Based on a pattern of interaction, in which the interactants fulfill the roles of victim, persecutor, or rescuer, a study of ten Harlequin romantic novels was undertaken to determine what factors provided for the readers' identification with the Harlequin characters. It was found that Harlequin heroines manifested their status as victims by suffering from inferiority complexes and a lack of control over their emotions, and that the majority performed low status, traditionally female jobs, waiting for a man to rescue them, all of which reinforce the notion that for a woman, fulfillment comes from having a man rather than a career. It was also found that the Harlequin hero alternated between being a persecutor and being a rescuer. All were handsome, wealthy, powerful, single, older, sexually experienced, and in control of their emotions. The heroes often failed to notice the heroines' efforts to please them and tended to be condescending and insulting, relying on the heroines' inferiority complexes. Inevitably, the hero rescued the heroine from some accident or disaster, usually of the heroine's making. The hero never doubted that he would capture and tame the heroine's heart. The study concluded that the major issue in these stories was one of power and control, and that the roles of victim, persecutor, and rescuer exist in real life and are reinforced by the role models provided in the Harlequin stories. (HT8)
Persecutors, Victims and Rescuers
in Harlequin Romances

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A long standing practice among those who instruct children in moral precepts is to designate individuals as models of the desired behavior. Both Christ and St. Paul exhorted their followers to imitate their patterns of behavior and "be... an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity..." Even as educators preached the Skinnerian Model of experiential learning and the use of rewards and punishments, they also expected classroom teachers to be exemplary models of the prevailing social and political mores.

As psychologists re-evaluate the Skinnerian Model of experiential learning in light of the findings of Albert Bandura, they have rediscovered that children learn by observing a model and can learn a task without having actually performed the behavior or received reinforcement for it. For example, Bandura observed a situation where a child saw his father shaving and then later shaved himself when Dad was no longer around to serve as a "shaving" model. The principle of delayed imitation is in effect here, for that child did not need to imitate the modeled response in the environment in which it occurred or be reinforced in order to display that acquired response weeks and months and even years later. These findings raise major questions about the impact mass media has upon learning. Clearly, the media provides models that are attended to and are significant for children and young adults. Mass media also has qualities of repetition which help the learner remember what was observed. It also provides modeled sequences in both verbal representational systems and visual imaginal representation systems to better help the observer code, store, and retrieve that information.

Just how much and under what conditions the role models in the mass media produce particular types of behavior, be it violent, sex-typed or consumer behavior, is a question being investigated by researchers, our courts and by lawmakers. This paper does not propose to answer the question of causality. It is clear that under some conditions causality does exist, otherwise, we would
not have consumers purchasing the cowboy look breakfast cereals or cosmetics which are designed to make 39 year old skin look like 29 year old skin. We also would not have children with mothers who are medical doctors claiming that women can only be nurses, because that is the way women are portrayed in the world of TV drama. Assuming an undetermined amount of causality, this paper will investigate the types of models using psychologist Eric Berne's paradigm of the Drama Triangle.

The choice of Harlequin Romances was made because these novels are widely read and grossly neglected by academics who see them as not being literature or worthy of being evaluated by scholarly notice. This produces a distorted view much as we would have about television viewing habits if researchers only studied audience reaction to educational television and ignored responses to network television. While there are viewers of educational television, many more people do not watch it at all.

Harlequin Romances are widely read and Harlequin Enterprises (62% owned by the Toronto Star) has captured 10 per cent of the paperback market. Harlequins are printed in ten languages and in 1979 readers bought 168 million books from racks in bookstores, supermarkets, and drug stores across this nation and abroad in 25 countries. The paperbacks average about 192 pages and are written by Harlequin's stable of 130 authors, who are primarily women from England. Data exist that show not only is the market extensive, but that it is composed largely of female readers who remain loyal and regularly purchase new issues, of which there are 12 per month.

As a literary genre, Harlequins and their sisters from Dell's Candlelight line, Ace and Fawcett Books can be best classified as formulaic fiction. Formulaic writing is dominated by the goals of escape and entertainment. To achieve those goals, the writers rely upon standardization in development of plot and characters, thus, formulaic stories reflect our culture, for they are built upon
widely shared conventions and stereotypes. Cawelti, in his study of literary formulas, argues that formulas are "an archetypal story pattern embodied in the images, symbols, themes, and myths of a particular culture." Formulas are moral fantasies where the reader encounters the excitement of an imaginary world without having to deal with the insecurity and often physical danger that would accompany such excitement in reality. A good writer can plunge us into a believable kind of excitement while, at the same time, confirming our confidence that in the formulaic world things always work out as we want them to.

To achieve this end, the author uses the literary devices of suspense, identification and the creation of a slightly removed, imaginary world. In some respects, reading formulaic fiction is like attending the horror film Jaws. We enjoy the excitement of being scared, but know that we are safe within the confines of the theatre and that man and his technology will emerge, triumphant over the strength and uncertainties of nature.

Farah Walters in a non-literary context, in New York Magazine’s Competition No. 345, gives the best concise description of Harlequin plots. Readers were asked to complete the phrase, "Once upon a time," by writing a paragraph in the prose style of a well-known writer or journalist.

Once upon a time, in a happy kingdom, there lived a young girl who wasn’t beautiful or intelligent. But she had a 1. sweet disposition; 2. pleasant voice, 3. winning smile. One day, she was offered a position as a 1. governess; 2. personal secretary, 3. nurse-companion in the exotic city of 1. Beirut, 2. Caracas, 3. Port-au-Prince. There she met 1. Rex; 2. Lance, 3. Troy, whose aggressive behavior both annoyed yet attracted her. He said, 1. You can’t run forever, you little fool; 2. Fate brought you to me, you little fool, 3. Did you think I’d let you leave this island, you little fool? And they had a torrid yet tasteful love affair followed by marriage.
Researchers find that these novels provide role models that glamorize, validate, and justify the traditional feminine role which forbids being an active or sexually adventurous person. Beth Timson compared these novels to the British novel, more particularly Jane Austin, and found a pattern of the heroine, outcast and alone, returning to the family estate where she is forced to choose between two attractive men, one usually moral, the other, charming and immoral. Her decision means a reintegration into a reestablished family structure and reconciliation with the past which is often represented by a rediscovery of her father.

The modern Gothic novels are seen by Kay Mussell as reinforcers of traditional values regarding sexuality and marriage for women. Joanna Russ found the heroines to be passive and out of touch with their beauty, their financial situation, and secret activities, sometimes criminal, which are unraveled and resolved by the "Super Male."

FACTORS FOR IDENTIFICATION WITH ROLE MODELS

An important question in light of what is known about role models is to ask what factors provide a vehicle for the identification of the reader with the characters? Why do readers remember the characters? What universals (rules) regarding human interaction are drawn upon by the novelist? Is there a psychological model that describes the communication behavior of the characters in the Harlequins? If we look at theories of human interaction, we find from the writings of psychologist Eric Berne (Games People Play) that people structure and fill their time spent in social interactions by playing games and in these games, three primary roles emerge -- those of the Victim, Persecutor and Rescuer. Games are played on an unconscious level and 1) are a series of transactions with a beginning and an end, 2) contain an ulterior motive or hidden agenda, 3) result in a payoff to each person and 4) are frequently repeated in social interactions.
Games provide recognition and confirmation of one's existence; albeit often negative recognition, establish a social situation for interaction with others and confirm one's existential situation. The existential situations can be defined by sentences such as "I'm no good" and "They are all more powerful than I."

In these games of life, the Persecutor is overly critical and often sets and enforces the rules of social interaction. The Persecutor often feels a false sense of power and believes "I'm O.K., you're not O.K. You are helpless and powerless and have only yourself to blame." The Rescuer plays a parental role, helping others, often sacrificing time and resources, with the only reward being a feeling of superiority over the victim, who feels powerless and often responds with passivity or cries of despondency or tears of frustration and anger. The existential position of a Rescuer is "I'm O.K.; you're not O.K., but I will try to help you." The Victim sees him/herself as not O.K. as O.K., "I'm helpless, please try to help me." The interchangeable roles are best characterized by the model of a triangle with each role placed at a corner. A person may play different roles with different people or change positions on the Drama Triangle. For example, the Victim, after being helped by a Rescuer, may move from being helpless and ashamed to the Persecutor position and react in anger towards the person who provided the rescue. This method of analysis is part of a larger theory called Transactional Analysis which is used as a means of providing psychological counseling and therapy for individuals and families.

Eric Berne and many of the theorists after Berne chose popular fairy stories to illustrate the principles of Transactional Analysis. Fairy tales were chosen because they represent a kind of collective consciousness that both describes and prescribes human behavior and interactions. Harlequins and the characters contained within them also function as cultural archetypes, and the reader of Harlequin Romances may see herself in the characters and share a cultural
archetype that describes and prescribes appropriate sex-role behavior for women. As viewed by Russ and Mussen, such archetypes reinforce the traditional passive roles in our culture for women. As is often the case, the treatment of racial minorities also reinforces cultural stereotypes. Herein may be the basis for the strong, broadly-based popular appeal of modern Romantic novels.

Ten Harlequin novels were chosen for this study, quite randomly, from the available titles, with an effort made to read from various years. The novels have not changed much from the earliest one read, published in 1966. Some 2,500 titles are available and many of the older ones are reissued.

HARLEQUIN HEROINES AS VICTIMS

Harlequin Heroines manifest their status as victims by suffering from inferiority complexes, particularly around the Other Woman, either real or imaginary, who competes for the Hero's attention. The victims are: 1) concerned about and anxious about deficiencies in their physical appearance, 2) unable to trust or discern their emotions; 3) powerless and seeking a rescuer and 4) helpers of family members often at the expense of their own emotional and financial success.

The majority of women in the ten novels were marking time waiting for a male to come and rescue them. Most of those women filled their time with traditional female low-status, dead end jobs such as nursing, clerical work and sales or pursued being an actress, a volunteer worker or an athlete with no long range plans toward achievement. One such woman was Sarah Deverall, who would inherit her father's estate. This inheritance was necessary because her father believed that his freckled boyish "ugly duckling" daughter's "matrimonial chances are slender" and that his attractive niece, whom he had adopted, would be provided for by a suitable husband. Other women seek careers as did archeological photographer Sarah Featly because they lack benevolent fathers or were too
plain looking to attract a suitable husband. These women who have professions do them well. Dr. Harland performs surgery and provides medical care in the wake of a tropical storm that destroys the clinic. Sarah Feany takes good pictures of an underwater wreck and after nearly drowning, finds several valuable artifacts. Nurses Philomena and Delia pass their licensing exams and perform their duties admirably. Even the amateur actress gets a chance to work with a famous director and the amateur athlete wins a silver medal in the Olympics.

All of the accomplishments fade in comparison to their eventual success in finding a man who will marry them. Tansy Harland, heroine in Conflict in Paradise and a medical doctor, has a man in her life, her father, who also practices medicine on Aparoa, a Pacific Island where they are the only Europeans. When her father leaves the island to marry the widow of an old colleague, she feels abandoned. She returns to an old love, a military man, and begs him to take her with him, agreeing to his request. 'That you come to me without reservations. Follow me wherever I'm sent.'

Harlequin's message for young women is that fulfillment comes from having a man rather than from building a career or being an artist, politician, a philosopher or a scientist. Marie in Desert Barbarian envied the artistic and household skills of other women and "spent hours thinking about the future. What could she learn to do? What could she train for?" In answer to her father's question about what she could do to earn a living, she falls back and protests that she was well educated and not stupid and "might even get married one day." She does, finding a man who says "I'm afraid I'm going to have to carry on where your father left off, wrapping you in cotton wool, showering you with expensive presents, spilling and adoring you..." The heroine's destiny is marriage and all by the conclusion of the story after some twists and turns of fate and tearful moments, get their man.

All the women believe that physical beauty and attractive stylish clothes...
are magical qualities that attract men. The characters are always smoothing their hair, fretting about their clothes, trying new make-up and looking in the mirror. Claire, accompanying her mother to a party where Dr. Dermot would be peers into a mirror and wonders if her eye-shadow is too excessive. Her "multi-colored frock, too, was probably too garish" -- for a dance in a farm kitchen. She ought not to have worn it, she ought not to have come."  

Philomena leaves an English hospital to take a nursing job with a group of doctors in Holland and spends her extra money and time before leaving to purchase new clothes and make-up. "They would help turn her into a different girl, someone the doctor might look at twice and realize that there were other aspects of her besides being hard-working and loyal and punctual." Sarah Deverall "turned to examine her reflection in the discolored looking-glass that hung on one wall" and decided that she should have been a boy. Her legs and arms were too long, her mouth too wide, her eyes too big to balance her narrow face, her forehead was too high and "those unsightly freckles would be a source of discouragement to anyone." Athlete Rosamund Prescott "wished she had worn her jeans...her denim skirt and sweater had been chosen for her meeting with Tony, who preferred feminine fashions." Mothers and fathers also despair of their offspring's freckles, plainness, lack of deportment and grace and make statements like "my ugly duckling" and "It's a great pity you didn't inherit your skin from me instead of from your father." The women often lack awareness of their attractive physical qualities and are surprised when men find them attractive. They vacillate between self-pity and efforts to compensate with clothing and make-up. Interestingly enough, none of these women seemed to have the more difficult to correct problems of weight and adolescent complexion or lifeless hair which commercials lead women to believe are their major beauty problems. Harlequin women have difficulty discerning whether or not they are in love. Sarah denies her feelings for her sister's boyfriend and continues to see herself
as less desirable than her sister even though her aunt tells her she has more intelligence and insight in her little finger than her sister has in totality, "yet you choose to wear blinkers out of some idiotic sense of inferiority." Tracey Alexander, caught in a love-hate relationship with Ryan, her guardian, is angry that he discerned that her married boyfriend would not divorce his wife for her and that he sensed her vulnerability to his touch and affection. Desiring to remain free and aloof from him, she finds her only strategies to be sarcasm and denial of her feelings. She vowed not to let Ryan know that she was becoming emotionally and physically involved, for this was one area in which she could feel powerful. "She gazed at the pastel green door powerless, all types of jumbled thoughts running through her mind, not the least of which was annoyance with herself at still being able to find the man so very attractive when, at the same time, she just knew she hated him." She remains confused, uncertain if she misses him or not when she returns from the outback. When she sees him on her birthday after a two month absence, she attempts to guard against showing her feelings about her passion for him, but her feelings "were impervious to any sort of control and she regretfully knew her heart was in her eyes when she looked at Ryan." Rosamund shies under the discipline of her coach Adrian Belmont and found "her feelings towards Adrian were still in a state of chaos...He both repelled and fascinated her, but she had no real experience of love." Harlequin women are alternately angry at, hurt by, and infatuated with the Hero, and feel powerless to understand and to cope with their emotional stress.

Harlequin Heroines have trouble discerning their own feelings and motivation, for often they, at the beginning of the story, have misread feelings and intentions and have just terminated or are on the edge of ending a relationship. These males provide no real competition to the hero and usually
fade into oblivion after the first ten pages of the story. Upon contemplation, the Heroines find that their suitor's interests cool when there is the prospect of being "with a penniless wife,"27 the Heroines refuse to "live with him without the benefit of marriage,"28 and when they "never stirred real passion in her."29 Only one woman willfully broke off a relationship by returning an engagement ring because they disagreed over her continuing her nursing career after marriage. It appears that the choice for Nurse Women is not made without considerable guilt and is more an option than a reality.30 Her dedication to a career is less definite when she plans to marry a doctor who has fewer objections to her working.

If the other men offer no competition, such is not the case with the other woman, who is more beautiful, poised and wise in the ways of the world than the Heroine. The other woman is arrogant, jealous of the heroine and very possessive of the Hero and sometimes resorts to deception or trickery to keep the Hero and Heroine separated. In due time she overestimates her position and inevitably is scorned and rejected by the Hero. It is strongly suggested that she is sexually experienced. Whether or not she got this experience with the Hero is left a mystery. There is no mystery about the Heroine's sexuality, she is a virgin from page one to the end of the book. The Hero awakens her sexual desires, but in the description of love making, it appears to be all hands above the waist. Whether anything else occurs is left to the reader's imagination. The lesson here is that one is rewarded for being good. The double standard applies. Men may be attracted to those sexual and beautiful worldly women, but they don't like them or marry them.

The Harlequin Heroine often is placed in a Cinderella role with a mother or step-mother and selfish sisters who are concerned with their social activi-
ties—activities which she cannot share because of her lack of beauty and social skills. Such is the case with four of the eight Heroines. In Sarah's case, she not only provides emotional support, but is the major bread-winner. Sarah caters to her beautiful spoiled sister by taking her along for a vacation while she works, on an archeological expedition. She worries about how to entertain her, worries when Philomena comes in late and 'tried' to ignore the familiar feeling of inadequacy that her sister was apt to give her. The Heroines answer the call of their families, even when it places the developing relationship with the Hero in peril. Philomena went home to nurse a sister who feared public discovery of her chicken pox, thus allowing the other woman the upper hand to change Philomena's message of a family emergency to a message that she had changed her mind about an impending marriage. As for dear old Dad, he is weak and ineffectual (5), dead and missed (1), dead and not missed (3), or only mentioned in passing (1). All the Heroines are seeking a strong man who can rescue them, to replace Dad who has somehow failed them.

Beth Timson in her analysis of the Gothics notes the Elsie Dinsmore theme of seeking a reunion with father or his representative as a common motif. All of the Heroines are seeking a strong man to replace Dad who has failed to meet their needs.

THE HERO AS PERSECUTOR AND RESCUER

The Hero alternates between being a persecutor and a rescuer. He disciplines, controls and in some cases, molds the Heroine. The Heroes are all handsome, wealthy or potentially wealthy, often with large castle-like estates. Not all derive their power from family or social positions, some have earned it by being successful in their careers or in business. Three of the Heroes are doctors; one is a cattle rancher, all are single, our Heroines do not break up
families. All men are older and more sexually experienced than the heroines. Unlike the heroines, they have their choice of admirers, and in seven cases the heroine must compete with the other woman.

The heroines are like moths drawn to the flame. They get burned by rejection and lack of attention and drawn back by a smile, a kind word or a kiss. Because they cannot discern or trust their feelings or those of the hero, they often get into a hostile relationship and quarrel openly. Rosamund accepts an offer to be coached in track by Adrian Belmont and finds his arrogance attractive. She senses his power to get his own way, whether it be in sports or with women. Her motivations are unclear to her, she is not competitive or a disciplined athlete. She wonders about his desire to coach her. Was she just "a collection of bones and muscle that could be shaped and disciplined to move faster than any other female's anatomy?" Was he interested in her as a surrogate for the Olympic gold medal that his lameness now precluded him from obtaining? She is lured by his charisma, not by thoughts of athletic achievement, and hopes that proximity and effort will pay off. "She wanted him to realize also that she was a woman."33

Heroes are made of stone and they are allowed a few lapses, a few quick kisses or furtive embraces. It is hinted that the hero is virile, aware of his sexual needs, and will seek to satisfy them. In some respects, these lapses hold the reader's attention and promise future love making. In a moment of passion when Adrian encounters Rosamund running in the moonlight after a victory in a contest earlier in the day, he kisses her and then becomes stern, blames himself and promises that it won't happen again, "You will have to do without lovers until you pass beyond my jurisdiction...you need all your concentration for your sport."34 This interchange only intensifies her feelings of love and anger that she is under his control, but she dutifully keeps on with training
and he continues to berate her. Heroes heap insults upon their victims as a means of exerting control. These statements further reinforce the heroine's feelings of inferiority. Adrian reveals his low opinion of women in sports by saying, "You're just like all of your sex swayed by emotional involvement." Efforts by the heroine to please the hero are often unnoticed. She performs tasks adequately, but not as well as the hero could or would do. The message to readers is that in competition with females, he will win. For Rosamund, the final test comes and she does well, but does not win the Olympic gold. Having failed in her efforts to please him, she leaves, ostensibly to start a new life. In reality, she will pine for Adrian. The separation is a convention in each story that proved that absence makes the heart grow fonder. With the exception of The Land of the Lotus Eaters and Bargain for Paradise, all of these stories have a brief or an impending separation of the hero and heroines.

Heroines struggle against the other woman, their own self-doubts and the power of the hero all building up the final rescue by the male who will make straight their confused emotions, respond to their love and propose marriage. There is usually a scene where the hero rescues the heroine from an accident or injury. In these stories, fire, drowning, a fall from a horse, an injury from a cricket game, and possible death from a tiger or a storm imperil the heroine. The hero thrice saves her from the manipulations of the other woman and in one case, brings her out of the depth of melancholia. Our nurse who had been assertive about maintaining her career, takes to her bed in a very traditional depression with love-induced illness. In all cases, the victim has been a party to creating the situation from whence she needs rescue. She has made errors in judgment, or allowed her emotions to blind her to other courses of action. Our hero has strong arms; he carries her to safety.
final rescue has come and our Heroine, perceiving his superiority, usually murmurs something like Rosamund did to her Rescuer: "Darling tyrant, your wishes are my law." 36

On one level, the stories are all about emerging love. The Hero and Heroine may experience anger with each other and fears about the success of their suit, but males rarely believe that they will not capture her heart. Heroines fear that they will not get their man, fear that they can't live with or without him and in doing so, place themselves in a victim role. They are not silently pining away in their room, but are aggressively and often with a sharp tongue alternating between attack and trying to please while chafing under the bit the Hero attempts to insert in their mouths. Hence, we have a victim who periodically lashes out at her persecutor in anger and fear, but remains powerless against his superior physical strength and intellectual capacity. She may rebel, but in the end, as in the case of Tansey who "realized he would be a far more dangerous person to cross than she had so confidently supposed at first." She sniffed exasperatedly not only was Blake Aston telling her what to do, he was also telling her what to wear, and the worst part of it was that the horrible man was right." 37 The message is: submit yourself to the male, then he will love and legitimize that love through marriage. Joy and fulfillment are then available to the Heroine.

Whereas the attractions of Hero and Heroine have to do with feelings of love and affection and awakened sexuality, the major issue in these stories is one of power and control. She lacks control over the future of herself and those she cares about. Soon she is entangled in a web of her emotional reactions to these events and is unable to extricate herself without the Hero's help. In the end, she is valued more for her sexuality than intelligence, and rewarded for weakness, for capitulation to his dominance. Thus, the roles are
played out on the Drama triangle of Persecutor, Rescuer, and Victim. Do these roles exist in real life? Ask any psychologist or psychiatrist or observe the dynamics of male female relationships. These novels reinforce cultural stereotypes and provide ready role models for the readers to follow. Thus, the publisher’s statement in advertisements on television that Harlequin understands how you feel about love and romance in far-away places is in actuality really a subtle statement telling women how they ought to feel about love.
Notes


6 Cawelti, Y6-17.


9 See also Caesarea Abaris, "The Ugly-Pretty-Dull-Bright, Weak-Strong Girl in the Gothic Mansion," Journal of Popular Culture, XIII (Fall, 1979), 257-63.


Russ notes that Modern Gothics are not Literary Gothics such as Horace Lewis or Mrs. Radcliffe, but rather a blend of Jane Eyre and Daphne DuMaurier's Rebecca. Unlike these Modern Gothics analyzed by Russ, Harlequins are not horror stories; fear and murder or attempted murder, themes in the Ace and Fawcett books, are not part of the plots of Harlequins.


Hull applies the principles of Transactional Analysis to the plays of Edward Albee and argues that part of his success as a playwright lies in the fact that an audience can recognize in the dialogue and actions of the characters our particular American psychological and social reality.


15 Lamb, p. 41.

16 Lamb, p. 173.

19 Seale, p. 5.
21 Seale, p. 30.
23 Seale, p. 179.
25 Allyne, p. 172.
26 Ashton, p. 113.
27 Hay, p. 8.
28 Allyne, p. 19.
29 Ashton, p. 19.
31 Chace, p. 52.
32 Timson, p. 6.
33 Ashton, p. 42.
34 Ashton, p. 66.
35 Ashton, p. 99.
36 Ashton, p. 187.
37 Wentworth, p. 23, 25.