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Women's Resistance to Paternalism:  
An Analysis of Selected CBC Radio Drama

Enid Ursula Clement

A Thesis  
In  
The Department  
of  
Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 1995

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ISBN 0-612-05106-4

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## ABSTRACT

Women's Resistance to Paternalism:  
An Analysis of Selected CBC Radio Drama

Enid Ursula Clement

As manifestations of popular culture this thesis analyses selected CBC radio drama scripts with the purpose of exploring a problem in social relations between the sexes: specifically that men take for granted their paternalistic attitude towards women and expect women's compliance with this attitude to be indisputable. The women's movement originating in the 1960s has challenged the pervasiveness of the paternalistic attitude under the influences of changing social conditions, such as changes in the structure of the traditional family, new meanings of gender and a growing interest in psychology of the self. The analysis demonstrates changes in the discourse revolving around paternalism in plays produced after 1962.

## Acknowledgement

This thesis gives me the opportunity to honour the advances women have made in the later half of the twentieth century relative to their existence in a male-dominated world. It is my expectation that in the twenty-first century conditions would evolve in which men and women would be accepted as equals. During the process of my research I gained much help from authors both female and male who see women's struggle for equality emerging toward a new horizon out of the inhibiting influence of traditional beliefs and practices.

This effort was accomplished with the guidance and counseling of Professor John Jackson along with professors Susan Hoecker-Drysdale and David Howes. I extend my sincere thanks to them.

My support and encouragement came from my family and many friends. Interested in my project and eager to see the outcome were my children Michael, Andrew, Christine; and many thanks to my daughter Patricia whose help I relied on for the production of the finished manuscript. Lastly, I must thank my husband Errol for his dedication, and interest in the project.

It is my wish that I would inspire others to pursue further studies in paternalism.

Enid U. Clement  
August 31, 1995

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## Chapter I. Introduction

The paternalistic attitude of men towards women has long existed in human society, so much so that this behaviour is considered normal, and institutionalization has ensured its continuity in Western society. Thus this study of paternalism presents a critical perspective on male/female relations based on an exploration of the asymmetrical power relations between men and women in every aspect of human affairs.

Judging from documentation on the subject, with reference to women, paternalism is a relatively new sociological issue. An explanation of this might be that the term had not been previously applied within the context of asymmetrical male\female relationships. Usually it bore a meaning alluding to power and authority in public and corporate relations, or to parent/ offspring interaction. Whereas the term paternalism is associated with control through benevolence on the part of the male, the expected opposite, maternalism, does not exist. Instead, there is the concept of maternity which is defined as the quality or condition of being maternal; motherhood (Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed., 1939). Similarly, the qualifier maternal, is devoid of any meaning of power and authority, its being descriptive of physical and emotional care within the traditional mother\child nurturing relationship. The reality of male domination over the female is formalized in

politics of the state thus creating "a culture of discriminatory, prejudicial, and paternalistic beliefs about the inferiority of women"(Turner, 1984:156). A society organized according to the principles of patriarchy is one typified by the supremacy of the father in which women and children are legally dependent, and inheritance and the line of descent are reckoned through the male and for which there is no female equivalent. But, Briffault (1959:73) refers to the "universal existence of a primitive matriarchy in the prehistory of all peoples" and notes that:

in every society uncultured or not, where patriarchal usages obtain at the present day indications are to be found of a previous higher status of women or of an actual matriarchal organization. (Briffault, 1959:73).

It is believed that many "primitive" societies were basically matriarchal, even those in existence today, if the idea of paid labour is not introduced. There is some support for the possibility that a matriarchal system in which women had more influence than men preceded that of patriarchy (Diner,1965:263; Briffault, 1959:73).

In contemporary society, the culture of patriarchy is expressed by means of a paternalistic attitude which characterizes an asymmetrical relationship between males and females. This arose, according to Marx and Engels' (1969:139) economic production theory, when industrialization of the means of production caused the male to become dominant due to labour being separated from the



home (Hamilton, 1978:19). This fostered a culture of patriarchy which flourished and reached its peak in the late Middle Ages (Hamilton, 1978:94-95). With time patriarchy became less and less institutionalized until in contemporary society it remains as an attitude -- paternalism -- taken for granted by society at large. Recently, there has been a spate of publications on women's issues. Some of these are of a scholarly genre, mainly by women authors, while others, more popular in nature (books and articles), have concentrated on feminine concerns, in particular male/female relationships. Even radio and television talk shows are following this trend responding to the wide appeal of this issue among listeners and viewers. Currently, certain social institutions (for example, the traditional family) once held as sacred and immutable are undergoing significant changes with respect to gender roles and the distribution of authority and power. Similarly, male attitudes and practices towards women that were held to be unchangeable are now being challenged by women as groups or individuals who no longer see futility in demanding their rights.

Emerging from traditional attitudes and practices generated over time by cultural systems there has developed a sense of hierarchy of the sexes which determine sex roles and statuses. "By sex roles, we mean the rules that a human being of a given sex has to follow in order to fulfil the social prescriptions of his or her sex" (Henshel, 1973:ix).

Historically the physiology of sex has been equated with the cultural construct of gender. This is the crux of the sex/gender issue - that the sex category of a person establishes his/her gender which gives freedoms or sets limitations on how one ought to behave.

This continues to be so, except in certain contemporary pre-industrial societies where people's actions, according to Parsons, are motivated more by basic needs (1977:31-32) uninfluenced by such social mediations as gender, which results in the wage-earning male having the ascendancy over the female for two main reasons - the unencumbrancy of childrearing coupled with the concept of the division of labour (Hamilton, 1978:104). The contention at issue is the possibility that there is a "natural" hierarchical structure of the sexes making one category subordinate to the other and thus creating attitudes of dominance by one sex over the other in all aspects of human relations. This proposition remains despite the fact that the question of the natural dominance of men over women throughout the ages was dispelled more than three decades ago by such as Briffault (1959:73), who claimed, relative to this assumption, that "there is no evidence of a transition from patriarchal to matriarchal customs anywhere."

The evolution of male dominance out of the matriarchal system of societies is much the result of a change in the means of production, with the male category of human beings

being able to cope with the division of labour principle unencumbered by the effects of childbearing.

This thesis focusses on paternalistic attitudes. Using selected radio drama, with attention to time periods, it was the purpose of this work to search for and document changes, if any, in the discourse embedded in radio plays broadcast prior to and following the rise of the contemporary phase of the women's movement in the early 1960s. Specifically, it deals with men's paternalistic attitude towards women and the effect the women's movement has had, if any, on the diminution of this attitude. Given our use of radio drama, we begin our consideration with the position that creative work is not merely a mirror image of "reality", but shapes reality through offering new configurations of values.

Of the five chapters in this thesis Chapter II explores the theoretical bases for the long held assumption that the female is less than equal to the male; and how women have fought over the years to resist the paternalistic attitude. In Chapter III, the research problem (with the onset of the contemporary phase of the women's movement, paternalistic attitudes have been changing in favour of women) is elaborated. Some excerpts from the radio plays analysed for the study are included in Chapter IV as well as a discussion of the method of inquiry -- a discourse analysis used to extract meanings pertaining to paternalism from within the texts. A coding scheme was devised to identify

paternalistic situations and a summary discussion is given of the findings. Chapter V, the conclusion, suggests that discourse analysis is suitable for use in elucidating many areas of concern in the sociology of gender, especially where subtly expressed meanings are to be extracted from texts.

## Chapter II. Theoretical Considerations

The notion that women are the "weaker sex" has been presumed without question in most of the civilizations of the world. This traditional position of weakness from which a woman is judged, as compared to that of her male counterpart who is assessed from a position of strength, has set limits on how the attributes of a woman ought to be viewed. Based on this presumption of female weakness, the male has assumed the role to defend and guard the interests, concerns and wellbeing of the female and so has adopted a paternalistic attitude of dominance and control, through benevolence, over the female. The paternalistic attitude in Western society exists today primarily as a vestige of the old patriarchal system which on its collapse "has left behind it widespread patrisism - a culture of discriminatory, prejudicial and paternalistic beliefs about the inferiority of women" (Turner, 1984:155-56). As an aspect of patriarchy (or "patrisism") paternalism appears throughout history as a power structure under a variety of modes of production, e.g. slavery, feudalism, capitalism (Turner, 1984:138). Historically, it was the transitional period from feudalism to capitalism that had the most profound effect on the inferior status of women as we know it today. Under feudalism the family was the basic economic unit in which "husband and wife were dependent upon each other, and

their children upon them both" (Hamilton, 1978:47). The feudal family was self-sufficient, relying on the labour and direction of husband and wife as co-partners in the survival of the family. As equal partners with their husbands, women played an important role in the management and production of a domestic economy (Hamilton, 1978:47).

Under this economic system women had acquired a sense of their worth and self esteem, and a certain equality (Hamilton, 1978:47). The loss of the status as co-partner under feudalism to that of nurturer and housewife under capitalism underlined today's traditional view of woman's role as relatively unimportant and therefore inferior to that of men. Thus the rise of capitalism with its change in the mode of production was the key factor in promoting the paternalistic attitude towards women for the past three centuries (Hamilton, 1978:18).

### Women's Sphere

Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century this transition had already begun to take place:

more and more work was beginning to move out of the home, separating, even segregating, the work of women from that of the men. A new doctrine, a doctrine of sexual spheres, thus arose to facilitate, explain, rationalize, and justify this growing separation of women in the home from men in outside work (Bernard, 1981:80).

It is not certain when the idea of a women's sphere was conceptualized, but it is documented that Mary Wollstonecraft (1967:50-51) used both the 'station' and 'sphere' ideas as they apply to male and female worlds (Bernard, 1981:80). The concept of a women's sphere influenced people's thinking for over a century.

In contrast to the 'station' concept, which implied an integrated system in which all positions were in well-defined and fixed status relationships with one another, the 'sphere' concept denoted a separatist system. Equal in value, its apologists insist, but nevertheless separate (Bernard, 1981:80).

The symbolism helped women to deal with the psychological problem of female inferiority and subordination. Wollstonecraft (1967:50-51) and More (1800:210-211) portrayed a ghastly picture that women were indeed inferior "in a sense of being frivolous, tyrannical, vain, trivial in their interests, childish, devious, trained only to please men." They blamed the socialization of women for this feeling of inferiority and suggested that a "proper education" would go a long way to overcome that feeling (Bernard, 1981:81-82).

Lydia Child (1982:461) was one among many writers who saw a moral function to women's sphere and emphasized its moral obligations:

She saw women inherently noble and good and therefore responsible for the moral level of society.... As men became more like women - more modest, pious, and affectionate - under the influence of women, there would be a corresponding

moral improvement in society. This would be possible because women had greater piety, emotional sensitivity - or 'sensibility' - and capacity for nurturing. They had the special responsibility to be the moral guardians of men" (Bernard, 1981:86).

Yet the virtues of women as taught in the women's sphere were those of submission: "Meekness, humility, gentleness, purity, subjection of will" (Coxe, 1842:29). "To the extent that this model was subscribed to, it resulted in a character easy to live with but quite incompetent for participation in the world outside the home" (Bernard, 1981:86).

As the designation of an ideological niche, women's sphere became a haven reserved for all things pertaining to women in a man's world. Not so, regarding the male whose sphere was not designated because it was the male who was responsible for women's sphere (Bernard, 1981:91). Gradually women's concerns became objectified by the designation "women's sphere", usually referred to with casual decisiveness by the male. It seemed that women's sphere was synonymous with everything second class in the hierarchical position of the male over the female.

The redefinition of the role of women, which Marx's theory proposed (Marx and Engels, 1969:139; Hamilton, 1978:16-79) had resulted from a division of labour between the sexes, brought about by industrial capitalism under which the home became isolated and "devalued as the private



inconsequential sphere of social life" (Todd and Fisher, 1988:4). As a consequence sex roles became distinct: the man assumed the role of wage earner outside the home; while the woman being involved in childbearing and nurturing was relegated to domestic tasks for which she received no remuneration. Coser (1984:ix) acknowledges the traditional division of labour between the sexes by observing that "some form of the division of labour, be it only along sexual lines, have characterised all known types of society from the 'primitive' to the modern." But he notes that this division of labour is a reciprocal relationship which "presumes that the two beings are mutually dependent upon each other because they are both incomplete, and it does no more than interpret externally this mutual dependence." With regard to this incompleteness and mutual dependence Durkheim (1984:22) suggests that there is no hierarchical situation with regard to the sexes but that each sex is contributing essentially towards the proper functioning of the other. Henshel (1973:35) concludes that "the biological role of maternity has never been overcome in any society and is the primary basis for the division of labour", but this situation is of little consequence in an advanced technological environment where biological differences could be minimized by the use of modern devices. More importantly:

The biological inequality of man and woman provided the basis for the institutions (in particular the family)

which have developed to keep women oppressed. That biological inequality itself became institutionalised and thus protected against the changes . . .

in women's biological concerns that medical science was bringing about (Hamilton, 1978:84). Of all the tasks allocated to men and women in all societies maternity is the only one assigned to women exclusively. This "unequal role in procreation between men and women" (Hamilton, 1978:79) forms part of the basis of the radical feminist position.

There are those too who explain inequality in the status of the sexes from a functionalist viewpoint. Durkheim (1984:22) sees a society to be governed by norms which constrain the individual to conform to, and accept the orientation and behaviour particular to the society to which he belongs. The proposition that each sex has different needs and problems which ought to be dealt with differently is an argument of Parsons and Bales (1955:22-26). The basis for this theory lies in how the needs and problems are effected through interaction between the sexes. The sociological views of Durkheim, Parsons and Bales do not attempt to give an evolutionary account of the hierarchical status of the sexes, but explain it as a problem deriving from societal needs and relationships.

### Paternalism

Recent concerns about paternalism relate to the authority, power and control men, in general, assume over

women. That men have an innate capacity for authority and control over women is contested in recent deliberations on the issue. Anthropologists, prompted by the social and political impact of the feminist movement, have sought to reexamine the origins of the gender hierarchy. It is claimed that:

Although the categories - man and woman - are universal, the content of the categories varies from culture to culture; and the variation is truly impressive. Thus in some cultures men weave and women make pots, whereas in others these roles are reversed; in some places women are the major agricultural producers, and in others the fields are barred to them (Cucchiari, 1981:32).

A wide range of characteristics is associated with each category of human beings - attitudes, values, objects, symbols and expectations. Some functions, even those tied to biology, such as childbirth, are subject to gender reinterpretation - men in some cultures share the pain, discomfort, etc, of postpartum recuperation (Cucchiari, 1981:32-33) which in a way is now being encouraged in present-day Western society.

Davis (1988:48) contends that the content of control is primarily ideological in that messages are transmitted about the way people should be, thus influencing how they will behave. Smart and Smart see the issue as originating from non-mutual attitudes within a class-divided society in which:

both men and women are subject to material, repressive and ideological forms of social control, although they

are usually affected differently, women being subjected to control principally within the private domain where they are in fact economically and legally subordinate to men (Smart and Smart, 1978:3).

Smart and Smart infer that the division of labour concept had an influence on the difference in social control experienced by men and women; and that women were particularly vulnerable in the areas of the reproductive cycle, the double standard of morality, subordinate legal and social status, and the division of labour by sex.

Albie Sachs (1978:27) supports Smart and Smart particularly in deploring the legal subordination of women under the subterfuge that it is a manifestation of male protectiveness. In Sachs' historical analysis of how women are treated under the law, he drew attention to certain arguments: whether women could in law be regarded as 'persons'; that judges claimed it was men's great respect for women, and not women's inferiority which exempted them from public office; that men and women inhabited different spheres and as such each sex should have its own set of rights and duties; and that the sexes were equal but rather different and complementary.

The perspective on paternalism in the second half of the twentieth century has introduced the implications of gender and self as they function to create paternalistic attitudes in the male and a consciousness of submission in the female. Gender is an aspect of the self but in Western

society it is traditionally understood to determine the self, to effect the consciousness of who you are, functioning within the social system as a convenient organizer of individuals for social, political, legal, religious and other reasons. As such, gender designates the roles which the self ought to play, either masculine or feminine, subject to the expectations of a particular society. This meaning is extended to objects and ideas, etc. which bear perceived masculine or feminine characteristics and attributes (Strathern, 1988:x). In this way, gender is used conveniently as a tool in social organization and moreover this practice has influenced our way of thinking by becoming imbedded in the language. But gender is a cultural construct which is not perceived equally in all cultures. A gender-based society is one in which roles are so differentiated that they affect the fabric of society. Quite often gender is a required attribute in order to determine what action should be taken and by whom. This contributes to a gender hierarchy which favours male dominance. The hierarchy belief is dispelled by Sachs (1978:27) who, like Durkheim (1984:22), sees the sexes as equal in a rather complementary way, which infers that the notion of gender must have developed conveniently according to the cultural needs of society (Cucchiari, 1981:70).

A discussion of gender ought to give some consideration to the self which embodies our consciousness and expresses who we are; and the way in which it is expressed depends on how we interact with those around us or how we relate to our societal past. We perceive our reality from our consciousness of self, conditioned by the constraints of the society to which we belong. Gender is a pervasive force in this conditioning since sexual identity on which it is based is an attribute common to all humanity. As it stands, since man is a social animal the self is always conditioned and depending on the use of gender as a means of organizing or rating male and female, gendered-selves may be appropriate in describing such personalities. Gender issues such as marriage and kinship have consistently been central to anthropology in that these two human features involve two varieties of persons - male and female. The feminists in their fight for equality of the sexes seek to investigate whether gender is indigenous to all societies; how it originated and developed a sense of hierarchy of the sexes as it is commonly understood today.

The use of anthropology to explain the focal point of feminist scholarship, the imbalance in status between the sexes, resulted in the coining of the term, "feminist anthropology" (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981:11; Strathern, 1988:38,72). Feminists turned to simple societies, for example, hunter-gatherers, "to discover a lost primitive

egalitarianism in which both men and women enjoyed autonomy and freedom from arbitrary constraints" (Collier & Rosaldo, 1981:277). The social organization of these hunter-gatherers is so fluid that analysis in terms of socially structured categories is difficult thus contributing to the view that hunter-gatherers' behaviour is "determined by biological and ecological needs rather than by socially constructed rules" (Collier and Rosaldo, 1981:277). The authors clearly view gender to be an aspect of the self, or personhood. But in Western society the first personal identity is gender, whether in name or title of address, predetermining male or female roles which are capable of being manipulated by the political and economic systems thus giving rise to inequalities in social relationships.

### Self and Gender

There is some discussion on the nature, origin and influence of these two human attributes, self and gender, and how they interact with each other. Some theories have addressed variously one or both elements, while others have sought to link them in a causal relationship. Mead (1934:175) sees the self as a structure of attitudes distinct from a group of habits, and having a structure which arises in social experience by the individual internalizing the attitudes of others towards him\herself. Parsons (1977:134-37) structural-functional position

proposed a normative theory which does address gender as defining social roles, and by which he perceived the self to be normatively governed. The symbolic interactionists represented by Cooley (1964:187,261-63) and Mead (1934:103,140) disputed the idea that norms could be the only direct influence on human action and proposed a process whereby individuals acquired a sense of self; that the self was acquired in interaction with others and language was the medium of acquisition. The above notion that the self was acquired through interaction and by means of language set the conditions under which women would realize that the sexes were not tied to traditionally normative roles, but that roles were acquired within the context of normative influences (Bart, 1971:741-42; Safilios-Rothschild, 1971:99-100; Epstein,1970:194). Women realized that the self was constructed through social relationships; that maleness and femaleness depended on the perception of the self within a particular social milieu where sex roles had become stereotyped (Mead, 1934:138). In its modern sense 'gender' refers not only to sex stereotyping but has taken on a certain symbolism and metaphorical quality which gives to things and ideas the characteristics of gendered selves, e.g. maleness, and femaleness (Strathern, 1988:70-71).

Theoretical considerations of the gendered self or the influence of gender on the self is the concern of feminists who have taken a psychoanalytic view of this subject. They



observe that the production of gendered selves and their relations to others is a process rooted in familial arrangements as its starting point; that changing familial arrangements change the conditions through which gender is acquired. Such changing familial arrangements constitute, for example the one-parent family, the shared parenthood family, and so forth. This psychoanalytic theory sees greater flexibility in the acquisition of gender since domestic arrangements are not normatively constrained (Todd & Fisher, 1988:2).

The concept of a gendered self as Todd and Fisher (1988:2) see it is a key to understanding how the paternalistic attitude originated and what factors have contributed to its maintenance. As noted previously the use of gender originated with the division of labour principle into the workings of everyday life, when the economy became no longer home-based and the man sought employment outside the home while the women stayed within the confines of the home for the purpose of nurturing the family. Thus men became associated with wage-earning while child-rearing and domestic duties were assigned to women (Parsons, 1977:166). With this, the gender distinction became more and more polarized creating and maintaining a hierarchal social structure in favour of the male. In these circumstances, men and women acquired a sense of themselves defined according to the prevailing social structure. This state of

affairs was made possible by a fiscal economy in which traditionally, the men became wage-earners. The definition of distinctive masculine and feminine roles within a division of labour economy helped to maintain the hierarchical structure in social relations between male and female (Smith, 1987:18).

Gender is a convenience used to create and maintain an hierarchical structure in social relations between males and females (Smith, 1990:18). When men and women interact there inevitably are involved asymmetrical relations of power skewed in favour of the male participants. The consciousness of gender on the parts of both male and female assumes the paternalistic attitude of the male with the corresponding subordinate reaction of the female. This power edge of the male is a critical aspect of the paternalistic issue - an assumption of authority, control and influence over the female. It is almost axiomatic that within male\female relationships, the male is always in control. The question of the naturally subordinate status of women has been greatly influenced by Marx's division of labour theory (Todd and Fisher, 1988:2; Rowbotham, 1972:246-47) which Levi-Strauss (1971:346) observed to be "'artificial' - a cultural dichotomy - a device to institute a reciprocal state of dependency between the sexes...that is the sexual division of labor is in reality the gender division of labor."

### Resistance to Paternalism

Women have always engaged in some form of resistance to paternalism. In earlier times such women who dared to openly resist paternalism risked being burnt at the stake as witches (Trevor-Roper, 1970:127) or being declared mentally ill (Friedan, 1974:127). As a consequence, whatever resistance there might have been remained covert for the most part. With the advent of the women's movement in the 1960s, professional women in particular, have been set on inculcating gender-neutral attitudes (Chase, 1988:293) in members of the opposite sex on the occasion of face-to-face encounters and in language usage; for example, the use of the term of address "chairperson" as a substitute for "chairman". At the same time they were putting pressure on the political institutions - local, national, and international to take action to put an end to women's dissatisfaction about male dominance.

Several factors have contributed to the trend of women to openly resist paternalism, beginning about mid-twentieth century. Among the most influential was the fact that many women were drafted into the work force during the Second World War to fill in for the men who were away on the battlefields. In a capitalistic society when World War II was over the women had become accustomed to functioning as wage-earners and contributing to the economy; clearly, they

were an asset in this regard. Also, a growing interest in psychology of the self that gender is cultural not innate, as previously noted, spurred them on to challenge the male paternalistic attitude. Except for occasional overt resistance to paternalism, it appears that men, in general, are unaware of women's resistance to it; to them it is culturally proper to have an attitude of superiority over women.

It is paradoxical that women who are in the majority when compared with men should be classed with ethnic and racial minorities as far as their status in society is concerned. This is borne out by the action taken by the U.S. Congress, following the struggle of various minority groups in the 1960s to add:

gender groups (read women) to its list of protected groups - groups whose civil, political, and economic rights must be protected by the law and by the courts so that they are not discriminated against (Babad, Birnbaum and Benne, 1983:164).

The necessity for the legal protection of women in the latter part of the twentieth century gives credence to the inequities in treatment that women have been suffering throughout the years. Yet, women as a group were unsuccessful in having the Equal Rights Amendment(ERA) ratified by a majority of the states of the U.S. required to do so. The ERA, approved by the U.S. Congress on March 22, 1972 states that "equality of rights under the law shall not

be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex" (Babad, Birnbaum and Benne, 1983:184-87).

Most of the time paternalism, the notion of dominance with benevolence by the male over the female, is accomplished in subtle but effective ways as an expression of the social consciousness of men vis-a-vis their relations with women. It is embedded in the culture to the extent that women who are the ones disadvantaged by the paternalistic attitude tend, in general, to accept it as normal. As Bleier (1984:182) puts it:

The soft subtle intellectual control, which through hysterization and medicalization of women's bodies and psychiatrization of their minds taught women their need to be subservient to men, though it speaks the language of love.

Besides this too, the major institutions (political, cultural, legal, religious and medical, e.g.) under whose influence the individual is acculturated support the dominance of the male over the female and in so doing are consciously organized to effect this belief. The superstructure of these institutions, their beliefs, practices, laws, goals, etc. are geared to promote such an asymmetry. It is hardly surprising that paternalism is expressed in everyday confrontations of the sexes with a casual air of normalcy. This paternalistic attitude has so pervaded the culture that women as the victims of such an attitude have accepted it on the premise that the male is

superior to the female and he is expected to act in such a manner towards them (Griffiths, 1976:231-32).

Although most of the information about women derived from folk culture reflect a male image of the female world, its being:

a world filled with wicked witches, cruel stepmothers, mean sisters, cheating mothers on one side and helpless victims who have to be rescued by valiant heroes on the other (Bernard, 1981:462),

beneath the surface of male/female relationships there lies a body of female lore ignored and for the most part unacknowledged in folklore studies of which men are the usual investigators (Ferriss, 1971:xi). This lack of a 'feminine' tradition is only now being addressed by feminist scholars:

to correct the balance by offering traditional folk tales culled from a variety of cultures about women who are clever, witty, resourceful, strong, courageous, achieving, and successful with 'role models a-plenty' (Bernard, 1981:463).

Indeed, the paternalistic relationship between the sexes is most often represented in literary, media or artistic themes, the asymmetrical factor supplying or adding to the dramatic conflict in the work or presentation. For example, much great literature is based on conflicts within male\female relationships, and very often resistance to paternalism is revealed only through discourses within the literary texts. This revelation suggests that literary

authors are aware of women's resistance to paternalism no matter how covert, and treat such resistance as normal feminine reaction. Spacks (1975:3) writes about the way women perceive themselves in literature and investigates what strategies they use to overcome these problems. The author did a study of works by women including biographies and novels "to investigate how women use their creativity to combat their characteristic difficulties" (Spacks, 1975:3). She found that male authors writing about women tended to portray them as victims - traditionally passive compliers; whereas women authors tended to view women characters as having:

a consciousness of their disadvantaged condition which though presented under a facade of womanly calm conceals the reality of womanly rage - directed to all who limit female opportunity (Spacks, 1975:64).

The effect of the women's movement on male paternalistic attitudes beginning in the early 1960s became a turning point in women's inferior status in that the changing attitudes of men became part of the literary and media discourse; and radio plays broadcast in Canada over the two periods of study, pre-1962 and 1962 and later, document this change.

The purpose of this thesis combined with the literary nature of the material to be analyzed calls for a qualitative approach to the investigation of whether or not there were significant changes in men's paternalistic

attitudes and in women's reactions to these attitudes since the impact of the women's movement in the 1960s. In short, did radio drama produced by the C.B.C. (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) depict the impact of the movement?



### Chapter III. Research problem and Methodology

Radio drama was selected as an area of literary work which was exceptionally important in the development of English Canadian culture between 1930 and 1970 (Fink & Jackson, 1987: v-xvi). The units of analysis are the scripts of CBC radio dramas aired before and after the emergence of the women's movement. The method used for the study is discourse analysis considering the abstraction of the topic paternalism, and direct or subtle references which might be made to it by means of discourse.

#### The Selection

The sampling frame is a partial list of CBC radio drama scripts in the archives of the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies. The list contains 189 plays produced by the CBC in its Winnipeg studios between 1930 and 1986 and broadcast over the national and regional networks. These 189 plays were selected as a stratified random sample from a universe of 788 plays produced in Winnipeg. From the stratified sample 12 plays were chosen in an effort to discover the extent to which, if at all, and the manner in which the discourse of the women's movement with respect to paternalistic attitudes penetrated the selected drama.

The women's movement emerged as a result of the war years but gained widespread publicity and recognition at the beginning of the 1960s. Therefore, the establishment of 1962 as the line of demarcation between pre- and post-1962 women's reactions to paternalism is a reasonable one. Insofar as women's resistance to paternalism is the key issue in the study, exploratory as it is, it was appropriate to select plays in which women were at the centre of the story lines, or those with strong female characters. Using the above criteria the same number of plays (6) was chosen from each of the two periods under comparison (pre-1962 and post-1962). In either period plays by women dramatists are included in order to observe how consciousness about paternalism is seen from a woman's viewpoint.

The plays chosen for the study and coded for analysis follow:

(1) Pre-1962

Male authors:

Morenus, Richard. The Story of Myra Pierce (1943).

Ryerson, Martin. The Unforgettable Smile (1948).

Stone, Noel. Look Out Below (1951).

Female authors:

Foss, Della. He Came Home to Me (1943).

Marsden, Esther. I Love Jenny Lee (1947).

Robertson, Rhena and Robertson G. Last Will and Testament (1951).

## (2) Post-1962

## Male authors:

Salverson, George. Lean Down and Listen (1962).

Gorrie, John. The Pebble Beach (1965).

Bluethner, John. Twice As Fatal (1982).

## Female authors:

Waldman, Marian. Also the Crescent Bus Is Off Its Trolley (1964).

Sisto, Joanne. The Experiment (1981).

De Graff, Rosemary. Down to Earth (1985).

Coding

A coding scheme (see Appendix A) was developed for the purpose of identifying paternalistic discourse and manifest or implied paternalistic behaviour and situations. The scheme reflects the social interaction process regarding paternalism by including codes for women's resistance, whether manifest or covert. As a means of identifying concepts and situations reflecting the paternalistic attitude, the following sources were consulted:

"Paternalism Under the Microscope" by Kathy Davis (1988) and The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge by Dorothy Smith (1990). These concepts and situations once identified serve to delineate paternalistic discourses as units of observation within the radio drama scripts (See Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3). As a component of

the chain of communication media, from word of mouth to artistic forms, drama mirrors the realities of society at large, no less changes in attitudes influenced by crucial events like World War II and its effects on domestic relations. The question is: during the height of the women's movement was there a shift from paternalistic to egalitarian values in radio drama?

A recent study by Cheryl Watt (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1987) analyzed CBC radio dramas in an effort "to reveal the dramas' underlying values and value sets about women" - what beliefs and attitudes about women lay at the base of the dramas. The findings of this investigation were summed up comparatively according to the extent to which women were emancipated during the periods of the beginning, the duration, and after the cessation of the Second World War. Seven plays by Andrew Allan were chosen for content analysis.

This thesis differs from Watts' study in that whereas Watts' thesis examines how the CBC dramas reflected the actual positions of women, this thesis investigates whether or not the values depicted in the plays with respect to women, change after 1962 as the contemporary women's movement developed and reached a peak. The aim is to study face-to-face communication embedded in dramatic texts using the method of discourse analysis.

### Method of Inquiry

The method of inquiry is discourse analysis which along with content analysis are different approaches to communication embedded within texts (Cicourel, 1964:146-47). The point of differentiation between content analysis and discourse analysis is that content analysis is limited to the obvious content of communication and proceeds in terms of what-is-said, while discourse analysis investigates the motives for the content - how people react to what-is-said. In addition discourse analysis sometimes incorporates the use of linguistics in studying social phenomena. On the use of communication content analysis as a research method, Dillard (1978:xiv) views discourse analysis as being concerned with the meanings intended by the communicator and/or understood by the audience; an interpretation of communication content which is independent of the writer's motives or reasons for writing. Dillard further stresses the importance of discourse over sentence as the primary carrier of meaning. The conception of discourse as it is used here originated with Foucault (1972:31-35) and is cited by Smith who defines it as:

an assemblage of 'statements' arising in an on going 'conversation' mediated by texts, among speakers and hearers separated from one another in time and space. (Smith, 1990:161)

Discourse analysis is a stratagem of "alienation methodology", a key concept of which is the "Alienation

Effect" (Burton, 1980:101) which facilitates the analysis by making something special of an ordinary event such as conversation. The Alienation Device enables "analytical thought to penetrate the otherwise intangible aspects of the everyday world" (Smith, 1990:162). This allows literary texts to be used as data for sociological analysis and comment where there is reliable fact-fiction correlation not intruded upon by concepts such as irony, parody or satire. In effect, the Alienation Device mentioned above is a sociological tool used as a means of understanding the everyday affairs and activities of an over-familiar world as discussed by Garfinkel (1967:35).

The term, discourse analysis, denotes an active social process which is used for "those forms of communication and interrelation that are mediated by texts - journals, magazines, newspapers, books, television, movies, etc." (Smith, 1990:214) representing characteristic present-day forms of social organization. Each social organization intersects "with the largely hierarchical structures of state, business, and other administered formal organizations" (Smith, 1990:214) relative to their vested interests, their having their own conceptual practices that construct textual versions of society and social relations (Smith, 1990:215). The author further elaborates on the meaning of the term discourse as it is used in this particular application.

A text can function as a constituent of social relations in that it is capable of being mediated by the society at large in which it is produced thus creating a lived social process. This enables the investigation of a phenomenon "which is necessarily, though generally invisibly, present in other areas of sociological investigation" (Smith, 1990:210). The texts of the plays mentioned above are also mediated by the descriptive process which categorizes them by terms used for organizing them conceptually, and for convenience in analysing them as textual forms of participation in social relations (see Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3). "The interest is in the social organization of those relations and in penetrating them, discovering them, opening them up from within, through the text" (Smith, 1990:4) - that is, displacing the surface of the text as a focus by exploring and analysing the social relations aspect from the inside according to sociological requirements. To the analyst the text becomes a laboratory, as one might say, bearing hints of the relations it organizes and is organized by, and allowing for accessibility to the social relations it organizes (Smith, 1990:4).

Subject to sociological description, the texts of the plays under discourse analysis are mediated specifically by the descriptive process which, in this analysis, categorizes them conceptually with regard to the research problem that

men portray paternalistic attitudes towards women. By this, the actual dialogue rather than the writing terms must be used to organize the concepts for processing by means of sociological description. The discourse method represents a "social scientific strategy for exploring macro-social relations" (Smith, 1990:6) which depend on conceptual practices ("relations of ruling") that construct a textual version of society and social relations (Smith, 1990:6).

The phrase "relations of ruling":

designates the complex of extra-local relations that provide in contemporary societies a specialization of organization, control and initiative. They are those forms that we know as bureaucracy, administration, management, professional organization, and the media. They include also the complex of discourses, scientific, technical, and cultural, that intersect, interpenetrate, and coordinate the multiple sites of ruling. (Smith, 1990:6).

The essential characteristic of the sites of ruling is that they are textually mediated allowing for discourses according to the vested interests of the organizations, etc. issuing them.

Burton (1980:114) cites Sacks (1970) in noting that a drama script is an edited or "tidied up" version of talk observing two rules basic to conversation: that one person speaks at a time and speaker change recurs. In this case the playscript is used as a transcript of naturally occurring talk except that its being of the dramatic literary genre "many of the problems inherent in recordings and transcripts



of naturally occurring talk are not present" - unclear utterances, overlap, or false starts which are not intended as oddities by the dramatist; much of the paralingual information is removed except that which is considered necessary for understanding the dramatic intention (Burton, 1980:114-15). This version of talk which presents conversation in precise language facilitates the discourse analysis device as a valuable research method for exploring the meaning of drama scripts, in enabling our minds to make connections in discourse by correctly inferring information that is not overtly available, and making it possible to construct multiple interpretations according to the relative relations of ruling, using the same material and all at the same time (Penelope, 1988:257).

#### Coding Categories

Certain manifestations of paternalism and resistance to it will be considered and coded accordingly. Here a selection of coding categories are defined (for an explanation of the descriptors see Appendix B). Domination is an overall concept of power control which may be expressed in subtle or obvious ways by the male towards the female. This "natural" attribute of maleness which many consider indisputable has led to the general query 'what do women want?' for those who are unaware how commonplace these acts are. The descriptors in Tables 2 and 3 (see Appendix A)

were chosen as necessary and appropriate on reading the scripts and are based on sources previously cited by Kathy Davis In Todd & Fisher (eds.) (1988:19-54) and Dorothy Smith (1990). The incidences of paternalism are conveniently grouped to facilitate comments. There are two sets of descriptors: one set for men's expression of paternalism and the other for women's resistance to it. Each set is divided into two time periods, pre- and post- the emergence of the women's movement. The differences lie in that men have a tradition of paternalistic attitudes therefore it is easier to group them by type of expression, whereas women have only recently been making a conscious effort to deal with their feelings of inferiority by being noncompliant and even rebellious.

#### PATERNALISM

Male domination is commonly expressed by limiting a woman's freedom, controlling her through benevolence and monopolizing a conversation in which she is a participant. As further evidence that she is not to be taken seriously, she becomes the butt of jokes made by men; maybe it results from the traditional attitude that what a woman feels or says is of little consequence or deserves to be treated lightly. The trivializing of women's feelings is particularly noted in the treatment of women as patients in consultation with male doctors (Davis, 1988:44).

The exercise of power over another person sometimes depends on the course of events affecting that person's pursuit of goals or dreams. Due to the unequal distribution of resources and skills possessed by men, to the disadvantage of women, men exercise their power to change the outcome of events as they desire. And, on the whole, having been better educated they have the power to exercise intellectual control within institutional settings as in government relations, medicine, law, etc.

According to the general belief that women have a tendency towards mental disorders (Rothblum and Franks, 1983:3), women find that their experiences are devalued or negated by men and in some cases tinged with sarcasm. In many instances these experiences are redefined according to male perceptions so that it may be suggested that the woman's account of what transpired is a figment of her imagination, resulting from a mental disorder. Such:

micro-insults, which are part of the fabric of talk between men and women .... Should one venture to protest, the other party may immediately retreat behind the other, also-present face of the interaction ("Only joking, lady!"), leaving one unconvinced, but without a leg to stand on (just another humorless female) (Davis, 1988:23, italics added).

The treatment of women in the medical and related fields is singular in the extent of institutional authority, control and influence that these mostly male-dominated professions have over the female. Phyllis Chesler (1972:67) in her interpretation of statistics on mental illness among

women in the U.S. has found that the professionals in these areas have been socialized to adopt a certain attitude that women are more susceptible to mental disorders than men are (Smith,1990:110). Ordinary states of mind like emotions, mood, feelings have been isolated for women, defined psychically and treated with medication or by other means. Women are objectified under such conditions and treated as children who lack responsibility for themselves. A woman's symptoms not being visible to the eye also gives the health experts more room to maneuver in accordance with their paternalistic attitude (Smith, 1990:137). Kathy Davis views the medical profession as a whole on how it relates to women patients:

It is my contention that paternalism is what makes general practice an extremely effective location for exercising control over how women see themselves and their difficulties. It has real and obvious advantages for greasing the wheels of medical interaction.

Unfortunately, paternalism cannot be limited to general practice. It plays a major role in everyday experience of being female. It is my hope that by uncovering its subtle maneuverings in one specific instance, a medical consultation, we may all be helped in identifying (and ultimately) combatting Janus when and where he rears his head (Davis,1988:51).

The above medical consultation referred to, was analysed and reported on in a paper by Kathy Davis entitled "Paternalism Under the Microscope" in Todd and Fisher (eds.) *Gender and Discourse* (1988:19-54).

According to traditional sex-role typing it is generally believed that one can predict a person's

behaviour, character traits, attitudes or competencies by his/her biological sex category. Knowledge of a person's sex could help to explain how a person would act, think or feel and deal with certain situations. Kelly (1983:13) adds another dimension to the issue when he says that another "aspect of traditional sex-role conceptualizations involves the construal of masculinity and femininity as psychological 'opposites'." This introduces the question of normalcy with regard to how these attributes are exhibited by males and females. Based on the assumption that 'normalcy equals the average' Kelly continues:

it becomes possible to define normal or appropriate female roles in terms of the average behavioral characteristics exhibited by most women; and normal, appropriate male roles in terms of the characteristics most frequently exhibited by most men (1983:12).

Normalcy being based on the average in the psychological literature the author concludes that:

because males are described more often as assertive, forceful, cognitive, and vocation or construction oriented, these characteristics are normal or appropriate in males. Because females are described more often as nurturant, self-subordinative, emotional, unassertive, and home-oriented, these characteristics could be viewed as normal roles for females and the individual who exhibits them would be considered appropriately sex typed (Kelly, 1983:13).

Some recent theories on behaviour have focused on why women are more prone to maladjustments when problems arise thus leading to depression, anxiety and other psychological disorders. Kelly (1983:20) suggests that this is so because

men, due to sex-role typing and consequent socialization, have available the resources to support alternative types of behaviour in response to difficulties which they may encounter. Women, on the other hand, being typed as the weaker sex have a repertoire of fewer alternatives to facilitate their dealing with stress situations. Accordingly women are more subject to emotional stress. The women's movement has taken an interest in gender differences in the rates of mental illness. Smith in her The Conceptual Practices of Power (1990:109-10) cites reports by Chesler (1972:xxii,33), previously mentioned, about a number of surveys questioning people about themselves; and which showed higher rates of mental disturbance or mental disorder among the women than among the men who responded. Chesler also cited U.S. statistics for 1964 showing that in the U.S.:

during the 1960s adult women, far more than adult men, constituted the majority of patients in general psychiatric wards, private hospitals, public and private clinics, and community health centers.

There seemed to be, more or less, the same situation for Canada during approximately the same period (1970). The collection of statistical data on the subject of mental illness in Canada and the United States is not quite satisfactory as to how the data is compiled; nevertheless an overall interpretation of the data was given (Smith, 1990:112).

Women tend to be treated like children by medical practitioners, and within medical institutions. In consultation with a physician (usually male) the power structure of paternalism in concentrated form is apparent. In the first place, the woman patient is subject to intellectual control because to her medicine is an esoteric subject; and due to the fact that her life is in the doctor's hands, she has a tendency to absolutely surrender herself to his will. The nature of their relationship being totally asymmetrical the physician using his expertise to advantage is free to assume a paternalistic attitude toward his woman patient. His consultation interchange takes the form of a question-answer sequence after which advice on her condition is given. Whatever advice he gives her is "for her own good" and any non-medical problems she may have, there is a tendency for him to consider it to be "all in her head", in short, "psychologizing" her problems. Above all he may resort to judge her as being responsible for her illness (Davis, 1988:47-50).

Men have been known to dominate women fearlessly by threats or intimidation. When such methods do not prove effective they have resorted to various subterfuges. It is to be stressed here that the practice of paternalism is not necessarily a conscious effort but rather a habit of acting in a manner expected of their role as men with regard to women. There are certain conventions associated with the

treatment of, or attitudes towards women. The male almost always takes notice of the woman's physical appearance and makes comments about it whether favourably or unfavourably. A woman's appearance must conform at least to almost the ideal which relative to her cultural milieu could be a movie star, a socialite or some idealized classical figure. The various beauty contests attest to the fact that in the modern world the foremost attribute in being a woman should be physical appearance according to cultural standards. Another of the cultural conventions associated with women is that of compliance. Men expect women to yield to their demands and carry out their wishes as they desire. To achieve the desired results they utilize such benevolent phrases as "You're the swellest little wife" which phrase is meant to flatter and in effect get the same result as full compliance.

Most times a conversation between a man and a woman is dominated by the male. This display of paternalism may take the form of repeated interruptions to gain control over the content and direction of the conversation (Smith, 1987:32). The use of the passive voice in describing women's actions or activities, as well as the completion of sentences in anticipation of what she has to say further indicate the lesser role to which women have been relegated. When a woman finds herself in a position of asymmetry or in one of a paternalistic relationship with a man, she may take the



manifestation of paternalism towards her for granted and in so doing internalize her feelings of resistance towards such attitudes, or she may be aware of it but because of her situation of dependency on the male she may choose not to make the encounter confrontational, or she may employ certain tactics in reacting if she is aware of such a position. The female has three choices: she either complies in the traditional sense of a woman's proper place within society (Henshel, 1973:55), or manipulate the male according to her desires, or display open resistance to maintain her position.

The usual feeling of a female in an encounter with a male is based on the premise that his wishes have priority above everything that she may desire to accomplish or fulfill. So in everyday encounters, out of habit, she covertly resists his paternalistic attitude. She defers to his domination in expected ways, again out of habit, by reacting with self-denial, undergoing such feelings as low self-esteem, helplessness or repressed anger, and even going further by making excuses for his behaviour and so forth. Sometimes she seeks the advice of another female; occasionally from a male and to top it all she may begin to think and express herself like a man with reference to another woman making such statements as in the playscript "LOOK OUT BELOW" by Noel Stone (1951), (MRS. MORAIS: A girl has no business thinking of her own comfort. A girl has

duties and obligations). This statement, although made by a woman, expresses how the playwright a male perceives a female with regards to the limitation of her thoughts and actions.

### Women's Resistance to Paternalism

The women's movement of the 1960s encouraged women to examine their status relative to men from a new perspective. The group most encouraged were those women of the middle class who:

have had a greater access to education, better jobs, and certain illusory freedom as compared to less privileged women. They have had the chance to develop a taste for freedom and, especially, the leisure to become organized (Henshel, 1973:126).

These women have had to cope with sex discrimination on the job, and found themselves denied the rewards of their competence and dedication in the male-dominated work-a-day world. The majority of women in the lower and upper classes were not so motivated (Henshel, 1973:137-40): the lower class women tended to accept the status quo of male dominance which was reflected in, for example, their making excuses for male paternalistic attitudes and behaviour, their low self-esteem and willingness to comply. The women of the upper class being generally out of the work force, had little motivation in embracing the movement.

The middle class working woman in the environment of the job came face-to-face with her subordinate status and

the consequent discriminatory treatment meted out to her. She took a more or less active part in promoting the movement with the aim of achieving a comparable balance of recognition and treatment. She became aware, for example, of the use of the female title "Miss" in her perception, as a qualifier for the unmarried woman to reap all the disadvantages, discrimination and prejudices that the female is subject to (Henshel, 1973:112). She saw the title as one of subjugation rather than respect. In an effort to be perceived as his equal she adopted the behaviour and attitudes of the male. She engaged in "unfeminine" behaviour and copied the typical traits of males. She might have entertained thoughts of open revenge. This last characteristic is illustrated in a CBC radio drama script TWICE AS FATAL (1982) by John Bluethner. This is a mystery play about Dan a staff writer with a national magazine, and twin sisters, Lendra and Becky. He found this tape in his machine in his office. The excerpt is as follows:

LENDRA (CASSETTE) Surprised to hear from me? (LAUGH). I can just see the look on your face. Poor, poor boy! You thought you'd get rid of me. It was really nice of you to mourn for a while. I was very touched. But you shouldn't have married my sister. You disturbed my rest and now I'll have to disturb yours.

DAN And then the tape went blank.

Dan is here reporting to his lawyer what had taken place.

An effort is seen to be made by both male and female writers of radio dramas to portray their women characters in plays of the period 1962 and later as bold, domineering and adopting the characteristics of male dominance. This change in the perception of the post-1960s woman could be attributed to the influence of the women's movement.

An explanation of the descriptors used for compiling data for the study is to be found in Appendix B. They are listed roughly in the order as they appear in excerpts from the playscript texts under analysis, except that the broad subject(s) of the thesis (domination, limitation of freedom, control, etc.) have priority.

## Chapter IV. The Analysis

The following are excerpts from four of the twelve drama scripts chosen with the intention of illustrating typical situations in which paternalistic attitudes appear and, thus, the application of the coding categories. Also considered are women's reaction to paternalism evident in the plays, not necessarily a reaction to a specific paternalistic situation. The plays involved are: "He Came Home to Me (1943)" by Della Foss, "Look Out Below (1951)" by Noel Stone, "The Pebble Beach (1965)" by John Gorrie and "The Experiment (1981)" by Joanne Sisto. They are four of the twelve plays used for the study and summarized in Appendix C. The plays from which excerpts are used are chosen from the two comparative time periods in the study, pre-1962 and 1962 and later, and represent a male and female author in each period. Excerpts are chosen as necessary to illustrate certain paternalistic attitudes. Some quotes are from the twelve plays in general, not specifically from those excerpted.

### Excerpt 1

ANNE:                    Weren't you even in love with that  
                              hussy...for five minutes?

ROGER:                   It's funny...she asked me almost the same  
                              thing this afternoon.

ANNE: If you didn't love her?

ROGER: Yes. I told her if they only gave her ten years...I'd wait for her...if my wife didn't object. Corny eh!

ANNE: I like it.

ROGER: I thought you would! Now...are you ready for your coat?

ANNE: (LOW) Roger---?

ROGER: What's wrong now, baby?

ANNE: Just a minute before we go....(IS CRYING A LITTLE)

ROGER: Gosh, kid...don't start and cry or you'll have to powder all over again. Here...get up on my lap a minute. What are you crying for now? Is it because you're happy...or did I do something? I wonder why I married a silly little nut like you, anyway?

ANNE: I don't know.

ROGER: I do.....What would make you happy now....a couple of fox furs like Adele had?

ANNE: No....I don't want a fox fur....Roger....could you say you love me?

ROGER: I'm not so good at that...(LOWER) I do love you, honey...you ought to know that....

He Came Home To Me (1943) D. Foss

Paternalism is apparent in many instances throughout this conversation between Roger and his wife Anne in Excerpt 1. Here he is treating lightly a matter which is of great concern to Anne, his wife: that Roger may not be quite honest about his feelings for Adele. He treats the situation like a joke and is surprised that she is not of the same frame of mind. To her the matter is serious in

that it concerns their relationship as husband and wife, but about which he has such a cavalier attitude. In this context she cannot be sure of what he is telling her ("I told her if they only gave her ten years...I'd wait for her...if my wife didn't object. Corny,eh!") referring to Adele whom he had been in communication with previously but who was about to be sent to jail along with her father for tax fraud. Roger admits that he is making a tired joke but could Anne be sure especially when she says sarcastically ("I like it."). He now realizes it is for her a serious matter which he is treating rather lightly. When she begins to cry he condescends by treating her as he would a child ("What's wrong now, baby?"; "Gosh, kid...don't start and cry..."). In an effort to win back her confidence in him he resorts to a benevolent phrase ("I wonder why I married a silly little nut like you, anyway?"). But "anyway" makes the meaning of the question ambiguous - meant to be categorical, but not sure whether he would like to have an answer to the question or not. He then offers furs ("What would make you happy now...a couple of fox furs like Adele had?") thinking he can control her with benevolence. The mention of furs like Adele's is a further instance of humiliation.

Anne is the typical wife of the 1940s. She complies with Roger's wishes with little resistance, mostly covert, to his paternalistic attitude ("he'll never know how I

longed to throw a cup of coffee straight at him!"). She uses insight to understand what is going on but she does not have the resources necessary to alter or improve the situation to her benefit.

Excerpt 2

ROGER: (STARTS TO LAUGH) Say...this is good, honey! I told Adele if she was a nice girl...I'd show her my bullet scars.

ANNE: Roger...you didn't!

ROGER: Now, now...I didn't elaborate on the subject. Well, there's your last cup on a hook. Come on, honey...it's bedtime for you.

ANNE: That night, Roger slept peacefully, and it was I who lay awake staring into the darkness. I couldn't see much hope for myself. Adele was enough to turn any man's head sooner or later and I couldn't see why Roger should be the exception. Along with everything else, she was five years younger than I... Five years isn't much in your life till it's the difference between yourself and some woman who's trying to steal your husband...then, it's a lot.... About two weeks later Margaret Keller came to see me.....

MARGARET: Honestly, dear...since, I'm here....I don't know what to say. But for the first time in my life, I feel like I ought to meddle and say something.

.....  
.....

MARGARET: What are you going to do about it?

ANNE: What can I do? She knows Roger is married... that we have Bill.....



Roger's laugh is nervous because he does not know how Anne will react to what he is about to say. He therefore uses the benevolent term "honey" to compensate for the quite shocking bit of information which is that he promised Adele to show her his bullet scars from World War II. Her reaction was that of shock and humiliation ("Roger...you didn't"). Although he tries to lessen the impact of the subject on her, it is obvious that she is devastated as the revelation occupied her mind most of the night. While Roger was asleep peacefully she was filled with negative feelings about herself - humiliation, helplessness, low self-esteem ("She was easily five years younger than I.... Five years isn't much in your life till it's the difference between yourself and some woman who's trying to steal your husband...."). She considers beauty an asset for the physical attraction of the male, and the effect of beauty depends on age (Bernard, 1981). She even made an excuse for his behaviour ("Adele was enough to turn any man's head sooner or later and I couldn't see why Roger should be the exception") in so much that she had begun to think like a man in trying to justify Roger's actions.

In this scenario Roger is in complete control, taking the initiative to dominate, and ignoring Anne's feelings as though they do not matter. Anne's only recourse to help for her situation is to get advice from an acquaintance at Roger's office, Margaret who later visited her ("What are

you going to about it?"). This was intended to urge Anne to take action to relieve herself of feelings of low self-esteem.

Excerpt 3.

KAUF: Good god! She didn't jump?!

BERG: Please let me finish. At first we thought she'd jumped. After a moment, we found that she had managed to walk along a narrow ledge outside the window, right at the corner of the building. That's where she is at the moment.

KAUF: (GROANING) Oh-h-h-h...I'll fire that nurse!

NURSE: (RENEWED SOBBING)

BERG: Nevermind the nurse! Do you realize I don't know a thing about the girl's condition, not a solitary -

KAUF: But I sent the complete -

BERG: I didn't get it.

KAUF: That's impossible! But...surely you can stop her - what's she doing out there anyway?

Look Out Below (1951) Noel Stone

Depicted in Excerpt 3 is a telephone conversation between two psychiatrists, Kaufman and Bergman. It concerns one of Kaufman's patients, a young girl who was sent to Bergman for an opinion on whether she is capable of being released from the mental hospital where Kaufman works. The young woman is suicidal, and Kaufman not being on site, blames the nurse for negligence. Here, he does not know all the circumstances of what took place but is acting on his authority as a medical expert to suggest that the nurse be

fired (Davis, 1988:48), the institution of medicine promoting "acquiesce to a social system based on class- and sex-based inequalities in power" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1978:61). Kaufman is here suggesting that a nurse in another hospital be fired when he does not know the circumstances of what happened. The feelings of the young woman in a suicide threat situation is being trivialized by his asking "What's she doing out there anyway?".

#### Excerpt 4

THE LOVER: (COMING ON - LIKE A LOVER) A heart cries out! I come! Here I am...I kiss your hand.

KATIE: Who are you?

LOVER: I am the lover. I love.

KATIE: Oh.... And who do you love?

LOVER: The dearest - the sweetest - the loveliest -

KATIE: But who is that?

LOVER: It is the one I love. She is always the dearest and the sweetest and the loveliest. That's the way it's done.

KATIE: How silly! (CAUTIOUSLY) Do you love me?

LOVER: Of course, but -

KATIE: And do you want me to put on all those things they say I must put on?

LOVER: Of course, if they say so -

KATIE: Would you smear sticky-paint on your mouth for me?

LOVER: Why no, but -

KATIE:            Would you prop up your heels on stilts?  
LOVER:            No, but -  
KATIE:            Would you squeeze your stomach in a cage?  
LOVER:            No no, but -  
KATIE:            Then I shall certainly not do it for you!  
LOVER:            Katie, Katie darling...listen to me.

Look Out Below (1951) Noel Stone

Katie has been diagnosed as mentally ill because she questions the "normal" things that people do. In her thoughts which appear like dream sequences in the play she confronts several persons who have influenced her life, and certain roles she has played. She had worked in a newspaper job but was forced to leave because she did not conform to the conventional standards with regard to her personal appearance. Then she had a love affair which ended and on account of which she became antagonistic toward feminine conventions of beauty and grooming. The persons who confronted her in her dreams include her mother, a driver, teacher, cheerleader, printer, reporter, optometrist, lover. She insisted that she did not wish to be like anybody else; she wanted to be herself. Katie's "unconventional" behaviour caused the stigma "mentally ill" to be applied to her.

Historically there is the assumption that "there exists a collection of behaviours, characteristics, attitudes or competencies that are associated with one's biological

gender" (Kelly, 1983:12) thus by knowing a person's sex one can predict how the individual will behave. Then there is a further assumption based on tradition, that "an individual should exhibit these attributes that are associated with her or his gender in order to be ideally adjusted" (Kelly, 1983:12). Katie failed to satisfy both assumptions: it was not expected of her to react to her critics by questioning everything - because she is a woman, and by displaying unconventional behaviour she was a ready target to be considered mentally ill. Katie questions the conventionality of the lover, who as such is expected to behave in a paternalistic way towards her ("She is always the dearest and the sweetest and the loveliest") {sic} and tells her that she ought to conform ("That's the way it's done"). She questions, for example, the use of make-up on a female and wonders why the male is excepted ("Would you smear sticky-paint on your mouth for me?"). In revolting against the stereotyping of women Katie's behaviour is stereotyped as being that of a mentally ill person because she is a woman.

The following excerpts are extracted from plays written during the comparative period, 1962 and later.

Excerpt 5

ALLIE: (SIMPLY) I shall wait for him.

DAVID: (AFTER A MOMENT) Oh come now. It's not that important surely? As I say he's probably working late and won't be able to come at all. What would you do then?

ALLIE: Go back to Tom's house.

DAVID: (PERSUASIVELY) Look Allie - I know you've had a wonderful time - but it's late now. This boy from the station - well he isn't coming obviously - and I expect your friend Tom's pretty busy with his family. Why don't you come back in the car with me?

ALLIE: In the car...but...

DAVID: Oh we can come back one day - soon - and see all your friends - and throw stones into the sea - and play the machines on the pier.... We'll do all that again one day.... But I think the best thing now would be for you to come back with me in the car, don't you?

ALLIE: (A SMALL VOICE) I'm staying here.

DAVID: Allie - you know you can't do that. Where would you stay? You've got nowhere to stay.

ALLIE: Tom said...

DAVID: Oh yes I know Tom said he'd get you a room next door to his house...but that costs money. You see Allie you'd have to pay for that. Have you got any money? Have you?

ALLIE: No.... But I could get some. I could get a job.

DAVID: I don't think you'd like that very much, would you? Why don't you come back with me and we'll take care of you? That's really the best thing, isn't it? That's the best thing for you.

ALLIE: Don't say any more. Please don't say any more.

DAVID: But Allie...

ALLIE: You're spoiling everything.

DAVID: You know you...

ALLIE: It was all lovely...

DAVID: You'll have to come back in the end.

ALLIE:           And you've come to spoil it.

DAVID:           If not with me...then someone else.

ALLIE:           I want to stay here.

DAVID:           You can't stay here.  
(ALLIE DOESN'T ANSWER FOR A MOMENT - JUST  
LOOKS AT DAVID - THEN)

ALLIE:           I know who you are.

DAVID:           Well?

ALLIE:           (AFTER A MOMENT) I'll have to say goodbye to  
Tom.... Then I'll come.

DAVID:           Allie - you know we can't.

The Pebble Beach (1965) J. Gorrie

Allie has run away from a hospital for the mentally deficient in London and goes by train to a little seaside town about a day's outing away. She is fascinated by the sea and does intend to return to the hospital. She spends a lovely day with Tom whom she met on the pier and now in the late afternoon she is waiting to meet the porter from the train station, who earlier had promised he would meet her at the cafe in the town centre. While waiting she meets someone who seems familiar, David, a nurse from the hospital in London who has come to take her back. This is an instance of medical paternalism in the 1962 and later period of the study - domination through medical control. He tries to convince her that the persons she met, the porter and Tom are not important and further devalues her experience ("It was all lovely") and defines it as of no consequence ("This

boy from the station - he isn't coming obviously"). He makes her aware of the futility he sees in her waiting around ("he's probably working late and won't be able to come at all"), ("but it's late now"), ("I expect your friend Tom's pretty busy with his family") etc. David is suggesting to Allie that she is incapable of making these judgments about her friends or he is trying desperately to make her leave voluntarily.

When David's persuasive arguments do not succeed he plays on the wonderful day Allie has spent and tries the strategy of empty promises ("Oh we can come back one day - soon - and see all your friends - and throw stones in the sea..."). Yet she is steadfast in resisting his authoritative attitude. He tries yet another strategy. He knows that as a stranger in town she will need accommodation ("Where would you stay? You've got nowhere to stay"). He anticipates her reply and interrupts her when she begins to inform him that indeed she has a place to stay ("Tom said..."). He realizes this attempt is futile also so he brings up the question of money ("Have you got any money?"). She surprises him by being independent of mind ("I could get a job"). Thereupon he tries to play on the traditional role of women as housewives and suggests ("I don't think you'd like that very much, would you?"). But Allie insists on staying and tells him that he has spoilt everything she has enjoyed for the day.



Since Allie resists going with him willingly, David uses the authority he has as a medical institution worker and deliberately states ("You can't stay here.") By this he has altered the course of events and Allie realizes it. From now on anything she says to convince him she wants to stay in the town will be futile. She is completely under David's control to the extent that she is not even allowed to say goodbye to her friend Tom ("Allie - you know we can't.").

When Allie first met David in the seaside town she had an insight that she knew who he was ("ALLIE: CONCENTRATING) I've seen you before). She was not quite sure, but as she continued conversing with him her intuition that she knew him was verified. She had not displayed any evidence of unusual or odd behaviour and the only evidence that she was an inmate of a hospital for the mentally deficient came from David. For a young woman to travel alone by train to a strange town she had to be assertive to survive and enjoy herself as she reiterated. Tom who had spent most of the day with her could not believe what he was hearing:

HELEN:                   ...she was taken away - back to the lunatic asylum.

TOM:                     (AFTER A LONG TIME) The what?

It is obvious that Tom was utterly surprised that she was associated with a mental institution. To him her behaviour was as normal any other young person of her age.

Excerpt 6

DAVID: Yes- it's unfortunate. But it happens from time to time. We thought she'd come here. It's a direct train - and she's always wanted to come to the sea.

-----  
-  
MRS. BIRD: No.... She seems a nice girl.

DAVID: (GOING - GENTLY PROPELLING ALLIE WITH HIM)  
Yes. She is. (MRS. BIRD COMES TO THE DOOR)  
DOOR OPENS.....STREET SOUNDS. Thank you.  
You've been very understanding.

Goodbye.

MRS. BIRD: Goodbye.

DOOR CLOSES. RESTAURANT SOUNDS ESTABLISH FOR  
A WHILE

HELEN: (BEGIN SL. OFF AND FADE IN) Well.....

WAITER: Looked strange to me right from the start.

HELEN: Yes (TO MRS. BIRD) Escaped from the lunatic  
asylum had she? Where was it? Did it say on  
the little card he showed you?

MRS. BIRD: I don't remember.

HELEN: But a lunatic asylum. I didn't know there  
were any round here.

RICK: (ALMOST TO HIMSELF) No. It said "Hospital  
for Mental Deficients". It's not the same  
thing.

-----  
-----  
HELEN: (WHO HAS BEEN FOLLOWING ALL THIS CAREFULLY)  
If you're after that young girl in the blue

dress - she was taken away - back to the lunatic asylum.

TOM: (AFTER A LONG TIME) The what?

RICK: Come on Tom. Let's get out of here. I'll explain it all to you (DOOR OPENS - PROJECTS) Goodbye, Mrs. Bird. (DOOR CLOSES) LIGHT TRAFFIC  
Bg. Look Tom - it wasn't a lunatic asylum. It was a Mental Deficient Hospital...it isn't the same. I read about it once in a book.... She wasn't a lunatic.... Just a child that's all, a child... Tom? Tom!

MUSIC (?) PUNCTUATE THEN TO LOW B.G. VOICES COME IN MONTAGE ...SURF BACKGROUND

RICK: Just a child, that's all.

-----

MUSIC: UP TO CLIMAX AND OUT

TOM: Just ..... just .... a child.

The Pebble Beach (1965) J. Gorrie

It emerged from the script that people are confused about the various types of mental disorders there are and the different institutions that treat them: ("HELEN: Escaped from the lunatic asylum had she?"), ("RICK: Look Tom - it wasn't a lunatic asylum.... It was a Mental Deficient Hospital..."), etc. This introduces the subjects of psychiatry (diseases of the mind) and psychology (patterns of behaviour) as they are applied to women. The medical branch of psychiatry is outside the scope of this paper but the "odd" behaviour of women as a group gives it its place in the study. In the 1970s women engaged in much

social and political activity to foster changes in attitude both by men and women that sex-role typing was invalid. This called for the abandonment of traditional roles of women vis-a-vis men and adjustment to new roles by women which would make their status equal to that of men. This new attitude to consciousness of the self was expressed variously in psychological disorders: depression, low self-esteem, anxiety, helplessness, and so forth. Women came to be associated with these disorders and institutions were organized especially around women for treatment (Kelly, 1983:24). Because these behaviours carry no physical symptoms much depends on an interview for diagnosis. Dorothy E. Smith (1990:12-51) recounts how a young girl "K" is diagnosed to be mentally ill. In recognizing deviant behaviour:

the various agencies of social control have institutionalized procedures for assembling, processing, and testing information about the behaviour of individuals so that it can be matched against the paradigms which provide the working criteria of class-membership whether as juvenile delinquent, mentally ill, or the like.

(Smith, 1990:12)

The business of the police, the courts, psychiatrists and other similar agencies use these procedures formally or informally in the course of their daily routines (Cicourel (1968:332). Therefore Allie's diagnosis of being mentally deficient depended on the pattern agreed on for mental deficiency by the institution concerned.

## Excerpt 7

Leona Fifield, a free-lance journalist, is set on entering the estate of the reclusive Professor Drake with the intention of getting "the story of a lifetime" to boost her career. The scientist and researcher does not like strangers prying so his estate is walled, with a caretaker and dog to ward off intruders; as well, the grounds are overgrown with bush. She is seen by two young men, one a teenager, going over the wall.

Steve:                   You're right. How'd she get up there?  
(amazed)

SOUND:                   BG STREET

SOUNDS GRADUALLY FADE UP BUT STILL UNDER.  
BIRDS, ETC., NOT TOO MANY, IT'S NIGHT-TIME.

Steve:                   Hey Lady! How ya going to get down?

Miss Fifield:           I beg your pardon. (coldly)

Teenager No.1:         He wants to know how you're getting down  
Lady.  
(amused)

Miss F:                   I've no intention of getting down - I'm  
going over first!

Teenager:               Doesn't look like you're going anywhere.  
Your clothes are caught on the wall.

Miss F: (hot,            You're a very clever boy!  
exasperated)

Steve: (quietly         What's she doing up there anyhow?  
to his friend)

Miss F:                   That's none of your concern!  
(overhearing)

Steve:                   Hey lady

Teenager: Forget it Steve. She's too weird - let's go.

-----

Steve: You're probably being watched on some kind of electronic eye or...

Miss F: Look - I haven't got time for a physics lesson. Don't you sweet young boys have some homework to do or someone else you could bother!

Steve: (angry) Sit on it Lady!

-----

Miss F: Damned smart alecks! Well, here goes nothing...

The Experiment (1981) J.  
Sisto

The teenager draws Steve's attention to Miss Fifield on the wall. This is an unusual sight which evokes comments from the young men about a woman climbing a wall. Here is a woman indulging in unfeminine behaviour violating the sex-role stereotype of what is normal for a woman to do, what she is able to do, and even what she dares to do. The young men have been socialized to believe that a woman is out of place climbing a wall. Weinraub and Brown (1983: 35) claim that this attitude begins to develop at age 3 to 4 and "Certainly, by 7 or 8 years of age, children are in almost perfect agreement with adults about the sex typing of children's toys and adults' and children's activities. Steve's reaction ("Hey Lady! How ya going to get down?") is reinforced by the teenager's repeating the question amusingly ("He wants to know how you're getting down

Lady."). He sees the situation as funny because in his perception that type of behaviour is associated with men only, and she may need help in getting down. These sex-role attitudes are the result of children being made aware of sex-role stereotypes at an early age and their conforming to male attitudes as the norm.

In this play written in 1981, the author gives the female protagonist all the resistance that is representative of the woman newly liberated from male domination of the female. Miss Fifield is aware of the young men's paternalistic attitude towards her on account of her climbing the wall and replies with unfriendliness ("I beg your pardon.") in other words "get out of my way, you are bothersome." She is unheeding of the young men's concern for her safety, and their expectation that she may need help. She is resolute about what she intends to do and takes the observation of her clothes being caught on the wall as a smart remark intended to deter her. Seeing that they cannot dissuade her by being wary of the risk of her getting down from the wall, they are interested in her motive for climbing the wall; what would make a woman want to go over a wall at such a risk. Miss Fifield overhears Steve's question ("What's she doing up there anyhow?") and immediately asserts herself, (That's none of your concern!"). Her independence of thought and action makes Steve want perhaps to apologize which brings this comment

from the Teenager : ("Forget it Steve. She's too weird.") - weird because she is exhibiting unfeminine behaviour by climbing a wall without any concern about the risk in doing so or getting help from her male observers. Steve insists on giving her some parting advice, a warning that the estate may be watched by an electronic eye.

Miss Fifield is now on the grounds of Professor Dru's estate where she encounters Sedrick, the caretaker with Simon the guard dog. Sedrick is a faithful servant whose duty it is to protect the privacy of the professor and make it comfortable for him to engage in his research. In the following excerpt Miss Fifield gets into an exchange of words with Mr. Sedrick who accuses her of invading professor Dru's privacy which she counters with complaints about a vicious dog and poor lighting on the grounds.

#### Excerpt 8

Sedrick: Simon! Come here Boy! C'mon!

Miss F: Animals that can't be controlled shouldn't be (ignoring him) kept within City Limits! It's a bylaw!

Sedrick: Simon is a very sensitive greyhound Miss. He doesn't care much for...uh...strangers....but once he knows who you are? I don't suppose we've met. I work for Mr. Dru, and you are?

Miss F: Please don't call me "Miss" - its very irritating - my name is Leona Fifield.

Sedrick: As I was saying Miss Fifield - once Simon knows you he won't show his aggressive side again - he'll remember you forever.

Miss F: Hmp! I'd be pleased if he remembered to keep his filthy paws off my clothes.



Sedrick: I'm afraid you were trespassing miss.

Miss F: Mr...?

Sedrick: "Sedrick" - Miss.

Miss F: Mr. Sedrick - as I was saying - the word "miss" is not used anymore - and I wasn't trespassing - I climbed your wall because first of all, I'm an amateur photographer and the architecture of this house happens to be worth photographing! And secondly, your gate was locked.

Sedrick: Is that so? And you didn't notice the signs posted warning of the dog?

Miss F: I'm sure I couldn't see the signs or anything else - these grounds aren't properly lit.

Sedrick: Mr. Dru prefers the grounds that way.

The Experiment (1981) Joanne  
Sisto

Sedrick seems to be nonplussed that a woman would dare to trespass on the professor's property despite the signs posted warning of the dog. In a banter of words she warns him of the uncontrollable dog whereupon he subtly uses his authority to let her know that she should not come there unannounced and in such an unconventional way. He uses the dog as his scapegoat, "He doesn't care much for...uh...strangers..." He tries to dominate her by insisting that she was trespassing and she ought to have seen the signs and completely ignores her objection to being addressed as "Miss." The women's movement of the 1960s gave to women the awareness to question all aspects of their existence and the part men played in shaping and maintaining their status in society. Ostensively they questioned

anything that would label them as subordinate to men or introduce sexism unnecessarily to the woman's disadvantage. Women questioned the use of the title "Miss" which signals to others that the woman is unmarried when there is no comparable title for an unmarried man - both bachelors and married men use the same title "Mr." As it is aptly put by Henshel (1973:112) "when females reach adulthood, they soon realize that the title 'Miss' lacks much that 'Mrs.' has. 'Miss' is not a status; it is a non-status: women's main status is that of married women." Her questioning of the status quo is what caused Katie in Look Out Below (1951) by Noel Stone to be institutionalized as a mental patient.

In the pursuit of her career as a journalist Leona Fifield is prepared to stop at nothing. She intends to get the story of her life and is prepared to offer resistance to anyone who stands in her way; and use guile if necessary to achieve her goal. When Sedrick drew her attention to the signs posted about the dog, she countered it with "Animals that can't be controlled shouldn't be kept within City Limits" suggesting that Sedrick is not competent in doing his job of keeping the dog restrained - a situation which is in violation of a City by-law. She uses guile to justify her being on the grounds of the estate "I wasn't trespassing - I climbed your wall because first of all, I'm an amateur photographer and the architecture of this house happens to be worth photographing! And secondly, your gate was

locked." When Sedrick hinted that if she had used the gate she ought to have seen the sign, she immediately quipped "I am sure I couldn't see the signs or anything else - these grounds aren't properly lit." The "or anything else" suggests that the gate entrance was almost in complete darkness. To this Sedrick agreed by observing "Mr. Dru prefers the grounds that way."

In excerpt 8 is revealed a woman who is fully liberated. She is a working professional who cannot be deterred from what she sets out to do and seems to be prepared for any eventuality. In the exchange of conversation with Sedrick she appeared to be an even match.

#### Summary

Regarding the excerpts as illustrations of the analysis note that two radio plays written before the emergence of the women's movement (pre-1962) as well as two (1962 and later) used for the analysis involve authors of either sex. The play, *He Came Home To Me* (1943) by Della Foss represents the traditional male paternalistic attitudes towards women and in reaction women's feelings of helplessness, insecurity and the necessity to comply with the wishes of the male because she lacks the resources to alter the course of events. The author of the above play, a woman, empathises with the antagonist Anne as being dominated by her husband Roger but who is in no position to fight back. Roger, the

protagonist, is supported in his attitudes by culturally defined expectations of how the male is supposed to behave. The play *Look Out Below* (1951) by Noel Stone represents one of two plays about women with mental disorders included in the study. Here is evidence of medical paternalism, and the extent to which it is institutionalized to control people's lives (Davis, 1988:47-48). Katie is diagnosed as a mental patient because she dares to be different by asking "Why?" Her frustration at not being understood brings on feelings of hopelessness which ultimately leads to her suicide. She is a victim of the medical system. It has been postulated that mental illness is a type of deviant behaviour (Turner, 1984:41) but Dorothy E. Smith (1990:15) contends "It is not clear what norms are deviated from when someone is categorized as mentally ill" which makes it difficult to recognize mental illness. This leaves it to the health experts to judge a woman by illness which is "normal" to her sex against men's illnesses which are quite different. That Katie is mentally ill may be attributed to the dictate of the social system under the circumstances (Smith, 1990:15-16). Jeffrey A. Kelly (1983:17) sees the problem of women and mental illness as one of sex-role adjustment in recent times brought on by the consequences of women's role in the labour force and changing familial arrangements, such as the one-parent family. The male author of this play explores the illness of the young girl by means of dream sequences

and seems to understand the problem of women questioning traditional roles, for which they are diagnosed as mentally ill. The author depicts Katie as her being caught in the system with no way out of it.

This play *The Pebble Beach* (1965) written during the later comparative period of the study also deals with a young woman who is inflicted with some sort of mental disorder. Here throughout the play she functions normally except that her wanting to see the sea appears out of the ordinary to one or two other characters of the play who are unaware of the circumstances surrounding her coming to the seaside town. But if she has run away from London to the seaside town there must be some extenuating circumstances. Her being connected with a mental institution is revealed only after she has interacted with various people in various situations - at the train station, the arcade, on the pier, on the beach, with Tom, Rick, Mr. and Mrs. Price, the waiter, etc. It is disclosed where she came from only when a male nurse comes from London to take her back. As previously noted by Smith (1990:15) it is difficult to recognize mental illness yet she further states "it is clearly possible to describe behaviour in such a way that people will make that definition with full confidence in its propriety." This assumes that the decision that a person is mentally ill is based on arbitrary perceptions of the disorder. During the mid-Twentieth Century there was much

interest in women's illnesses being mentally based, but in both instances the male authors in either comparative period seem to portray that the diagnosis of mental illness is prejudicial against women.

In the play *The Experiment* (1981) by Joanne Sisto, the author, a woman portrays the protagonist, Miss Fifield as a truly liberated woman. She has a career and asserts herself in keeping with her profession and what she believes in. She does not hesitate to overcome physical obstacles in pursuit of her goal, e.g. she climbs over a wall to get on the professor's property. She uses guile, if necessary, to achieve what she sets out to do and considers herself a formidable challenge to both men, the professor and the caretaker. Though in the end the professor prevailed, her resistance to their paternalistic attitudes was memorable.

Unlike the woman author of the pre-1962 play *He Came Home To Me* (1943) by Della Foss, Joanne Sisto did not reinforce traditional attitudes of paternalism towards women, but rather gave the woman the ascendancy in holding her own practically all the time.

### Results of The Analysis

The following are the results of the analysis according to the question of whether or not the values of the women's movement of the 1960s had run parallel to or were homologous with values depicted in the selected radio drama.

The descriptors in Tables 2 and 3 (see Appendix A) are explanatory of types of paternalistic behaviour of men towards women; and how women go about resisting these paternalistic attitudes. Men and women use different strategies, some through habit or custom, in order to be effective when acting or reacting towards the opposite sex. The descriptors, therefore, are particular to each sex category male or female; and each female strategy of resistance may or may not be in response to a specific male action.

Using 1962 as the cut-off date the table compares male paternalistic attitudes towards women before and after the emergence of the women's movement in the early 1960s. The various contexts in which the expressions of paternalism occur include face-to-face encounters between men and women, language, body language, intellectual, social, and medical situations, institutional activities, etc. Six radio plays written before 1962 and six written in 1962 and later are examined (see previous listing).

#### Instances of Paternalism

As shown in Table 2 (see Appendix A), regarding male attitudes depicted in the selected plays, the analysis revealed potential influences of the women's movement on male attitudes and behaviour in certain areas. For example, before 1962 just as the women's movement was taking effect,

there were 16 instances of domination as compared with 4 in the later period. Limitation of women's freedom, trivializing women's feelings, women treated as objects were reduced considerably in the years 1962 and later. Power control and women's experience defined by men, reduced slightly; and emphasis on physical appearance and the use of benevolent phrases to a woman, though of a considerable number before 1962 decreased slightly during the years 1962 and later.

Predictably, some descriptors used for male attitudes completely failed to register after the women's movement came into existence. Such are: control through benevolence, conversation control, interruption of conversation, treating a matter concerning women lightly, altering the course of events, intellectual control, moral judgement, women as unfavourable objects of comparison, question and answer sequences as in a medical examination, a display of self-interest and the expectation of compliance with the wishes of the male. Men's emphasis on the physical appearance of women, their trivializing of women's feelings and their use of benevolent phrases are common paternalistic attitudes but even these declined in the period 1962 and later with trivializing of women's feelings, significantly so. There was an indication of threats against the female remaining the same during both periods under study.



It is evident that there was an increase in certain aspects of paternalism during the period 1962 and later, mainly of attitudes that were not obvious and physically apparent. Medical control, a typical attitude of medical practitioners increased, with psychologising women's problems increasing eight-fold. Also increasing during the later period were the following attitudes: micro-insults, devaluation of a woman's experience, social context and feminine conventions. New male attitudes found in the later period were the joke, interactional power control, 'for her own good', and the use of sarcasm. Some subtle evidence of paternalism such as the use of the passive voice, the habit of completing sentences for the female, and body language did not register in the selected plays.

#### Instances of Women's Reactions to Paternalism

When women react to paternalism in personal and sometimes unpredictable ways, they are always having to defend themselves against the realities of the gender bias. This resistance sometimes took unusual forms, for example helplessness, and low self-esteem which in reality was repressed anger, or 'making excuses for his behaviour' which was actually acknowledging weaknesses in the male. Women always tended to resist paternalism. Table 3 (see Appendix A) shows that covert and overt resistance to paternalism were portrayed in most of the plays throughout the pre- and

post-1962 periods: covert resistance decreased from 10 to 9 instances, while overt resistance increased from 8 to 13 instances. In the pre-1962 period we find women using insight/awareness to some extent as an aid towards their effective relationships with men. This diminished from 8 to 2 in the 1962 and later period. In this same period also decreasing were: use of male expressions by a female and helplessness. Excuses for his behaviour, low self-esteem, advice by another female did not register anything after 1962.

In addition new descriptors had to be added for plays written 1962 and later when the influence of the women's movement had started to take effect. Note that some of these descriptors had been used to designate paternalism. After 1962 there was a tendency for women to adopt paternalistic behaviour: benevolent phrases, unfeminine behaviour, sarcasm, flattery, domination, alter the course of events, practical solutions to problems, controlling situations, revenge. The descriptors, "women's lib", a popular term for the women's movement and objection to the use of the title "Miss", occurred in a few instances; and independence of thought and action, a significant descriptor, were all introduced in the period 1962 and later. Although most of these new descriptors introduced in the later period, occurred in a few instances, they were indicative of a trend that women were taking new initiatives

in resisting paternalism. Increasing significantly during the later period also were deception/guile and assertion/authority as well as a smaller increase in career pursuits. The use of the male for female advantage, and interrupting conversation remained the same.

On the whole men seemed to dominate women by acting in a paternalistic manner, to control by handing out benevolences. Later, when the women's movement emerged and open paternalism began to decrease, gradually these obvious displays of benevolence started giving way to more subtle manifestations.

Table 3 shows that overt and covert resistance to paternalism were in evidence in all the plays throughout the pre- and post-1962 periods: overt resistance increased from 8 instances to 13, while covert resistance decreased from 10 to 9.

In the pre-1962 period we find women using insight to some extent as an aid towards their effective relationships with men. This diminished from 8 to 2 in the post-1962 period. In this same period also decreasing were: use of male expressions by a female, excuses for his behaviour, low self-esteem, advice by another female which did not register anything after 1962, helplessness (repressed anger) and female advice (use of the male), remained the same. Also decreasing was guile which fell from 7 instances to 5.

In addition new descriptors had to be added for plays written after 1962 when the influence of the women's movement had started to take effect. Note that some of these descriptors had been used to designate paternalism. After 1962 there was a tendency for women to adopt paternalistic behaviour: benevolent phrases, unfeminine behaviour, interrupting conversation, sarcasm, flattery by a woman, domination, alter the course of events, practical solutions, controlling situations, revenge. Although the above occurred in one or two instances, they were indicative of a trend.

To sum up, on the whole men seemed to dominate women by acting in a paternalistic way to control by handing out benevolences. Later when the women's movement emerged and open paternalism began decreasing, gradually these obvious displays of benevolence started giving way to more subtle manifestations.

The women in the pre-1962 period complied with the men, resisting their paternalistic attitudes towards themselves covertly and overtly. Some women used helplessness (repressed anger), etc. as strategies. As the women's movement began making its influence felt, some women began behaving like men and in subtle ways wielding their newly found power.

Table 1 - Instances of Paternalism and Resistance to Paternalism

<u>period</u>	<u>Pre-1962 Period</u>	<u>1962 and later</u>
Men's Paternalism	(113) 63.1%	(66) 36.9%
Women's Resistance	(56) 37.6%	(93) 62.4%

Taking into consideration that both men and women authored the plays involved in the periods of the study, there were 179 instances altogether of male paternalism: in the pre-1962 period, 63.1% (113 instances); and in the later period 36.9% (66 instances) were noted. This decrease in the later period shows that the women's movement beginning in the early 1960s was taking effect on male paternalistic attitudes. In the earlier period, again men and women playwrights considered, women's resistance to paternalism registered 37.6% (56 instances) compared with 62.4% (93 instances) during the 1962 and later period. All things considered this shows that during the earlier period two-thirds of relationships between men and women were paternalistic and one-third reflected women's resistance to this attitude. In the 1962 and later period, the situation is reversed: the totality of men and women playwrights registered 36.9% (66 instances) of paternalism and 62.4% (93 instances) of women's resistance.

It is apparent that there was a strong indication that men's paternalistic attitudes were influenced by the women's

movement, since it decreased during the years 1962 and later.

## Chapter V. Conclusion

The findings of the analysis indicate that the women's movement of the 1960s appeared to have an effect on the way in which the playwrights presented paternalistic attitudes towards the women characters in the plays: attitudes of domination and benevolence towards women diminished while women became bold in seeking their rights as persons. As observed from the selection of Canadian radio plays analysed according to the discourse method, meanings underlying the texts relative to social relations between the sexes were revealed. Smith (1990:221) confirms the idea that "the discourse method is an approach to documents or texts which situates them in social relations."

Seeing that the relations of ruling or the doings of organizations, governmental processes, and bureaucracies are embedded in texts (Smith, 1990:16); this method of analysis is aptly suited to extract and describe any topic of concern to women, no less the nature of the relationships between men and women. In this connection, "texts are taken up as constituents of ongoing social relations into which our own practices of reading enter us" (Smith, 1990:11) and form part of the continuing feminine discourse.

With the onset of the women's movement in the 1960s, much interest has developed in women's studies programs which have been instituted in many Western academic

institutions. These programs seek out and allow for a woman's point of view and experience, which hitherto had been exploited and represented as normal components of social relations between the sexes.

It is expected that in the future, this aspect of social relations from a woman's viewpoint would be explored especially if one wishes to get a perspective on the nature of relationships between men and women as they are presented in texts.



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## APPENDIXES

A. Tables 2 and 3: Instances of Paternalism and  
Resistance to Paternalism, Pre-1962, and  
1962 and Later

B. Explanation of Descriptors

C. Summaries of Radio Plays Excerpted

APPENDIX A: Tables 2 and 3

TABLE 2

INDICATIONS OF PATERNALISM IN SELECTED RADIO PLAYS:  
PRE-1962, AND 1962 AND LATER.

Paternalism (Descriptors)	Pre-1962										1962 and Later					TOTALS (BY DESCRIPTORS)
	THE STORY OF MYRA PIERCE 1943	HE CAME HOME TO ME 1943	I LOVE JENNY LEE 1947	THE UNFORGETTABLE SMILE 1948	LOOK OUT BELOW 1951	LAST WILL & TESTAMENT 1951	PRE - 1962 TOTALS	LEAN DOWN AND LISTEN 1962	ALSO THE CRESCENT BEACH 1964	THE PEBBLE BEACH 1965	THE EXPERIMENT 1981	TWICE AS FATAL 1982	DOWN TO EARTH 1985	1962 AND LATER TOTALS		
Domination	10	1	2	3	16	1	3						4	20		
Limitation of freedom	5			1	6		1						1	7		
Control through benevolence	2			1	3									3		
Conversational control	1		1		2									2		
Use of pass. voice																
Interrup. of conv.				1	1									1		
Compl. sentences																
The Joke							1						1	1		
Ser. matter tr. lightly	1	2		1	4									4		
Triv. women's feelings	3	2		1	4	10		1					1	11		
Power control		1		2	3			2					2	5		
Alter course of events	1		1	1	3									3		
Inter. power control								4					4	4		
Intellectual control				1	1									1		
Micro-insults (Everyday)				1	1	2	4						4	6		
Women's experience																
defined by men	2			2	4			2		1			3	7		
Moral judgement	2	1		1	1	5								5		
Devaluation of women's exp.			1	1	2		1	1	2	1			5	7		
Body language																
Social context			1	1	2			1	2	1			4	6		
Unfav. obj. of comp.				1	1									1		
Med. control (Paternalism)				1	1			1	2				3	4		
"For her own good"								1		1			2	2		
Ques./ans. sequence				1	1									1		
Women tr. as objects			2	4	6		1						1	7		
Psych. women's probs.				1	1		2	1	1	3	1		8	5		
Self-interest display				6	6									6		
Phy. App. (beauty)	1	4	1	2	2	10	1	2		3	1		7	17		
Benevolent phrases		5	1	2	1	1	10	3	1	2	1		7	17		
Feminine conventions	2			1	1	4		3	4				7	11		
Compliance		1		1	5	1	8							8		
Sarcasm										1			1	1		
Threats	1				1								1	2		
Totals (by playscript)	27	16	6	11	35	18	113	12	14	15	13	7	5	66		

Total  
(Incidence)



TABLE 3

INDICATIONS OF WOMEN'S RESISTANCE TO PATERNALISM IN  
SELECTED RADIO PLAYS: PRE-1962, AND 1962 AND LATER.

Female Resistance to Paternalism (Descriptors)	PRE - 1962 TOTALS							1962 AND LATER TOTALS					TOTALS (BY DESCRIPTOR)		
	THE STORY OF MYRA PIERCE 1943	HE CAME HOME TO ME 1943	I LOVE JENNY JEE 1947	THE UNFORGETTABLE SMILE 1948	LOOK OUT BELOW 1951	LAST WILL & TESTAMENT 1951	LEAN DOWN AND LISTEN 1962	ALSO THE CRESCENT BUS... 1964	THE PEBBLE BEACH 1965	THE EXPERIMENT 1981	DOWN TO EARTH 1982	1962 AND LATER TOTALS 1985			
Resistance (covert)	1	2	1	1	5	10	2	5	1	1	9	19			
Resistance (overt)	2	2		1	2	1	8	1	1	6	1	4	13	21	
Insight/Awareness	2	4		1	1	8	1	1			2		10		
Male expression, Use of		2		1	1	4	1	1		1	3		7		
Excuses for his behaviour		2				2					0		2		
Low self-esteem		1		1		2					0		2		
Helplessness (repr. anger)	1	3	1		1	6	2				2		8		
Advice by another female	2	1				3					0		3		
Independence							1	4	6	1	12		12		
Male used for fem. advant.					1	1			1		1		2		
Deception/guile		7				7			7	4	4		15	22	
Bene. phr. made to a man															
Women's lib ("Miss")								1	1	1	3		3		
Assertion/Authority		1				1	2	1	1	2	1	4	11	12	
Career	3					3			3	1	4		7		
Unfeminine behaviour									1		1		1		
Interrupting conversation				1	1				1		1		2		
Sarcasm									1	1	2		2		
Insinc. pr. given to a man															
Domination							1				1		1		
Alter course of events										1	1		1		
Benevolent phrases							2		2	1	5		5		
Practical (results)							2				2		2		
Control of situations									2		2		2		
Revenge									1		1		1		
Totals (by playscript)	11	18	9	4	4	10	56	9	7	8	36	12	19	91	147

Total  
(Incidences)

## APPENDIX B. Explanation of Descriptors

Most of the descriptors were suggested by Kathy Davis' "Paternalism Under the Microscope" In Todd & Fisher (eds.) (1988) and Smith's (1990) *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. They all relate to male/female relationships. The descriptors used for the males appear first since they are the actors, while those for the females as reactors follow:

### DOMINATION

Authoritative control over a woman.

### LIMITATION OF FREEDOM

Using well-meaning regulations.

### CONTROL THROUGH BENEVOLENCE

Offers of "privileges" as rewards for being subordinate.

### CONVERSATIONAL CONTROL

Use of the Passive Voice in reporting the actions of women; interrupting conversation; completing sentences in anticipation of what is about to be said; taking over the subject as if it were his.

### THE JOKE

Lack of seriousness about a subject concerning women or, introduced by women; trivializing of women's feelings, etc.

### POWER CONTROL

The use of certain strategies to control women, e.g. the capacity to intervene in a series of events in order to alter their course; asymmetrical access to resources to achieve a particular outcome; interactional power control (men and women in face-to-face contact); intellectual control; intellectual power control, most often experienced in medical encounters.

### MICRO-INSULTS

Women's experience defined by men.

### MORAL JUDGEMENT

Women are subject to a much stricter standard of morality (the double standard).

**DEVALUATION OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES**

Men's knowledge or skills attributed to women may be considered weird.

**BODY LANGUAGE**

Physical gestures or bodily indications of what one wishes to say or do.

**SOCIAL CONTEXT**

Placing women in situations or referring to situations that are suggestive of their "inferior" status vis-a-vis men.

**UNFAVOURABLE OBJECT OR COMPARISON**

Use of synonymous or metaphorical expressions which ascribe to women non-flattering traits.

**MEDICAL POWER****FOR HER OWN GOOD**

A condescending expression that a woman does not know what contributes to her welfare, so it is difficult for her to refuse help or reject advice.

**QUESTION/ANSWER SEQUENCE**

A type of interrogation as a means of control that men usually are not subject to.

**WOMEN TREATED AS OBJECTS**

As medical and psychological patients, women are treated as receivers only, of advice by male professionals.

**PSYCHOLOGIZING WOMEN'S PROBLEMS**

Assessing women's medical problems as psychologically based.

**SELF-INTEREST DISPLAY**

Exhibiting impatience with women patients on account of his treating their medical problems lightly.

**PHYSICAL APPEARANCE**

An over-emphasis on feminine beauty.

**BENEVOLENT PHRASES**

Use of nonsensical phrases to women usually for selfish reasons and intended to be complimentary.

**FEMININE CONVENTIONS**

What is expected of women as regards role, behaviour, attitudes, etc.

**COMPLIANCE**

The tendency to yield to the wishes of men - to be non-resisting.

**SARCASM**

Contemptuous remarks intended to ridicule women.

**THREATS**

Intended punishment for non-compliance.

Women's reactions to paternalism were usually expressed in subtle ways during the pre-1962 period of the plays. But, with the arrival of the women's movement, in the period 1962 and later their reactions became bold, and in many cases they resembled the paternalistic attitudes of men. The descriptors defining women's resistance follow:

**RESISTANCE, COVERT**

Suppressed opposition to, or non-compliance with paternalistic attitudes.

**RESISTANCE, OVERT**

Open opposition to paternalistic attitudes.

**INSIGHT/AWARENESS**

The ability to understand thoroughly what is going on.

**MALE EXPRESSIONS, USE OF**

Comments about another woman, just like a man would say.

**EXCUSES FOR HIS BEHAVIOUR**

Excusing the male for his inconsiderate attitude or behaviour towards a woman.

**LOW SELF-ESTEEM**

Under the circumstances that a woman is made to feel her life is worthless.

**HELPLESSNESS**

The "What can I do?" cry for pity - the inability to do something to solve her own problems.

**ADVICE BY ANOTHER FEMALE**

Seeking help from an ally.

**INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT/ACTION**

Maintaining a desire for non-interference by men into women's thoughts and actions.

**USE OF THE MALE TO WOMAN'S ADVANTAGE**

This may be obtained by a ruse of helplessness or low self-esteem.

**DECEPTION/GUILE**

Actions or the use of dishonest behaviour to gain control of a situation

**BENEVOLENT PHRASES BY A FEMALE**

Their use by a female as a means of flattery.

**WOMEN'S LIB**

Objection to the title "Miss" (used in some plays written 1962 and later after the onset of the women's movement).

**ASSERTION/AUTHORITY**

Controlling by forceful statements and other devices.

**CAREER**

Wishing for, or having an occupation or job.

**UNFEMININE BEHAVIOUR**

Doing something unthinkable for a woman to do.

**INTERRUPTING CONVERSATION**

Taking over the conversation.

**SARCASM**

A person saying the opposite of what is meant for a hurtful effect.

**FLATTERY**

Insincere praise given to a man.

**DOMINATION**

A display of strength over another.

**ALTER THE COURSE OF EVENTS**

The power to change the course of action to obtain a desired result.

**BENEVOLENT PHRASES**

Used with the intention of influencing someone's thoughts and actions.

**PRACTICAL (RESULTS)**

Interest in the satisfactory outcome of events.

**CONTROLLING SITUATIONS**

The use of "feminine charms" to gain advantages in a situation.

**REVENGE**

Retaliation for a wrong done to oneself.

## APPENDIX C. Summaries of Radio Plays Exerpted.

### I. He Came Home to Me (1943) by Della Foss

Roger Trent had to cut short his tour of duty overseas during World War II when he was wounded at Dieppe in 1942. He was unhappy with having to return ahead of time and displeased with the recognition he had received seeing that the choice was not his to return when he did. Returning to his wife and infant son he continued to pursue his career as a lawyer with his partner in the firm Patterson and Trent but he suspected that during the time he was away Patterson had got used to working alone and he was now in the way.

Roger's wife Anne was ecstatic that he had come back to her and their infant son. She mused that although she was happy, Roger did not appear to be enjoying his reunion with his family - his behaviour was odd. It was strange that he would wear red socks and green pyjamas. More seriously he had been experiencing nightmares by his calling out to one Margaret. Anne wondered if she might be a new girl at the office or someone who might have helped him during the war; she was at a loss to know what Margaret he was asking to help him, or not to desert him. Perhaps she was some air raid warden. Roger seemed bitter and secretive. Is it that he did not fit into his job when he returned? Anne was very

suspicious, experiencing helplessness and suffering from low self esteem.

Anne was relieved when he mentioned whether he had been telling her about the new girl at the office whose name was Margaret. Subsequently Anne asked Roger to invite her over, to which he eagerly agreed. Margaret was plump and plain and this made Anne feel that she could explain Margaret of his nightmares; she was no threat, and in fact Roger had told her Patterson had said she was as good as a third lawyer.

Roger began to have nightmares about Margaret once more and Anne felt she was right back where she started. Suddenly a new girl came into the picture. Roger had been seen with Adele Saunders, a socialite whose father owned a munitions plant. When Roger mentioned Adele, a girlfriend had already told Anne about Adele and Roger 'for her own good'.

Although they were not friends Anne had spoken to Adele a few times and considered her a glamour girl. Roger observed that she was not as frivolous as people thought; she was an executive at the munitions plant where Patterson and Trent were engaged in some business. Roger asked Anne to call her up and invite her over in two week's time.



Anne agreed but in the mean time wondered whether Roger's moral values had been affected by the war. Half the time he did not come home for dinner and he did not phone. One night he did not come home at all.

Adele arrived a little late for dinner and put on a superior air for Anne who was trying desperately to be pleasant. She observed that Anne must have been thrilled when Roger was sent home from Dieppe; and what a wonderful person he was with a wonderful career ahead of him.

Dinner was an ordeal for Anne as Adele pestered her with questions about who made the salad, whether she skied at all and what a wonderful sport it was, etc. Roger seemed to enjoy the interchange between Adele and Anne and after displaying his medals he drove Adele home. When he returned home Anne still tense from her experience with Adele was washing the dishes. He offered to do the drying and asked her what she thought of Adele. To which she replied that she was certainly beautiful. This brought a quick retort from Roger about her intelligence. He thought that Adele was impressed with his record at Dieppe which appeared to be an important milestone in his life and referred to by him as BD (before Dieppe).

With this Anne went through another period of self-pity, helplessness and low self-esteem. Margaret from the office

who turned up to console and give advice deplored the fact that she was doing nothing about the Roger and Adele situation. And felt that perhaps Anne was willing to suffer in silence. Anne had contemplated leaving Roger or rather asking him to leave her. She could not make up her mind.

Finally on explaining his being away from home the Friday night before, he told her what had been occupying his attention. Adele and her father had been suspected of tax evasion and he was hired as a government agent to investigate the case. This left Anne still wondering who was Margaret.

## II. Look Out Below (1951) by Noel Stone

Katherine Morais is a young woman with an unconventional view of life. She feels that people must have a practical reason for doing everything - not through habit or because everyone else does it. For example, she had to leave her newspaper job because she did not wish to conform to normal feminine conventions, like her personal appearance, wearing lipstick, etc. She even loathes her mother whom she feels has fallen victim of the status quo.

Because of Katherine's attitude and behaviour she was diagnosed as a mental patient and sent to Sunnyvale Mental Hospital, in Pleasant Valley, where Dr. Kaufmann was Director. After almost a year there, she was ready to be released but her parents insisted that she see a specialist before she was let out. She was accompanied to the city hospital by a nurse who did not have her as a patient but was filling in for a nurse from the ward. She had a two o'clock appointment with Dr. Bergman whose office was on the seventh floor of the city hospital. The main purpose of her trip to the city hospital was to give her the feel of things again. The information on her case had been mailed to Dr. Bergman.

Shortly after she arrived in Dr. Bergman's office the nurse who had accompanied her had to leave the office briefly during which time the receptionist was called away by Dr. Bergman. When the nurse returned Katie was not there and the window to the office was open. Through the window the nurse saw her sitting on the ledge about twenty feet from the window, intermittently talking to herself. The nurse felt responsible for Katie's leaving the room when she was away and wondered what Dr. Kaufmann would say. On the trip to town she had sat quietly saying nothing and acted quite normal.

When Katie went out on the ledge Dr. Bergman had not as yet received the information on her from Dr. Kaufmann. After some difficulty he got Dr Kaufmann on the telephone and proceeded to tell him about Katie's dilemma. The telephone conversation displayed the professional attitudes of the two doctors. Dr. Kaufmann welcomed the opportunity to use her illness toward his self-interest while Dr. Bergman was concerned and caring about Katie as a patient. Dr. Kaufmann was concerned that the girl's possible suicide could ruin their careers and when he heard that her parents had appeared on the scene he asked Dr. Bergman to treat them well because they were responsible for his position as Director of Sunnyvale Hospital.

All through her ordeal, from the moment that she went out on the ledge Katie had been talking to herself or musing on what had been troubling her; in her mind she would be presented with various situations, in which she would be asked to act according to what is expected of her. These she would question resisting all efforts to comply: In this state of mind she encountered a driver, teacher, cheerleader, two competing optometrists, beauty paraphernalia and a lover, complying in the end with Dr. Kaufmann's orders.

She is torn between what she thinks is right and what is expected of her. When she does what she thinks is true she

is considered crazy and when she does what is expected of her it is unreasonable. She cannot resolve this dilemma and ends it by falling to her death.

### III. The Pebble Beach (1965) by John Gorrie

An apparently naive young woman, Allie, arrives by train from London to a seaside town a day's outing away in south east England. She does not have a ticket (stub) and at first she hesitates to say where she is from, but later admits to the puzzled ticket taker that she is from London and the purpose of the trip is to see the sea. She intends to stay in town although she knows nobody there and does not know where she will be staying. Nevertheless she has such a longing to see the sea and the beach she seems to be fulfilling a long desired wish. The ticket taker discovers that she lacks money when she has to pay the fare.

In her brief encounter with the porter who happens to be the ticket taker's grandson she is a bit uneasy when he questions her about her visit and her intention to stay in the town. The ticket taker tells her there is a bus from the train station into the town and the porter promises to meet her after work, in the Canary Cafe opposite the pier, to show her the town.

She arrives at the amusement arcade at the end of the pier and wanders in. Meantime at the amusement arcade at the end of the pier, Rick in charge of the slot machines, and Tom his friend are in serious conversation. Tom is

contemplating suicide because his girl friend (Blake girl) has left him. He is an Oxford graduate student who intends to study music in London and wonders how Rick could be satisfied working the slot machines for the past three years. Rick is an avid reader and passes his time boning up on information from anything available for reading.

As they talk Allie walks in and Rick goes through his routine of welcoming visitors to the slot machines. At this time, October, the season is off and there is hardly anybody around. She is freer in conversation with the two young men and tells them about her purpose for being there - to see the sea. Rick introduces her to the slot machines which is a new experience for her. When Tom inquires about her second name she declines to give it. But he proceeds to read her fortune which says that she would meet a friend unexpectedly that same evening and it could lead to great happiness or disappointment.

Tom and Allie leave to go to the end of the pier where she looks out over the ocean and asks lots of questions about the sea. But she is hesitant when asked about her life in London. She does not know where she is going to stay so Tom suggests a neighbour of his who takes in visitors at a reasonable rate.

Mrs. Price, Tom's mother, is a garrulous woman while his father is quite reserved and contemplative. She comments on the Blake girl breaking up with Tom and getting engaged, Tom's career, his upbringing and his attachment to the trumpet.

At this point Tom enters with Allie and introduces her to his father, Mr. Price. Later Mrs. Price enters and after acquainting herself with Allie continues to comment about the sights Tom would have shown her, and what they had done around town. She prepares afternoon tea while Mr. Price engages Allie in a lively conversation about the singing of hymns. They name some favourite ones which prompt Mr. Price to say that hymn tunes are better than the noises they make nowadays, and which draws the comment from Tom that he is an ancient old square.

Allie delights in recalling what a wonderful time she had with Tom: the rides on the dredge, the walk along the seawall, walking in the sea, meeting a fisherman, the pebbly beach, and how she wishes she could stay there forever. There is a misunderstanding when Mrs. Price asks what else did they do on the pier. This caused Allie to become very defensive, and shortly afterwards she remembers that she has to meet the porter at the cafe at six o'clock and leaves telling Tom that she would return. The Prices proceed to



have tea without her. Tom was enthusiastic about her coming back but his father thought that she would not.

She leaves to meet the porter at the cafe and on the way she encounters David whom she thinks she recognizes. They walk together and the conversation on his part seems to take on an air of investigating her. She is suspicious and confronts him as to who he is. She refers to a card (from which Tom was reading her fortune) and he becomes very uneasy thinking it was his professional card. She tries to remember where she has seen him before, but he tries to divert her attention or interest, by talking about the fishing boats and the like. Allie goes to meet the porter at the cafe and David gets himself invited to accompany her.

Mrs. Bird at the restaurant asks Rick whether he had a good day, as he enters. He says that he had two customers and they continue to talk about his books and Tom. Helen Straight enters and is indignant about the treatment she received in court. She tells the waiter that Mr. Straight left her and even though he is doing well in his second hand car business the amount the judge ordered him to pay her was too little. Moreover she was told it would be a waste of time to make an appeal.

Allie and David are having tea while she awaits the porter. David continues to interrogate her but in so doing contradicts himself which Allie observes, brings it to his notice, and comments on it later on.

David is certain that the porter would not come but Allie is sure that he would come and says that she intends to wait. She suddenly realizes who David really is - a nurse at the hospital for mental deficiencies in London. Allie is crying because she wants to stay in the seaside town, and openly resists all efforts to take her away by smashing a glass. Helen keeps saying that she escaped from a lunatic asylum.

Tom turns up and Rick explains it all to him, saying that she is just a child and it has nothing to do with a mental asylum - he read it in a book. Allie did enjoy her one day trip.

#### IV. The Experiment (1981) by Joanne Sisto

Leona Fifield a freelance journalist sneaks onto the property of Professor Drake (also known as Professor Dru) in her attempt to write a story of a lifetime about a secretive professor and his work.

In order to get there unobserved she climbs a stone wall and is watched by two young men, one a teenager, who are shocked at seeing a woman climb over a wall.

Professor Dru is an English born medical researcher whom the newspapers report has several aliases. He is about fifty years old, greying and has avoided publicity so that he is not easily recognizable. He is engaged in research on the human brain, mainly the frontal lobe. His research has produced theories which are studied around the world but his laboratory methods are kept secret from his colleagues who wish to replicate his work. His unethical practices are opposed by the International Medical Association, but they cannot order him to divulge his methods. Regardless of this, his experiments cannot be ignored.

The estate is overgrown with bushes and weeds which makes it somewhat inaccessible. His housekeeper Sedwick 's duty is to see that he does his research in utmost privacy so he

accompanies the visitor everywhere and at times would interject comments in the conversation between the Professor and his visitor. Sedwick is assisted by a greyhound, Simon, which has the habit of attacking strangers.

When Leona Fifield first ventured over the wall of the estate she was first met by the dog and Sedwick. A little later she met Professor Dru with whom she had a conversation about his research and why he conducts it in private. Sedwick was always within earshot of the conversation. Having notified Professor Dru that the front gate was open he signalled to Miss Fifield that it was time to leave. Professor Dru then indicated that she could stay as long as she wished, but she declined saying that it was too dark to take any more pictures and she would prefer to come back during the daytime. The Professor agreed that she would come the following day at 11 o'clock sharp, Professor Dru repeating that she was an exceptional person and Miss Fifield saying again that he was a sensitive man they bade each other goodnight.

Miss Fifield returned to the apartment of her friend Janet who was always there to support and encourage her. It was Janet whom she had contacted by cellular phone as soon as she had entered the Professor's property and wanted to get a description of the Professor and information on his

research. She was able to read the actual article about the Professor that Janet had read to her over the cellular phone.

Miss Fifield returned to the Professor's property with the intention of visiting his lab although Janet had told her that he never allowed anybody including journalists to visit it. She arrived by the front gate this time and found the latch very difficult to open. Simon the greyhound again was unfriendly to her but Sedwick interpreted his bark as welcoming.

She was greeted by the Professor who informed her that visiting the lab was out of the question. Among other things she told him that it was unprofessional to do so. The Professor went about his business but she had to get Sedwick out of the way so she could enter the lab. She knew that Sedwick did not wish his picture to be taken so she aimed her camera at him and he went off to the kitchen.

After getting rid of Sedwick she hid in a closet on the second floor and phoned Janet. While in contact with Janet she climbed onto the roof so she could climb down and enter the lab through a window on the second floor. The dog, Simon sensed that something was wrong and started to bark. She made it through the window and entered the lab. It was so dark in there that she accidentally knocked down a glass

vial causing a smashing sound. Janet heard the sound over the telephone and became afraid especially as she heard footsteps.

Immediately Sedwick and Professor Dru came into the lab. At that moment Miss Fifield admitted she knew who the Professor was and all she was interested in were his lab methods. In reply to the Professor as to why she was there she told him she was a journalist and made him an offer to write a decent story if he would cooperate with her. Professor Dru agreed but he had a sinister plan in mind.

He explained to her that he keeps brain tissue alive for about two years at a time by feeding them enzymes, so he is always in need of fresh brain lobes. He continued that she was an exceptional case, as he had observed earlier, and her crawl across the roof was unnecessary because they had planned to show her the lab all along.

Miss Fifield said that she was leaving at once upon which the Professor hinted that she was not the first journalist he had to deal with and the curiosity of the media had kept his lab jars filled with brain tissue. He threatened her with the same treatment.

The procedure is that he makes an incision surgically and removes a bit of brain tissue to eliminate dealing with a

corpse. When it is all over the victim is not different in personality but his/her ambition for journalism will be lost. Moreover the person will be hypnotized to forget that the event ever took place.

Thus Miss Fifield against her will, underwent the surgery and Professor Dru felt relieved of the strain put on him by another curiosity seeker. Sedwick thought that this latest experiment had got rid of a public nuisance.