that she had always led a maiden life, and at the queen’s request, on August third, Anne was buried in Westminster in a place of honor near the high altar. The seldom-recognized tomb has an unfinished memorial carved into it; Anne was the only wife of Henry VIII to be honored with a memorial, and even hers is only half-finished.

After her death, rumors spread throughout Germany that Anne had been confined to a few palace rooms and cruelly treated during the last years of her life. This led to an impostor appearing and begging for sanctuary at the palace of the Prince of Cobourg. She was welcomed and treated as family until being jailed and proven insane. As for Anne’s legacy, many historians tend to gloss over her as simply the dull, ugly middle wife of Henry VIII, when in fact she deserves as much or more consideration than his other wives. If Anne has not always received the sympathy her composure and dignity deserved, it is probably because Henry’s contempt for her biased early records of her life, and therefore the historians who studied these records. In reality, Anne lived in a time of great upheaval, the Reformation, and she played a vital part in the attempts at Protestant unity. Her role in England’s brief, ill-fated alliance with the Lutheran princes demonstrated the true degree of schism within the Reformation. This failure to agree on beliefs and policy marked the future course of religion by establishing a discord of beliefs and a lack of unity which would result in over a century of war and strife. In the middle of the conflict, Anne of Cleves simply became a pawn of foreign policy to be played and sacrificed as needed by the Protestant leaders.
of Europe.

ENDNOTES

7Blunt, Church of England, 470.
8Elton, Reform and Reformation, 282.
9Ibid., 282-83.
10James Ga...
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MARKETING A DEADLY ADDICTION TO YOUTHS
Pat Jordan

Introduction
The tobacco industry is under almost constant attack from many different adversaries. They have claimed that the industry has covered up data for years which proved the ill effects of tobacco, tar, and nicotine, has tampered with levels of nicotine to promote addiction, and has marketed cigarettes and other tobacco products to the youth target market.

The industry has denied many of these allegations and has provided contradicting studies to try to swing the balance of opinion back toward it. In the very recent past, people who used to help make the industry thrive have become whistle-blowers. It appears the scale has once again swung away from the industry. Publicity surrounding the findings and litigation has created groups of people who sponsor anti-smoking campaigns and want to have legislation passed which would ban all advertising of tobacco products.

This paper traces the history of tobacco advertising from the 1920's through the present, examines several studies of the effects of advertising on the young, discusses information the tobacco industry concealed for years on the health effects of tobacco use, and passes along suggestions concerning the proposed ban on tobacco advertising.

Statistics
Since the 1950's "Health Scare" (see p.8), the effects of smoking have been studied intensely. Smoking is linked to lung cancer, heart disease, strokes, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). One Public Health Service report estimates that smoking is responsible for 87% of all lung cancer deaths. The report also attributes 82% of deaths from COPD and 21% of coronary heart disease deaths to smoking. (Redhead and Rowbert 1995)

Findlay (1995) listed some interesting facts about smoking:
- Smoking-related illnesses account for between $100 and $200 billion in medical-treatment expense each year. (Businesses bear about one-half of that tab.)
- Cigarettes and chewing tobacco cause or contribute to 400,000 U.S. deaths per year.
- In 1950, one-half of all adult Americans smoked. In 1995, that number stood at 20%.
- More teens aged 13 to 17 start to smoke each year than any other demographic group.
- Nicotine is addictive.

Development of Cigarettes
Years ago, naturally grown tobacco was not as full of active nicotine as the tobacco used in today's cigarettes. Studies have shown (Federal Register 1995) that placement of the leaf on a tobacco stalk affects nicotine levels. The higher the leaf on the stalk, the more active the nicotine level. Growers have also learned to manipulate plants to insure higher nicotine levels, which in turn generate greater sales volume.

The 50's "Health Scare" (see p. 8) produced changes in the manufacture of cigarettes. The tobacco industry introduced "healthier" cigarettes. They added filters, introduced menthol (and other flavorings), and reduced tar levels.

Food And Drug Administration investigations (Federal Register 1995) show that reducing the amount of tar in cigarettes should also lower the level of nicotine.
Disclosure of once secret reports of tobacco companies shows that there is nicotine manipulation in the manufacture of cigarettes. Findings support that high levels of nicotine insure a stable level of the addictive drug in the system of the smoker.

The design and manufacture of cigarettes affects the level of nicotine delivery on a per cigarette basis. The delivery is as consistent as the dosage of medication in prescription drugs (Federal Register 1995). The following aspects are present in the design and manufacture of cigarettes by all U.S. tobacco companies:

1. Chemical manipulation of tobacco smoke (burn rate).
2. The use of flavoring and casings to make cigarette smoke less harsh.
3. Filtration (decreases the levels of tar and increases the delivery of nicotine).
4. Using reconstituted tobacco (using the throw-away parts of the plant and adding nicotine and other additives).
5. The use of wider tipping paper (to increase the smokeable length of each cigarette).

Advertising

Basic Information

According to Peles (1971), cigarette companies utilize local markets and give discounts to heavy advertisers to realize economies of scale. Through the almost continuous introduction of new brands and heavy advertising, brand preference can be established. If two new brands are introduced simultaneously, one will usually be more successful than the other. The dollars spent on the less successful brand are transferred to the more successful one for further advertising.

In 1968, anti-smoking campaigns first appeared on broadcast media. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruled that there would be no more than one anti-smoking advertisement per five cigarette ads (Abernathy and Teel 1986). In 1971 cigarette advertising was banned from radio and television. The down side of this is that it resulted in the elimination of almost all anti-smoking ads. Abernathy and Teel (1986) found that advertising affects brand consumption more highly than cigarette consumption overall. They also stated that print advertising had a greater overall effect than broadcast advertising prior to the ban. They also suggested that public health warnings of the harmful effects of smoking/tobacco use seemed to be more effective in limiting tobacco consumption.

Because cigarettes are lethal as well as addictive, the tobacco industry must constantly replace smokers. Most long-term smokers are brand loyal. Most “replacement starters” (Pollay 1995) are young people. These facts have led to suspicions that the tobacco industry has been intentionally targeting a young market. According to statistics provided by the Wiley Brooks Company to anti-smoking coalitions (1990), U.S. cigarette sellers realized industry profits of $221 million on the illegal sale of tobacco products to minors. The overall worth of the products sold was $126 billion, and included 947 million packs of cigarettes and 26 million containers of smokeless tobacco.

Tobacco industry critics feel sure that the “Joe Camel” campaign is marketed to youths intentionally. Tobacco spokespeople deny this accusation (Pollay 1995). A look at the history of tobacco advertising may produce more of an anti-smoking point of view.

As early as the 1920's, parents and legislators were concerned about exposure of children to cigarette ads (Pollay 1995). Schudson (1984) quoted a U.S. Senator of that era as saying:
Not since the days when the vendor of harmful nostrums was swept from our streets has this country witnessed such an orgy of bunk, quackery and downright falsehood and fraud as now marks the current campaign promoted by certain cigarette manufacturers to create a vast woman and child market.

The History of Advertising
Tobacco Products

By 1930 radio was a very popular medium for advertising. The four major tobacco companies of that era, American Tobacco (ATC), Brown & Williamson (B&W), P. Lorillard (LOR), and R.J. Reynolds (RJR) had all purchased network radio time.

Lucky Strike sponsored the best known and longest running of the day's most popular music shows. Lucky Strike's Hit Parade began in 1928 and aired into the 1950s. The show ran a contest offering free cartons of cigarettes for voting for the three most popular songs and drew nearly seven million entries each week. (Hettinger and Neff 1938). Other radio advertisements for cigarettes included Camel, Chesterfield, Old Gold, Kools, and Raleigh. A study by Fox (1984) found 70 promotional references to Raleigh's in a single hour of radio time (the program was sponsored by Raleigh).

In the 1930's candy cigarettes went on the market (Pollay 1995). They were not marketed by tobacco companies but by candy manufacturers. The tobacco industry did not sue for any type of infringement because, according to one candy manufacturer, they reached a younger market and could signify approval to that group. These candy cigarettes remained on the market into the 1980's and mimed popular cigarette brands.

Also in the 1930's and into the 1940's, tobacco companies broadened their advertising vehicles in many ways. They provided free ballgame programs to high schools, programs which contained cigarette advertisements. One company, in 1933, created plastic-coated book covers for college students. The covers had collegiate logos on the front and cigarette ads on the back. They were used into the 1950's and were touted as reaching the students "in most of the nation's 1,800 colleges and more than 8,000 of its 25,000 high schools with unusual success" (Pollay 1995, p. 3). Two major tobacco companies, Philip Morris (PM) and RJR, utilized another popular advertising medium in the 1940s. The Sunday comics, estimated to be reaching eight million homes each week (Pollay 1995), carried advertisements by both companies. Pollay also cited surveys found in one company's market research files from 1941-42 that specifically targeted youths. These studies included a Survey of Sales at Colleges, a Survey of Dealers in 32 Colleges, a report on New York city youth interests in radio programs, a radio listening survey for "boys and girls," and a general survey of radio preferences of the teenage group.

According to Dunhill (1951) the people in the armed forces were the primary target market of the 40's. They were looked up to by younger people and could influence them. Also, reports from the 1950's indicated that cigarette firms were spending about $5 million per year on college promotions (Pollay 1995), another prominent group of role models.

Gilbert (1957) found explicit statements regarding targeting youths. One said:

Research and experience proved that the consumer at this age and experience level, is more susceptible to change, has far reaching influence value, and is apt to retain brand habits for a longer period of time than the average consumer reached in the
general market. Therefore, though advertising cost per thousand in the college market is relatively high, the actual expenditure can be a great deal more efficient.

In the late 1950's and early 60's PM had 166 campus representatives. These representatives were college students who were paid $50 per month to give out free cigarettes and promote smoking (Pollay 1995). Brecher and Brecher (1963) found that cigarettes provided around “40% of the national advertising income of the 850 college newspapers in the National Advertising Service.”

Research from the 50's indicated that many youths began smoking as a declaration of independence from their parents. The tobacco companies began depicting independence in their ads with characters like the “Marlboro Man” (Pollay 1995). They picked up a large share of starters with this image. The 50's also saw the introduction of cartoon characters for cigarette advertisements, and television became the newest advertising medium. Tobacco companies leaped at a new opportunity. Up to seven hours of shows per week were sponsored by cigarette sellers. Cigarette advertising in print media geared to youths increased in the 1950's as well (Pollay 1995).

In response to the increase in print media, some companies redesigned cigarette packages. The PM president of 1955 was quoted (Tide 1955, p. 31) as follows: “We wanted a new, bright package that would appeal to a younger market.”

In the 1950s Reader's Digest disclosed information that created what is commonly referred to as the “Health Scare” of the 50's. It ran a series of public awareness articles exposing the dangers of smoking (Pollay, Lee and Carter-Whitney 1992). This was the first widespread information concerning health risks associated with use of tobacco products.

The tobacco industry responded to the “Health Scare” by creating its own Research Council. It spent phenomenal sums of money (Pollay, Lee, and Carter-Whitney 1992) combating the “scare” with public relations advertising.

A Fortune magazine article from 1963 (Pollay 1995) stated that present and future sales were good specifically “among the teenagers . . . (who) have not been much impressed by any anti-smoking campaigns.” The 1960's brought about heavy use of sports figures and events as cigarette endorsers. Pollay (1995) identified Roger Maris for Camels and Frank Gifford for Lucky Strike. LOR sponsored the 1964 Olympics, and RJR and ATC sponsored baseball games. These figures served to enhance the “independence image” of the 1950's.

Pollay (1995) found that many television shows with 30% of their viewing audience under age 21 were sponsored by cigarette firms, 125 hours of weekly programming were paid for by these firms, and teens saw an average of over 1,000 cigarette advertisements per year. In 1964, the Surgeon General made public statements relevant to the ill effects of smoking. In 1965, the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act came about, and in response, the tobacco industry opted for self-regulation. They provided “healthier” appearances of cigarettes, including adding filters and menthol flavors. They also began using older models who were healthy and active. One TV producer was quoted by Baker (1968) as seeking “older models who ‘looked’ young.”

A 1964 report by Sullivan, Stauffer, Cowell and Bayles quoted ATC’s 1964 goals for Pall Mall as “to increase the percentage of smokers who think of the brand as being ‘for someone just starting to smoke’ and to increase the proportion of beginning smokers who smoke Pall Mall.” According to Pollay (1995), some advertising agencies, in response
to the Surgeon General’s warning, vowed to stop advertising cigarettes. Among these were the Young and Rubicam Agency. John Young was quoted in an Advertising Age article (1964) as stating, “Advertising agencies are retained by cigarette (sic) manufacturers to create demand for cigarettes among both adults and eager youngsters. The earlier the teenage boy or girl gets the habit, the bigger the national sales volume.”

In 1968 PM introduced Virginia Slims and aggressively marketed them to women. A quote cited by Pollay (1995) from the U.S. Tobacco Journal (USTJ 1955) after the industry’s rebound from the “Health Scare” observed that “there is no obstacle to large-scale sales of tobacco products that cannot be surmounted by aggressive selling.” According to Tye (1988), within six years of the Virginia Slims campaign kick-off, the number of teenaged girl smokers more than doubled.

In 1971 federal law banned cigarette ads from radio and television. That same year, PM launched the Virginia Slims Tennis Tournament, and RJR-Nabisco launched Winston Cup Auto Racing (SCARC 1991). Both of these programs were televised. Advertising then moved more strongly to print media; Teel, Teel, and Bearden (1979) concluded that print media advertising was a successful substitute for broadcast media advertising.

Pollay (1995) shared some examples of youthful advertising campaigns in the 1980’s. These included sponsorship of popular concerts, development of brands of cigarettes such as Dakota, which targeted “virile females” (Specter 1990), and magazine advertisements in publications geared to youths such as Mademoiselle, Cycle World, Rolling Stone, Sports Illustrated, and TV Guide.

Research conducted by RJR-MacDonald (RJR-M) found that young people do not want a product specifically made for their age group. They seek symbols of adulthood. Pollay (1995) states that the most successful brands (to teens) showed adult imagery, depicted independence and freedom from authority, stressed self-reliance, and were depicted by healthy-looking models.

In 1988 Joe Camel was introduced. In one ad (Smooth Move #437) he is presented as rebellious and adolescent and teaches young readers how to ask for help in redeeming coupons provided for the purchase of logo items (Tobacco and Youth Reporter 1989). Joe Camel was modeled after James Bond and Don Johnson (of Miami Vice) (Bird 1991) and catapulted the Camel brand from less than 1% of young smokers to 33% of the youth market within three years. (DiFranza, et al 1991). In 1992, DiFranza and McAfee found that there is a link used by advertisers relating to smoking that depicts smoking as being “cool,” taking risks, and growing up.

In the film industry in the 1990’s, the tobacco companies have found another solid vehicle for marketing to youth. They use ad placement in movie theaters, product placement in films, and even make hero/heroine smokers in films. In Superman, Lois Lane did not smoke. In Superman II, she did. (Pollay 1995).

A Federal Trade Commission Report for Congress (1990) stated that “every day [emphasis in the original], U.S. tobacco companies spend $11 million to advertise and promote cigarettes.” The tobacco companies’ daily advertising and promotions budget was larger than the yearly amount used for anti-smoking campaigns.

Anti-Smoking Findings
In 1964 the Surgeon General’s report on the health effects of smoking resulted in the
the health effects of smoking resulted in the first health warnings being printed on cigarette packs in 1965 (Abernathy and Teel 1986). The warnings have changed over the years to reflect newer findings. In 1965 the warning read “CIGARETTE SMOKING MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH.” In 1970, it was altered to read “WARNING: THE SURGEON GENERAL HAS DETERMINED THAT CIGARETTE SMOKING IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH,” and at present the warning reads “SURGEON GENERAL’S WARNING: SMOKING CAUSES LUNG CANCER, HEART DISEASE, EMPHYSEMA, AND MAY COMPLICATE PREGNANCY.”

The 1965 Cigarette Labeling Act tried to limit advertising exposure to youths (Pollay 1995). It seemed to be tough and comprehensive. It prohibited advertisements in school (and college) publications, prohibited testimonials from appealing athletes, banned the use of newspaper comics and comic books for ads, banned samples distribution, disallowed advertising on television/radio programs aimed at those under age 21, and disallowed models who were younger than 25 years of age. The tobacco industry claimed compliance with its self-regulation, but later findings and document publications reveal that is not the case.

Studies on the Effects of Advertising

In 1992 Pollay, Lee, and Carter-Whitney conducted a study on racial segmentation in cigarette advertising. They compared two popular, ethnically-aimed magazines for selectivity in target marketing. One magazine appealed to African Americans and the other to Caucasians. They used neutrally based hypotheses and through their research concluded that the ads in these magazines were ethnically segmented. When segmented media exists, marketers have a powerful vehicle for an extremely high level of selectivity in promotional intensity and creativity (Pollay, Lee and Carter-Whitney 1992). These authors also state that ethnic targeting is done to maximize sales and profits. Their rationale is based on the strategy that matching promotions to specific segments’ interests generates sales and increases profits.

RJR designed a cigarette expressly aimed at African Americans. RJR called it Uptown and invested over $10 million in advertising before it abandoned the cigarette because of pressure from the public. The blatancy of the campaign was distasteful to blacks as well as whites (Pollay, Lee and Carter-Whitney 1992). In the late 1980s a Congressional committee recommended legislation to prevent ethnically segmented targeting of cigarettes/tobacco products. Ethnic segmenting isn’t the only strategy used by the tobacco industry. Other segments identified for specific targeting (Pollay, Lee and Carter-Whitney 1992) include blue-collar women, ambitious Hispanics, and urban blacks. The tobacco industry also specifically identified young smokers. They were classified as “young starters,” “pre-quitters,” and “ostriches” (Pollay, Lee and Carter-Whitney 1992).

Richard Mizerski (1995) conducted a study of children ranging from 3 to 6 years of age. This study tested the effects of cartoon trade characters on product recognition and attitude. Mizerski’s hypothesis stated that “A young child’s correct matching (or recognition) of trade characters with their appropriate product pictures will exceed chance, and will be positively associated with the age of the child.” His results showed that the rates of matching were higher than chance for all ages, and that correct matches increase with age. The tests showed “Joe Camel” as
significant association existed with household use or access to print media in the home. His study showed that cigarettes had lower rates of ‘liking’ than other products and that ‘liking’ decreased with age. Liking cigarettes and recognizing Joe Camel were significantly and negatively related. In a study by Henke (1994) 86% of a subsample of 8-year olds recognized Joe Camel, and in a 1993 study conducted for RJR, 95% of a national sample of 10- to 17-year-olds associated Joe Camel with cigarettes.

A 1989 study of 5th-8th graders (Norman and Tedeschi 1989) showed significant correlation between affect and intention to smoke in the future. Mizerski (1995) stated that research shows that a negative affect toward a product can be developed through negative stimuli. Though there is no single accepted theory to explain why exposure to a product enhances a person’s attitude toward the product (Mizerski 1995), there is an apparent truth to the matter. Most research indicates that a negative initial attitude doesn’t reverse itself because of exposure to ads. The reverse seems to be true. A negative initial attitude toward most products remains negative in spite of exposure.

Studies on product exposure to children show that it can increase preference for the advertised product, but that advertising usually would alter preference only if a person already used the product. For children, the attitude was altered only if they could see it in their future consumption (Gorn and Florsheim 1985).

Studies that lean the other way include one by McNeal (1987) which stated that “advertisers have the ability to convince children to like and desire practically any product.” There is evidence that children aged 2-7 are the most vulnerable to ads (Mizerski 1995). Sheer repetition or mere exposure to advertising increases a child’s knowledge base, which stores information for future use of products. Thorson (1990) commented that “memory of advertising or brand names has long been viewed as causally associated with favorable attitudes toward, intention to purchase, and actual purchase of the brand advertised.”

Mallory (1994) reported that on February 22, 1994, Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders reported that the rate of smoking among teens had not changed in a decade even though there had been a decline in the population. The figure used referring to tobacco companies’ advertising and promotions budgets for the year was $4 billion. In this Business Week article (Mallory 1994), articles from the Journal of the American Marketing Association (JAMA) were referred to which spoke of the effects of advertising to teens. One of the most controversial ads mentioned was that of Joe Camel. Tobacco industry critics feel that this ad is directly aimed at underage audiences. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is trying to force RJR to drop Joe Camel as a spokesperson.

In response to these accusations, the tobacco industry accused one of the JAMA authors of tampering with the data used in his article. In response to FTC pressure, RJR has ‘aged’ Joe Camel somewhat and has created an in-house ad review panel that sees all advertisements before they go public. The tobacco industry also commissioned a Roper poll. It announced the poll results just days before Dr. Elder’s public statement. The poll found (Mallory 1994), among other things, that 90% of kids aged 10-17 recognized two other spokesoons. Only 73% recognized Joe Camel, and only 3% of these kids had a positive attitude toward smoking. This seems consistent with information provided by Mizerski (1995).
Though some of these studies seem to somewhat exonerate the tobacco industry’s use of advertising, documents have been opened which were once private, and whistle-blowers have come forth with information that shows an awareness on the part of the tobacco industry of the dangers of smoking/using tobacco products and the efficacy of advertising.

UNCOVERING THE INDUSTRY

A B&W document dated in 1963 quoted the company’s lawyer as stating that “we are, then, in the business of selling nicotine, an addictive drug effective in the release of stress mechanisms” (Wigand 1995). Other B&W documents from 1969 (Hilts 1994) revealed “PROJECT T.” This project dealt with interviews with female starters concerning their attitudes, behavior, feelings, and views on smoking.

According to a Congressional Report from 1971, a top creative director for LOR solicited companies for designs especially attractive to youths. In his letters to these companies, he is quoted as specifying that “while geared to the youth market, no attempt (obvious) can be made. The package design should be geared to attract the youthful eye . . . not the ever watchful eye of the Federal Government.” The cigarette brand he was promoting was called “KICKS” (Pollay 1995). In 1981 the Foote advertising agency ridiculed the tobacco industry claim that “advertising only affects brand switching and has no effect whatsoever on recruitment” (Foote 1981).

In Canada, Imperial Tobacco Ltd. (ITL) and RJR-M were plaintiffs in a court case and many documents were uncovered. Pollay’s 1995 study reveals that in 1987 RJR-M researched 15-24 year olds in great depth in a project called Youth Target Study ‘87. ITL documents from 1988 noted that “If the last 10 years have taught us anything, it is that the industry is dominated by the companies who respond most effectively to the needs of younger smokers” [emphasis in the original]. Also shown were documents on ITL’s Project Huron, which targeted males aged 15 to 25. There were 33 market research reports generated in just over four years for Huron (Pollay 1995). Catanoso (1993) revealed RJR management instructions to its sales force in 1990 to place merchandising premiums (hats, T-shirts) in stores located near colleges and high schools.

Perhaps the most damaging information to have been made public comes from whistle blowers. A pre-trial deposition given by Dr. Jeffrey Wigand (1995) was recently made public. Dr. Wigand holds a Ph.D. in endocrinology and biochemistry and was the Vice President for Research and Development for B&W from January 1989 until March 24, 1993. He has been used as a consultant and expert in several lawsuits against the tobacco industry. The testimony in his pre-trial deposition was given for a lawsuit brought by the State of Mississippi seeking reimbursement for the cost of smoking-related illnesses.

Dr. Wigand testified that in the fall of 1989, the general counsel for B&W altered minutes from scientific meetings and from research documents which referred to “safer” cigarettes. The counsel wanted no indication that there were unsafe cigarettes. Dr. Wigand also testified that B&W conducted a study in the late 70s and early 80s about the maintenance levels of nicotine and that B&W used this information in manipulating the levels of nicotine in cigarettes. Wigand swore that one of the Vice Presidents for B&W stated that “we’re in the nicotine delivery business,” and then quashed further research and discussion of “safer” cigarettes. His involvement in cases against cigarette
companies did not rest well with the tobacco companies involved in litigation. In April of 1994 Mr. Wigand received threats against his daughters. While most citizens do not take such a public stand, many coalitions have been formed against smoking.

ANTI-SMOKING CAMPAIGNS

In view of the history of “youthful” advertising by the tobacco industry over the last 70 years, it is no wonder that the anti-smoking groups are angry and that they are pushing for a ban on all tobacco advertising. Some groups feel that a total ban would reduce consumption (Pollay 1995), but also consider that there are many other factors involved in beginning smoking besides advertising. Some of these include distribution availability, package design, sizing, pricing, perceptions of smoking’s risks and rewards, the popularity of smoking in certain groups, peer pressure, smoking by parents/siblings, rebelliousness, self-esteem, socio-economic status, and stress.

Anti-smoking groups have devised methods to offset advertising’s success and to make the purchase of cigarettes by minors more difficult. One thing they would like to accomplish is the complete ban of cigarette vending machines. Owners of businesses protest this move for several reasons (Nichols 1995), including the loss of age-of-consent customers because of the lack of availability of the product and the loss of easy income. One vending machine in a business can produce around $1,000 per year in commission income.

Findlay (1995) proposed measures which could be undertaken by businesses, aimed at taking a stand against smoking. His suggestions included:

- use of sponsorship of local programs as a stage for promoting awareness to the community.
- providing employees with information and anti-smoking materials to share with their families.
- refusal of co-sponsorship of events with tobacco companies.
- funding of anti-smoking campaigns with increased cigarette taxes.
- providing quit-smoking programs and help to teens of employees.
- supporting a federal law that would: ban marketing tobacco and selling tobacco to minors; enforcement of stiff penalties and fines against violators; giving states and municipalities local power to impose control; requirements of tobacco companies to wage public health campaigns aimed at teens.

Pollay (1995) suggested additional de-marketing initiatives which include limiting distribution to control access, out-pricing the youth by increasing the price of tobacco products and mandating minimum package transaction size, use of plain packaging, increased warnings and health disclosures at point-of-sale sites, and matching the tobacco industry’s negative hold through public education.

CONCLUSION

Since youths have long been a target of the tobacco industry, simply banning the advertising of tobacco products would probably not stop youths from smoking. Although banning advertising from this target market would make some changes, it is ultimately education that could make the real difference in the rate of smoking. More anti-smoking campaigns such as continuing education, having more parental involvement in educational “don’t start smoking.”
programs, providing funds for wide spread in-school education, being less evasive about the dangers of smoking, recognizing kids who do not smoke in a positive way in schools or other groups, and probably limiting advertising would be beneficial in reducing the numbers of "replacement starters." According to Guthrie (1995) some cities are asking their schools to create and enforce dress codes which would ban clothing that sports tobacco logos. All of these things will help. In the words of one cigarette advertisement, "We've Come A Long Way, Baby" (Virginia Slims), but the anti-smoking movement still has a long way to go.

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In a world corrupt with murder, theft, darkness, and deceit, any hope for justice lies beyond the reach of human capability. The moral condition of the universe rests in the hands of Shi, the half-caucasian, half-Japanese samurai warrior who is enveloped with thoughts of blood and revenge. After an angry battle of lunges and slashes, her enemy sits upright against the wall, blood spilt across his lap, severed head at his side. Above him on the wall drips the Japanese symbol for death written in his blood (Tucci 24). The twelve-year-old boy then turns the page to close his comic book and wait for the story’s continuation in next month’s issue.

Because of the small and limited audience of comic books, some say that the violent content in comic books, such as Shi: The Way of the Warrior by artist and writer William Tucci, have little or no influence on society (Goldwater 16, 39). Others acknowledge the violence in comic books, but justify it by asserting that the books are collections of art which, like all art throughout history, merely act as a reflection of the moral and social condition of the society in which it is rendered (Cadenhead 45, Cunningham 40). Comic books do, in fact, make up a small industry and an obscure medium, but also, because of their history, violent nature, and growing influence on other media, comic books, for years, have been a secret breeding ground for societal violence.

William Savage, professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, says of the postwar decade:

“Americans had not only to confront the potentiality of life in the atomic age, the perceived threat of world domination by Communists of several nationalities, and by 1950, a new war in a strange place named Korea; they had also to deal with the meaning of a spiraling divorce rate, forecasts of the demise of the family as a basic American institution, and public preoccupation with issues ranging from juvenile delinquency to homosexuality, to organized crime. (ix-x) Comic books, in their youth, proved a beneficial source of escapism from this type of national preoccupation. “Through a unique combination of text and pictures,” comic books “offered a world view to a large segment of the American population” (ix). Before television became a mass medium, comic books “served to transport readers elsewhere—to a jungle, a desert, the Far East, a distant planet, or some other atypical environment where heroes struggled against tall odds or fabulous creatures, and where nothing had any real bearing on the problems of the day” (4-5).

Although comic books alleviated the concerns of Americans in the postwar decade, they soon came under attack for their violent content. In the 1940's and early 50's, the comic book industry acquired many critics, but none so harmful as psychiatrist Dr. Frederic Wertham. His book, Seduction of the Innocent, published in 1954, proved damaging to the comic book industry as a whole. The thesis for his book, in which he “cited case after case of juvenile delinquency in which each offender subsequently ‘admitted’ that the crime was inspired by a comic book” (Christensen and Siefert 95), was that the comic book industry held major responsibility for juvenile delinquency (96-97). Wertham’s
publication caused a colossal uproar among concerned parents and government officials, and prompted a series of Senate investigations concerning violence in comic books. The U.S. Senate Subcommittee felt that "this country [could] not afford the calculated risk involved in feeding its children through comic books, a concentrated diet of crime, horror, and violence" (98). As a result, "laws and ordinances, committees on legislation, censors, indeed every device to bedevil and confuse dealer, wholesaler, and publisher of comics, were created and enacted" (94).

In 1954, the Comics Magazine Association of America formed and adopted the Comics Code of Authority on October 26 (Christensen and Siefert 97-98). The Comics Code of Authority, still functional today, is a series of strict guidelines concerning crime, violence, dialogue, religion, costume, marriage, and sex (Goldwater 54-57), to which publishers of comic books must adhere if they are to receive a seal of approval the size of a postage stamp on the outside cover of a distributed comic book. Without the seal, newsstands in the 1950's would not carry the books, nor would parents allow their children to buy them. As a result of the stifling stipulations set forth in this code, the comic book industry virtually collapsed.

Jim McLauchlin, editor of an editorial column in Wizard, the nation's leading comic book magazine, says, however, that "over the years, the Code stamp has come to mean less and less" (McLauchlin 12). To survive the onslaught of devastating attacks wrought against the industry in the 40's and 50's, comic book publishers began increasingly to ignore the Code and to publish and distribute comic books without the seal. Comic book publishers even refuted Dr. Wertham's accusations by claiming that Seduction of the Innocent was scientifically unfounded and poorly documented. By the late 70's, America had either forgotten or had become more used to the idea of violence in comic books, and by the late 80's comic books had once again crept into the hearts of children and collectors alike. The comic book industry took advantage of an increasingly desensitized society and convinced America that Dr. Wertham's book contained nothing but poorly researched and documented generalizations and that it unjustly labeled comic books as a major cause of juvenile delinquency. This self-serving survival tactic used by the comic book industry has caused America to allow the excessive violence that constitutes the status quo in comic books today. Saturated with both graphic and conceptual violence, comic books pose a pertinent problem for the industry, its audience, and society in general.

Because no limitations are placed on art by technology, comic books, by nature, constitute an extremely, visually explicit medium. By stating that comic books are "written for kids who are still interested in superheroes, are still excited by it all, [and] still find it new and interesting" (Cunningham 39), Image Comics co-founder Jim Valentino admits that the comic book medium is directed specifically toward children. The tendency to hold children as the target audience for comic books was justified in the early 40's because "children simply had no context for the comic book's curious and violent world" (Savage 83). Now, however, with the abundance of guns and knives possessed and in use by children today, children have more than enough context by which to behave according to violent scenes depicted in comic books.

Because the supposed superhero's most successful means of remedying crime and violence is to reciprocate with even more violent measures, the heroes themselves frequently instigate and participate in most of
the violent scenes in comic books. In one issue of the comic book *Youngblood*, the hero performs 15 graphic decapitations (Liefeld). Carried throughout the same book, this attitude concerning the dispensability of life reappears when the hero, Spawn, holds a large gun to the temple of the villain, Chapel. As the hero mentally savors every instant from pulling the trigger to feeling the recoil of the gun, blood, brain matter, left ear, left eye, teeth, and pieces of his enemy’s skull fly graphically through the air (Liefeld 22-23). In the book *Wetworks* by Whilce Portacio, among pages of bloody gunshot wounds, the hero, Col. Dane, places his gun in the mouth of a villain and fires it to protect his son from having his blood drunk and his heart eaten (Portacio 13).

In the afore mentioned book *Shi: The Way of the Warrior #2*, along with the graphic decapitation of a villain, another enemy receives a horizontal slash through the abdomen with a sword, and an evil character, Samurai, covered in blood, holds a blood drenched sword and clenches in his teeth the hair of a dripping, severed head. Known as the “quiet” issue, this book merely introduces the abundance of violence to follow in subsequent issues. Not only does *Shi: The Way of the Warrior* contain graphic violence, but the concept behind the book itself is violent as well. The very name of the principal character, Shi, originates from the Japanese symbol for death. Shi “has been trained to be a killing machine by the Sohei, an ancient Japanese order of warrior monks to which her father belonged” (Cadenhead 43). Because “there are two sides pulling on her—her mechanical killing side and her spiritual side” (43), any child who may experience a conflict between personal values and societal conditioning can identify with Shi and recognize her violent means as a resolution for his or her own internal conflict. For Shi, “the only thing worth holding onto is the blood. The goal always is to keep it the object of one’s focus” (Tucci 8).

Such conceptual violence exists not only in Shi books, but pervades the content of the majority of best-selling comic books such as *Shadowhawk, Lady Death,* and *Spawn.* Saturating Jim Valentino’s *Shadowhawk* are “methods of eradicating crime by taking the law into one’s own hands in order to hasten the return of law and order, without waiting for judicial procedure” (Fuchs 151). Most often, to supersede the law, Shadowhawk ironically “breaks the spines of criminals for the purpose of stopping them from killing again” (Cunningham 41). Instead of depicting ways to reduce crime by finding and understanding the cause of the criminal’s actions, the constant message in *Shadowhawk* books is “an eye for an eye,” or violence for violence. In response to an accusation that he may be contributing to the problem of violence rather than helping it, creator Jim Valentino nonchalantly states that “superheroes by their nature are intrinsically violent” and that in comparison, he does not think that “Shadowhawk is excessively gory or bloody” (41).

Most comic books incorporate death as a major ongoing theme. In the bestselling book *Lady Death,* the main character, Lady Death, was once Hope, the daughter of a feudal lord who consorted with demons. After Hope is sentenced to be burned at the stake, she escapes by shouting an incantation that sends her to Hell. She manages to triumph in her new hometown, but is cursed to remain there until all living things perish from Earth. (Cadenhead 45) With violent occult practices at the core of her damned state, Lady Death’s “main role in the
book is to encourage [killers] to break away from small-time homicide and get into the business of full-scale slaughter” (45) so that she can more quickly be freed from her prison of Hell. Writer Brian Pulido justifies the content of his book by simply clarifying that he never intended Lady Death to be “pretty comics” (45).

It would seem, given the highly mature nature of the concepts of comic books mentioned, that the younger audience would remain unaffected due to lack of means by which to identify with most violent occurrences in comic books. On the contrary, comic books tend to portray violent concepts which involve children directly. In the fifth issue of Todd McFarlane’s Spawn, evil character Billy Kincaid poses as an ice cream salesman and lures children into his ice cream truck to mutilate them for pleasure. As the pictures, framed in dripping blood, explicitly depict scenes involving children, Kincaid awaits his imminent parole from prison in this particular issue, and reflects on his crimes:

It was well worth the wait. I remember those good times...I like lots of variety. Terri. Stuart. Peter. David. Suzy. I hate that I didn’t get all the names. But I know the number...twenty-seven. Those were such fun times. I will never forget.

(McFarlane 3)

The book then proceeds to show Kincaid’s hobby of “finger painting” (9). The pictures reveal that he severs the fingers of his young victims and pastes them to construction paper to be hung on the wall for decoration. The following frame in the book then focuses on a young girl’s torn, bloody dress (10). This excessive imagery instills in its youthful audience horrifying concepts of physical and sexual violence, as well as suspicion and paranoia against trusted adults. Furthermore, to reiterate the idea that the law is incapable of rendering true justice, Kincaid, not yet captured by law officials, instead receives retribution from the hero, Spawn. The book concludes with a bloody Kincaid suspended with chains in the office of the police chief, and impaled with popsicle sticks and ice cream scoops. Pinned to his flesh, a sign reads: “Boys screamed and girls screamed, so I made him scream and scream and scream” (22).

Comic books not only convey messages of excessive violence through two-dimensional graphics and foundational concepts, but also, they add a dimension to the overwhelming problem as they increasingly encourage readers to participate in the industry. Comic books contain numerous advertisements soliciting the mental and artistic creativity of their readers. Wizard magazine, for example, advertises its “Bad Guys Contest” by requesting “just the right bad guys to kill in the most spectacular way” (Apr. 94 p. 52). The magazine encourages contest participants to “crawl into [their] dark side, and think of three good reasons why [they] deserve to die” (52).

This dangerous progression toward audience interaction concerning comic book violence is magnified as comic books gain an increasingly significant bearing on other media. Movies based on comic books such as Dick Tracy, Mortal Kombat, and Batman constitute a current and steadily growing trend in Hollywood. In these movies, the violent, but once stationary, graphics, though somewhat limited by technology, acquire movement. Cartoons, however, able to surpass the technological limitations placed on movies, portray comic book violence more often and more explicitly. Concerning Fox’s Saturday morning hit, X-Men, a study conducted by the UCLA Center for Com-
munication Policy reported that “fighting is the main attraction or purpose of the program, and the plot only provides justification for combat. It rarely couches the violent acts in any suitable context. The message is: Fight” (Littleton 20). In video games, which often stem from comic book characters and stories, these same violent graphics and actions become subject to the interactive control of the child. The fine line between fantasy and reality slowly disappears as comic books feed the toy industry with realistic action figures, vehicles, and life-sized, operable weapons to be placed in the hands of our children.

As long as we consistently dismiss comic books as an insignificant and obscure medium through which violence may channel, violence in comic books will continue, silently and subtly, to infiltrate American society from every possible direction. As long as we hold the attitude that comic books merely reflect the already existing condition of society and in no way contribute to the problem of violence in America, violence in comic books will continue, unnoticed, to wreak dangerous results in our society. To say that comic books directly cause violence in American society would be overstated, but to say that comic books contribute nothing to the problem would be ignorant and irresponsible. Considering the history and current state of comic books, and their tendency to influence other media, we know that the acceptance of violence in comic books will only lead to the manipulative desensitization of comic book readers, and thus will contribute to the desensitization of society as a whole. Lying at the core of America’s problem with violence, the passive acceptance of violence, in comic books or in any other minor medium, can only prove fatal to the hope of one day attaining a non-violent society. The condition of society, therefore, lies not in the hands of superhuman mutants, but rather in the hands of citizens who will voice their disdain for, and refusal to tolerate, this carnage in living color.

Works Cited

THE CROSS-CULTURAL USE OF SEXUALLY EXPLICIT LANGUAGE
TO EXPRESS ANGER AND AGGRESSION
Deanna W. May

Introduction
Why do people use sexually explicit language and symbols to express anger? Americans often express angry feelings with the epithet “Fuck you!” (Editor’s note: The subject matter of Ms. May’s thesis required the occasional use of ‘vulgar’ expressions.) Non-verbal representations of this expression, such as raising the middle finger, are also used. Furthermore, it is not only the manner in which the word “fuck” is used that conveys aggression, but the word itself seems to have aggressive connotations. Gershon Legman (1975), author of Rationale of the Dirty Joke, wrote:

It is the presence of anger, when using such words, thus the ‘sadistic concept of coitus,’ that creates the imprecatonal or scatological use.... One should recollect always, in this connection, that the word ‘fuck’ itself is most closely related, etymologically, to such Latin congener as pungo, with its modern forms ‘punch,’ ‘puncture,’ and ‘pugilist.’ No mistake here. (p.692)

Upon initial reflection, one may find these usages to be strange and paradoxical: sexual feelings are among the most positive of emotions, and sex is a source of great interpersonal pleasure; aggression is among the most injurious of human actions, and anger directs great interpersonal displeasure. Yet for some reason, sexual language and symbols are used to vent hostile and aggressive feelings in America and some other cultures.

Beginning with Sigmund Freud, a number of psychological theorists postulated that sex and aggression are innate human instincts, and that these instincts become fused during the process of development. As will be elaborated below, this theoretical fusing provides a plausible explanation for the relationship between sexual language and aggression cited above. One implication of these theories, however, is that this relationship should be universal rather than limited to America and other Western cultures.

How universal is this usage? If sexual language and symbols are used to express anger and aggression in all cultures and language systems, some form of innate linkage within human nature is clearly suggested. While such a finding would not prove Freudian theory, this universality would at least be consistent with that theory and would require that those who doubt the adequacy of that theory to provide rational alternative explanations. If, on the other hand, such usage is not universal, one could certainly question the accuracy of Freud’s and others’ theories of the fusion of the sexual and aggressive instincts; sociocultural explanations of the use of sexually explicit language to express anger and aggression should then be given more weight.

The aims of this thesis are to review the psychological theories that propose an innate relationship between sex and aggression and to carry out an empirical study of the universality of the use of sexual language and symbols to express aggression. This study also examines the most frequent contexts of usage along with the influence of various demographic factors (sex, education, economic status, age, and religion) upon usage. The contextual and demographic information
help to clarify the similarities and differences between the various cultures represented in the study.

**Psychological Theories of Sex and Aggression and Their Fusion**

**Sigmund Freud**

Sigmund Freud’s theory of instincts went through several transformations as his clinical experience progressed. These transformations were not necessarily complete changes of Freud’s basic postulates, but were progressions from a limited understanding toward broader comprehension of what Freud termed Instincts and Their Vicissitudes (1915/1957). In Civilization and Its Discontents (1930/1964), Freud recounted the development of his theory of instincts:

I took as my starting-point a saying of the poet-philosopher, Schiller, that ‘hunger and love are what moves the world.’ Hunger could be taken to represent the instincts which aim at preserving the individual; while love strives after objects, and its chief function, favored in every way by nature, is the preservation of the species. Thus, to begin with, ego-in instincts and object-in instincts confronted each other. It was to denote the energy of the latter and only the latter instincts that I introduced the term ‘libido.’ Thus, the antithesis was between the ego-in instincts and the ‘libidinal’ instincts of love (in the widest sense) which are directed to an object...alterations in it became essential, as our enquiries advanced from the repressed to the repressing forces, from the object-in instincts to the ego. The decisive step forward was the introduction of the concept of narcissism--that is to say, the discovery that the ego itself is cathected with libido, that the ego, indeed, is the libido’s original home, and remains to some extent its headquarters. This narcissistic libido turns towards objects, and thus becomes object-libido; and it can change back into narcissistic libido once more...Nevertheless, there still remained in me a kind of conviction, for which I was not as yet able to find reasons, that the instincts could not all be of the same kind. My next step was taken in Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920g), when the compulsion to repeat and the conservative character of instinctual life first attracted my attention. Starting from speculations on the beginning of life and from biological parallels, I drew the conclusion that, besides the instincts to preserve living substance and to join it into ever larger units, there must exist another, contrary instinct seeking to dissolve those units and to bring them back to their primeval, inorganic state. That is to say, as well as Eros there was an instinct of death. The phenomena of life could be explained from the concurrent or mutually opposing action of these two instincts. (pp.117-119)

According to Freud, then, “Eros” and the “death instinct” are the two basic instincts from which all other instincts arise. The “life instinct,” or Eros, is the drive to unify and bind together to preserve life, a part of which is the aim to propagate the species. One of the most important expressions of the life instinct is sexual in nature.

The instinct of death has as its purpose to return living matter to its previous inorganic state. The death instinct can become directed
away from the individual and expressed outwardly. This occurs through the actions of the body. Consequently, the death instinct has as its main representative the “aggressive instinct” (Freud, 1923/1961). When the death instinct operates internally—when it is not directed outward or expressed externally—it becomes manifest as self-destruction. Freud asserted that it was unhealthy for the individual to keep the aggressive energy inside. Any restriction of aggressiveness outward increases the internal aggression, hence the self-destruction. In *The New Introductory Lectures* (1933/1964) Freud wrote, “It really seems as though it is necessary for us to destroy some other thing or person in order not to destroy ourselves, in order to guard against the impulsion to self-destruction” (p. 105).

Freud (1930/1961) theorized that “the struggle between eros and Death, between the instinct of life and the instinct of destruction...is what all life essentially consists of” (p. 122). Yet, there are times when these opposite instincts may work together. As examples, eating is the destruction of food with the aim of incorporating the object (food) into the body, therefore prolonging life. Also, satisfaction of the sexual instinct may require the help of the aggressive instinct in the active pursuit of the sexual object (Freud, 1933/1964). Commonly, and in many human endeavors, the achievement of a final goal may involve both instincts.

In *The Ego and The Id* (1923/1961), Freud proposed that the two basic instincts become fused with one another. “Fusion” takes place when advancing from an earlier to a later stage of development and is the normal state of the instincts in the mature individual. As development progresses, the two kinds of instincts seldom, if ever, appear in isolation and are combined in different degrees. As examples, fusion which results in a high degree of sexual aggressiveness will “turn a lover into a sex-murderer,” while a low degree of aggressiveness will “make him bashful or impotent” (Freud, 1940/1964, p.149). The result of fusion of the instincts can be seen in sadism and masochism, which Freud stated were normal aspects of all individuals. In *The New Introductory Lectures* (1933/1964) Freud observed:

...we call it sadism when sexual satisfaction is linked to the condition of the sexual object’s suffering pain, ill-treatment and humiliation, and masochism when the need is felt of being the ill-treated object oneself...a certain admixture of these two trends is included in normal sexual relations, and we speak of perversions when they push the other sexual aims into the background and replace them by their own aims...It is our opinion, then, that in sadism and in masochism we have before us two excellent examples of a mixture of the two classes of instinct, of Eros and aggressiveness; and we proceed to the hypothesis that this relation is a model one—that every instinctual impulse that we can examine consists of similar fusions or alloys of the two classes of instincts. These fusions, of course, would be in the most varied ratios. (pp.105-106)

Freud developed his theory of the death instinct from observations of “sadism” and from the great destructiveness of World War I.

To better understand Freud’s theory of the instincts, it is important to understand some of the processes involved in their development and expression. The final formation of one of Freud’s most important theories was the
development of the mind into three universally known regions: “the It,” “the I,” and “the Over-I.”

1 These terms are used instead of the traditional Latin translations, *id*, *ego*, and *super-ego*, because they are more direct translations from the German *Das Es, Ich*, and *Uber-Ich*, and because the Latin translations lose much of the personal meaning for these terms intended by Freud. Regarding *Ich* (*Ego*), Bruno Bettelheim (1982) has written, “The translation of these personal pronouns into their Latin equivalents... turned them into cold technical terms, which arose no personal associations. In German, of course, the pronouns are invested with deep emotional significance, for the readers have used them all their lives; Freud’s careful and original choice of words facilitated intuitive understanding of his meaning... To mistranslate *Ich* as “ego” is to transform it into jargon that no longer conveys the personal commitment we make when we say “I” of “me” -- not to mention our subconscious memories of the deep emotional experience we had when, in infancy, we discovered ourselves as we learned to say “I.”... Reading or speaking about the I forces one to look at oneself introspectively. By contrast, an “ego” that uses clear-cut mechanisms, such as displacement and projection, to achieve its purpose in its struggle against the “id” is something that can be studied from the outside, by observing others. With this inappropriate and -- as far as our emotional response to it is concerned -- misleading translation, an introspective psychology is made into a behavioral one, which observes from the outside. This, of course, is exactly how Over-I are formed. But these regions are not three distinct and separate areas. The It, the I, and the Over-I are each, in some way, involved with each other. They can be thought of as “colors melting into one another” (Freud, 1933/1964 p. 79).

We are born with the It, which is the hereditary aspect of the mind. It is the deep, recessed, mysterious part of ourselves that we cannot know directly. Within the It, there is no concept of time, no notion of good and evil, and no judgment of value and morality. It is not ruled by logic, nor does it have an organization. Freud described the It as “a chaos, a cauldron full of seething excitations” (1933/1964, p.73). Instincts, which originate in the body, are “somatic demands upon the mind” that cause tension in the It (Freud, 1940/1964, p. 148). The It is very sensitive to changing tensions within the body caused by the instincts, and it strives to achieve satisfaction of these tensions. Changes that occur in the body are felt as feelings of pleasure and non-pleasure (Freud, 1940/1964, p. 198). The It is propelled into action by these feelings and, consequently, acts according to the “pleasure principle,” which is the tendency to keep the amount of excitation at a constant level and as low as possible (Freud, 1920/1955).

Every instinct has a source, tension, an aim, and an object. An instinct’s source is the process of an organ or body part which gives rise to the internal stimulation that becomes represented in the It by an instinct. As examples, the genitals give rise to the sexual instinct and the stomach gives rise to the instinct of hunger. An instinct creates tension, which is the force of the demand of the most Americans view and use psychoanalysis.” (pp. 52-93).
instinct placed on the individual. Instinctual tension is the cause of all activity in that it drives the individual to action in an attempt to reduce or eliminate the tension. Elimination of the tension is the aim of the instinct. Elimination occurs by removing the stimulation at the source of the instinct such as when an individual obtains sexual satisfaction or when he eats (Freud, 1915/1957). Though the aim of an instinct is always the same, there may be different routes to achievement of its satisfaction. It is also possible for an instinctual aim to become “inhibited” when it is blocked from achieving its goal. Through an object, an instinct can achieve its aim. Without the object, the instinct can not be satisfied. Objects can be a person, food, things, or even parts of the subject himself. The object which satisfies an instinct may also change many times. Sometimes an object can offer versatility, allowing simultaneous satisfaction for more than one instinct. Whatever form or specificity an object takes, it is the means through which an instinct can achieve satisfaction.

Freud named the energy of the life instinct “libido” and used this term to distinguish the energy of Eros from the energy of the death instinct, which was not given a name (Freud, 1930/1961). Libido flows to the It from various organs and parts of the body. These areas are known as “erotic zones,” though the whole body can be viewed as an erotic zone.

When the It feels tension, it seeks to alleviate the pressure through objects. A “cathexis” occurs, which is the investment of libidinal energy onto an object, emotion, idea, or course of action. When a specific object is thought to be able to satisfy an instinctual urge, the thought, or idea, of the object becomes invested with energy of the instincts.

This investment is called an “object-cathexis.” Freud gave varying accounts of the libidinal sources from which these cathexes occur. In The Ego and The Id (1923/1961) Freud stated:

At the very beginning, all the libido is accumulated in the id [It], while the ego is still in process of formation or is still feeble. The id [It] sends part of this libido out into erotic object-cathexes, whereupon the ego [I], now grown stronger, tries to get hold of this object-libido and to force itself on the id [It] as a love-object. The narcissism of the ego [I] is thus a secondary one, which has been withdrawn from objects. (p. 46)

Yet in the Outline of Psycho-Analysis (1940/1964) Freud wrote:

It is hard to say anything of the behavior of the libido in the id [It] and in the super-ego [over-I]. All that we know about it relates to the ego [I], in which at first the whole available quota of libido is stored up. We call this state the absolutely primary narcissism. It lasts till the ego [I] begins to cathect the ideas of objects with libido, to transform narcissistic libido into object-libido. Throughout the whole of life the ego [I] remains the great reservoir, from which libidinal cathexes are sent to objects and into which they are also once more withdrawn, just as an amoeba behaves with pseudopodia. (p. 150)

Thus, our knowledge of libido in its initial state in the It is incomplete, but the libido’s importance is paramount. Freud (1930/1961) asserted that “libido has a share in every instinctual manifestation” (p.121), indicating the extent to which libido permeates human life.
Unlike tension arising from outside an individual, an instinct creates tension from within the individual. Therefore, a person cannot escape an instinct, but must seek satisfaction. Occasionally, satisfaction of the instinct may cause harm to the individual. Thus, the I must develop and mediate between the inner pressure or tension to pursue satisfaction and the dangers and pleasures of the external world.

The I develops from the part of the It described by Freud (1940/1964) as “a cortical layer equipped with the organs for receiving stimuli and with the arrangements for acting as a protective shield against stimuli” (p. 145). The I was modified from the It because of the threats of danger in the pursuit of satisfaction. The I represents the external world to the It and tries to mediate between the demands of the It and reality. The I postpones action of the It by the activity of thought, which can be viewed as an experimentation with various ideas for the safest route to satisfaction of the instincts. During this postponement, the pleasure principle is put aside and the influence of the reality principle ensues. The reality principle is the I’s determination of the safest route to satisfaction for an instinct or, in the absence of a safe route, the suppression of the instinct (Freud, 1940/1964). The reality principle garners more success and less danger for satisfaction of the instincts (Freud, 1933/1964). Still, the I is not independent. The relationship of the I to the It was described by Freud in The Ego and The Id (1923/1961):

The functional importance of the ego [I] is manifested in the fact that normally control over the approaches to motility devolves upon it. Thus in its relation to the id [It] it is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse; with this difference, that the rider tries to do so with his own strength while the ego [I] uses borrowed forces. The analogy may be carried a little further. Often a rider, if he is not to be parted from his horse, is obliged to guide it where it wants to go; so in the same way the ego [I] is in the habit of transforming the id’s [It’s] will into action as if it were its own. (p. 25)

However, the I must not only contend with the It and reality, but also with the Over-I. Freud explained:

...it [the I] is observed at every step it takes by the strict super-ego [over-I], which lays down definite standards for its conduct, without taking any account of its difficulties from the direction of the id [It] and the external world, and which, if those standards are not obeyed, punishes it with tense feelings of inferiority and of guilt. (p. 25)

The Over-I develops from the child’s early relationships. While an individual is still an infant, the parents place restrictions upon his or her activity. But, as time progresses, the individual develops an internal apparatus that eventually replaces the parents’ restrictive role. Freud called this apparatus the Over-I. The Over-I functions as the individual’s conscience. The main function of the Over-I is the limitation of satisfactions (Freud, 1940/1964).

The Over-I develops partly from the dissolution of the “Oedipus complex.” According to Freud, during early childhood, an individual develops an object-cathexis for the parent of the opposite sex. The first object-cathexis a boy develops is for his mother. At about the same time he develops an “identification” (the process by which an I
takes into itself the characteristics of another I and begins to imitate it) with his father. At first there is no conflict between the two. Yet, when the child begins to feel stronger sexual wishes toward his mother, he perceives his father as a threat. He then becomes hostile toward his father and wishes to get rid of him so that he may have his mother. When the boy discovers his penis, he develops the desire to use it in relation to his mother. After the boy becomes aware of the absence of a penis in girls, he develops a fear of castration by his father in retaliation for his desires toward his mother (Freud, 1923/1961). As a result, the child is forced to give up his object cathexis and replaces it with an intensification of his identification with his father or an identification with his mother. The child then represses his sexual feelings for his mother and, in most cases, destroys the Oedipus complex. In its place, the Over-I is formed (Freud, 1933/1964). A period of sexual latency is then initiated. In a girl, the castration complex precedes the "Electra complex," which is the female equivalent of the male Oedipus complex. According to Freud, a girl comes to realize that she does not have a penis and longs to have one of her own. Thus, she turns this longing into a desire to be given a baby by her father. The Electra complex is then gradually given up because the desire never sees fruition. At this point, a girl also enters into a period of sexual latency (Freud, 1923/1961).

Once the Oedipus complex and Electra complex have been resolved, the Over-I develops and replaces the influence of the parents' supervision by becoming an extension of the parental influence.

As stated earlier, when an object-cathexis occurs, an identification will sometimes ensue. The I will initiate the identification in an attempt to gain control of the energy of libido. When it obtains this energy, the I changes the sexual energy into desexualized energy and gives it another aim. This displaced energy is used to assist the pleasure principle by finding possible routes to discharge of the energy of the instincts. This displacement of the mental energy is called a "sublimation." Freud stated that the energy for all thought was supplied by sublimation. When a sublimation of energy occurs, a defusion of the instincts results. The erotic component of a cathexis no longer has the power to bind the destructive component, and therefore a release of an inclination toward aggression and destruction results (Freud, 1923/1961).

The defusion that occurs from the first object-cathexis (at the time of the Oedipus complex) results in the defused aggression being transferred from the It to the Over-I. This aggression explains some of the harshness evident in the Over-I, which by imposing guilt for the impulse as well as the act, becomes a far harsher taskmaster than the parents it replaces.

Freud maintained that mental processes were either "conscious," "preconscious," or "unconscious." The conscious is the part of the mind that is aware of the immediate environment. The preconscious is that which is not conscious but can easily become conscious. The unconscious comprises those mental processes which cannot be brought to awareness by ordinary means. A great effort, such as through psychoanalysis, must be expended for the unconscious thoughts to become conscious. The It has the quality of being unconscious. But during the development of a part of the It into the I, portions of the It become preconscious and then become part of the I. The I has the characteristic of being all three: conscious, preconscious, and unconscious.
Though an instinct can never become conscious, the idea that represents it can become conscious; this occurs through the function of speech. The preconscious state in the I has the characteristic of access to consciousness. A thing becomes preconscious by being connected with a "word presentation." Word presentations are the memories of conscious "auditory perceptions." Auditory perceptions leave traces of words in the mind. Thus, a word presentation is the residue of a word that was heard, at some previous time, by the individual (Freud, 1900/1952).

For an internal thought to become conscious, it must become cathected with an external thought or perception, such as the memory trace of words. This cathexis gives the thought or idea quality, which it needs to become conscious. This is not the same as becoming conscious, but it makes it possible. The process entails the idea becoming cathected with mental energy or libido and proceeding to become preconscious. In the preconscious condition, the cathexis is maintained in a dormant state, while only a small amount of the energy of the cathexis is used by the I in experimental thought processes. Possible routes to discharge are evaluated, and then the cathexis is allowed mobility through the muscular apparatus (body) (Freud, 1900/1952; 1940/1964).

One common use of language as a means of discharging of libidinal energy is through jokes. Freud (1905/1960) thought that "tendentious jokes" could be used as a weapon against others, thus satisfying an aggressive urge. He wrote in _Jokes and Their Relation To The Unconscious_ (1905/1960):

By making our enemy small, inferior, despicable or comic, we achieve in a roundabout way the joy of overcoming him—to which the third person, who has made no efforts, bears witness by his laughter...A joke will allow us to exploit something ridiculous in our enemy which we could not, on account of obstacles in the way, bring forward openly or consciously; once again, then, the joke will evade restrictions and open sources of pleasure that have become inaccessible. It will further bribe the hearer with its yield of pleasure into taking sides with us without any very close investigation, just as on other occasions we ourselves have often been bribed by an innocent joke into overestimating the substance of a statement expressed jokingly. (p.103)

Freud (1905/1960) explained the development of sexually suggestive language or "smut" into sexually aggressive jokes. He stated that the desire to look and touch is present in all persons in two forms—active and passive. One of these two forms is usually dominant over the other. The active form helps introduce the sexual act. When the sexual urge is felt, words must be used to make the urge known to the sexual object and to arouse the object. If the object is excited by the speech, sexual action may occur. However, if the object is not receptive to the sexual overture, the words or speech itself becomes an aim in the form of "smut." The smut will cause the object to envision the act referred to, and the speaker will receive satisfaction from the excitation that ensues from the visualization occurring in the object.

When the smut is spoken in the absence of an object of the opposite sex, the listener becomes the person to whom the smut is addressed, and the smut then takes on the character of a "tendentious joke." The joke involves at least three people—the teller, the listener, and the object of the sexual aggres-
siveness. Freud (1905/1960) described the process involving a man and a woman as follows:

When a person finds his libidinal impulse inhibited by the woman, he develops a hostile trend against that second person and calls on the originally interfering third person as his ally. Through the first person’s smutty speech the woman is exposed before the third, who, as listener, has now been bribed by the effortless satisfaction of his own libido. (p.100)

According to Freud (1905/1960) jokes “make possible the satisfaction of an instinct (whether lustful or hostile) in the face of an obstacle that stands in the way.” (p. 101)

Summary of Freud’s Theory

There are two basic instincts--Eros (life instinct) and the death instinct. Energy from the instincts originates in the internal organs and flows to the It. The It perceives the energy as tension. The It then acts according to the pleasure principle and seeks to alleviate the pressure. The It begins the process by affecting an object cathexis. The idea of the instinct becomes conscious to the I by becoming cathected with words. The I reacts by using neutral energy acquired by sublimation and temporarily halts the aim of the instincts until it can determine a safe route to satisfaction. The I uses some of the energy of the cathexis to carry out these thought processes. If the I does not act effectively and the aim of an instinct breaks through in an action or thought, the Over-I will punish the I with intense feelings of guilt. Bodily action takes place once the I has determined which route to take.

Freud stated that the instincts of Eros and destruction become fused. From his writings it is not quite clear at what time or physical location this fusion takes place, but it is evident that Freud thought that the two instincts are responsible for all action. Thus, we eat, sleep, go to work, have sex, talk, yell, tear things apart, and fight because of the innate drives of destruction and life.

Following Freud, many other psychiatrists described a relationship between the sexual and aggressive instincts. Informed by both Freud’s theory and their own therapeutic work, some accepted Freud’s views with little modification. Others made substantial modifications, while still others initially accepted and later rejected Freud’s views. The most prominent later theorists who postulate a merging of the sexual and aggressive instincts are described below.

Alfred Adler

In 1902, Alfred Adler, a physician, was invited to join Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytic circle. He was named Freud’s successor as president of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1911, Adler left the Society and established a new society based on his Individual Psychology.

Alfred Adler’s early views of instincts were very similar to Freud’s. He developed many ideas that Freud eventually accepted and used within his own theoretical frame-work. Among these was the idea that the relationship between the drives was one of confluence. Adler’s concept of drives differed from Freud’s in that Adler believed that primary drives, for example, the drive to see, the drive to eat, the drive to seek affection, were subordinated to a superior drive of aggression. The superordinated position of aggression served to unify the individual, in contrast to Freud’s dualistic theory of the instincts.

Adler was a field theorist, meaning that he thought that all events that occurred within the individual as well as outside the individual were interrelated. He based his theories on the concept of organ inferiority. Organ inferiority
occurs when the environment makes demands which exceed the capabilities of an organ of the body. If the inferior organ is unable to meet the environmental needs, the area of the brain corresponding to that organ will then compensate when it develops physically and functionally. From this development, the "psychological axes" are determined which direct how a person relates to the world. For example, a person who has inferior eyesight might develop an unusually keen sense of observation. Similarly, a person who has inferior hearing may become a musician. This axes or "superstructure" is thus driven to provide pleasure for the organ through environmental experiences. In inferior organs, the drive is always associated with pleasure. Adler wrote, "The psychological superstructure of the organ largely functions as a substitute for the deficiencies of the organ in order to gain its pleasure in relation to the environment" (Adler, 1907/1956 p.27).

Adler conceived of personality as a unity in the form of a confluence of drives. He stated that every drive undergoes a confluence with one or more of the other drives and that the driving force in healthy, as well as perverted and neurotic individuals, apparently stems from two drives which, originally distinct, subsequently have undergone a confluence. Thus, the sadistic-masochistic results correspond to two drives simultaneously: the sexual drive and the drive of aggression. Similar confl uences are found regularly in the drives of adults...In short, every discoverable drive is connected with one or more drives... (Adler, 1908/1956 p.30).

Adler postulated that the drive of aggression is superior to all other drives. The purpose of the aggressive drive is to gain satisfaction for the primary drives. Aggression is part of the superstructure that is connecting the drives. The excitation from the primary drives enters this field when the drives are thwarted from achieving satisfaction. The goal of the aggressive drive is determined by the availability of satisfaction for the primary drives within the culture. Adler wrote, "The unstable psychological equilibrium is always re-established by the fact that the primary drive is satisfied through excitation and discharge of the aggressive drive" (1908/1956, p.35). The aggressive drive uses the primary drives to determine the possibilities of discharge. It especially uses the drives of the inferior organs which make up the psychological main axes.

When Adler first proposed a super-ordinated drive of aggression, Freud rejected the idea. Twenty-two years later, Freud proposed the idea that the death instinct, as manifest in the form of aggression, was one of the two driving forces in life. However, Adler later changed his views regarding the status of aggression. He stated that aggression was not a drive but was an irrational attitude toward the demands of life. Thus, in his early career, Adler, like Freud, believed that aggression and sex could become related in a way that influenced their expression (Adler, 1956). Hartmann, Kris, and Loewenstein

Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, and Rudolph Loewenstein were co-authors of many papers, including "Notes on the Theory of Aggression" (1949/1964) and "Some Psychoanalytic Comments on Culture and Personality" (1951/1964). Heinz Hartmann, educated at the University of Vienna and the Psychiatric and Neurological Institute of Vienna, served as President of the International Psychoanalytic Association from 1951-1957. Ernst Kris, originally an art historian, became a psychoanalyst and member of the Psychoanalytic Society of
Vienna in 1928. He was one of the editors of *Sigmund Freud's Collected Works* and Freud's posthumously published writings. Rudolph Loewenstein, educated at the Universities of Zurich, Berlin, and Paris and a member of the International Psychoanalytic Institute, served as president of the New York Psychoanalytic Society and the American Psychoanalytic Association.

In “Notes on the Theory of Aggression” (p. 59), Hartmann et al. expressed their acceptance of Freud’s theory of the life and death instincts, stating that psychoanalytic assumptions that include the drive toward aggression are relevant to the study of human nature. They used Freud’s term *libido* to signify the energy of the sexual impulses, but they used the term *aggression* to delineate the energy of the aggressive impulses as well as to represent the drive itself. Simultaneous discharge of libido and aggression frequently occurs and is considered normal. Aggressive impulses can threaten an object unless a cathexis of libido has been achieved and acts as the object’s protection. Instinctual cathexes can occur and exist in two ways: simultaneously, leading to the predominance of the libido over aggression; and by fusion—leading to a melding of libido and aggression.

**Karl Menninger**

Karl Menninger, a Harvard-educated psychiatrist, founded with his father the Menninger Clinic for psychiatric patients. He also founded the Menninger Foundation for Psychiatric Education and Research.

In *Man Against Himself* (1938), Karl Menninger called Freud’s life and death instincts the constructive and destructive tendencies of the personality because of their proclivity to build up and tear down. Hate and love are the emotional representatives or expressions of these tendencies. Menninger wrote with regard to the fusion of the two instincts:

...the destructiveness in the world cannot all be ascribed to fate and the forces of nature, but must be in part laid at the door of man himself...the best theory to account for all the presently known facts is Freud’s hypothesis of a death instinct or primary impulses of destructiveness opposed by a life instinct or primary impulses of creativeness and constructiveness; it is various phases of interaction between these two which constitute the psychological and biological phenomena of life (1938, pp. 29, 81).

To Menninger, like Freud, the constructive instincts become absorbed or infused in the destructive instincts to create a neutralization of the destructive instinct. This occurs in varying degrees from absolute to almost none. “Neutralization” is the sublimation of the destructiveness into constructiveness and creativity.

When it becomes too difficult to maintain the neutralization, the constructive and destructive tendencies revert upon the individual with the possibility that the destructive tendencies may prevail, thus resulting in self-destructiveness. The degree to which the destructive instincts are neutralized determines the extent of the self-destruction.

To Menninger, a child is born with hate and learns who or what to hate through life experiences. If the child’s assessments are accurate, the destructive tendency can be helpful in attaining self-preservation. However, it takes years to be capable of accurate assessment. Thus, patterns of loving and hating are established that are not always wise. Eventually, the mature individual is capable of successfully sublimating the
destructive tendencies by channeling the aggressive energy into activities of living and loving.

Menninger (1963) also expounded on the use of humor. He contended that humor and swearing are often used to obtain relief from a state of tension. He cited Freud's *Wit and Its Relation to The Unconscious* (1905) as being the first psychological book to show how wit and humor have a tension-relieving capacity. In *Man Against Himself* (1938), Menninger asserts that sadism may be disguised in joking. According to Menninger, wit and humor are releases for "hostile impulses." He concurred with Freud's assumption that pleasurable feelings result from humor due to the release of unpleasant repressed emotion. The unpleasantness is due to the hostile element within the emotions, "but released in disguise, as humor, it makes all who share such emotion feel better" (Menninger, 1938, p. 430).

The universal existence of using sexual language to express anger and aggression may indicate that these theories are, in fact, correct. The primary goal of the present study is to test this universality. **Demographic Factors and the Use of Sexually Explicit Language**

Demographic variables influence when and how sexually explicit language is used. Timothy Jay, author of *Cursing In America* (1992), has studied patterns and rules for this type of verbal expression in the United States. Jay indicates that his and others' findings suggest that males use sexually explicit language more often than females; teenagers and young adults use sexually explicit language more often than older adults; status affects the perceived frequency of use; and intensity of religiousness seems to affect use of sexually explicit language. For the sake of simplicity, the term "SEL" will refer to the use of sexually explicit language to express anger and aggression.

According to Jay (1992):

Some believe that verbal aggression is the civilized form of earlier, more primitively evolved, physical aggression. Which is to say I'll beat you with words, not hands or clubs. It would seem that every society had sanctions against aggression and physical violence, as well as verbal attacks. Those who live in controlled societies must learn the rules controlling the expression of anger by violence or verbal attack...The major dimensions of a speech context that cause speakers to control anger even though they have experienced the physiological effects of it, are the following: age...status...relation...physical size...reasoning ability. (p. 103)

According to this rule, verbal aggression, which includes use of sexually explicit language to express anger and aggression, would be curbed toward certain groups such as those with higher status, for example, employers, professors, and religious figures.

In addition, according to Jay (1992), use of SEL to express anger and aggression also seems to be influenced by a person's relationship to the speaker; for example, a person would be more likely to control this type of expression toward his mother or grandparent. Foote and Woodward (1973) found evidence of this restraint when 25 out of 40 subjects in a sample stated that they rarely if ever used sexually explicit language in their parents' presence.

Another factor reported by Jay (1992) as influencing use of SEL is social-physical setting. In relaxed, private, or homogeneous group settings, use of SEL is more common.
than in business, public, or mixed-group settings. Walsh and Leonard (as cited in Jay, 1992) also found that both males and females reported use of “dirty words” more often in same-sex groups than in mixed-sex groups.

Age also seems to be related to the frequency of a person’s use of sexually explicit language. Johnson and Fine (as cited in Jay, 1992) found that subjects believed that younger people use obscenities more often than older people.

Apparently, religion also affects use of SEL. Mabry (as cited in Jay, 1992) found that religious females and males were more reserved in their projected use of sexual words than other subjects. He also found that strongly religious males had lower use ratings than other males or females. Kutner and Brogan (as cited in Jay, 1992) also found that females’ religious involvement was inversely related to extensiveness of sexual slang.

One example of the verbal use of sex and aggression comes from Gershon Legman in his book entitled *Rationale of the Dirty Joke*. Legman (1975) states that jokes are centuries old and come from a variety of countries. The purpose of many jokes is for sexual and aggressive pleasure. He maintains that “Jokes are, not least, a disguised aggression or verbal assault directed at the listener...” As his basis for interpretation of the motivation of jokes, Legman states that he uses Freud’s (1905) analysis as set forth in *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*.

To test the universality of the patterns that affect the use of sexually explicit language to express anger and aggression, a survey questionnaire (available from the author) was developed and administered to 31 representatives of non-English speaking cultures. Because of the use of subjects whose native languages are those other than English, test questionnaires were first administered to volunteers and suggestions for improving the questionnaire were solicited.

**Questionnaire**

To test the accuracy of the questionnaire, a sub-study was performed on a larger sample of American respondents. The purpose of the sub-study was to determine if American respondents to this study concurred with the results obtained in earlier American studies. Given the consistency of the sub-study with previous research, one could conclude that responses to the questionnaire from a smaller sample of educated representatives likely reflected the usage of their culture as a whole.

The questionnaire—which included examples of sexually explicit language and symbols used to express anger and aggression in the United States—was administered to representatives of as many different cultures as possible. Following questions designed to delineate demographic variables of the respondent, respondents were asked if sexually explicit language is used to express anger and aggression in their native languages and cultures. A series of 21 questions then asked respondents to rate the frequency of usage from 1 (never) to 7 (often) for subgroups within their culture varying in age, educational level, economic status, and religion. Each frequency question had two corresponding answer scales—one on which to record the assessment of males’ usage in a specific demographic group and the other for the assessment of females’ usage in the same

**Method**
demographic group. Respondents were also asked if jokes are used to express sexual aggressiveness in their native culture and to give an example of a joke that is aggressive toward males and one that is aggressive toward females. They were then asked to list some of the words and symbols used in their culture and the social settings most likely to involve this type of language. Finally, the respondents were asked to describe any concerns or comments about the survey and/or their responses to the questions.

Because of the sensitive subject matter of the questionnaire, participants were informed through the opening statement that the study had serious and scientific aims. Participants were also assured that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and that participation could be discontinued at any time. To protect privacy, respondents’ names were not solicited and the instructions at the beginning of the questionnaire explicitly stated that names were not needed and that participation was confidential.

Subjects

The approach adopted for this study was a “key informant” investigation rather than a randomized sample survey. That is, educated native speakers were sought from each culture, based upon the assumption that these individuals would be most likely to understand their native cultures well enough to report with reasonable accuracy on the use of sexual language to express aggression in their own cultures, including the variations in frequency of use associated with demographic subgroups. Twenty-four males and eight females responded, ranging in age from 20 to 69 years. Respondents included 14 professors, 2 graduate students, and 15 undergraduate students of Western Kentucky University. The appendix lists the languages and countries represented in the sample.

The sub-sample contains 15 Caucasian American respondents—6 female and 9 male—who range in age from 23 to 59 years. The educational level of the respondents includes 5 bachelors’ degrees, 6 masters’ degrees, 3 doctorates, and 1 law degree. All subjects reported English as their native language.

Results

Universality

The responses of the international sample indicated that 90% of the respondents answered that sexually explicit language is used to express anger and aggression in their cultures. Of the 9% that indicated that SEL is not used, one respondent stated that it does not even exist in the native language of Yoruba in Nigeria and its presence in Nigeria is due to European colonization. However, another representative of Nigerian culture indicated that SEL is used. Thus, conflicting results were obtained regarding use in Nigeria. Another respondent stated that in the Philippines SEL is used only in large cities and not in rural areas. The respondent’s explanation for this difference was that Western culture could be observed on television in larger cities and, as such, its influence can been seen in the language of urban dwellers. The respondent from the Philippines was the only informant from that culture. A third respondent indicated that SEL is not used in the native language of Bengali, yet the respondent did indicate usage by some males, albeit the usage was very low. Thus, some conflicting results were received for at least two of these cultures.

One hundred percent of the respondents of the American sub-study indicated that SEL is used to express anger and aggression in the United States. (However, it was explicitly stated in the questionnaire that SEL was used in the United States.)

Frequency assessments of the use of SEL
have been divided into three ranges: low—indicating a frequency rating of 1-2; moderate—indicating a frequency rating of 3-5. As table 1 also shows, both male and female Americans are perceived as more likely to use sexually aggressive language to express aggression than are their international counterparts; and high—indicating a frequency rating of 6-7. The reported percentages indicate the proportion of respondents who assessed usage to be within the reported range. Only the largest percentages are presented here.

### Influence of Gender

Results of the international sample indicate that use of SEL to express anger and aggression is more common among males than females; the American sample is consistent with these results, which are presented below in table 1. As table 1 also shows, both male and female Americans are perceived as more likely to use sexually aggressive language to express aggression than are their international counterparts.

The results also indicate that internationally as well as for Americans, both males and females are perceived as more likely to use SEL in same-sex groups than in mixed-sex groups. These results are presented in table 2.

---

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>International Sample</strong></th>
<th><strong>American Sample</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Usage</strong></td>
<td>Low Moderate High</td>
<td>Low Moderate High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>6% 42% 52% 0%</td>
<td>36% 64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>42% 52% 6% 0%</td>
<td>93% 7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Influence of Authority

Both the international and American samples indicated that individuals are less likely to use SEL when addressing authority figures or parents than in general usage. Percentages of those who reported low, moderate, or high usage when addressing authorities and parents are reported in table 3. By comparing these figures with those in tables 1 and 2, one observes that the

---

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>International Sample</strong></th>
<th><strong>American Sample</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Same-Sex Groups</strong></td>
<td>Low Moderate High</td>
<td>Low Moderate High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>6% 58% 35% 0%</td>
<td>0% 60% 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>50% 46% 4% 0%</td>
<td>0% 73% 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mixed-Sex Groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>32% 55% 13% 0%</td>
<td>0% 73% 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>63% 37% 0% 20%</td>
<td>20% 67% 13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
authority figure strongly inhibits the use of SEL for both males and females, both non-Americans and Americans.

Influence of Education

The present study found a relationship between the use of sexually explicit language and level of education. Respondents in both the American and international samples indicated that as educational level increases, use of SEL decreases. These data are presented in table 4. The trend to report lower frequency ratings as the level of high frequency for those with little education, dropping to 53% for those with a education increases can be seen for males in the international sample with 53% of low-educated respondents indicating high frequency of use, decreasing to 16% for high school and 10% for those with college education. The American sample also reported a decrease, with 100% indicating high school education, and 27% for a college education.

Influence of Socio-Economic Status

Table 3
The Influence of Authority and Parents
Upon the Use of Sexually Explicit Language to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaking to:</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One's Father:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One's Mother:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4
The Influence of Education Upon the Use of Sexually Explicit Language to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level:</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or less:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The influence of economic status replicates the effects of education. As table 5 shows, as economic status increases from low to middle to high income, the perceived use of SEL decreases. This pattern is true for both non-Americans and Americans and for both females and males. 

**Influence of Age**

Overall, the use of SEL appears to increase dramatically from preadolescence to adolescence and decrease substantially after age 50. This pattern was found for both men and women and for both Americans and non-Americans. The data are summarized in table 6. Frequency ratings for males in the international sample show an increase for males from 6% for high usage under age thirteen to 29% for teenagers, dropping to

---

**Table 5**

The Influence of Socio-Economic Status Upon the Use of Sexually Explicit Language to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Status:</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table 6**

The Influence of Age Upon the Use of Sexually Explicit Language to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group:</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 13:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenagers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 20 to 50:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over age 50:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17% for ages 20 to 50 and to 10% for those over age 50. Comparable results were obtained for females in the international sample as well as males and females in the American sample.

Influence of Religion

Not surprisingly, the use of SEL appears to decrease as individuals become more religious. Table 7 summarizes the results.

Overall, a linear pattern of decrease in usage of SEL is observed as religiosity increases.

Humor

As table 8 shows, sexual humor to express anger and aggression is used more frequently by males than females assessed by both the international sample and the American sample.

Table 7

The Influence of Religion Upon the Use of Sexually Explicit Language to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Religiosity</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Religious:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Religious:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Religious:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

The Use of Sexually Explicit Humor to Express Aggression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usage:</th>
<th>International Sample</th>
<th>American Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Setting

The most frequently reported setting in which SEL is used to express anger and aggression was reported by both samples as during “arguments.” Respondents to the international sample indicated that “sporting events” were the next most common setting, followed by situations in which people were drinking and when they were “with friends.” The American respondents reported the next most frequent settings to be “sporting events,” “bars,” and “in traffic”--all reported with equal frequency.

Discussion

Use of sexually explicit language seems to be common among the languages in this study. Yet, to use this evidence to support Freud’s theory that the instincts of sex and aggression are fused is premature. Although other studies have shown that the use of...
obscenities are widespread, this does not indicate that they are used aggressively. Foote and Woodward (1973) have cited work by E. Leach, G. Legman, E. Sagarin, H. Vetter, and M. Pei indicating that

A familiar manifestation of the linguistic taboo in our own society and in almost all other past and present societies is the pervasive although situationally relative prohibitions against uttering certain phonemic strings, or representing these utterances in writing, that are generally referred to as obscene, dirty, filthy, vulgar, profane, cuss, blasphemous, Anglo-Saxon, or four-letter words...It seems that with few exceptions all known modern tongues contain a certain, relatively small subset of words among all the lexical items of their vocabularies that would be identified by the typical native speaker of the these languages as obscene, dirty, etc. (P.264)

Studies which identify the use of these obscenities would help to indicate a universal way of using sexual language.

The results of the present study are consistent with previous American studies. Jay (1992) reported that Fine and Johnson found that the main motive for using obscenity by both male and female American college students is to express anger or to express feelings. Foote and Woodward (1973) found the same reason when 39 out of 40 American subjects reported that the main purpose for using obscenity was to "express my feelings," "let off steam," and "because I feel mad." This finding reflects the results of Driscoll (1981), who asked 96 American college men and women to rate on a scale of 0 (least aggressive) to 6 (most aggressive) epithets for aggressiveness and frequency of aggressive use. Results indicated that of the nine epithets rated over a "5" on aggressiveness, six referred to sexual behavior. The other three were "bitch," "son-of-a-bitch," and "pile of shit," of which the first two may be interpreted by some as having sexual inferences.

Jay (1992) reported that correlations of his 1977 tabooness study and Driscoll’s study indicate that there is a moderate correlation between offensiveness and aggression. Thus, words rated as offensive may also be perceived as aggressive. Baudhuin (1973) found that of the twenty taboo words rated by college students for offensiveness, all but one of the top ten had sexual connotations. Performing a similar study, Bostrom and Rossiter (as cited in Baudhuin, 1973) found that the word "fuck" received a rank of 16, with 17 being the most offensive. Thus, studies of the use of sexually explicit language have found that SEL is used to express anger in America and that one of the most offensive or aggressive sexually explicit verbal expressions of anger is the word "fuck." These findings are similar to the findings of the present study in which phrases containing the word "fuck" were the most commonly reported sexually explicit phrases used to express anger and aggression in both the international and the American samples.

These results support the findings of the American sub-study. The results of the present study indicate that for Americans and non-Americans, gender, authority, education, age, social status, and religion all affect the perceived use of SEL to express anger and aggression. Furthermore, gestures and humor are also used as vehicles to express anger and aggression. For the international study, similar results were obtained which may indicate universal rules for the use of SEL to express anger and aggression.
The present study is limited by the small percentage of languages represented in the sample. Concerns regarding comprehension of English and translation of concepts prompted limitation of respondents to university faculty and students, assuming they would be familiar with English and American customs. Therefore, only a small population of international representatives were available from which to draw the sample. Also, many students seemed to be reluctant to complete the questionnaire. I attribute this reluctance partly to the sensitive subject matter.

Though a large majority of respondents indicated that sexually explicit language is used to express anger and aggression in their native cultures, two respondents did indicate that SEL to express anger and aggression is not used in their native language and that any use in their countries is a direct result of Western influence. Because of the small sample size, it is possible that these languages were misrepresented in the study. If SEL use is forbidden but it does exist, then the answer to question #11 should be yes regardless of frequency of use. Further studies must be performed before any conclusions regarding the universal use of SEL to express anger and aggression can be drawn. Larger samples and a more diverse representation of world languages will allow greater inferences to be made regarding use of SEL to express anger and aggression. Also, because of the confidential nature of the questionnaires and survey methods used in this study, personal interviews were not possible. As a result, clarification of responses were not obtained. Future studies may need to include the use of personal interviews to clarify ambiguous answers or comments.
### Appendix

**Languages and nationalities represented in the study**

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* All three languages were reported by one respondent.

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VIOLENCE IN TV NEWS:
If You Threw Your TV Out the Window, Would It Lead the 6:00 News?
Kristen Miller

A bomb hits a crowded marketplace in a far-away, war-torn country, killing scores of people. A man goes on a shooting spree in a California fast-food restaurant. A small-town city auditor calls an emergency press conference and shoots himself on live TV. All of these events are violent, gory, and unbelievably, they are real incidents. I know they’re real, because I was there to see them all--on the 6:00 news.

We all know violence goes on every minute of every day, in every city around the world. And it would be easy for us to stick our heads in the sand and deny its omnipresence, but we can’t. Television news won’t let us. And though some people think news organizations act positively as a constant reminder that we should take action against crime and terrorism, most people see the media as a blight on our society, predisposing our children to violent behavior and leaving parents with nightmares.

There is no doubt that violence in TV news affects us. A poll conducted by ABC News in December 1993 showed almost 90% of Americans think there is more blood and violence on TV news now than a decade ago. More than eight in ten feel TV news has made our public more fearful than it was before television became popular. Still, over half of those surveyed said the news should continue its coverage of disturbing events, like terrorist acts and shootings, even if that coverage would lead to more such acts. And finally, less than one percent of those surveyed blame TV news for our country’s crime rate.

But what about the people that make TV news their job? Reporters and photographers experience violence firsthand when covering a story, and most of the things they see will never even make it to your living room--the scenes are much too violent.

Also, they often put their lives on the line in dangerous situations just to get the story. During the Los Angeles riots, reporters had to take many security measures. KTLA-TV assigned escorts to its crews and outfitted them with pagers so they would be available to be air-lifted from hot spots by the station’s helicopter. KCOP-TV crews were given flak jackets to wear in the field. Locally, during a series of race riots in Lexington, WAVE-TV’s crews wore bullet-proof vests while covering their stories.

Producers have a large role in controlling violence in TV news. It is their job to decide what news you hear and what ends up on the editing room floor. A well-known newsroom saying goes, “If it bleeds, it leads.” Is this true in practice--do producers feel the pressure to fill their newscasts with violent video and crime-laden copy?

This is a problem that affects everyone in a newsroom, from the youngest intern to the most seasoned, veteran news director. News organizations are often criticized for glorifying violence to boost ratings. Meanwhile, people in the news say they only report what the people want to see; the ABC poll confirms this. More than 60% of the people polled said news groups run crime stories because “that’s what people are interested in hearing about.” Also, they argue that the media are businesses, not non-profit organizations. They must do what is beneficial to stay operational, like any other corporation. Thus, they must show what people want to see, and in an age of increasing competition from cable, nothing pulls more ratings among American viewers than violence. But that greed aspect is purely
secondary to their function, and that is to show you, the viewer, what is going on in the world around you. Unfortunately, the world around you is often a violent one.

It is a mistake to think that problems like these don’t affect Kentucky stations or small-town reporters. To get a local angle, I spoke to four people employed by the top two stations in the Louisville market, WHAS-TV and WAVE-TV. These two stations dominate each year during ratings and award periods, and are part of one of the 50 largest markets in the country. However, news people are not easy people to interview; this paper should reflect what it’s like on a “quiet” day in a Louisville newsroom.

“There are days I have to fight a little harder...”

It is about 9:45 a.m. Chuck Olmstead, reporter for WHAS-TV, walks by and mutters, “Just about ten more minutes.” Ten more minutes go by. He walks through again and says apologetically, “Just a few more minutes. Really.” A few more minutes pass. He reappears, and seeming preoccupied, he says, “Let’s walk.”

Olmstead knows the TV business better than most. A native of Boston, Massachusetts, he began his career in 1969 as an intern in a Boston station. He worked his way up the ladder to weekend producer before leaving in 1972 for his first job as an on-air reporter in Hartford, Connecticut. He bounced from there to Detroit and Washington, D.C. during the Watergate years, and, finally bounced to WHAS in 1975. He stayed there until 1989, when he left to take a reporting job at WCBS-TV in New York. Just a year later, he decided New York was more than he wanted. He was tired of covering murders every day. Crime there was out of control, and no longer wanting to be its witness, Olmstead headed back to his old job in Louisville. He has been there ever since.

Today he is working on a story he wouldn’t have seen in New York: a strange skunk-like smell has blanketed the city, and he is busily trying to track down its source over the phone with Pollution Control. Between calls, Olmstead talks about the job he loves, and why, sometimes, it’s all wrong.

Olmstead feels that a reporter has the capability to control the urgency and emphasis placed on a story. Often the way a story is introduced connotes the impact the story will have on the audience. As an example, Olmstead tells about a story he covered a few years ago.

The son of a police officer was shot and killed during a drug deal gone bad. The event did not occur in the young man’s neighborhood, but in an area across town. Olmstead was assigned to the story, and his producer told him to do two live shots from the scene.

It has consistently been proven that live shots denote immediacy, and, if used incorrectly, can stereotype a situation. Olmstead, after talking with the residents of the neighborhood, felt the shots were unnecessary. The people didn’t want their homes seen as a gang and drug battlefield. They said it was an isolated incident, so Olmstead called the station and fought against the shots. He lost, and later he received hundreds of letters and complaints, even though it was against his better judgment that the shots took place. Later, when a similar situation arose, Olmstead had the benefit of experience on his side. There were no live shots from the scene.

Olmstead agrees occasionally with critics who say there is too much crime on TV news. He says, “I think that you can’t avoid covering the horrendous murder or the multiple murder. Somebody should be assigned to the why and how.” Olmstead feels it is the reporter’s job to
let the viewers know about violence in their neighborhood, but it can’t stop there. He agrees that the power of the media can hurt, but it can also help. “You can scare instead of stimulate; you can intimidate instead of educate by the way you cover a story.”

His solution to the problem of violence in the news is not to get rid of it, because it is necessary. Not reporting it would be in violation of a station’s responsibility to its viewers. But you can’t leave a story there. He says, “We have to be careful not to lead people into the belief that if someone is robbed coming out of a downtown hotel that it is symptomatic when it may not be.” Olmstead recommends that a station get behind a story—don’t just send someone to cover a murder, send a second reporter to do what is called a “sidebar,” or another story that tells why something like this happened and how it can be stopped. The last question he asks himself when covering a violent story is, “How can I leave people with hope?” That, he feels, is most important.

Having said this, Chuck Olmstead leaves the newsroom, in search of the big stink.

“Sometimes I think news is whatever comes up in the morning meeting...”

Harry Samler pounds on the editing controls for the millionth time. Frustrated, he gives them a final smack, and the machine takes its commands and whirs into action. He sits back in his chair as part six of his eight-part series on arthritis is almost complete. This, he decides, is a good stopping place. “Let’s get outta here,” he sighs.

Harry is in his second year as a photographer and sometime-reporter at WHAS. He graduated with a psychology degree from Tulane University in New Orleans. He worked in radio for awhile, then landed his first TV job in 1991 as the crime reporter for WSAV-TV in Savannah, Georgia. He effectively “worked the streets” from 7 p.m. to 4 a.m. each day, during the reign of Georgia’s most feared drug gang--there were more murders in Savannah that year than in the history of the city, with six a month in a town of just 250,000 people. (That’s over 70 murders that year. In comparison, last year in Louisville, a city almost three times as big, there were about 40.)

Samler says he usually got to the scene of a crime before the ambulance would arrive. The video he shot was often brutally graphic, some so graphic he refuses to show it. But he wasn’t and still isn’t bothered by what he saw. As a young photographer, the thrill of rushing to the scene meant more to him than what was framed in his viewfinder. He says, “You’re documenting history, you’re documenting crime, you’re documenting statistics...” His voice trails off, and he smiles at his job’s importance.

In his first job, Samler says he became hardened to violence. It almost seemed like trial by fire; his first night in television news, he covered a fatal fire where one of the survivors ran around the scene screaming, his burnt skin falling from his body. From there, he was called to the scene of a murder. Minutes later, just three blocks away, another shooting occurred, killing one and wounding another. He covered that story as well.

Samler says he has no sympathy for victims of gang violence, which he witnessed throughout his time in Savannah. He believes gang violence should not be considered news and should not get any air time. He says, “If you’re going to be a drug dealer, that’s the life you’re going to live. No one cares.” What did bother him, however, were the victims of senseless accidents and violence.

Samler suffered from recurring nightmares while he worked the nightly crime beat. He says he dreamed about the numerous car
wrecks he videotaped because those victims were helpless to their fate. He also tells the story of video he didn't shoot but which nevertheless made a permanent impression on him.

A 16-year-old boy was working in a Subway restaurant. He was, by all reports, a good kid. He made good grades and was preparing to enter the military. One night two young men walked in with guns and ordered him to make them some sandwiches. He did so. Some words were exchanged, and the worker followed their instructions to the letter. Before the robbers left, one shot the Subway worker in the heart. He stood still at first, then looked down at his wound. He began screaming and running around the restaurant. Finally, he ran to the phone. As he picked it up to dial, he fell to the floor and died. The entire incident was captured on video by the store's surveillance camera.

That video later ended up in Samler's hands. He says that after he watched it, he went out to his car in the parking lot and sat in silence for half an hour. He told me, "To this day, I regret seeing that video."

Samler feels that news has gone overboard in its coverage of certain events. He feels that TV stations have no business attending funerals or visitations, and live shots should be used only when there is something going on, not hours after something has occurred, to draw viewer attention. He doesn't believe in the unwritten "suicide rule" either. That rule states that suicides should not be covered on the news, period. Samler finds this hypocritical. Though studies have proven that suicide rates climb after a suicide story is saturated in the media, Samler says those stories are no different from any other murder story. He asks, does the number of shootings increase after we do a story on a shooting death? Should we not cover shootings either?

Also, Samler is critical of the so-called "good-news newscasts." At least 11 stations from Seattle to Miami are trying this approach—covering more feel-good stories and editing out the graphic violence, sometimes even cutting out stories entirely. Samler says this is irresponsible journalism and claims that time and time again, these "family formats" simply don't work. He says, "Until people change, the news isn't going to change."

Samler says that even after his intense beginnings in journalism, he remembers only one time he feared for his life while on the job. A man had murdered a woman in cold blood outside a Savannah grocery store. He was eventually cornered by police in a vacant lot. Samler arrived on the scene just after the police. (Ironically, this was another first-day experience for him. He had just gotten a job at the rival Savannah station.)

It was during this standoff that he saw the danger in what he was doing. He says, "I realized I could be shot...some detective started yelling at me, 'Get down! Get down!' So, I got down." The criminal was then shot and killed by a police sharpshooter. After the incident, Samler says he was very excited. He raced back to the station, high on pure adrenaline.

After his tour of duty on the Savannah streets, Samler took a job at a quieter Columbus, Georgia station. Here, his focus shifted from the mean streets to the backwoods. He jokes, "I can't tell you how many cow stories I did."

But not every story in Columbus was livestock related. He tells of a rare gun battle in Opelika, Alabama that gained national attention. Obviously, he says, violence is not just in our big cities. It's everywhere.

Samler admits he doesn't know what the code of ethics is for TV news, if there even is
It seems the newsroom has purchased a new computer system and needs 27 new monitors to go along with it. The distributor fell through, and Circuit City won’t sell the monitors to the station in bulk, so each employee has to go out and buy a few. Admittedly, not a part of her job description.

Once in the car, she begins to talk about the wall she has built between herself and what she sees on her newscasts every day. Davis feels as though anyone in the news needs some kind of shield to separate them from their work. But she says that still doesn’t make you immune to feeling. She begins, “With the things we have to go through, the things we have to cover...” She never finishes.

Davis doesn’t believe in the “if it bleeds, it leads” maxim, but rather in the saying “news you can use.” She feels that people in today’s society have been conditioned to think that if a newscast leads with “good news,” then there must not be anything important going on in the world.

Davis also, like most in the news business, disagrees with the idea of the “good news newscasts.” She says those newscasts aren’t reality, and they betray the audience. She also says the audience often vocalizes complaints about the excess violence they see on the news, but the ratings-watchers have proven that violence is more popular among viewers than other story topics. In other words, we say one thing, but watch another.

Davis’ solution to the violence problem in our news is to make stories more people-oriented, not action-oriented. Like Olmstead, she believes in getting behind the story to explore the hows and whys. She also says we must be careful not to stereotype people or places when writing for a show. She gives an example of a story that broke in Louisville this past summer.

In a city of Louisville’s size, you can expect a couple of murders each month. But there is one thing everyone in the news will tell you—when summer comes, that number will jump. The combination of inner-city tension, the stress of living in un-air-conditioned projects, and the sweltering Southern heat and humidity often turn into a lethal weapon. This summer, Louisville had more than five murders in as many weeks, a phenomenon for the city.

Two of the murders occurred late at night in an intense gun battle outside some city housing projects in the west end. From the picture that has been painted for you, you can probably guess what happened. Two men, involved in gangs and drugs, probably high on crack cocaine, waging war on each other during the early morning hours.

If that’s what you think you would have seen on the news, then think again. Yes, two men were battling each other, but they were not the victims. A man with his three-year-old son was sitting outside their apartment. The young boy was too hot and was having trouble getting to sleep. His father had taken him...
outside to cool off when they were caught in
the gunfight. Both were shot, and the three-
year-old boy died in his father’s arms. The
man died later.

It could have been easily assumed that this
man was involved in the gun battle. The
audience could have inferred that he was a
drug dealer, a thug, a thief, or a gang member.
Without getting behind the story, the situation
could have stereotyped this man to be
something he wasn’t. Instead, the news
portrayed him accurately, as a frightened
father.

Davis feels that as a producer, she is
obligated to cover stories like these, but her
second job makes it a little harder to make
those decisions. She’s also a full-time mother
to her toddler son, Tyler. She believes that as
a mother, it comes down to being a careful
parent, saying, “I’d rather him watch ‘Sesame
Street’ or a tape than the news.”

Davis emphasized the role her family has
played in affecting the way she looks at news.
She says events like the Susan Smith killings
and the Oklahoma City bombing have
changed the way she looks at her family as
well. She says the bombing especially hit
home for her, not as a producer, but a parent.
As news of the destroyed day care in the
federal building made its way across the
country, Davis thought of her son in his
day care just miles away. She says, “Part of
my reaction was to cover (the story), but it
also made me want to pick him up and bring
him where I was. That night, I hugged him
extra tight. I still get stories that send chills up
my spine to write.”

Davis has had the ultimate training in
decision-making when it comes to her family
as well. She tells the story of her last day on
the job while she worked in the Cincinnati
market.

Davis grew up in Fort Thomas, Kentucky,
a small town just across the river from Ohio.
Her father was a police officer there, and one
morning he had to shoot and kill someone in
the line of duty. That was the first time in the
history of her town that a police officer had
shot a perpetrator.

Naturally, this made the Cincinnati news.
Unfortunately, Davis was the producer of the
morning show-- the first show to cover her
own father’s story. Her superiors offered to
take her off the show, but because it was her
last day, Davis opted to stay on. She led the
show with the story of the Fort Thomas police
officer who, for the first time ever, had fired
his gun in self-defense. She wrote only the
headline; other writers completed the story.

Davis’ husband, Mike, is also in the news
business. He’s a photographer for WAVE-TV.
She says that shortly after their son was born,
Mike had to cover a fatal car accident. A little
girl about their son’s age died in the wreck
during the rescue process. “And that tore him
up,” Davis says.

But, to the news’ credit, Davis happily
reports that more family-oriented people are
taking media jobs. The news was once a place
where adventurous, mobile, single people
worked, moving from market to market,
staying in one place for less than two years at
a time. But Davis sees more and more family
people in the business, and she feels the effect
they are having. She says they will put the
heart back in the 6:00 news.

“We’re journalists, but we’re also human
beings...”

Kathy Beck sits behind a desk in an office
surrounded in glass windows. It looks almost
like the set from an old episode of “The Mary
Tyler Moore Show,” with Kathy putting a
female twist on the role of Lou Grant.
She is the news director at WAVE-TV, a
job that requires her to wear many hats. Not
only does she have a hand in deciding what is news each day, but she is also a part of the management chain, dealing with the business end of operations at the station. She also acts as an ambassador--special viewers often find themselves eating lunch with her when they visit the station.

Beck came to WAVE after working at Houston’s KHOU-TV, the same station that began the tragic career of late network star Jessica Savitch. Houston is a decidedly larger city than Louisville with a disproportionately larger problem with violence, sometimes recording 600 murders a year. Beck thinks this difference is noticeable in the local news. She says, "Louisville is not a crime-ridden city. If we led with crime every day, it wouldn’t be a fair representation of the city."

Beck feels that after all the time she’s spent in the news business, violence doesn’t affect her the way it used to. “I guess I’m calloused to it,” she says. “After 20 years in the business, I’m calloused to it.” But Beck has seen how the job has beaten some people down. A weekend anchor she worked with in Houston got out early. Beck says, “She couldn’t take it.”

Beck was told early on that one needed a thick skin to survive in the news. She feels this is because as a member of the media, you’re exposed to the best and worst society has to offer. Though she is distanced from the violence her news groups must cover, she has other worries, like the safety of her crews.

During the Lexington riots, it was her call to send the crews, and her call to send them with bullet-proof vests. She says, “Whether it’s violence or a hurricane, you worry about your crews because you have to go. You have to have enough common sense that they know where to draw the line. You have to be street smart. It’s part of the job, unfortunately.”

Beck’s last husband was also in the news business. He was a station photographer. He stayed away from the violence by using his camera--Beck says he used to say, “As long as you had that viewfinder up to your eye, you were isolated.” As long as he was shooting something, he could stay distanced from it. But many people say that you, the viewer, are not that lucky.

**The Rocky Mountain Media Watch**

Each of the subjects I interviewed had a lot to say about a study done by a group called the Rocky Mountain Media Watch. The survey, called “Pavlov’s TV Dogs,” was released just a week before I began the interviews. It rated local newscasts from 100 stations across the country on the same night, September 20, 1995. Fifty-eight cities in 35 states were included in the study. Twenty-eight of the stations were in large markets, 44 were in medium markets, and the remaining 28 were small station markets.

Watchers found that half of the newscasts were dominated by crime stories, with murder stories making up the most of that category. They also concluded that most newscasts contained what they called “excessive violence and trivia.” Then they told us something we already knew—that stations often capitalize on sensational stories to gain viewers.

The study accused newscasts of being “unbalanced and unhealthy.” It also claimed that newscasts didn’t contain actual news, but functioned only to create “an emotionally aroused audience that is susceptible to advertising.” And it noted that the easiest way to build emotion is with violence, or what it calls mayhem.

The Rocky Mountain Media Watch defines mayhem as “...any news story dealing with crime, disaster, or war.” It found that 42% of all news on the 100 surveyed newscasts fell into this category. Interestingly
enough, WLKY-TV in Louisville, with 88.1% of its news considered mayhem, ranked first as having the most mayhem-filled newscast of all 100 shows in the survey, even ahead of Los Angeles’ KNBC-TV and Atlanta’s WGNNX-TV.

Included in the mayhem designation are crime stories. The study found that 37 of the 100 lead stories were about crime. Fifty-three percent of these were about murder, with 115 separate murder stories reported. Researchers criticized the fact that not only did stations cover crime events, but they covered the search and scene of the crime, the arrest and indictment of a criminal, and the ensuing trial, verdict, and sentencing. They virtually ignored the consequences, patterns or solutions behind the events.

The study also measured what researchers called “fluff.” This category includes anchor chatter between stories or segments, celebrity news, or soft news, which are stories like a beauty contest for cows, or the Miss Bald USA Contest. This makes up 39% of the news in the survey. Nashville’s WSMV-TV ranked fifth-highest on the fluff index, while Louisville’s WDRB-TV was in the bottom five.

The results for each station in these different categories and others, like ads and hard news, were added together to create a “Pavlov rank.” Stations that ranked high on the Pavlov scale were accused of audience manipulation and conditioning through stimulation of emotion. Louisville’s WLKY-TV ranked 4th out of 100 stations on the scale, and WAVE-TV ranked 6th. WDRB-TV ranked 32nd.

The study was sent to all participating stations and to media critics across the country. Its results seem conclusive, but before you believe everything you hear, consider the “white-coat syndrome”—just because a study is done, does that mean it is correct or even reporting viable information?

Here’s the side of the story you didn’t hear. The Rocky Mountain Media Watch is only two years old. It’s a non-profit organization funded by progressive foundations in Colorado and California. All the shows were taped by volunteers and sent back to the headquarters in Denver, where they were screened and counted. In most cases, the volunteers were family members of organization employees or nuns, and they taped only as many shows as they had VCRs—most newscasts air at the same time, so not all stations in a market were included. In fact, WHAS-TV, Louisville’s long-reigning number one station, was excluded from the study.

The study was compiled by three men: Dr. Paul Klite, Dr. Robert Bardwell, and Jason Salzman. I spoke to Klite in Denver about the organization and their backgrounds in the media.

It turns out that Dr. Klite does not have a journalism degree of any sort. He is a former artist and physician, and was most recently a professor of microbiology and internal medicine at the University of Colorado. His only media experience stretched from 1989 to 1992, when he helped to produce an issue-oriented show called “Terra Infirma” for National Public Radio. The others were in no way connected to the media. Bardwell is the statistician that crunched the numbers, and Salzman, the current president of RMMW, is a former Greenpeace staffer.

Also, reporters and producers expressed concern about the date of the screening and how that date could invalidate the findings. Boston stations were criticized for including too much sports coverage on their newscasts. Of course, the screenings were done on the same day the Red Sox won their division title.
Louisville stations contested their high-violence ratings as well; the study was done on the day one of the FBI’s most wanted fugitives was passing through the city and shot a police officer in a rare mid-morning suburban scuffle. As WAVE’s Kathy Beck said, that’s something that doesn’t happen every day in a city like Louisville, so is it fair to judge local stations on that day? She doesn’t think so.

Klite denies the failure of “good news newscasts.” He claims their deaths are “absolutely not true.” He also feels that the argument that TV stations are businesses and just do what they can to survive is invalid. He says journalism has a higher responsibility than profit.

Klite says he developed the project because he and his colleagues were intrigued by the power TV held over its audience. He also says he is simply concerned that TV news has become unbalanced. He calls for more issue-related news and less violence. He says, “People are not aware of the cumulative content that is coming at them. We want the television stations to know someone is watching.”

And there is someone watching. They are watching themselves.

KNBC-TV in Los Angeles has started editing out graphic footage in its video. Bill Lord, the KNBC news director, says his employees have been “...coming out of the woodwork” to thank him for the decision.

Ted Turner’s Cable News Network has started offering classroom study guides to teachers through America Online to stimulate class discussions about the news. They question the content of the news and try to explain the whys behind the events.

Even though they’ve been proven to fail, G-rated broadcasts are popular in many large cities. Making newscasts “family sensitive” seems to be a growing trend. Whether it is based on a desire to clean up our airwaves or just a clever marketing ploy, it is having an effect on the way the news reaches the public.

Maybe the key, like veteran reporter Chuck Olmstead pointed out, is getting behind the story. Maybe it is getting more family-oriented people involved in the news, like Debbie Davis said. Maybe we should follow the lead of over 1,000 residents of Bombay, India. A year ago, they began a campaign asking people to throw their televisions out the window when they got disgusted with the sex and violence coming into their homes.

No matter whose solution we choose, a solution will come. A solution must come, because all the people of the world are watching.

And waiting.

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HOW SCHOOLS CAN HELP COMBAT VIOLENCE

By Carrie Shaw

The evidence of increasing violence in the American society is ever-present. Children, by nature, learn what they see. Unfortunately, this includes violent behavior. The violence in our community transmits itself into the microcosm of schools. Rural as well as urban, and elementary as much as secondary schools are now vulnerable to violence (Boothe et al. 33). In the Annual Gallup Poll on Education, “violence, fighting, and gangs” tied for first place as the biggest issue facing public schools today (Townley 61). The National Crime Survey reported that 3 million thefts and violent crimes occur on or near school campuses each year. This means 16,000 incidents per school day, or one every 6 seconds (Stephens 30). Many students are verbally abusive, like the kids they see on television shows like “Roseanne” and “The Simpsons.” Eight percent of teachers are physically threatened by students each day (Townley 68). One in four elementary principals has cited an increase in gang-related violence in their schools (Boothe et al. 34). These problems must be recognized as sounding alarms. Our society needs to ask several questions: First, what causes children to be so violent? Second, how is this culture of violence affecting them? Last, what can our elementary schools do to help break down the system of violence?

Why are our children so violent at school? We cannot pin the blame on only one cause; there are many factors involved in shaping violence. This behavior results from a “volatile mix of complicated causes,” including “the breakdown of the family structure, the ethos of the larger community, [and] the influence of peer groups” (Booth et al. 33). Other contributing forces in our culture are “drugs, guns, unemployment, homelessness, changes in family, economic stresses, violence in life and on T.V., inflammatory lyrics in popular music, increases in hate crimes, and social mores that seem to condone violence” (Lal, Lal, & Achilles 3). These stressors affect children on an everyday basis.

In modern America, community violence must also be considered. Community violence includes all violent acts that occur in a community and are reported through the media, such as drive-by shootings, abductions, drug dealing, robberies, assaults, and gang activities. In a survey of New Orleans fifth-graders, 70% had witnessed the use of weapons, and in one Chicago housing complex, all the children had witnessed a shooting by age five (Botkin et al. 3). It may also be fictional media violence, such as that seen on television shows, video games, comic books, etc. The American Psychological Association states that television definitely influences children’s behavior, especially by reinforcing racial/sexual prejudices and inciting violence. “The average child in the United States watches 8,000 murders and 100,000 other acts of violence on television by the time he or she leaves elementary school” (Pruitt & Stein 255). TV Guide reported that a violent act is viewed on TV every six minutes on average. “[H]igher levels of viewing violence on television are correlated with increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior” (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 11). Community violence affects the entire community, even persons not directly involved, and especially can impact children, even if the act does not happen
directly to them or anyone they know. For example, “media portrayals on the nightly news and other special reports on incidents such as the Oklahoma City tragedy bring this violent act into the homes of millions of young children” (Botkin et al. 3). Kids are saturated with violent images from the media and TV shows.

How is violence affecting young people? Studies have shown violence to have devastating effects on children’s social and emotional health and on cognitive development. The effects are usually more severe and significant on children than on adults because children are too developmentally immature to understand the concept of violence (Botkin et al. 3).

Depending on the child’s age or developmental stage, social reactions to violence may vary. Preschoolers may regress to outgrown behaviors like whining, crying, and bed-wetting. They may act more aggressive or demanding than normal. Six- to twelve-year-olds may become withdrawn, or hide their feelings with excessive activity. They commonly worry about the effects of violence on their future on a day-to-day basis. Long-term exposure can result in truncated moral development, pathological adaptation to violence, and identification with the aggressor (Botkin et al. 4).

Children have very specific emotional reactions to violence. They feel fear, mistrust, worry, doubt, confusion, anger, jealousy, and hurt. Young children often do not clearly understand the relationship between cause and effect and may think something they do or fail to do causes violence to occur. This leads to tremendous inexpressible guilt, which may affect a child for years to come. In some cases, violence can lead to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

Chronic exposure to violence can lead to seriously impaired intellectual development. It may also cause a child to develop many school problems like difficulty focusing on tasks assigned. “The younger the children, the greater the impact of exposure [on] healthy development” (Botkin et al. 4).

We know that children obviously aren’t learning how to deal with violence in most homes. In fact, unresolved family conflict is the leading cause of behavior problems in school (Smith 74). Some children join gangs because they serve a pseudo-family role in providing support, a sense of belonging, respect, recognition, and responsibility for younger and less able members. Unfortunately, as gangs become more serious, they get involved with territorial disputes, drug trafficking, extortion, hate crimes and other violent acts. Too often, even parents who want to instill peaceful values in their children and try to protect them from street violence go off to work and leave kids with the television, where they witness hours of commercialized gunfights, murders, and other violent acts.

If the parents cannot teach children how to deal with violence and what alternatives to aggression are available, this responsibility falls on the schools. Young children, because they have learned less about the world, are the most vulnerable to and impressionable by violence, yet also are the most able to be helped by education in non-violence. “Numerous studies have shown early intervention programs may reduce juvenile delinquency and predelinquent behavior because they alleviate some of the risk factors that make a child prone to delinquency” (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 10). Therefore, our attack against violence should begin in the elementary schools. Some theorists see the school as a tool for social reform, so perhaps by helping our children through the schools, we can also help to heal
society as a whole.

The first step of intervention into violence is to make our schools safe. Children cannot be educated while they are in danger. In his article “Curbing Youth Violence,” the American Secretary of Education, Richard Riley, says that the federal, state, and local governments should set school safety as a priority and provide the resources to ensure it (37-38). The Safe Schools Act aims to authorize immediate money to the urgent needs like serious violence and discipline problems, and to grant up to three million dollars to plan long-term strategies. These urgent needs can be met by some short-term safety plans. Suggestions include designing strict rule codes, enforcing weapons control methods, educating about the results of weapons use, maintaining close relations with law-enforcement agencies and utilizing technological innovations.

Rules and standard procedures are imperative to let students know what behavior is expected and acceptable. One principal (Caudle 23) has designed a Student Admission Interview in which both students and parents are required to sign contracts agreeing to rules and violence elimination before the student can be enrolled. (This is also a time in which helpful information is gathered about students and families, such as medical and psychiatric histories and past encounters with the law.) This school is set up as a ZTZ, or “zero tolerance zone.” Violence is strictly prohibited. ZTZ is emphasized as a standard and helps to set a peaceful tone for the school. Some other helpful policies schools can adopt to reduce potentially violent situations include clear or mesh bookbags only, no gang colors, elimination or aggressive monitoring of lockers, and no beepers. Access to the campus should be restricted from the general public, and staff should be alert for unauthorized visitors. Enrollment capacities should be limited to 1,100-1,200 students because greater numbers are difficult to supervise. School authority should be very responsive and visible through constant monitoring of the halls, lunchroom, and bus area, and through random classroom visitation. There should be detailed plans established for crisis management that all school staff are trained to understand and facilitate. Last, schools should offer numerous and varied after-school programs to help keep children off the streets, out of trouble, and excited about and involved in school (Caudle 20-23; Stephens 29-33).

Students generally want to get along and to have structure, and should be included in the process of designing rules and strategies for violence prevention. They can establish a “Student Crime Watch” and have an anonymous suggestion box. They may assist in monitoring halls and can participate in a crisis management team. Principal Caudle’s students (23) also suggest replacing study halls with directed group discussion periods and setting up a confidential way for students to report those possessing weapons at school (Caudle 23).

Each day students bring approximately 270,000 guns to school. 61% of all in-school violence involves weapons (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 10). We must enforce zero tolerance of weapons in schools. Metal detectors (either hand-held or permanent) can be positioned at all entrances, and means for concealment like bags, lockers, or bulky clothes must be reduced. Some schools issue two sets of textbooks—one for home and one to keep in class—so they are not used to transport weapons (or drugs) into the school building. Students who carry or use weapons at school can be relocated to alternative schools and kept under close

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supervision (Stephens 30).

Children must be educated about the realities and consequences of using guns. Sarah Brady (4-9) has helped to create a preK-12th grade curriculum called STAR— "Straight Talk About Risks"—that teaches children how to reduce their chances of victimization by handgun violence. Participants rehearse behaviors such as recognizing and channeling anger non-violently. Education must also reach out to families about the risks of guns at home. Eighty-eight percent of children accidentally injured or killed by a gun are shot in their own home or one of a friend or relative. One in four homes has a handgun, "to protect the family," yet that gun is statistically proven to be 43 times more likely to kill a family member or friend than to kill a criminal intruder. To keep them out of schools, guns must be eliminated from the places where children find access to them. We must get guns out of our houses and off of the streets by reforming the gun industry to increase regulations on dealers and to enforce stronger criminal liabilities for illegal weapons sales ("12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence" 10). Schools can be very powerful bases for reaching out to families with this information and plans for action to reduce weapons violence in the schools and in the community.

Cooperation between schools and law enforcement agencies can also help increase safety levels of campuses. Some schools now have police officers present on a regular basis that patrol the building. These officers help prevent violent situations from arising and are specially trained with responses to deal with resistant and violent behavior based on a "continuum of force" (Frisby & Beckham 10). There are six levels of resistance defined by state police: presence, verbal, passive physical, active physical, aggressive physical, and aggravated physical. For each of these levels of resistance, police are trained with a specific response. "The law allows only that force which is reasonably necessary to effectively bring a situation under control" (Frisby & Beckham 14).

Having law officers in the school helps students to learn that violence is a criminal offense, not just a disciplinary problem. Plus, when administrators and teachers have an understanding of the "continuum of force," and create a school policy that parallels that of state law enforcement agencies, they are empowered to act in a crisis situation and are protected from liability (Frisby & Beckham 15).

Another way to battle violence using the legal system is by cooperation between the school and juvenile authorities. Principals can be made hearing officers of the court and can send information directly to courts about students on probation. Reciprocally, courts can provide schools with up-to-date lists of students on probation so they can be closely supervised and targeted for special prevention programs (Caudle 23).

Technology is increasingly able to provide security for those schools who can afford it. Video cameras can help stop vandalism and theft. Parking lot alarm systems can be installed with motion detectors. Computer databases can be set up to help track crimes and keep records. The offense, date, time, location, and circumstances can be communicated between schools and law enforcement agencies by modem for data analysis to identify trends and offenders, like in monitoring gangs (Stephens 30). Also by modem link, profile records can be maintained and updated with information about suspensions, expulsions, and offenses of students. Files can be kept on non-students...
(Unauthorized visitors) detained on school property as well. Using optical scanners or digital cameras, pictures and documents can be stored in these computer files (Townley 63).

Technology can improve the communication levels within a school as well. Telephones should be located in each classroom, auditorium, cafeteria, gymnasium, and on track and ball fields for quick and easy access to the 911 emergency service and to administrators and other faculty. Two-way radios can keep administrators and those who patrol the school building in constant contact.

Creating a safe school environment is the first step we must take in violence reduction, but it is not enough. Nor should we look to those programs which promote suspensions, expulsions, and work camps for juvenile offenders. “More prisons, ‘three strikes and you’re out,’ and 17-year-olds on death row are merely symptoms of our collective frustration and fear. They do not solve the problem of youth violence” (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 10). These “get tough on kids” punitive programs are not corrective, they do not teach alternative behaviors, so therefore they are not of any lasting value. With over 100,000 people in federal and state penitentiaries plus 500,000 in local jails (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 10), it is time to realize that punishment alone does not work. Besides, these days, kids’ lives are tough enough already. We must stop looking for easy, temporary answers and treating the symptoms with these Band-Aid solutions and attack the real roots of the problem.

It is important to understand violence in order to determine how to stop it. It is systematic within families, schools, and communities (Tice 39). Systems Theory says that behavior is caused by the influence of the structure of our culture on our thinking and systems. While our first impulse is to look for someone or something to blame for a system (for example, pointing fingers at the breakdown of the family structure, gangs, lack of censorship on the media, or guns), what we should really do is focus on how to change the structure of the system. Such high-leverage changes are never easy, never obvious, and never fast (Eison). There will be no overnight solution to violence, and so we should be very wary of plans that just cover up the real problem. Programs that will truly help are those that attack the system of violence by teaching children a non-violent attitude, giving them new strategies to handle potentially violent situations, teaching self-love and assurance, helping families learn parenting and conflict resolution skills, and changing the way violence is portrayed by the media and entertainment business. Schools are capable of playing a part in many of these strategies to break down the system of violence.

Deborah Prothrow-Stith set up some guidelines for creating programs for schools in “Blueprint for Violence Reduction” (30-34). School-based violence prevention programs must become long-term priorities for school districts. Resources should be focused on young children, especially those in high-risk groups (based on socio-economic status, racial and ethnic background, location of residence, etc.). Programs should be developmentally appropriate and created for all different grade levels. Students, teachers, and parents should all be involved in planning and assessing the program, and there must be cooperation between the home, school, and community. The programs should be culturally and racially appropriate to be effective. Evaluation measures should be built in to the program design. The best way
to build new programs is to base them on successful existing ones.

Much violent behavior can be prevented if children develop a non-violent attitude towards conflict resolution. Prevention programs that teach nonviolence, model conflict resolution, and teach peer mediation should be part of each child's formal and informal education. States should mandate that conflict resolution and peer mediation strategies become part of the required curriculum for all grades and all schools. Teachers should be educated in these areas also; and some people even suggest that a "[t]eacher's ability to demonstrate conflict resolution skills when working with student conflict should be part of the teacher evaluation process" (Caudle 23).

One specific program developed in 1985 is called the RCCP--Resolving Conflicts Creatively Program (Lantieri 14-17). It was designed to create intergroup understanding, teach alternatives to violence, and urge creative conflict resolution. It is the largest school-based program of its kind, working through 300 schools in many communities during the '93-'94 school year. The cost averages about 33 dollars per student per school year (a minute price compared to juvenile incarceration and court trial expenses). It has in many places become part of the school reform effort.

RCCP is a K-12 curriculum that teaches children to listen to one another when there are problems to work out. Emphasis is placed on open discussion and a supportive atmosphere. The program tries to equip students with practical conflict resolution skills. About seven periods per month are dedicated to teaching specific conflict resolution lessons. RCCP also works with teachers in establishing a new style of classroom management. Teachers participate in professional training, and are backed up with on-going technical assistance. Parents and administrators are also offered training in this program.

RCCP has had "an observable and quantifiable positive impact on students, participating staff, and classroom climate" (Lantieri 15) It has yielded observable results; the students use less physical violence in class and fewer put-downs. They have shown increased verbal support, spontaneous use of conflict resolution skills, and increased self-esteem, leadership, and initiative. Also, teachers have improved in their ability to deal with angry students and conflict.

Peer mediation is another response to youth violence in schools that also teaches and models conflict management and communication skills.

"School mediation programs serve the critical prevention role of creating new norms for social interaction in the culture of school, where fighting and violence are unacceptable methods of resolving conflict" (Smith 71).

Through this process, children learn to help others settle their disputes peacefully. Johnson, et al. define mediation and what it entails (10-13). It is considered the opposite of arbitration, in which a third party makes the decision about how to end a conflict. Students have learned from this traditional disciplinary procedure that adults or authority figures are needed to solve conflicts. Mediation puts the responsibility for behavior regulation and conflict management into the children's hands. Students must learn to regulate their behavior through self-monitoring, judge what is appropriate given the situation and the perspective of other people, and modify their behavior accordingly.

There are hundreds of mediation programs active in U.S. schools today. One of these, called "Teaching Students to be Peace-
makers,” first teaches negotiation and mediation skills through trainings that last 30 minutes for 30 days, then follows up with refresher lessons about once or twice a week. Through role-playing, children practice these skills and learn to use them in daily life. It is emphasized that negotiation and mediation be taught to all students throughout the entire school. Also, the skills must be practiced repetitively. They must be over-learned if they are to be used with skill in real conflict situations.

In negotiation, students are taught to “define their conflict, exchange positions and proposals, view the situation from both perspectives, invent options for mutual gain, and reach a wise agreement” (Johnson et al. 11). The following is an outline of the negotiation strategy that students are taught to use:

1. State what you want.
2. State how you feel.
3. State the reasons for your wants and feelings.
4. Summarize your understanding of what the other person wants, how the other person feels, and the reasons underlying both.
5. Invent three optional plans to resolve the conflict.
6. Choose one plan and shake hands.

(Johnson et al. 11)

Mediation is sometimes needed in addition to negotiation and comes into play when those in conflict need outside help in solving their problem. Two class members serve as official mediators each day. They wear official T-shirts and patrol the lunchroom and playground to mediate all student conflicts that arise. This role is rotated throughout the class so everyone has a turn. When a conflict arises, the following plan is followed:

1. Introduction--the mediator introduces her/himself and asks if the students want to solve their conflict.
2. Guidelines--the mediator states the following guidelines:
   a. Mediation is voluntary.
   b. The mediator is neutral.
   c. Both parties will state their views without interruption.
3. Rules--the students agree to the following rules:
   a. Solve the problem.
   b. No name calling.
   c. No interrupting.
   d. Be honest.
   e. Stick to the solution you agree to.
   f. Anything said in mediation is confidential.

(Johnson et al. 12)

Peer mediation and conflict resolution programs can be judged as effective if they reduce the number of student-student conflicts that are referred to teachers and administrators; if students master negotiation and mediation procedures and skills; and if students put these skills into practice outside the classroom. “Teaching Students to Be Peacemakers” dropped the frequency of student-student conflicts in one school by 80%. Parents reported that students used the conflict resolution strategies at home and in the neighborhood. Many parents even requested this training for themselves after seeing the change in their children (Johnson et al. 12, 13). Peer mediation yields results that are consistent in their impact on school climate--decreases in school violence--and on students--enhanced self-image and esteem, increased knowledge and ability in problem solving and conflict resolution, reduction of students in the juvenile justice system (Smith 71, 73). One Albuquerque elementary school principal comments, “We were having 100 to 150 fights on the playground before we started
the [mediation] program. By the end of the year, we were having maybe 10." (Smith 72).

A survey of schools using the New Mexico Department of Education Mediation Program asked 66 principals to evaluate the effectiveness of the program according to a range of observable behavior criteria. These numbers reflect the percentage of principals who rated mediation as effective of highly effective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>% of Effective or Highly Effective Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Self-Confidence</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Solving Skills</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of Self-Esteem</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Leadership</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Skills</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives to Student Violence</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolving School-Based Disputes</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Listening</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing With Peer Pressure</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Smith 72)

The results prove that mediation is an excellent violence prevention program, and "can change the behavior of young people in the school setting" (Smith 73).

For programs like conflict resolution and peer mediation to live up to their potential effectiveness, teachers must be skilled at implementation. Teachers often hold the key to the level of success achieved. Therefore, it is crucial that teachers examine their own behavior and watch for ways that they might contribute to violence. They must be careful not to hide or rationalize their behavior (Tice 39). At all times in front of the class a teacher must remain conscious of her/his self as a role model for conflict resolution. The methods taught in the non-violence curricula must be integrated into how the classroom is managed.

Besides offering themselves as positive role-models, teachers can provide the nurturing relationship that is crucial for all children. When listened to and treated with respect and love, students develop a personal attachment to their teachers. This type of relationship is very important since alienation has been proven to easily lead to violence.

"Violence for many children is a cry for attention and help, for power and control. Children who commit violent acts desperately need to be heard, to know someone is listening and that someone cares" (Frost & Jacobs 18).

To promote a strong, positive bond between with a student, the teacher should be sure to recognize the achievements of the student. Parent-teacher conferences should be called to inform the parents of all the child does well in. Low achieving students are the most likely to be violent in school, therefore academic and social accomplishment should be emphasized for all students (Boothe et al. 35). Teachers must help the students develop their own positive personal values, show respect for their feelings, and provide opportunities for creative expression and socialization. When children feel good about themselves and their capabilities, they learn that they do not need violence to solve problems.

About 80% of all children exposed to powerful negative stressors do not sustain permanent developmental damage. Many factors contribute to build resilience in children, including "individual characteristics, early life experiences, a stable emotional relationship with at least one parent or significant adult, and a supportive educational environment that encourages constructive coping behaviors in the child’s physical and social environment." (Botkin et al. 4) Botkin et al. (5) give the following suggestions for teachers on how to help kids deal with the violence that they face in their personal lives.
and community,

1. Encourage children to discuss how they feel, their confusing thoughts, and their nightmares. Show them that their feelings are important.

2. Reassure children of their safety. Tell them that you love them and will care for them. Help them to remember good times from the past. Be warm and affectionate.

3. Be honest and realistic; acknowledge that danger and evil do exist, but be reassuring.

4. Minimize talk about violence in the presence of children. Kids need to feel that adults are in control. When possible, avoid exposing them to more information than they are capable of understanding.

5. Remain calm and in control. Children need to find stability in adults.

6. Give opportunities for kids to help out with community violence problems. They can write letters to victims or donate money, for example.

7. Encourage a sense of hope. Teach children that people are basically good.

8. Know when to seek professional or outside help. When children show continued signals of distress, such as withdrawal, nightmares, clinginess, headaches, stomach aches, shyness, poor concentration, or changes in sleep or appetite habits, the child may need professional counseling.

Helping children develop a nonviolent attitude, a positive self-image, and resilience to cope successfully are ways teachers can help battle violence. However, teachers cannot do it alone; they need the support of their schools. The schools, in turn, must have the support of the community.

“If violence of society and schools are irrevocably linked, solutions must be solicited not only from within the school community, but, more importantly, by involving the larger school community outside the buildings.” (Boothe et al. 35)

Caudle suggests several ways communities can work with schools. A Neighborhood School Watch can be started so that community members can report to the principal problems like gang activity, increased frequency of break-ins, and drug trafficking that can affect the school. Local clergy, prominent politicians, and well-known business persons can serve as mentors, role models, guest speakers, substitutes, and hall monitors. School safety programs should be developed through a collaboration of “parents, students, educators, law enforcers, probation officers, courts, social service workers, religious, corporate, and other community leaders who represent the racial and ethnic balance of the community” (Stephens 30).

Schools in return can serve the community, not only by producing educated workers and citizens, but by being the base for family service programs. Health care programs for children should be based in schools with high-risk students; studies show that children who lack proper care and nutrition are more likely to exhibit aggression (“12 Points for Breaking the Cycle of Violence” 10). In some areas, schools have facilitated mediation in local gang disputes (Smith 72). Schools can also become “neighborhood centers for evening classes of parenting, family living skills, job training, and adult education...” (Boothe et al. 35).

School-based family training in conflict resolution has proven in 50-70% of follow-up studies to improve overall family functioning and to change and improve the way daily conflicts are handled (Smith 74). Family
programs can reassign responsibility to parents, where it belongs, instead of leaving it all up to schools. Breaking the cycle at the family level is a real victory against violence.

The system of violence is deeply ingrained in American culture. Disequilibriums in families and communities are taking their toll on our children, socially, emotionally, and developmentally. However, elementary schools can be powerful tools to combat this system. First, they can create a safe and stable environment for children to exist in. Next, they can effectively educate children in non-violence, through curricula that promote strategies for creative conflict resolution, negotiation, and peer mediation. Teachers can help students develop positive social relationships and good self-esteem, so that they rely less on violence as a solution and experience fewer negative effects of violence. Last, schools can work in conjunction with communities to increase security and to help reach out to families with parenting programs that teach non-violence. Violence cannot be easily overcome; there is no easy solution to this expansive problem. However, through unified school-based efforts focused on educating our children, change can be and has been achieved.

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