THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE SLEEPING GIANT:
A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HOW MYTH
WAS USED TO EXPLAIN THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR

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Abstract

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THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE SLEEPING GIANT: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HOW MYTH WAS USED TO EXPLAIN PEARL HARBOR (166 pp.)

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Reporters, most likely influenced by the culture in which they live, shape their reports around stories that are as old as the written word. These ancient characters and plots are often relied upon to provide familiar structures and context to unprecedented events. With this in mind, a quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used to examine coverage of Japan’s surprise attack on Pearl Harbor appearing in the New York Times, from December 7, 1941, to July 7, 1942. A sample of 432 articles was selected from the population, representing 20.78 percent of the 2,078 articles recovered. The quantitative study was based on comparing the narrative forms found in news articles to those found in myth. This morphology was used to measure the resemblance between the narrative structures of myth and news. Jack Lule’s Seven Master Myths served as a basis for the myths examined and their narrative structuring, while Vladimir Propp’s Morphology of the Folktale inspired the comparison of forms. The qualitative analysis focused on a close reading of select articles.

The attack was initially discussed in terms of the Flood myth, but was later put into terms of the myth of the Hero. The Hero, the Other World, and the Scapegoat myths
were the most numerous, while the Flood and Hero myth were the most prominent. Those who dissented against the government and commanders of U.S. forces at Pearl Harbor were portrayed as Scapegoats while the Japanese were discussed as Tricksters. Foreign lands were often discussed in terms of the Other World myth. The results of this study are only applicable to the population of articles; however, one observation that emerged contradicts an assumption of previous qualitative researchers. Myth was most often associated with hard-news stories rather than soft-news stories, which contradicts the notion that soft news is a more fertile breeding ground for myth. This, however, could be due to the large number of hard news articles found in war coverage. War censors and *Times*’ correspondents played powerful roles as mythmakers. Functions of myth were found in 23.8 percent of the 432 articles examined.

Approved: _____________________________________________________________

Joseph Bernt

Professor of Journalism
To Mom
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Preface

The seed for this study was planted late in my studies at Ohio University. An article by James Carey caught my interest during a theory class, but it was not until I read Jack Lule’s *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* that I became convinced that myth offered a new perspective on news. Applying myth to modern journalism provides a fresh perspective in an area of study that is rigidly tied to the idea that the content of communication is the only component that acts on society.

Although I do not downplay the importance of journalistic content, I think that the form of the content is even more pervasive and affects the human mind at far deeper levels than the content. After all, different cultures are often divided by language-barriers, which are little more than divergent ways of forming the same content. From the moment we begin to read we are taught how to organize and process information passively through the form of the content we ingest. The content might tell you what to think about, but the form will tell you how to process that information. Furthermore, some forms that are given to content are ancient forms that have repeatedly been used to convey a myth. These myths have forms that have been recorded in numerous cultures, and their use in journalism suggests that reporters may be drawing on ancient storytelling devices to make sense of the modern world.

Why then a content analysis for a study that deals in the form of content, rather than exclusively in the content itself? Indeed this study is part morphology of newspaper articles and part analysis of content in an effort to identify those very forms. To begin
with, without content there is nothing to which to give form; therefore, its significance
should never be written off. Also, the content provides clues to help the researcher
pinpoint mythic forms, or “functions” as Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp calls them.

Seen this way, study of the news begs asking larger questions of journalism and
our world in general, such as why are these mythic narrative forms still in use today. How
do they affect our culture and society? Does objectivity go out the window when a
mythic form is used? How can these forms best be used or avoided?
Chapter 1: Introduction

The foremost goal of this study was to examine how myth was used by New York Times reporters after Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. To achieve this end a quantitative system was developed that identifies and categorizes myth based on morphology, or the study of narrative forms. There are essential events or actions that must take place in a myth for it to be considered a myth. These mythic elements in journalism are identified by comparing the narrative forms of news articles to those of seven master myths.¹ No other studies appear to have attempted to quantify myth in this way. The frequencies of the appearances of particular myths within coverage were recorded and compared, along with the difference in forms, to these seven master myths. This system was applied to a sample of 432 articles dealing with Pearl Harbor in the New York Times from a total population of 2,078 articles taken from the day following the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, until July 7, 1942, approximately a month following the Battle of Midway, which was a significant turning point in the Pacific Campaign.

Myth is not just found in coverage of the battlefield, it is everywhere if one knows how to look for it. Myth can be found in the annals of Greek mythology, in volumes of folk lore, and inscribed on the walls of Egyptian pyramids. But myth is also on the television screen, on the magazine cover, and on the front page of the daily newspaper.

¹ Jack Lule drew upon Carl Jung’s archetypes to construct the seven master myths found in newspapers, which are as follows: Flood, Hero, Mother, Other World, Scapegoat, Trickster, and the Victim.
Myth is found throughout written history and popular culture, and it is also in our nightly dreams, according to the theories of pioneering psychologist Carl Jung (Otis 1994, 210). Myth is as old as the story form itself, and any study of myth also entails study of stories and their narrative structures.

Myth is not limited to ancient fables: any and all stories make up the fabric of myth, past and present. To study myth is to realize first that journalism, history, and anthropology—although factual—are not perfect representations of reality; rather they are stories about reality. The facts are put into some sort of narrative form, such as an inverted-pyramid-style article or a graduate student’s thesis project. Even something not usually thought of as a narrative, such as a scientific report, still provides a timeline of events, a hypothesis, a conclusion, in short, a story about the experiment. From where, however, do the creative elements within a narrative originate? In a nonfiction story, what, other than the facts, influences how a person or event is presented? In a news report, how is it decided who is a hero and who is a villain? What helps us form a narrative frame?

News, because of the authority it is given by our society, is central to conveying myth in our own culture (Campbell 1991, xxii; Kitch 2002, 296). Myth is significant in our own time because under the guise of objectivity reporters continue to unwittingly shape their stories around mythic narrative structures (Berkowitz 2005, 608; Bird and Dardenne 1997, 67; Fursich 2002, 354; Kitch 2002, 304; Silcock 2002, 349-350). By analyzing myth in today’s communications, researchers should be able to gain insight into how our view of reality is shaped by these ancient narrative forms (Berkowitz 2005,
According to gate keeping theory, reporters act as gateways for the public’s experience of events. They accept, or allow through the gate, items they view as news while filtering out seemingly unrelated facts (Shoemaker 1997, 57). However, journalists are encumbered by their own cultural trappings—belief systems, work routines, and so forth (Stephens 1988, 265). The reporter or gatekeeper also decides how to present the information and how to tell the story (Stephens 1988, 265). During this process facts are filtered through the author and hung on a narrative framework of his or her choosing. But how does this occur? Where do these narrative structures come from? If reporters leave out or ignore facts that fall outside of a myth then they run the risk of missing an important connection between those facts (Berkowitz 2005, 617). On the other hand, if they ignore myth and narrative, they may not even catch the reader’s attention (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 77).

An Ancient Definition in a New Context

The term “myth” should be clarified before moving on. In the sense used by communication scholars, myth does not mean falsehood, such as in the myth of the Lochness monster (Eliade 1963, 6). And it implies something deeper than urban legends, such as the existence of alligators in the sewers of New York City, or any other fiction. In 1957, French philosopher Mircea Eliade studied myth in primitive cultures that managed to survive into the modern day. In these cultures myth, and mythic rituals, are embedded in the beliefs of the tribe, such as those in the Congo and the Cherokee (Eliade 1963, 5). Eliade asserted that myth is a way of telling “only of that which really happened” and
differed from “fables or tales, which they [members of the primitive cultures that Eliade studied] call ‘false stories’” (Eliade 1963, 6-8). Myth narrated a “sacred history” and provided a story for how “reality came into existence” (Eliade 1963, 5). The purpose of myth in these cultures was to teach man “the primordial ‘stories’ that have constituted him existentially” (Eliade 1963, 12).

Myths are universal stories that are found in nearly all cultures, such as the myth of the hero Beowulf, Hercules, or Mark McGwire. Myths are central to all cultures and are “a vital ingredient of human civilization” (Eliade 1957, 20). They serve to maintain and repair culture (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 346; Campbell 1991, xii). Myth reveals models of behavior that provide meaning to human life (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 346; Campbell 1988, 4; Eckert and Pauly 2002, 312; Eliade, 1957, 145; Kitch 2002, 296). They also reveal universal truths about the human condition (Campbell 1988, 155; Otis 1994, 210). Myth provides a blueprint for ideal behavior and shows the consequences of stepping outside the moral boundaries of the society (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 71; Eliade 1963, 8; Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 375; Kitch 2002, 296; Lule 2002, 277). According to Carl Jung, myth is manifested in stories and our daily lives through archetypes, which are the parts of a narrative that are universal and have been identified in a variety of cultures.

Most modern studies of myth in journalism draw upon Jung’s system of archetypes. Communication scholar Jack Lule chose seven of Jung’s archetypes for his Seven Master Myths, which are found in newspapers. The seven archetypes from Lule’s *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* (2001) are: the Flood,
the Hero, the Mother, the Other World, the Trickster, the Scapegoat, and the Victim. These seven archetypes are used in the quantitative portion of this study to identify myths in *New York Times* coverage of the Battle of Hawaii. The attack on Pearl Harbor was an event that shook the world and awakened a sleeping giant. Journalists were forced to weave news of this new and shocking event into the cultural fabric. As the media and cultural critic James W. Carey put it, “we are driven forward by the absolute need to construct a cultural frame within which the picture of our lives can be drawn” (Carey 1988, 15). Myth provides this cultural frame in which people and events are placed, not only by historians and contemporary commentators but also by journalists (Carey 1988, 15; Eliade 1957, 5; Kitch 2002, 296; Lule 2002, 278). This recommends myth as the tool for an analysis interested in coverage of events that do not easily fit into cultural frames, such as Japan’s attack on December 7, 1941.

*December 7, 1941*

**Why Look at Pearl Harbor?**

Disasters are a breeding ground for mythic activity. Myth is employed by journalists, most likely unconsciously, to help provide a reference for new, previously unheard of, occurrences, such as female suicide bombers or 9/11 (Campbell 1991, 169; Fursich, 2002, 355; Kitch 2002, 296; Lule 2002, 283). Unprecedented events, or those that defy easy explanation such as kamikaze and surprise attacks, require journalists to clarify and provide context to the unfamiliar in order that readers may grasp what has happened. In the months following the attack on Pearl Harbor journalists were charged
with reporting on a number of events that were without recent precedent, such as the end of American isolation, the U.S. entry into World War II, the staggering losses of human life at Pearl Harbor and in the Pacific Campaign, the Arcadia War Conference, the signing of the United Nations Declaration, the beginning of military industrialization, the institution of a military draft, and the nation’s collective anger at Japan’s sneak attack.

Myth plays an especially important role in war; and Chris Hedges, a veteran war correspondent for the *New York Times*, collected his thoughts on his experiences in *War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (2002). Hedges wrote that myth in wartime often imbued events with meanings that they do not actually have, such as seeing a defeat as one stop on the road to victory, demonizing the enemy, and painting “our side” lily white. During wartime myth polarizes and encourages absolutes in the state as well as the media, such as a call to vanquish evil. Hedges wrote that the “potency of myth is that it allows us to make sense of mayhem and violent death” (Hedges 2002, 23). This is a necessary component of warfare because “wars that lose their mythic stature for the public, such as Korea or Vietnam, are doomed to failure, for war is exposed for what it is—organized murder” (Hedges 2002, 21). This reality can only be overcome by “turning the lies, the manipulation, the inhumaness, of war into the heroic ideal” (Hedges 2000, 26). U.S. entry into World War II officially began the day following the Pearl Harbor attack, as did the idealization of the American soldier, or G.I. Joe, setting the model of what it was to be an American hero.
Events Leading Up To Pearl Harbor

In 1941, Japan captured part of Indochina. The U.S. and Holland responded by freezing Japanese assets and by placing an embargo on shipping bound to the island nation. Japan’s expanding empire was in dire need of U.S. and Dutch oil shipments for its war machine in China (Barker 1969, 35-36). Previously, shipments from the U.S. comprised 80 percent of Japan’s imported oil. The cessation of these shipments was an extension of a previous U.S. embargo on scrap metal and gasoline that stemmed from Japan’s pullout from the League of Nations in 1935, its war with China in 1937, and its participation in the Tripartite Pact in 1940 (Vandiver 2002, 41-42). Diplomats from both countries tried to negotiate the resumption of trade but Japan refused to return its takings in Indochina (Barker 1969, 35-36).

Faced with a dwindling oil supply, Japan set her sights on the oil-rich Dutch East Indies and British-controlled Malaya. Japan’s military leaders believed that seizing these colonies from the Netherlands and the British Empire would necessitate U.S. military retaliation, and so were in favor of a preemptive strike. In order to make the most of the element of surprise, a reluctant Emperor Hirohito gave permission for a simultaneous attack on U.S., Dutch, and British assets in the Pacific. The purpose of the attack on the U.S. Navy at Oahu, Hawaii was to eliminate American capabilities in the Pacific and to ensure Japan’s conquest of American, Dutch, and British colonies (Barker 1969, 38-42).
Operation Z

Japan’s Fleet Admiral and commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet Isoroku Yamamoto was charged with creating a plan of attack, combining two naval fighting forces into one combined fleet, and preparing them for the unique operation. Convinced that an air attack had the greatest chance of success, Yamamoto sent a delegation to Italy to analyze how a group of twenty carrier-based British planes disabled the majority of the Italian fleet. Yamamoto also may have had access to intelligence of the 1932 joint U.S. Army-Navy exercises, in which U.S. Admiral Harry Yarnell was able to inflict serious “damage” on Pearl Harbor with a carrier-based air attack and avoid detection for 24 hours, much as Yamamoto’s fleet would do later (Barker 1969, 16-19).

These demonstrations of air power, combined with expert knowledge of Pearl Harbor and the ships stationed there provided by spies, prompted Yamamoto to create a plan that would eventually be referred to as Operation Z. This plan called for two groups of dive bombers to fly into the harbor and drop torpedoes specifically designed for shallow water. One hundred and thirty-five Mitsubishi “Zeroes,” 171 torpedo bombers, and 108 dive bombers comprised the two air-attack forces. These planes were carried on six aircraft carriers, which were protected by two battleships, two heavy cruisers, one light cruiser, nine destroyers, and three fleet submarines. This armada also included five midget submarines, which were designed to destroy ships attempting to leave the harbor, and eight oilers for fueling (Prange 1981, 389-394).
“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”

The sun rose over Pearl Harbor just like on any other day, and servicemen and civilians at Oahu, Hawaii, had little reason to think that they faced a day that would “live in infamy.” At 7:50 on a lazy Sunday morning, the Rising Suns of 183 Japanese planes dived on Pearl Harbor, the first of two waves of enemy aircraft, supported by midget submarines. In just two hours this surprise attack left over twenty-three hundred American military personnel dead, fourteen hundred injured, and around a thousand missing, along with a high number of civilian casualties. The U.S. Pacific fleet was nearly wiped out with seven of eight battleships sunk or rendered useless. Over 300 of the 394 U.S. planes stationed on the island were badly damaged or blown up. Luckily no U.S. aircraft carriers were at port and the island’s fuel supply for the fleet was left intact. Japan lost only twenty-nine planes, five midget submarines, and fewer than a hundred men. It was a day that made heroes of many American servicemen. Fifteen men were awarded Medals of Honor, ten posthumously, and another man, mess attendant Doris Miller, was awarded a Navy Cross. The following day, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war with Japan that was passed in both the House and Senate, with a sole dissenting vote from committed pacifist Jeanette Rankin (Vandiver 2002, 42-43).

The attack itself served as a catalyst for U.S. involvement in both the European and Pacific theaters. The surprise attack “was more than one of the most daring and brilliant naval operations of all time; it was one of the turning points in history” (Prange 1981, xv). The American people sat shocked that Sunday as they listened to a running
story of the Pearl Harbor disaster from their radio receivers (Mott 1962, 745). Prior to the attack, Pearl Harbor was considered the “best defended naval base in the world” (Prange 1981, 97). This mythic event created immediate reactions in the hearts and minds of many Americans as well as their leaders, as evidenced by the nearly unanimous vote to go to war the following day. Until the surprise attack, many Americans clung to a notion of isolationism when it came to fighting the Axis powers abroad. Senator Gerald P. Nye headed the isolationists’ cause, often condemning President Roosevelt in his speeches, but even he changed his opinion not long after hearing of the attacks, although he blamed President Roosevelt for provoking them (Hagy 1995, 236-240).

Japanese diplomats were in talks with Secretary of State Cordell Hull until the attack under the cloak of peace. On the day of the Japanese offensive, the diplomats presented Hull with a statement from Tokyo that amounted to a rehashed trade agreement and never offered a formal declaration of war (Prange 1981, 553-556). President Roosevelt made this point public in his address to the nation the following day, and Americans were incensed by the boldfaced treachery of the Japanese.

Now that U.S. soil had come under attack, the U.S. military and the rest of America readied for a war in two very different theaters. President Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill on December 22, 1941, to discuss America’s entry into the war. The Arcadia War Conference served to set permanent Allied strategies, establish a friendship between Churchill and Roosevelt, reaffirm the Germany First decision, and give birth to the United Nations Declaration. The declaration was issued January 1, 1942, and consisted of an agreement between twenty-six nations, including Britain and Russia, to
defeat the Axis powers and a vow not to make any separate agreements of peace (Vandiver 2002, 49).

The Battle of Hawaii was just one part of the larger Japanese offensive to secure the Pacific for their interests. A few hours following the surprise attack on Oahu, Japan went on to seize Britain’s colonies in Asia, destroying six of their best war ships. Japan bombed Manila the following day, and then attacked Wake Island, the westernmost territory of the United States, on December 12, 1941 (Wels 2001, 184). Although the attack was famously repulsed by a small garrison of marines, U.S. forces eventually lost the island on December 23. Britain lost Hong Kong and Malaya on Christmas day of 1941. By January, Japan had secured the capital of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, and went on to take Singapore in February. In the following months Japan would take most of the Philippines and much of the Dutch East Indies (Vandiver 2002, 43-45).

This was all part of a larger plan to take assets in the Pacific while destroying U.S., British, and Dutch capabilities to respond. Admiral Yamamoto, architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor, tried to force the Allies to bring their aircraft carriers to bear in the Battle of Midway, which took place from June 4, 1942, to June 7, 1942. The U.S. carriers were one of the last real obstacles between Japan and control of the Pacific. However, Yamamoto’s plan failed; and the Japanese lost this decisive battle, which turned the war in the Pacific in favor of the Allies (Wels 2001, 189).
Did President Roosevelt Know?

The events of December 7, 1941, specifically that U.S. naval forces were caught totally unprepared for the attack, have been a subject of controversy and debate among historians. The literature that tries to answer the question of “just how much did the administration know before the attack?” falls generally into three categories. Some books, such as Leonard Baker’s *Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor: A Great President in a Time of Crisis* (1970), exonerate Roosevelt as doing what any president would do in a time of crisis (Baker 1970, vii-viii), while the works of Gordon W. Prange, such as *At Dawn We Slept* (1981), point out the ineptness of the U.S. Navy and poorly handled intelligence. Later books, such as John Costello’s *Days of Infamy* (1994) and Michael Gannon’s *Pearl Harbor Betrayed* (2001), place blame for the napping forces at Hawaii directly on the blunders of Roosevelt and his administration.

Outside of any of these categories is Robert B. Stinnett’s *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* (2000) that revealed an internal memorandum of Roosevelt’s administration that suggested certain steps be taken to bait Japan into attacking the U.S., which Stinnett obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (Stinnett 2000, xiii-5).² Although this may at first seem startling, it was well known that President Roosevelt and his advisors expected some sort of Japanese offensive based on the break-down of diplomacy between the two countries over the years and the recent oil

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² This report by Lieutenant Commander Arthur H. McCollum detailed eight steps to provoke Japan into attacking the U.S. This paper was available to Navy captains Walter S. Anderson and Dudley W. Knox; both had direct access to President Roosevelt. It should be noted that step F was to station the U.S. Fleet at Hawaii.
embargo. They also had reason to believe it would be a surprise attack as no formal declaration of war had preceded other Japanese offensives (Barker 1969, 57). However, the eyes of the administration were focused on other areas of the Pacific, specifically the Philippines, and an attack on Oahu was considered unlikely (Gannon 2001, 97-102). Stinnett also holds that key intelligence was kept from Admiral Husband Kimmel and Lieutenant General Walter Short, whose duty it was to defend the doomed harbor, by Roosevelt’s administration. Kimmel and Short were blamed and punished for the lax condition of the forces at Pearl Harbor. On December 16, 1941, Kimmel was relieved of duty and demoted to rear admiral. Roosevelt appointed a five-man board of inquiry to investigate the U.S. failure at Pearl Harbor. The Roberts Commission’s report was released on January 24, 1942, and placed blame fully on Kimmel and Short. They were both charged with dereliction of duty (Stinnett 2000, 252-254).

Regardless of whether or not Roosevelt and his administration had foreknowledge of the attacks, and regardless of whether or not Roosevelt’s administration purposely kept critical intelligence from commanders in Hawaii, the event and its aftermath forever changed America. The fact that the controversy surrounding the attack is still hotly debated attests to the significance of the event and its historical importance.

Military Industrial Complex

The war against Axis powers in Europe continued until May 7, 1945, and the war against Japan in the Pacific did not end until September 2, 1945. Millions died in the conflicts, but it was the death of twenty-three hundred people at Pearl Harbor that
prodded the “sleeping giant” to join the Allied powers in Europe and wage war on Japan, culminating in the atomic bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. It was a hard won victory that brought an entirely new threat into the world.

The military quickly demobilized following 1945, although the draft remained in place until 1973 (Johnson 2004, 54). American involvement in World War II, however, created a partnership between industry and military, and a general environment in which all Americans were called upon to pull together for the greater good. In addition “more Americans participated in the war effort more enthusiastically than in any other conflict” breaking with the traditional public aversion to war (Johnson 2004, 55). With the demobilization of the military many defense manufacturers turned to civilian pursuits, making motor homes and aluminum canoes (Johnson 2005, 55). Around the same time military officials, including Generals Marshall and Eisenhower, moved into key political positions (Johnson 2004, 53).

This new relationship between military, industry, and congress only truly came to fruition when America waged a Cold War against the Soviet Union, under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. In 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was ratified, a historic occasion as this was the first-ever military pact to be signed during a time of peace, and the Mutual Defense Assistance Act was signed (Lyon 1974, 428). This established a professional military class, and since then defense spending has remained at war-time levels (Johnson 2004, 55). President Dwight Eisenhower famously addressed the problems posed by such collusion between industrial, military, and congressional organizations in his farewell address on January 17, 1961. He told his countrymen that
two new dangers had arose that threatened American liberty, the military-industrial-congressional complex and the federal government’s domination in research (Perret 1999, 599). Eisenhower warned that the entire country needed to guard against “the acquisition of unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex” (Perret 1999, 599).³ On March 14, 2002, the House of Representatives passed a military budget of $393.8 billion as a “down payment” for the war on terror. It was the largest increase in defense spending in twenty years (Johnson 2004, 56).

By identifying and analyzing myths found in coverage of the Pearl Harbor attack we can better understand how myth is used when covering unprecedented events in the modern day. Myth also provides a new perspective from which to view the Japanese surprise attack. A qualitative content analysis was also done using the literary tool of close reading to explore the myths surrounding the attack. This study begins to answer the following questions: What myths are found most often in which situations and why? Are journalists more apt to rely on archetypes when disaster first strikes rather than when they are afforded more time to gather information? Is there a relevant change in the frequencies of myth associated with the proximity of the date of the attack? How does the use of myth in coverage of Pearl Harbor relate to the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001? These questions form the basis for the qualitative analysis.

Chapter two explores how myth has been used to explain news coverage. Chapters three and four review the literature on myth within the field of mythology and

³ At the last minute Eisenhoer removed the word congressional from his speech (Perret 199, 599).
journalism. At the end of Chapter four a theory is formulated for applying an objective content analysis to identify myths in the *New York Times* coverage of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Chapter five details the method of analysis and the sample used. Chapters six and seven provide the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis as well as an exploration of what these results indicate. Chapter eight lists the limitations of this study and the conclusions.
Chapter 2: The Narrative in News

A Brief History of News and Storytelling

For more than ten thousand years, communication was synonymous with transportation and speech. News was carried by bards, poets, messengers, merchants, and pilgrims, and was often sung or spoken in verse (Stephens 1988, 38). Limited in range and by memory, early news carriers used formulas, clichés, and stereotypes to help them remember their stories; “Always an important consideration in an exclusively oral society where the forgettable will quickly be forgotten” (Stephens 1988, 37).

With the arrival of the printing press in the fifteenth century, news could be dispersed more quickly and with greater uniformity. However, it was not until the seventeenth century that newspapers, as we know them today, began to be printed in England (Stephens 1988, 100). This was partly due to the licensing of printing presses by the English government, the relative newness of the market for the printed word, and general illiteracy. Early newspaper printers focused on gossip and news of the strange, particularly crime, rather than face possible imprisonment or death for printing political commentary (Stephens 1988, 112). Newspapers moralized much of the news they printed, and they were characterized by an ever increasing competition to provide the most sensational news possible (Stephens 1988, 112). Some writers were able to inject criticisms into their prose in the form of allegories and Biblical allusions. There was, however, a high price to pay if the establishment disapproved; John Stubbes lost his
writing hand for his pamphlet *Gaping Gulf* that criticized Queen Elizabeth’s marriage plans (Williams 1967, 201-202).

During the nineteenth century, the business of the penny press in America was also aided by technological change, increases in literacy, and the natural evolution of the newspaper business (Schudson 1978, 31-42). It was the *Baltimore Sun*, a penny paper, which took advantage of the first telegraph line in the U.S., in 1840, that ran between the city of Baltimore and Washington, D.C to transfer news (Schudson 1978, 34). The invention of the telegraph ushered in an era of reverence for facts, which occurred alongside a movement towards realism in art and literature in the nineteenth century (Stephens 1988, 252). Journalists began to see themselves as investigators and scientists uncovering facts upon which to base Progressive political reform (Schudson 1978, 71).

At the time the public was hungry for facts, and this was reflected in the realism movement in art and literature (Schudson 1978, 73). The telegraph was able to feed this hunger for truth because of its ability to transfer news great distances with nearly complete accuracy and uniformity.

However, “facts found their true voice only with the arrival of the ‘inverted pyramid’ in the second half of the nineteenth century” (Stephens 1988, 253). This was a reaction to unreliable telegraph lines that reporters sought to overcome by “compressing the most crucial facts into short, paragraph-long dispatches” (Stephens 1988, 253). This new format remains the standard for journalism to this day even though it was found to have the following unforeseen drawbacks:
When words are herded into any rigid format—from news ballad to two-minute video tape report—their ability to recreate events in their fullness may suffer. . . . The inverted pyramid is no more accommodating a host to nuances than other news forms. Facts—a quotation here, a number there—shine through these hierarchical columns of information, but the temporal, historical, atmospheric or ideological connections between facts are often weakened, occasionally severed (Stephens 1988, 255).

The inverted pyramid may be quite effective in positioning the information that the journalist judges most pertinent at the top of the story; however, it can fail to present or obscure potentially important connections between facts.

Public Opinion and the Information Model

The first steps towards an information model of journalism were taken by the penny press as early as 1835; however, it was not until the early 1900s that this model was sponsored by the cultural elite. At the turn of the century, the preference for story journalism over information journalism, or vice versa, was an indicator of status (Schudson 1978, 118-119). This division is quite apparent between the *New York Times* and the *New York World* at the turn of the century. According to historian Michael Schudson, the *Times* wrote information journalism for the older, more sophisticated, or rational reader while the *World* presented its news as revelations about the “new, unusual, and unpredictable” that appealed to the newly urban and newly literate (Schudson 1978, 118-119). The *Times* appealed to upwardly mobile individuals who were participants in society, whereas the *World* reader was generally dependent and a non-participant (Schudson 1978, 120). This associated the *Times* with social status, and its reverence for
facts was reflected in the beliefs held by members of high society, who were proponents of information journalism (Schudson 1978, 120).

Walter Lippmann’s groundbreaking work *Public Opinion* (1997) was part of, and a great catalyst for, the movement toward objectivity in journalism. His work, originally published in 1922, was instrumental in transforming the news industry and reshaping the role of the public in politics. Lippmann denounced partisan, opinion-laden news in favor of an objective system that might better serve the public (Lule 2002, 276). The informational model of news continues to this day, and its rise in popularity parallels that of the inverted pyramid.

Lippmann discussed news and culture in terms of stereotypes and ideals, derived from moral codes that were culture-specific. Reporters learned a moral code from their surrounding culture, which often found its way into news reports. He saw stereotypes as negative and moral codes as positive. However, Lippmann did not want to see evidence of either in the pages of the newspaper. Stereotypes filter out useful information and tend to be “disguised as matter-of-fact information that is rarely correct” (Lippmann 1997, 74). Although moral codes are positive, Lippmann wrote that “to behave as the code directs is to serve whatever purpose the code pursues,” and “as we adjust ourselves to our code, we adjust the facts we see to that code” (Lippmann 1997, 79).
It is in this way that reporters are influenced by their surrounding culture, as are their readers.¹ For the average reporter, decisions must be made at an individual level that are subject to terms dictated by deadlines, space restrictions, and editorial concerns. Historian Mitchell Stephens wrote: “In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, newsmakers found their sentences transformed into verse . . . in the twentieth century they find their statements chopped up into fifteen-second ‘sound-bites’” (Stephens 1988, 255). A newspaper is the end product of a series of decisions as to what is the news that day, what story goes where in the paper, and how much space each story should receive (Lippmann 1997, 223).

According to Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese’s theory of media influences, a decision about how the news is presented occurs at the media routines level. Their system of concentric rings of influence, found in their book Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content (1996, 64), originates with the individual and work its way outward through the media routines, organizational, extramedia, and ideological levels. The media routines level is just outside of the individual level in the hierarchy, and influences at this level often go unnoticed by the reporters themselves (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, 137). Lippmann’s culture-specific moral codes occur at the ideological level of the media hierarchy; however the decisions that incorporate these codes into the news occur at an individual level.

¹ In fact, Lippmann wrote that readers go through a similar process when they consume the news, letting their moral code work over the facts (Lippmann 1997, 82). Public opinion is “primarily a moralized and codified version of the facts” (Lippmann 1997, 82).
Unfortunately, Lippmann’s arguments about objectivity were perverted and used by the burgeoning public relations industry to defend their business of spreading subjective ideas in the mid-1920s (Schudson 1978, 133). This new industry pressured newspapers into acknowledging the inherent subjectivity of news reports, which led to more signed news reports and the rise of interpretive reporting. For example, in 1935 the Times began printing a weekly summary of the world’s events (Schudson 1978, 145). This sort of interpretive journalism was born out of a world grown suddenly complex by the depression, the New Deal, and the war (Schudson 1978, 148). Another important sign of the newspaper industry’s adoption of interpretive reporting was the invention of the syndicated political columnist, whose duty it was to relate the truth of what was going on in the nation’s center of political activity, Washington, D.C. (Schudson 1978, 156-158).

As much as Lippmann revered facts, he did not advocate reporting a dry summary of the day’s events in an inverted-pyramid format. Instead he wrote that storytelling and narrative is essential to interest readers:

> It is a problem of provoking feeling in the reader, of inducing him to feel a sense of personal identification with the stories he is reading. News which does not offer this opportunity to introduce oneself into the struggle which it depicts cannot appeal to a wide audience (Lippmann 1997, 224).

Lippmann suggested making news that provokes identification and feeling in the reader through compelling writing. This aspect of Lippmann’s view opened the door to broader approaches (e.g. to explain and deal with myth) that deal with what provokes feelings and identification in storytelling without necessarily discounting the importance of objectivity.
A New Way of Thinking about News

It was not until the 1970s that communication researchers and social scientists began applying myth to the news, the instrument that instructs and informs our society about any number of issues that affect our daily lives. This began, in part, with a reevaluation of what news is and the function it plays in our society. This dramatic reinvention can be found in the views of James Carey, Richard Campbell, Elizabeth Bird, and Robert Dardenne.

James Carey: A Ritual View of Communication

James Carey’s ritual view of communication builds upon the traditional transmission theory, which was formed by society’s connection between information and transportation. As mentioned earlier, communication and transportation were linked because it was necessary to physically carry messages until the invention of the telegraph, which electrically transmitted messages over vast distances. The origin of the transmission theory has its roots in religion as the quest for new religious converts was a coordinating rationale behind exploration in the fifteenth century, along with trade and military expansion. The transmission view of communication has taken on many forms and dominated modern thought (Carey 1999, 238-241).

James Carey developed a particular view of communication based on myth and ritual, which states that the purpose of news is not the simple transmission of information
but the confirmation of reality and the social ideals of a community.\(^2\) Carey wrote that, “a ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs” (Carey 1999, 240). Ritual communication does not necessarily conflict with modern transmission theory. Both can coexist. Just as a map does not entirely and accurately represent the geography that it describes (if it did, it would not be a map but reality), language does not, and can not, entirely describe reality (Carey 1999, 238-243). Carey added that Americans have an aversion to discussions of community because of “obsessive individualism,” which is one reason why the transmission view still dominates the field (Carey 1999, 238-243).\(^3\)

For Carey, myth, communication, and culture are closely linked. He wrote that “culture refers to some set of construable signs and symbols, some system of meanings—culture is always situated and specific” (Carey 1988, 16). Myth provides these symbolic models in the news, and throughout various aspects of culture. Carey wrote that to understand the cultural through myth “is to see in a miraculously discontinuous world persistent practices by which that world is sedimented [sic] and held together” (Carey 1988, 15). News is not just information but also drama, “a symbolic process whereby

\(^2\) James Carey follows the Marshall McLuhan school of thought and focuses on the social and cultural aspects of myth (Lule 2002, 278). For more information on McLuhan see Chapter four.

\(^3\) James Carey wrote that the word “culture” was created “to encompass the foreign and strange— the alien—but we cannot prevent the word from turning back on us and estranging us from our own practices” (Carey 1988, 13). Carey means that by defining and exploring our own culture we are in fact “othering” our society, and thereby distancing ourselves from that which we seek to study.
reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed” (Carey 1999, 243). This symbolic process helps to produce our cultural reality, which we create and then inhabit.

Richard Campbell: Science and Storytelling

Richard Campbell wrote in his book 60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America (1991) that journalists need to discard the trappings of objectivity and see themselves primarily as storytellers, a view that seems often to be overlooked. Most journalism “invokes the metaphors of science—fact-gathering, objectivity, information—rather than the metaphors of literature—characters, conflict, drama” (Campbell 1991, xxii). The similarities between the methods of scientists and journalists are not coincidental as both developed “as nineteenth-century products of utilitarian rationality and realism which rejected imagination, romanticism, and the subjective,” which was known as Positivism as developed by Auguste Comte (Campbell 1991, xxi). Indeed, journalism and science are similar in many ways:

Both attend to information, fact, and message rather than to ritual, symbol, and meaning. Both value detachment from ideology in their work . . . and are, in turn, valued by society for their apparent success at remaining detached. Both employ the omniscient third-person point of view in their writing in order to fortify their detachment and enhance their superiority (Campbell 1991, xxi-xxii).

Modern journalists are taught that they are “simply hold[ing] a mirror up to the world enabling readers and viewers to see ‘what’s going on here’” (Campbell 1991, 166). However, there are always distortions in the mirror, and sometimes things outside the frame of the mirror are not reported. Public awareness of this can lead to accusations of bias in the news.
Unlike mathematics and other sciences, “journalists have no special language for interpreting the world; they also use the designs and devices of storytelling. After all “we call their products news stories” (Campbell 1991, 180). In effect, news is not fact but a story about facts, and it is in the telling of the story that we are most interested. Journalists are rewarded by their organizations, and sometimes by society, for their efforts at objectivity. The conventional trappings of their profession, however, obscure the inherent subjectivity of their narration:4

Much reportorial practice since the mid-nineteenth century had sought to contain and conceal the artifice and interpretive dimensions of the news process within that doctrine. And, a versatile stock of conventions masks the interpretive and narrative labor in news reports: the ‘inverted pyramid’ news lead; the limitations on descriptive adjectives; the separation of hard news from soft features and from opinions; the use of quotation marks or broadcast actualities to highlight expert evidence; and the presentation of both sides of conflicting issues, among others (Campbell 1991, 171).

These are the very things that are taught to reporters to ensure objectivity. According to Campbell, however, they are missing the point; “conventional print journalism is still storytelling—only too often with the passion and heart ripped out” (Campbell 1991, 180). Reporters “disclaim responsibility for the actual experiences they have appropriated for their stories” and celebrate their neutrality (Campbell 1991, 180).

In 60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America (1991) Richard Campbell documented how a single television program fostered a series of myths for, and about, the Midwest. These myths provided a system of shared values and models for

4 Richard Campbell warns that, “such an argument may affront many journalists who regard myth as primitive, amorphous, and subjective while revering news as sophisticated, methodical, and neutral” (Campbell 1991, xxiii).
meaning, and offered a sense of unity and routine in their familiar structures. On the other hand, “they help us deal with the new and different; they provide us with contexts for confronting ambiguity and idiosyncracy [sic]” (Campbell 1991, 169). News plays a crucial role in the creation, and maintenance, of this system of shared knowledge and culture (Campbell 1991, xxii).

Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne: Narrative and Chronicles

As Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne note in their 1988 article titled “Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News,” discussion of the news tends to focus on what is in the news rather than what is shaping it. They write about the importance of determining what gives shape to the news:

The facts, names, and details change almost daily, but the framework into which they fit—the symbolic system—is more enduring. And it could be argued that the totality of news as an enduring symbolic system “teaches” audiences more than any of its component parts, no matter whether these parts are intended to inform, irritate, or entertain (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 335).

The authors maintained that the creation of daily news, or daily myth, is an ongoing process through which reporters repair and shape the paradigm of the collective story (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 346). Studying the symbolic system of news narratives can reveal information about “the values and symbols that have meaning in a given culture” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 75-76). Myth, understood this way, puts news in a context that is much more than historical. Reporting the news is at once creating history, morality, and setting ideals.
Stories never tell just about ordinary and everyday events, “they are about the
different and the particular, which yet represent something universal—just as is news”
(Bird and Dardenne 1997, 73). Just like all stories, news is a culturally constructed
narrative (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 67). However, unlike most stories, because of myth,
news has an inherent need to be told:

Myth only has meaning in the telling; cultural themes and values exist only if
they are communicated. Obviously there is no single myth or narrative that is
merely repeated, yet to continue to have power, myths must be constantly retold. Rather, themes are rearticulated and reinterpreted over time, themes that are
derived from culture and feed back into it (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 72).

Even the daily chronicling of facts, such as which bowling team won, “provide us with
the backdrop of events that tell us the world is still going on and that things we value still
matter” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 340). Chronicles are not stories, but “are vital, myth-
repairing narratives,” and “through chronicle, the overall structure of the myth is
emphasized, although individual ‘stories’ are not” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 74-75).

For example, stories about crime and violence serve to create a larger myth about
right and wrong, as the average reader does not require the vast majority of such reports
for personal safety (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 71). Hence, this body of lore about crime
and punishment serves to instruct readers about the consequences of violating laws and
taboos:

Through myth and folklore, members of a culture learn values, definitions of
right and wrong, and sometimes can experience vicarious thrills—not all through
individual tales, but through a body of lore (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 70).

Journalism is the “way in which people create order out of disorder, transforming
knowing into telling” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 70). News has a “mythological
narrative” with “its own symbolic codes that are recognized by its audience” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 71-72).

By examining this narrative, researchers are able “to look more critically at whose values are encoded in news—whose stories are being told” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 79). The study of the construction of these symbolic codes is not new, only its application to journalism:

Like news, history and anthropology narrates real events, and their practitioners are finding that to understand their narratives, they must examine how they are constructed, including the story-telling devices that are an integral part of that construction (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 66).

Faced by a multitude of pressures, journalists often have to make news judgments quickly and “inevitably resort to existing frameworks” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 81). For example:

In news making, journalists do not merely use culturally determined definitions; they also have to fit new situations into old definitions. It is in their power to place people and events into the existing categories of hero, villain, good and bad, and thus to invest their stories with authority of mythological truth (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 80).

Bird and Dardenne wrote that journalists will be most successful in the eyes of readers when they “present new information in such a way that it accords with readers’ existing narrative conventions” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 80). The authors wrote that the ability of reporters to churn out similar news stories about the same event is a product of “formulaic narrative construction” instead of objective reporting (Bird and Dardenne
Such media-shaped perceptions become part of the “common cultural framework, to be drawn on again by journalists in a continuing dialectical process” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 82). It is in this way that new occurrences are explained by their connection to and defiance of old cultural conventions.

A false dichotomy exists in journalism between hard and soft news. Hard news is regarded with the same sanctity as fact, a story whose narrative is created by “neutral techniques that act as a conduit for events to become information, rather than ways in which a particular kind of narrative text is created” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 69). On the other hand soft news, or human interest stories, are seen as pseudo-journalism, and the “common assumption that readers prefer ‘human interest’ stories only because the content is more interesting overlooks that these are the same stories that are usually written in traditional story format” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 77). This presents reporters with a conundrum; the more “objective” their reporting is the less likely they will be read, while the better they are at constructing a narrative the more they will feel they are betraying the ideals of the profession (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 78). Viewing news as myth erases this distinction as both hard and soft news work to maintain and repair the myths inherent in the culture (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 71). Bird and Dardenne wrote that reporters should try other narrative voices to tell their stories; this in turn, would

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5 Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne wrote that while most people read five similar stories and conclude that this is because all five journalists mirrored the facts, they found that “journalists’ training, steeped in the ideology of objective reality, leads them to speak in one narrative voice” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 82). This raises the following question, “what facts are left out of the narrative because they do not fit the form?”
promote a fresh perspective on worn-out narrative framework and perhaps even allow a few otherwise overlooked reports to see the light of day (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 83).

This brief account of historical and contemporary comments on factors that affect objectivity in news and storytelling compels us to address the societal, cultural and mythic context in which reporters operate and of which they are a part. The universality of myth recommended it as the fundamental framework through which to view journalism’s roles, tasks and problems.
Chapter 3: Origins of Myth and its Early Explorers

Myth can be found in every culture, is as old as the written word, and creates some of the societal framework in which the news operates. Over the years, myth has lured scholars to its study from such diverse fields as psychology, philosophy, and communication. The earliest explorers of myths addressed the question of how and why they arise in stories. Psychologist Carl Jung argued that mythic stories are based on inborn archetypes, while Joseph Campbell stated that there are historical as well as biological reasons for myth. Later scholars built on the work of these pioneers; for example, communication scholar Jack Lule identified seven master myths based on Jungian archetypes that can be found in modern journalism.

Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious

Carl Gustav Jung was a student of psychologist Sigmund Freud but broke from his mentor’s teachings in 1913 (Otis 1994, 205).¹ Years before the break, Jung had begun to notice startling similarities between the dreams of his psychiatric patients and ancient stories that originated in far-flung corners of the world (Otis 1994, 207). Certain characters, events, and forms showed up not only in dreams but again and again in folktales, literature, and religious texts. Jung believed that these unusual coincidences were not accidental, and that they were part of a primal memory that all humanity shared (Otis

¹ Jung was not convinced that childhood sexuality played as large a role in shaping the psyche as Freud, who coined the Oedipus complex diagnosis, postulated (Otis 1994, 205).
Thus he came to understand the unconscious mind in a more universal sense (Otis 1994, 205). He believed that these occurrences might be “a universal way of representing the creative life force” (Otis 1994, 208). To explain this, Jung developed a theory of a collective unconscious that held “the deposit of all human experience right back to its remotest beginnings” (Otis 1994, 210). He described the individual psyche riding on a wave across the unconscious mind of all of humanity (Otis 1994, 211). This part of the mind was a potential conduit to the experiences of everyone who has ever lived. Jung believed that those experiences that were most often repeated wore metaphorical grooves in the collective unconscious, and manifested themselves in dreams and writing.

Jung called these recurring patterns “archetypes of the collective unconscious” (Otis 1994, 208). These were not acquired during one’s lifetime but inherited from primordial times, and thus people in all cultures manifested these archetypes (through inborn psychic organs) in their dreams and writings (Otis 1994, 210). Jung wrote that, “this part of the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behaviour [sic] that are more or less the same everywhere in all individuals” (Jung 1959, 4). This explained the unusual similarities between stories, religions, and dreams across the world, and unlike Freud’s unconscious,

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2 Jung had a firm belief in “psychic organs” within the human mind that held these inborn archetypes, or universal stories which all humanity shared (Otis 1994, 209). Jung also thought that, because every human has basically the same organs, they must all share some similar experiences coming to terms with the world.
the collective unconscious was a universal pool of memory from which people dredged up myth (Otis 1994, 208).

Jung admitted that this idea might be hard to comprehend as it flew in the face of conventional thinking, which held that the human mind is a blank slate molded by the environment surrounding it (Jung 1959, 3). But Jung argued that, “the disastrous idea that everything comes to the human psyche from outside and that it is born a table rasa [blank slate] is responsible for the erroneous belief that under normal circumstances the individual is in perfect order” (Jung 1959, 147). He saw archetypes as not only the key to understanding religion, myth, and cultural rituals, but also as the key to understanding oneself.

To this end, he also identified archetypes in his patients’ dreams. For example, a person’s perception of an object is sometimes infused with the culture’s perception of that object. For example:

What the mind recorded, though, was not the sun itself but the person’s—and the culture’s—perception of the sun, often distorted by emotion and fantasy, and it was this emotion and fantasy that the twentieth-century individual reproduced in dreams (Jung 1959, 210).

Although he frequently found archetypes in dreams, he held that these were less understandable and more individual than when encountered in literature or religion (Jung 1959, 5). He determined his role as a psychoanalyst was to help remove roadblocks that separated a patient’s conscious experience from the context of the collective

3 Jung wrote that, “the hypothesis of a collective unconscious belongs to the class of ideas that people at first find strange but soon come to possess and use as familiar conceptions. This has been the case with the concept of the unconscious in general” (Jung 1959, 3).
unconsciousness, which could cause neurosis. With the roadblocks removed, according to Jung, one could view his or her life as just one episode derived from the whole human comedy (Jung 1959, 211).

Rituals and Jung’s Life-Cycle

Jung also found archetypes in cultural rituals. He saw the conscious mind of the individual as an ongoing process, one susceptible to unavoidable crisis or cusps during the span of a lifetime. These differences in age are addressed by Anthony Stevens’ book On Jung (1990). Stevens discussed Jung’s theory of the life-cycle which had four stages but which Stevens expands into nine stages: Birth, Childhood, Early Maturity, Mid-life Transition, Middle Age, Late Life Transition, Late Maturity, and Death (Stevens 1990, 62). Stevens wrote that, “Transition from one quarter to the next is a time of potential crisis for everyone” (Jung 1959, 63). The crises of transition can be resolved by a ritual where the person “dies” to his previous life and is “born again” (Jung 1959, 63).

Rituals have existed throughout history to aid in and solidify these transitions. They have turned the myth of Rebirth into a participatory event “that mark a man or a woman’s life forever [and] pull a person deeper into life than they would normally choose to go” (Meade, 1993, 9). For example, transition from childhood to early maturity leads to rituals ranging from the ritual scarring of some African tribes (which mark a boy’s introduction to manhood) to our modern-day sweet-sixteen parties (which signal that a girl is becoming a woman).
Archetypal myths follow an archetype through their own life-cycle that is marked by ritual events; and sometimes the nature of the crisis even defines the archetype, as is the case with the Trickster. This life-cycle is perhaps never more apparent than in the archetype of the Hero. Carol S. Pearson described the Hero’s archetypal journey in terms of Jung’s cycle of life in *The Hero Within* (1986). She identified six stages that the hero progresses through. The stages of the Hero archetype are: Innocent, Orphan, Martyr, Wanderer, Warrior, and Magician (Pearson 1986, xxvii). Each of these stages marks a ritual event in the story of the Hero and a cusp within the Hero’s life.

Although Jung’s ideas about psychoanalysis have fallen out of favor with psychologists and psychiatrists in the last fifty years, they are still in use in some areas of psychology. In *Beneath the Mask: an Introduction to Theories of Personality* (2003) the authors gave credit to Jung for developing archetypes and for inspiring their model of personality archetypes. His ideas have a lasting mark in a variety of fields.

Jung’s inventions of the archetype and the life-cycle have been favored tools in the analysis of English literature. He identified many archetypes and encouraged future scholars to discover new ones. The study of Jung’s ideas in literature, however, embraced more than just his system of archetypes, although they are perhaps the most important component. For example, a Jungian analysis might examine archetypes, but just such an analysis could embrace Jung’s animus/animula dynamic, his idea of persona, and his

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4 For the Trickster this is a process of civilization and instead of acting without thought, at the end of his cycle, the Trickster is quite useful and logical. The essence of the archetype is the Trickster’s struggle between his primitive impulses and his battle to control them (Jung 1959, 146).
concept of the four functions of the mind. The literary analyst’s chosen tool for exploring Jung’s ideas is often a method called close reading. This is a subjective method in which the literary analyst reads the text line by line, paying special attention to literary devices, historical context, and other aspects dependent on the purpose of the analysis (Knapp 1984, xiii).

**Comparative Mythology**

Joseph Campbell’s groundbreaking work in comparative mythology and comparative religion has done much to establish just how universal Jung’s archetypes are. It was Campbell’s book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949) that grounded his reputation as an authority on myth. In 1985 and 1986 Campbell was interviewed several times by Bill Moyers at the George Lucas’ Skywalker Ranch and at the Museum of Natural History in New York for a PBS program called *The Power of Myth*, the transcripts of which were collected in a book of the same name (Campbell 1988, xi). In his conversation with Moyers, Campbell gave two explanations for the occurrence of common mythic elements among diverse cultures. One explanation is that the human psyche is basically the same all over the world:

The psyche is the inward experience of the human body, which is essentially the same in all human beings, with the same organs, the same instincts, the same impulses, the same conflicts, the same fears. Out of this common ground have  

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5 The anima is the female psychological aspects found in male psyches and the animus is the masculine psychological aspects found in female psyches. Persona is the “mask” one puts on in public. Jung’s four functions are thinking, feeling, intuition, and shadow, which is the negative part of the ego (Knapp 1984, xii).
come what Jung has called the archetypes, which are the common ideas of myths (Campbell 1988, 51).

Campbell is speaking to the fact that all human beings are born with essentially the same bodies—two hands, two feet, one heart, one brain, etc—and they must all go through certain stages in life—birth, childhood, adolescence, maturity, death. These commonalities have led to certain aspects of the psyche that are inherent to everyone, which Jung calls archetypes.

However, this is not the only explanation, as there is some evidence to support a theory of cultural diffusion. Campbell recalled a story to illustrate this point in his interview with Bill Moyers:

For instance, the art of tilling the soil goes forth from the area in which it was first developed, and along with it goes a mythology that has to do with fertilizing the earth, with planting and bringing up the food plants—some such myth as that just described, of killing a deity, cutting it up, burying its members, and having food plants grow. Such a myth will accompany agriculture or planting tradition. But you won’t find it in a hunting culture (Campbell 1988, 52).

Campbell believes that the truth lies in some combination of the two theories, but holds that the occurrence of mythic archetypes relates to the human body.6 He also said in his interview with Moyers that culture acts to disguise myth and “the differences in the costumes are the results of environment and historical conditions” (Campbell 1988, 52).

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6 Joseph Campbell wrote that: “the imagination is grounded in the energy of the organs in the body, and these are the same in all human beings. Since imagination comes out of one biological ground, it is bound to produce certain themes” (Campbell 1988, 42).
Even though Campbell gave some credit to the theory of cultural diffusion, he believed firmly that myth arose from the same place as dreams. Myths and dreams are linked but by definition are quite different, because “the myth is the public dream and the dream is the private myth” (Campbell 1988, 42). Myths are not merely a manifestation of a collective unconscious but are also formulated consciously for a purpose, “and their understood function is to serve as a powerful picture language for the communication of traditional wisdom” (Campbell 1988, 256).

According to Campbell, myth served four functions: first, it provided a personal mystical function that opened an individual up to experience awe at the universe; second, it created a sense of the shape of the universe in an historical sense; third, it validated a certain social order; fourth, it provided an example of how to live one’s life (Campbell 1988, 31). People tell stories to come to terms with the world, to “harmonize our lives with reality,” and for instructions on how to live (Campbell 1988, 4). Myth provided the rituals of our society, such as marriage, military service, and the proceedings in the court room (Campbell 1988, 12).

**Forming an Objective System of Analysis**

The majority of communication studies that deal with myth use a qualitative approach, often borrowing tools from literature such as close reading and semiological analysis. However, each of Jung’s archetypes has distinct narrative features that lend

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7 Joseph Campbell wrote that, “myths and dreams come from the same place. They come from realizations of some kind that have then to find expression in symbolic form” (Campbell 1988, 32).
themselves to a quantitative analysis. Using such an approach with sufficient random sampling ensures representative data.

In 1928, years before Joseph Campbell found a universal sequence of actions for the narrative of the hero, Vladimir Propp made an extensive study of the narrative forms of Russian fairy tales, entitled *Morphology of the Folktale* (1994). Propp’s approach was to divide folktales into their “component parts” and then form a comparison based on these components (Propp 1994, 19). Although the names and attributes of characters and places change between stories, “neither their actions nor functions change” (Propp 1994, 20). Propp defines an action, or function, as an “act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action” (Propp 1994, 21). These functions “serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled” and constitute the “fundamental components of a tale” (Propp 1994, 21). Furthermore, these functions always occur in an identical sequence (Propp 1994, 22). Propp identified these functions in over 100 stories and developed a symbol system to represent the various functions.

Although this system was used to analyze Russian fairy tales, Propp’s study has broader implications for myth in the news. Mythic archetypes also have functions inherent in their narratives. Propp recognized this and wrote that “a similar construction is displayed by a number of very archaic myths, some of which present this structure in an amazingly pure form” (Propp 1994, 100). Propp analyzed hundreds of folktales to identify their functions and to develop an elaborate symbol system by which to categorize them; however, such an undertaking is not necessary in the case of identifying myth in
news. Jack Lule’s Seven Master Myths offers a host of observations about the forms that these myths take in the news. For this study Lule’s master myths serve as a basis for a system of functions used to identify myth in the news by their forms.

The Seven Master Myths

Modern studies of myth in journalism draw upon Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell’s work, and are usually based on Jung’s system of archetypes. Some researchers have identified and made use of new archetypes, which Jung encouraged. According to Jack Lule there are seven master myths that can be found in modern day newspapers. The seven myths from Lule’s Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism (2001) are: The Flood, The Hero, The Mother, The Other World, The Trickster, The Scapegoat, and the Victim. Lule used various case studies from the New York Times to illustrate each of the myths. Below is an explanation of each myth taken from either Lule’s case studies, Jung’s archetypes (upon which they are based), or Campbell’s work on the Hero.

The Flood

Most Christians are probably already familiar with the myth of Noah and the Flood, in which the unworthy are wiped from the face of the Earth for their transgressions against God. Lule looked at the coverage in the Times of the devastation caused by Hurricane Mitch in Central America in 1998 to illustrate the story of the Flood. The Times articles recounted how the poor of Honduras and Nicaragua constructed shoddy
houses on flood plains, and how they were wiped out by mudslides and floods caused by the storm. The *Times* placed blame on the governments’ lax enforcement of restrictions on building in the zones that were most affected, and on the poor themselves who built in those areas. In one report, a local was quoted as saying that the storm was a punishment from God on the citizens. Lule asserted that this coverage served to uphold the view that America is superior to other nations, which is a common occurrence in the reporting of foreign news in the U.S (Lule 2001, 182-184).

The Hero

The Hero is perhaps the best recognized myth in the Western world. The stories of King Arthur’s knights in England and France, the ancient legends of Samaria, the verbal histories of East African tribes, and even *Star Wars* shared the qualities of the Hero myth. Joseph Campbell was able to identify these myths because there is a certain sequence of actions that all stories about the Hero have in common. Campbell wrote that there may be but “one archetypal mythic hero whose life has been replicated in many lands by many, many people” (Campbell 1988, 136).

The typical hero story begins in the character’s homeland where he is called upon to go on an adventure. At first he is reluctant and fearful because he is about to tread into the unknown. Usually something happens to propel the hero, sometimes against his wishes, into the journey. Along the way the Hero meets an embodiment of supernatural

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8 George Lucas and Joseph Campbell became friends after Campbell was invited to preview *Star Wars*. Lucas credited him with inspiring parts of Luke Skywalker’s journey (Campbell, 1988, xiv).
wisdom, usually a wise old man or woman that directs the hero along the correct path. The Hero enters into a new world, sails away, or in one way or another enters the fantastic from which he can not turn back. The character encounters tests and helpers along the course of the quest (Campbell 1972, 30-37).

After the tests are completed the hero typically heads underground to a cave or lair where he faces his final challenge, which is often a manifestation of the unconscious mind. The hero triumphs, by slaying the monster or confronting his fears, and rightfully claims his prize. At this point there is often a flight or chase scene in which the hero is pursued by the forces he has opposed. Following this the hero emerges back into the society he left dispersing the treasure or knowledge he won to benefit his society. Often this is a moment of rebirth for the hero where he fulfills his destiny and comes to realize the ideal of the hero (Campbell 1972, 30-37).

This story is the framework for many of the popular stories of our time. These can range from low-brow action movies to the most sophisticated Broadway plays and literary works. However, heroes are not necessarily muscle-bound warriors; Campbell noted that Jesus Christ is a Hero, as well as Buddha. Campbell wrote that:

A legendary hero is usually the founder of something . . . In order to found something new, one has to leave the old and go in quest of the seed idea, a germinal idea that will have the potentiality of bringing forth that new thing (Campbell 1988, 136).

This founding idea might be a new way of thinking about God and spirituality, like Christianity, or it might be an object or symbol that restores balance at the Hero’s home.
Jack Lule examined the *New York Times* coverage of St. Louis Cardinals’ Mark McGwire’s 1998 battle with Sammy Sosa over who would surpass Roger Maris’s single-season home run record. Coverage did not exactly match the Hero myth; for example, the aspects of a humble birth and an early mark of greatness did not show up in coverage until McGwire was nearing the record of sixty-one home runs. Early coverage of McGwire clearly placed him on a “quest” to break the record and he went through many “trials” during the season, including the normal ups and downs of baseball, as well as the media frenzy that surrounded the race to the record and McGwire’s use of Andro (a legal equivalent to anabolic steroids). As he neared the record, coverage shifted to McGwire’s upbringing as a dentist’s son (humble birth) and his college baseball career (mark of greatness). McGwire’s willingness to work hard to achieve his goals was a recurrent theme in these pieces, and was the main ideal associated with McGwire. On September 8, 1998, McGwire broke Roger Maris’s record. Although the home-run race placed McGwire on the front page of several editions, there was no triumphant home coming for the hero (Lule 2001, 81-98). Lule wrote that for the modern hero “the quest only ends when the media says it does,” and this seemed to be the case for McGwire as questions about his family-life and use of Andro continued until the season’s end. McGwire finished with 70 home runs (Lule 2001, 97).

The Mother

The Mother contains nearly all female manifestations, both positive and negative, ranging from a person’s literal mother, to the Virgin Mary, to Heaven or Paradise, to
symbols of fertility, to witches, to dragons, and to sarcophagi (Jung 1959, 14-15). Jung listed the following characteristics of the Good Mother:

The qualities associated with it [mother archetype] are maternal solicitude and sympathy; the magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; any helpful instinct or impulse; all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains (Jung 1959, 16).

For the myth of the Good Mother Jack Lule examined coverage of Mother Teresa’s death, a woman who personified this archetype in nearly every way. Likewise, the Bad Mother connotes anything secret, hidden in darkness, the abyss, and the world of the dead, poison, seduction and anything inescapable such as fate (Jung 1959, 16). Jung wrote that the influence a mother has on her child does not come from her directly but “rather from the archetype projected upon her, which gives her a mythological background and invests her with authority” (Jung 1959, 17). Jung wrote that the Mother archetype (in its various forms) is one of the most powerful influences informing the individual psyche (Jung 1959, 16).

The Other World

Lule found the myth of the Other World in coverage of Haiti during the early 1990s. The coverage of Haiti invoked the myth because the nation was described as fundamentally perverse and different from our own. Its ability to be governed was called into question, as were the customs of its citizens. Lule wrote that myths of the Other World “offer neat, dramatic contrasts that affirmed a group’s way of life, position, or place” (Lule 2001, 25). These contrasts serve to “other,” or alienate readers from, foreign
nations. The Other World can also be a place of wonder and delight, a distant paradise. Unsurprisingly, this myth is often found in foreign news and can affect how the U.S. interacts on the world stage.

The Scapegoat

The myth of the Scapegoat serves to warn members of society of the consequences of violating social conventions and beliefs. The Scapegoat embodies evil and guilt, and is the subject of ridicule and abuse. The Scapegoat is often isolated and expelled from a group. Political activists, criminals, radicals, and many others are portrayed as Scapegoats by news makers (Lule 2001, 23). Scapegoats are often used to de-legitimize dissent, such as in the case of Black Panther founder Huey Newton’s death. The New York Times disavowed Newton’s life by using ironic details in their stories, such as the fact that he died violently in his hometown of Oakland where he began his organizing. Coverage focused on his criminal record and further invalidated his life by suggesting that his violent death was a result of leading a violent life (Lule 2001, 67-70).

The Trickster

Jack Lule found evidence of Jung’s Trickster archetype in coverage of Mike Tyson’s rape trial. The Trickster is often depicted as half-man and half-animal, a prankster, a dupe, a shape-shifter, and often has a dual nature. Characteristic behaviors of the Trickster include acts of senseless destruction, the playing of malicious tricks, and subjective, often self-imposed suffering (Jung 1959, 136). Sometimes this suffering leads
to spiritual enlightenment (Jung 1959, 136). Typically a Trickster undergoes all sorts of tortures and “is an approximation to the figure of a savior” (Jung 1959, 135). According to Jung, “he [the Trickster] is a forerunner of the savior, and, like him, God, man, and animal at once. He is both subhuman and superhuman, a bestial and divine being, whose chief and most alarming characteristic is his unconsciousness” (Jung 1959, 143). He unwittingly causes harm and is “on the one hand superior to man because of his superhuman qualities and on the other hand inferior to him because of his unreason” (Jung 1959, 144).

Jung defined the Trickster as mankind’s own shadow and a personification of a secret desire or inclination for persons or groups to undo our best work (Jung 1959, 147). The trickster is described as at-odds with himself, and often depicted with his two hands fighting one-another. An example of this can be found “in the medieval description of the devil as simian dei (the ape of God), and in his characterization in folklore as the ‘simpleton’ who is ‘fooled’ or ‘cheated’” (Jung 1959, 135). His likeness can be found in many other religions, especially those of Native Americans, where the Trickster shares a connection to shamans and medicine men (Jung 1959, 136).

The Victim

Lule offered the coverage of the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship by the Palestine Liberation Front to illustrate the Victim. Leon Klinghoffer, a paraplegic and one

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9 The Trickster is defined by his non-awareness and “never suspects that his own hidden and apparently harmless shadow has qualities whose dangerousness exceeds his wildest dreams” (Jung 1959, 147).
of the 400 hostages, was killed during the hijacking and his body was thrown overboard (Lule 2001, 41). The resulting international news coverage was dominated by images of Marilyn Klinghoffer, the victim’s widow. The hijacking took place over two days, but the New York Times continued to cover the story for another twelve days. Lule wrote that coverage of Victims “attempt to reconcile people to vagaries of human existence—to cruel fate, to bizarre happenstance, to death itself” (Lule 2001, 43). Victims are often given heroic qualities as their deaths are often seen as sacrifices for a greater purpose (Lule 2002, 282). Such was the case with Leon Klinghoffer who was declared a hero and eulogized extensively in the pages of the Times. The fact of his being a paraplegic added pathos to his victimization. Furthermore, Lule wrote that “the victim symbolizes society. We must see ourselves, and cast ourselves too, in the part of the victim” (Lule 2002, 282). This allows the public to imagine how they too might be remembered and provides a set of qualities that they might emulate; after all, “logic will not explain the sudden death of a victim. Rationality will not comfort those left behind” (Lule 2001, 58). Finally, the story of the Victim is one of loss.

Although based on the work of Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell, Lule’s concise collection of modern master myths owes some credit to the work done by Roland Barthes and Marshall McLuhan, who have inspired many of the modern studies of myth in journalism.
Chapter 4: Studies of Myth in Journalism

Two Schools of Thought

During the 1950s, Roland Barthes and Marshall McLuhan recorded their observations of myth in journalism, advertising, and daily life. Their work inspired modern communication scholars who, over the last ten years, have produced a flurry of journal articles that add to the discussion in new and surprising ways. These modern studies can be easily divided into two camps: those inspired by Roland Barthes’ political approach and those that invoke Marshall McLuhan’s cultural approach. In 2002, an issue of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (volume 79, no. 2) was devoted entirely to myth in journalism and showcased researchers inspired by both Barthes and McLuhan.

Political and Ideological Approach

French philosopher Roland Barthes took a political approach to myth in his 1957 work *Mythologies*. Barthes saw myth as political speech that upholds and reinforces the dominant ideology. Myth is not limited to speech or the written word, as any object can be given a subtext and “can be defined neither by its object nor by its material, for any material can arbitrarily be endowed with meaning: the arrow that is brought to signify a challenge is also a kind of speech” (Barthes 1972, 110). Barthes proposed that myth is itself a language and is therefore receptive to the same tools of analysis as the English language (Barthes 1972, 11). In his collection of essays, he borrowed these semiological...
tools to find myth in everyday objects and occurrences, such as toys, newspaper articles, soap powder, wrestling, and the brain of Einstein.

Scholars who embrace Barthes argue that “a primary function of news, like myth, is to create, shape, and sustain an ideological order” (Lule 2002, 279). Modern scholars have found instances where news makers have pushed certain myths into the media. For instance, B. William Silcock pointed to news producers as powerful mythmakers and uses the example of Deutsche Welle Television, an English-language newsroom that reported news for an international audience (Silcock 2002, 340). Silcock found that German producers actively utilized a uniquely German myth about the Past, which was resisted by their foreign colleagues (Silcock 2002, 339).¹ This myth manifested itself in the German producers’ selection of stories and placement in the rundown (Silcock 2002, 344).

Similarly, Elfriede Fursich found that public relations shapes the narrative structure of a story as much as the newsmen do and examines “how a mythic narrative strategy was manufactured and developed over time” in the case of the merger of car manufacturers Daimler-Benz and Chrysler (Fursich 2002, 354).² Fursich used the myth of birth, or as Jung would call it Rebirth, to analyze how the companies’ press relations

¹ The myth of the Past centers on the role Germany played in both World Wars and communism. The myth distinguished Germany’s culture amid the “global marketplace of ideas” (Silcock 2002, 349) and also provided “the Germans ongoing access to global ‘forgiveness’ and [the ability] to construct a new contemporary identity” (Silcock 2002, 350).

² Fursich explains that “news production such as business journalism does not happen in a vacuum. An important influence of financial reporting— corporate public relations —must be considered” (Fursich 2002, 356).
sought to place both car makers on equal platforms. The importance of Fursich’s article is that he pointed out what can be lost when myth is embraced irresponsibly by the media (Fursich 2002, 353). In the case of the merger, the myth of a glorious Rebirth pushed questions of the oligarchy tendencies of car manufacturers off the page.

Social and Cultural Approach

English professor, literary critic, and communication theorist Marshall McLuhan is perhaps best known for declaring that the “medium is the message,” and suggesting that the form of media affects the way people organize and process information (Severin and Tankard 280). In 1959 he published an essay titled “Myth and Mass Media,” which may be the first work that suggests myth is found in the pages of the daily paper. McLuhan argued that myth is a succinct picture of an intricate social process, a story that illustrates a universal truth (McLuhan 1997, 25). McLuhan called newspapers a “Babel of myths” and found them to be an ideal forum for myths. In fact, newspapers themselves

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3 The archetype of Rebirth is inherent in almost all cultures and “must be counted among the primordial affirmations of mankind” (Jung, 1959, 50). It is not possible to measure because it occurs purely in the realm of the psyche, but most societies have a rite by which a boy becomes a man, or a girl a woman. Rebirth also appears in stories as varied as those of Dionysus, Buddha, and Jesus Christ (Jung 1959, 51).

4 Rebirth also offered the idea of a new, exciting, productive merger; however, the opposite occurred with the announcement that Daimler-Benz was selling 80 percent of Chrysler stock.

5 For example, print emphasizes sight and linear thinking whereas television engages both the eyes and the ears and “retribalize[s] us” (Severin and Tankard 281). This “formal effect is always subliminal so far as our ideas and concepts are concerned” (McLuhan 1997, 8). McLuhan wrote that the effect of the form far outweighed any effect that content might have on audiences, which is still a controversial claim (Severin and Tankard 2001, 281).
are closely related to oral traditions that conveyed myth in previous cultures (McLuhan 1997, 13):

That is to say, for example, that the newspaper page, since the introduction of the telegraph, has had a formally auditory character and only incidentally a lineal, literary form. Each item makes its own world, unrelated to any other item save by date line (McLuhan 1997, 8).

This is especially true with the invention of television that makes extensive use of audio and video components to present the news.

Those who follow McLuhan’s school of thought generally hold that myth serves an important cultural function and “see[s] news building social solidarity, for example, or degrading scapegoats or celebrating shared values” (Lule 2002, 279-280). They tend to follow in the footsteps of James W. Carey, Richard Campbell, Elizabeth Bird, and Robert Dardenne. For example, Matthew C. Ehrlich found a special American myth in Charles Kuralt’s “On the Road,” broadcast on CBS News (2002). Ehrlich studied exactly how Kuralt fostered a myth of “Other America” by exercising his nearly complete control of the segment (Ehrlich 2002, 330). This myth “is rooted in a history in which spring always returns and tragedy gives way to triumph,” and offered Americans a break from the turmoil that filled most news broadcasts, which usually focused on national issues such as the Vietnam War and the Civil Right’s Movement (Ehrlich 2002, 328-331). Ehrlich took the premise that myth maintains the social order one step further by suggesting that it can also provide fuel for changing it “and offer[s] sustenance for those wanting to believe that the country and its journalism can fix what ails them” (Ehrlich 2002, 335).
John Pauly and Melissa Eckert (2002) examined the news industry itself to identify the myth of the local and how it has shaped the newspaper industry. Newspapers first became obsessed with “the local” in urban areas and small country papers were quick to follow their lead (Eckert and Pauly 2002, 312). These urban newspapers had “columns that focused on local news, events, and culture, whereas they had previously focused on news outside the community.” The authors concluded that this responsibility to the local throughout the news business created an emotionally resonant sense of connectivity among journalists and their audience (Eckert and Pauly 2002, 321).

Carolyn Kitch examined how news organizations dealt with unexpected tragedy. In her article in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (2002) she explored the mythical ramifications of the death of John F. Kennedy, Jr. Kitch wrote that myths place individual events within a broader context that allowed audiences to make sense of the world (Kitch 2002, 296). She used the myths of the Torchbearer, whose life is cut short, the identification of the nation with a single family, or that “Their History is our History,” and JFK Jr. as a symbol of the American people to explain his death in mythic terms. Stories of tragedy require a narrative framework to make sense of, and convey, the situation (Kitch 2002, 297). Furthermore, Kitch wrote that:

The impact of such stories increase when they are told in dramatic-narrative form—through use of personalization, characterization, descriptive scene-setting,

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They found that, “the local, as myth, articulates the experience of newspaper journalists— their increasing subservience to media conglomerates, their diminished cultural authority, their yearning to connect with actual rather than merely theoretical readers, their collective sadness that a profession that they love seemingly matters so little to their fellow citizens (Eckert and Pauly 2002, 312).
and dramatization within a chronological (rather than an inverted-pyramid) format (Kitch 2002, 297).

She stated in her conclusion that the coverage was remarkably uniform considering the story was breaking news. Kitch wrote that it “suggests that journalists are culturally inclined to choose these themes; their mythic narratives are embedded not just in journalism, but in American life itself” (Kitch 2002, 304).

Further Study of the Master Myths

Heroes and Heroines


7 Semiology focuses on how signs acquire their cultural meaning. There are two parts to any sign: the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the physical sign while the signified is the meaning of the sign. The connection between the two is derived from cultural agreement (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 379).
The researchers identified three ways that the public emulated sports heroes: they copy their style of play and approach to pre-game rituals, they buy their hero’s clothing in order to harness their power, and they model their off-field conduct (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 376). The authors attempted to illuminate how advertisers cash in on our culture’s beliefs about sports heroes and heroines:

Advertisers rely on the heroic saga for the construction of the literal message and trust the recognition of the higher-level message to the audience’s cultural literacy . . . The function of the hero in advertising is aspirational; that is, consumers are assumed to desire the heroic qualities ascribed to brands through the brands’ associations with heroic people, i.e., well-known athletes (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 377).

Advertising takes advantage of existing mythical frameworks to create “instant connections with audiences” with the intention of capitalizing on these images (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 376).

The authors found that all of the female athletes were portrayed as Warrior, just like their male counterparts. However, the heroines were sometimes sexualized, trivialized, and objectified (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 382-383). Female athletes often adopted the Caregiver and Martyr archetypes of the heroic journey and tended to embrace non-competitive sports because these are the roles and activities that they have typically been socialized for (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 377). Their success is often attributed to their coaches, their ability to get along with others, helping, and the support of their family (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland 2002, 378).

Dan Berkowitz captured myth-in-the-making as he examined how the media dealt with a new type of terrorist: the female suicide bomber. Newspapers began adopting the
archetype of the Woman Warrior to explain the occurrences, which Berkowitz captures in his 2005 article “Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News through Mythical Archetypes.” Berkowitz used a longitudinal examination of the news because, with myth, “recurring patterns begin to stand out through readings of similar occurrences” (Berkowitz 2005, 610). To support his claim that the specific archetype of the Woman Warrior was employed by journalists, Berkowitz identified the archetype’s “typical pattern of elements”—toughness, smartness, beauty, sexuality, and defiance—and used them as a “framework for interpretation” during his study (Berkowitz 2005, 611). He wrote that:

A grounded textual analysis of news content would therefore begin with a conceptual framework—in this case, the classic depiction of the Woman Warrior—but would then remold and reinterpret that framework through extended immersion. (Berkowitz 2005, 611)

Keeping this in mind, Berkowitz paid close attention to how reporters described the physical aspects of the suicide bombers and compared them to the five attributes of the Woman Warrior (Berkowitz 2005, 613).

A similar method was used to identify another myth, that of “Just Cause.” This secondary analysis relied on key themes that emerged from the reports: they were portrayed as heroic, they sacrificed themselves for a just cause, they were very secretive of their plans, and their sacrifice was celebrated (Berkowitz 2005, 614). Berkowitz found that “even when reporting on unusual and unexpected events, news workers end up explaining a situation in a way that becomes relatively familiar and usual” (Berkowitz 2005, 608). Archetypes provided an easily-applied package of characteristics that aid
journalists in reporting dramatic events. Reporters are generally unaware of this and do not intentionally use them (Berkowitz 2005, 612). However, if an archetype is going to work well in the news it must fit the circumstances of the story (Berkowitz 2005, 617).

Trickster

Samuel P. Winch examined how Osama Bin Laden was portrayed in the news in his article “Constructing an ‘Evil Genius’: News Uses of Mythic Archetypes to Make Sense of Bin Laden” (2005). Winch used the myth of the Evil Genius, which seems to share many characteristics of the Trickster, an archetype that is at once primitive and sly. Winch’s analysis of articles on Bin Laden went a long way in explaining why the media chose to present him in this light and why Americans needed it. After all, it is hardly honorable to go to war against an inferior. By making Bin Laden “a cunning genius,” America was able to have its enemy and explain away its concerns that he was not stopped prior to September 11, 2001 (Winch 2005, 289).

Mother

Barbara Barnett studied how the media used the myth of the Bad Mother to explain why Andrea Yates killed her five children (2005). Barnett wrote that, after this surprising and tragic event, the media seemed shocked by the destruction of the myth of the Good Mother. In fact, as discussed earlier, many myths have a bad side to them as well as a good. Jung’s archetype of the Mother also had a negative possibility, that of the witch, or Bad Mother. Barnett failed to mention this but stated that “The notion that only
the sickest woman would harm her children presents a comforting myth that permits the illusion of the good mother to continue and reinforced the cultural stereotype of women as all-loving” (Barnett 2005, 19). Barnett closes her article with a plea that post-partum depression received more coverage and explanation from the news media.

These studies have shown that Jack Lule’s master myths can be found in various types of coverage. However, this project is especially interested in articles that deal with myth following an unexpected or disastrous event. Only one event in recent years mimics the effects of the attack on Pearl Harbor in several meaningful ways, and that is the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Of course other events in American history may, in many ways, provide an even closer match to the attack on Oahu. The sinking of the USS Maine, for example, in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, led to the Spanish-American war and the battle cry “Remember the Maine!,” which is echoed by the World War II slogan “Remember Pearl Harbor!” However, 9/11 offers several advantages as a case for comparison, not the least of which is that editorials in the *New York Times* were scrutinized for myth by Jack Lule in his article “Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The New York Times Responds to September 11, 2001,” in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (vol. 79, no. 2).

**Pearl Harbor and 9/11**

The Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and the events surrounding it are in many ways similar to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Henry Kissinger, journalist James Bamford, CBS News, and *Time* magazine all compared 9/11 to Pearl
Harbor in one way or another (Griffin 2004, xi). Kissinger and an editorial in *Time* magazine called for a public outcry at the terrorist attack similar to the outpouring of anger and unity following Pearl Harbor. This anger following the Japanese attack resulted in swinging public support in favor of entering World War II. In much the same way, September 11, 2001 garnered the support of the masses for the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Griffin 2004, xi-xii).

The attack on Pearl Harbor prodded a nation to action and required a gigantic effort by the industrial sector to meet production demands for the tools of war. Following the war, the “great military production machine briefly came to a halt” as America demobilized (Johnson 2004, 54-55). Defense spending again rose sharply with the onset of the Cold War and the conflict in Korea, as it did again during the Vietnam War, and during President Reagan’s strategic defense initiative. At no time from 1955 to 2002 did defense spending drop below pre-Cold War or pre-World War II levels (Johnson, 2004, 56-57).

Even though the military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq has cost few American lives in comparison to the number lost during the Second World War, and everyday Americans had to make few, if any, sacrifices following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, those attacks also prodded America to unite against a common enemy. Initial public support of military action set the stage for an unprecedented increase in defense spending. As of March 20, 2007, five years into the War on Terror, defense spending has reached the highest level since World War II, and “even with past spending adjusted upward for inflation, the $630 billion provided for the military this
year exceeds the highest annual amounts during the Reagan-era defense buildup, the Vietnam War and the Korean War” (Rosen 2007). The surprise attacks on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the World Trade Center in September 11, 2001 set the stage for dramatic increases in the defense spending.

Each attack provided a basis for restrictions of civil liberties. In the case of Pearl Harbor it was the rounding up of U.S. Japanese citizens. The attacks on September 11, 2001 provided the “basis for significant restrictions on civil liberties in the United States (just as Pearl Harbor led to restrictions on the civil liberties of Japanese Americans)” (Griffin 2004, xi). After the attacks on September 11, 2001 domestic surveillance was put into effect along with the Patriot Act, which gave government the power to indefinitely hold “enemy combatants” (Griffin 2004, xi-xii).

The attacks that occurred on 9/11 affected society at an ideological level; Osama Bin Laden became a name spoken at every breakfast table. According to sociologist Ulrich Beck, the world was reinterpreted by Americans after 9/11 and the government used the risk of further terrorist attacks to push its own agenda. Beck wrote that:

It is a lesson in doing international politics as risk minimization. For some time, one of the many justifications for the Iraq war was the danger of terrorists obtaining weapons of mass destruction. This is a very hypothetical risk, but it justified a preemptive attack, because the worst case seemed to be so horrible (Wimer and Quandt 2006, 338).

Controversy still swells around both events, centering on whether or not the U.S. government had foreknowledge of either attack. Books such as David Ray Griffin’s The New Pearl Harbor (2004) raise important questions about 9/11 that cannot be easily dismissed, such as why the U.S. Air Force did not send up jets to investigate the domestic
flights that lost radio contact with the FAA? The doubts that Griffin casts on the Bush administration’s role in 9/11 are similar to those cast on Roosevelt’s administration.

This deception of the American public to encourage support of a war is not a new occurrence in our history. New York Times war correspondent Chris Hedges raised the issue of mythologizing war in his book War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning (2002). Myth is a necessary component of warfare because “wars that lose their mythic stature for the public, such as Korea or Vietnam, are doomed to failure, for war is exposed for what it is—organized murder” (Hedges 2002, 21). This reality can only be overcome by mythologizing our role in a war (Hedges 2000, 26).

According to many historians, the most basic problem for historical researchers is to get at the objective facts behind the mythological accounts. Sometimes facts come to light hundreds of years later that lead to new ways of viewing an event. Modern revisionists have reexamined the lives of our mythical founding fathers; and writers like Howard Zinn have re-written America’s Revolutionary War history in terms of how the common people shaped the revolution. Even the leaders of the new union had a particular interest in selective memory as they used patriotic fervor to forge a viable union.

According to historian Charles Royster:

Charles Thomson, the longtime secretary of Congress, probably knew more about the administration and politics of the Revolutionary War than any other American, but he refused to publish a history of the Revolution: “I could not tell the truth without giving great offense. Let the world admire our patriots and heroes. Their supposed virtues (where they were so) by commanding imitation will serve the cause of patriotism and our country.” According to another version of the refusal, he concluded by saying, “I shall not undeceive future generations.” Before he died, Thomson burned all his papers (Raphael 2001, 5).
In short, the myths of the Revolution gave the impetus for its beginning, sustained it till its ending, and forged the historical memories of it. But where did the mythologizing begin?

In the case of the attack of September 11, 2001, myth could be found in the initial coverage by the *New York Times*. Jack Lule offered an intriguing assessment of these myths in his article “Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The *New York Times* Responds to September 11, 2001” (2002). Lule used close reading to analyze the articles, as “conventional counting and content analyses may miss the social, symbolic power of the words and that journalism may fruitfully be understood from the perspective of myth” (Lule 2002, 276). To help put the *New York Times* editorials into a mythological framework Lule once again used the Victim myth, as well as the Foreboding Future, Innocence Lost, and the Hero myth, (Lule 2002, 276). He wrote that:

As families huddled around the faint flicker of television screens, or read aloud from thick newspapers and black-bordered magazines, they found allusions to tragic victims, brave heroes, and sinister evil, and a world changed. (Lule 2002, 276)

Myth is often called upon to explain disaster and “in times of crisis . . . often offers the reassurance of the Hero” (Lule 2002, 283). The Loss of Innocence was “a mournful myth, reserved for times of great crisis and loss” (Lule 2002, 282). The archetype of Foreboding Future referred to collective America’s loss of innocence and the larger question of “What’s next?” Lule pointed out that many of these reports were filled with this dreaded question, which led to foreboding forecasts. In this way myth “serves to ready a people for conflict and strife, suffering and sacrifice” (Lule 2002, 285). Life and
death were explained in terms of the Victims, those dead at the blast site, and the Heroes, the emergency workers, firefighters, etc (Lule 2002, 286). These myths served to distract the public from questioning the official story of the attacks and also geared them up for a long, long global conflict. The attack on Pearl Harbor begs the same question: How did we mythologize the attack and our following entry into World War II, and why?

*Genesis of the Hypotheses and Research Questions*

The three hypotheses originated from theories and arguments presented by previous qualitative researchers. The first hypothesis, “Journalists tend to rely on myth in the first days of a great catastrophe, and because of this there will be a shift in the types of myths used to explain Pearl Harbor,” derives primarily from Dan Berkowitz’s article titled “Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes” (2002). As mentioned previously (p. 55-56), this article explored how reporters dealt with the emerging trend of female suicide bombers from Palestine. Berkowitz wrote that “Once a mythical archetype has been invoked, it can be applied to future incidents as long as their circumstances seem to be a reasonable match” (Berkowitz 2002, 617). Berkowitz found that the myths used to describe suicide attacks shifted as the players and circumstances changed (when the circumstances no longer matched). For example, he found that the Trickster was used to portray male suicide bombers, and that this myth was abandoned in favor of the Woman Warrior when reporters were forced to address female suicide bombers. Another shift occurred when it was revealed that suicide-bomber Reem Raiyshi had children, and so the Bad (or
Terrible) Mother myth was employed to explain why a woman would abandon her offspring (Berkowitz 2002, 617). During the period covered by this study, from December 8, 1941, to July, 7, 1942, many important events occurred that affected the players and circumstances of the U.S. entry into World War II. For example, the Battle of the Coral Sea that occurred from May 4, 1942, to May 8, 1942, and the Battle of Midway that occurred from June 4, 1942, to June 7, 1942, were both important engagements that may have prompted a shift in myths. The Battle of Midway may have particular importance because it marked a decisive victory for the U.S. over the Imperial Japanese Navy; the first clear win after a string of defeats (Wels 2001, 189).8

The second hypothesis, “As reporters had little time for preparation or consultation, their articles written closest to the date of the attack will rely more heavily on myth and, therefore exhibit more functions of myth,” was based on the observations of Dan Berkowitz, from his article “Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes” (2002), and those of Jack Lule in his article “Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The New York Times Responds to September 11, 2001” (2002). Berkowitz wrote that “This study put forth the argument that categorizing occurrences into mythical archetypes serves as a way for journalists to quickly report on new and unknown occurrences in a way that resonates with their audiences” (Berkowitz 2002, 617). Along a similar line, Lule wrote that “Faced with the horror of September 11,

8 Some historians consider the Battle of the Coral Sea a strategic victory for the U.S., even though they lost the heavy carrier USS Lexington and the Imperial Japanese Navy lost only a light carrier, because the Japanese abandoned their invasion of Port Moresby, New Guinea (Knightley 1975, 282).
editorial writers might have been expected to draw upon mythic themes in their attempts to make sense of the attacks and their impact on American society” (Lule 2002, 280). And indeed they did as evidenced by the strong sway of myth in the editorial page (Lule 2002, 280). Following Berkowitz’s and Lule’s line of thinking, it can be expected that an unforeseen event as unprecedented as the attack on Pearl Harbor would force journalists to seek out and use existing narrative frameworks to make sense of the world-changing military strike. This should be evidenced by a high number of functions of myth exhibited by those articles that follow the attack in a timely manner. Conversely, articles written months after the attack should contain less evidence of myth, unless, of course, they followed another mythic event, such as the Battle of Midway.

The third hypothesis, “Soft news articles, or those that use a dramatic or narrative approach to reporting, will have a greater frequency of myth than other types of articles,” originated from an assumption that underlies the work of several researchers that soft news, because of its narrative qualities, is more likely to contain myth. Carolyn Kitch observed in her article titled “‘A Death in the American Family:’ Myth, Memory, and National Values in the Media Mourning of John F. Kennedy Jr.” that articles using a “dramatic-narrative form” are more likely candidates for myth (Kitch 2002, 298). In her study, Kitch choose to examine news magazines because “Magazine editorial techniques—their specific and often personal ‘voice,’ their editors’ direct address to readers, their frequent use of narrative, and their acknowledged points of view—are particularly well suited for mourning and meaning-making” (Kitch 2002, 298). These qualities that make magazines a likely place to find myth are the same found in soft news.
Elizabeth S. Bird and Robert W. Dardenne wrote in their chapter “Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News” (1988) that “The narrative devices used in [hard] news writing are widely seen as ways to organize information clearly and effectively, with story-telling as such tending to be reserved for events deemed ‘soft’ or human interest” (Bird and Dardenne 1988, 76). Bird and Dardenne also wrote that myth appears in stories and that “hard news” often takes the form of chronicling, or recalling, events, rather than a story form. Although chronicles are important to the overall fabric of myth, it is in the narrative, or story-telling, that myth can be found (Bird and Dardenne 1988. 75-77). Following this argument it was expected that soft news articles would more frequently contain myth because, more so than other stories, articles that deal with tragedy require narrative elements, such as drama and unity (Kitch 2002, 297).

The first research question sought to identify the most prominent and numerous myths. The next four research questions were designed to allow for an exploration of how each myth was incorporated into coverage of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The last question allowed for a comparison of the editorial coverage surrounding the attack on Pearl Harbor with that of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, as documented in Jack Lule’s article, “Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The New York Times Responds to September 11, 2001” (2002).
List of Hypotheses and Research Questions

Hypothesis 1. Journalists tend to rely on myth in the first days of a great
catastrophe, and because of this there will be a shift in the types of myths used to
explain Pearl Harbor.

Hypothesis 2. As reporters had little time for preparation or consultation, their
articles written closest to the date of the attack will rely more heavily on myth and,
therefore exhibit more functions of myth.

Hypothesis 3. Soft news articles, or those that use a dramatic or narrative approach
to reporting, will have a greater frequency of myth than other types of articles.

Research Question 1. What are the most prominent and numerous myths employed
to explain the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese?

Research Question 2. Are the Japanese mythologized as Tricksters?

Research Question 3. Are the Axis powers “othered” by the Other World myth, and
if so is this myth exclusive to America’s enemies?
Research Question 4. Does the myth of the Good Mother confine as well as celebrate women in the coverage of Pearl Harbor?

Research Question 5. Who are the subjects of the Scapegoat myth, and how was it applied to them?

Research Question 6. Do the myths found in coverage of Pearl Harbor seem like they are being formed by journalists or are they relaying the myths of others, such as the U.S. government?

Research Question 7. How does the coverage of Pearl Harbor compare to the Times’ coverage of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, as documented by Jack Lule?
Chapter 5: Method

The New York Times

Founded in 1851, the New York Times is the largest metropolitan daily in the United States and, as of 2007, has won ninety-four Pulitzer Prizes—more than any other newspaper (The New York Times Company). The New York Times is located in New York City, a capital of information, economy, and culture. It is published internationally and holds status among foreign officials. Being a daily paper, it is able to respond quickly to unexpected events with in-depth coverage.

The Times is a newspaper of record that is frequently relied upon for authoritative information about modern events. It sets the agenda of most other news organizations in the U.S. The Times has its own news wire service so its reporters are often on the scene of historic events (Lule 2001, 148). During World War I, this wire service was instrumental in establishing the Times’ authoritative reputation, when its “large news-gathering organization pulled ahead of most of its American competitors” (Douglas 1999, 129).1 Jack Lule wrote that “more than any other U.S. news medium, the New York Times has become crucial reading for those interested in news, national politics, and international affairs” (Lule 2001, 6). He wrote that the paper is “the connected insider, serene with position and power, flattering the mighty but also sometimes threatening them because of its status” (Lule 2001, 7). In short, according to Lule, the Times can be

1 Indeed, Times reporters often arrived at the battles ahead of the troops because of then-editor Carr Van Anda’s planning and foresight (Douglas 1999, 129).
seen as a State Scribe that is our society’s “privileged and preeminent storyteller” (Lule 2001, 7).

The timeframe of this study ranged from December 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942. December 8, 1941 was chosen as the start date because this was the day that reports of the attack on Pearl Harbor first appeared in the pages of the Times. July 7, 1942 was chosen as the stop date because it is approximately one month after the Battle of Midway, an important turning point in the war. The Battle of Midway took place from June 4, 1942, to June 7, 1942 and was selected because of its historical, and potentially mythic, importance. Phillip Knightley wrote in his book The First Casualty (1975) that:

If there was a single battle in the Pacific that turned the war in America’s favour (sic), it was the Battle of Midway, the first decisive defeat inflicted on the Japanese navy in 350 years. It was one of those rare battles in which a numerically inferior fleet, in the space of only minutes, snatched victory from a stronger force and changed the course of history (Knightley 1975, 282).

This battle was the first clear military victory of the U.S. over the Japanese Imperial Navy who, in less than six months, “had seized the richest colonial area in the world, snuffing out in the process the British, French, and Dutch empires” (Knightley 1975, 274). The timeframe for the study was extended to approximately one month following the battle to allow enough time for coverage to clear military censors and surpass geographical difficulties.

A searchable index of The New York Times 1851-2003 was accessed through the ProQuest CSA database of historical newspapers, which was made available through
A search for keyword “pearl harbor” from December 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, in the ProQuest CSA database of historical *New York Times* coverage returned 2,078 articles. The search for “pearl harbor” was done in all fields: full text, descriptor field, abstract, etc. All articles, editorials, and advertisements found in all sections of the *New York Times* and the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* were included in the search. The search itself was conducted in three parts because ProQuest can only display 1,000 results at a time. The first search was from Dec. 8, 1941, to Feb. 23, 1942, and returned 998 articles. The second search was from Feb. 24, 1942, to March 7, 1942, and returned 120 articles. The third search was from March 8, 1942, to July 7, 1942, and returned 960 articles. The total number of articles recovered was 2,078. Strict attention was paid in keeping these articles in chronological order when selecting the sample. The ordering of articles appearing on the same day was left up to ProQuest, which organized them by section and page number. It should also be noted that all articles retrieved were computer scans of the actual newspaper articles.

These 2,078 articles comprised roughly seven months of coverage focused on Pearl Harbor. The selection of the sample was done by placing the articles in chronological order, and, after using a random article as a starting point (case no. 69) every fourth article was then selected for study (both those after case no. 69 and those before). This process ensured that each article had an equal chance of being selected. At first a 25 percent sample (520 articles) was selected randomly from the total population;

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2 The ProQuest CSA website is www.proquest.com.
however, eighty-eight articles were removed from the sample because they were not receptive to the quantitative analysis, which left a final sample size of 432 articles, or 20.78 percent of the population. The eighty-eight articles that were excluded from the quantitative study were found to be either unrelated or were otherwise not fit for analysis. These were composed of twenty-two advertisements, seven photographs, nine news indexes, nineteen personal letters, five classified advertisements, twelve book reviews, five “Sports of the Times,” three lists of radio broadcasts, one “Today’s Events,” one account of news on the stage, one account of a boxing match, one list of best selling books, and one poem. Although these articles did not fit the format for the quantitative exploration, they proved useful in qualitative discussions. News articles, editorials, and transcripts of speeches were all subject to the quantitative method, including articles from issues of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* that were included in the sample. After the removal of unrelated items, the quantitative portion of this study examined a sample of 432 articles, or 20.78 percent of the population.

**Quantitative Content Analysis**

It may seem strange to try to identify form by sifting through manifest content. Yet what other tool does a researcher have to measure what cannot be easily seen, that which has taken researchers years of cataloging folk tales and ancient stories to identify? Every time a coder makes a decision it is in some way subjective (just as is all observation); however, this study attempted the most objective analysis possible. The coding instrument was loosely based on Harold Lasswell’s system for analyzing political
coverage, in which each coder is left to make a directional decision about coverage—positive, negative, or neutral (Stempel, Weaver and Wilhoit 2003, 212). When identifying myth the coder needed the same freedom of determination that Lasswell’s system allowed, because an interpretation that was any more subjective could never meet the criterion of two people getting the same results when coding. For this reason the quantitative instrument relied upon nominal codes; meaning that the presence of myth, and its functions, was either present or not.

Explanation of the Functions of the Seven Master Myths

As noted earlier (p. 39-41), this point-in-time quantitative analysis drew upon Vladimir Propp’s system of morphology and Jack Lule’s Seven Master Myths. Five functions, or elements, of each of the Seven Master Myths were used to examine the Pearl Harbor coverage. The functions of each myth were generally derived from Lule’s descriptions of each Master Myth. Lule’s descriptions of these myths pinpointed common elements that were found in stories from varying cultures. These elements were also observed and recorded by previous scholars, such as Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell. According to Propp, these elements, or commonalities between stories, indicate the presence of functions, which can be identified and counted.

Following is explanation of each of the five functions for Lule’s Seven Master Myths. The Flood myth deals with disasters, and fault is often attributed to the victims of the calamity. The DISASTER function (V10) indicated that an article covered a natural disaster, catastrophe, or any unexpected event over which the victims had little or no...
control. This function was derived from Lule’s observation that “Those stories [containing the Flood myth] depict the destruction of a group of people by powerful forces, such as gods or nature” (Lule 2001, 25). The FAULT function (V11) was present if somewhere in the story it was suggested by either the reporter or a source that the disaster was the fault of the victims. According to Lule’s observation, “Disaster comes to those who have done wrong” (Lule 2001, 25). The PUNISMENT function (V12) was present if it was suggested by the reporter or a source that the disaster was some sort of punishment from God for those who have strayed from the “right path.” Lule wrote that “The Flood often comes because people have strayed from the right path” (Lule 2001, 25). The NATURE function (V13) was checked if the humbling power of nature or chaos was evident either by the amount of destruction and lives lost (body counts, property damage estimates, etc) or was suggested by the reporter or a source. “The disaster humbles and reminds humans of forces greater than themselves,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 25). The NO HOPE function (V14) was present if there was little or no apparent hope for any immediate relief as evidenced by either the amount of devastation or the difficulties in geography. Lule wrote that humans seem oddly comforted by forces that “lie outside the grip of human control” (Lule 2001, 25).

The pattern of the Hero myth was first identified by Joseph Campbell in his book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1972). Lule offered a quick rundown of those functions when he wrote that “The news produces and reproduces the timeless pattern: the humble birth, the early mark of greatness, the quest, the triumph, and the return” (Lule 2001, 23). The BIRTH function (V15) indicated a typically humble birth, meaning
that the Hero was often born to parents who were not of high social status. The **SIGN** function (V16) pointed to some reference of an early mark of greatness in the article, whether it was in physical skills, intellectual brightness, kindness, or evidenced by an early sacrifice. The **QUEST** function (V17) was indicated if the Hero went on a quest away from home and faced battles or trials. In a typical myth the obstacle between the hero and his goal was often a representation of the unconscious mind; however in coverage of a war, it may more often be fear itself or a very real enemy. Often the Hero performed an act of bravery, risking his or her life to help others. The **TRIUMPH** function (V18) was checked if by slaying the enemy, overcoming an obstacle, or passing a trial, the Hero achieved his goal with a decisive victory. Often he was pursued by the enemy’s remaining allies or servants, narrowly escaping. The **RETURN** function (V19) was present when the Hero returned home triumphant.

The myth of the Good Mother seemed to have derived from the first intense bonds that an infant forms with its mother (Jung 1949, 14). Lule wrote that the myth of the Good Mother is “a comforting, consoling—but possibly confining—portrayal” (Lule 2001, 24). The **MATERNAL** function (V20) was indicated when someone was injured, either mentally or physically, and the Good Mother offered them comfort, care, nursing or protection in the article. “The Good Mother offers maternal comfort and protection,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 23). The function **GIVES OF SELF** (V21) was present when the Good Mother gave of herself, either through her time or talents, to provide for someone else. This kindness was commented on or drawn attention to in the article. Lule pointed out that “The news tells stories of good and kind people who comfort and care for others”
The ACCLAIMED function (V22) was indicated if the Good Mother was acclaimed among women because of her kindness. In the article it was apparent that others were attracted to her because of her exceeding goodness. This was based on Lule’s observation that “She often is acclaimed above all others, blessed among women” (Lule 2001, 24). The MODEL function (V23) was present if it was pointed out in an article that the Good Mother provided a model for others to strive for. “The myth nurtures and nourishes and offers people a model of goodness in times when goodness may seem in short supply,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 24). The RIGID function (V24) was checked if, even though the Good Mother’s qualities are shown as desirable, her attributes provided a rigid model for other women to emulate. Lule observed that “The myth can also confine and restrict, presenting rigid models of maternity and gender” (Lule 2001, 24).

The Other World myth “expresses how a group of people in particular historical circumstances sees itself,” and is often found in coverage of foreign lands (Lule 2001, 24). The HEAVEN/HELL function (V25) was indicated if the article referenced the Other World as either a paradise like Eden or a nightmare world of chaos. The fundamental quality is that that the land was substantially different from the reporter’s home; in this case the U.S. “Sometimes the Other World is a garden of delight, an exotic land of foreign charm. Sometimes the Other World is portrayed as a threat, as a dark and disagreeable land,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 24). Presence of the HARBOR function (V26) indicated that the Other World was a land that either harbored enemies or friends. Lule wrote that the Other World can be home to enemies, and conversely, friends (Lule 2001, 24). The DIFFERENT function (V27) was checked if coverage of the Other World

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highlighted its differences from our own society. The actual differences that might be reported vary infinitely (from animal sacrifice to a military coup) and can be either positive or negative. Whichever the case, the differences that were highlighted fall outside the commonly accepted societal beliefs of the U.S. Lule observed that “Contrasts, implicit and explicit, are drawn between our way of life and the Other’s” (Lule 2001, 24).

The PRIMITIVE function (V28) indicated that the Other World was described as incredibly primitive in coverage, which can connote innocence such as on a tropical island, or barbaric chaos, such as in a jungle with cannibal tribes. Lule wrote that the myth when used in connection to the U.S. “portrays a mighty and superior people descending with fascination and disgust into a primitive place on the globe” (Lule 2001, 170). The SUPERIORITY function (V29) was present if the idea that the U.S. is a bastion of civilization in a world beset by barbarians was promoted in the coverage, or if people in the Other World were generally seen as requiring U.S. help to overcome their primitiveness. Lule observed that the Other World “is a world to be feared and perhaps someday avoided. But for now it’s a world in desperate need of U.S. guidance and military might” (Lule 2001, 170). Lule also wrote that the myth “affirms U.S. superiority and other nations’ inferiority” (Lule 2001, 171).

The myth of the Scapegoat serves to uphold the ideals and values of a society while punishing those who violate them. The EMBODY function (V30) was checked if it was indicated in the article that the Scapegoat embodied evil or society’s guilt about an event. This was suggested either in the article or inherent in the context of the event. Lule wrote that the Scapegoat “embodies evil and guilt” (Lule 2001, 23). The CHALLENGE
function (V31) was indicated if the Scapegoat took an action that challenged or ignored social beliefs and threatened the comfort of those in control. “Myths of the Scapegoat tell in dramatic fashion what happens to those who challenge or ignore social beliefs,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 23). The VILIFIED function (V32) was present if the Scapegoat was ridiculed, degraded, or generally vilified for his or her transgressions in the article. Lule wrote that “Myths of the Scapegoat ridicule and degrade. They vilify and shun” (Lule 2001, 23). The OUTCAST function (V33) was indicated if the Scapegoat was isolated and propelled from a group. This could range from getting fired from a job, deported, imprisoned, or even put death. This was based on Lule’s observation that “Native Americans, the Mayans, and African tribes all had myths and rituals in which scapegoats, embodying various evils, were isolated and expelled from the group” (Lule 2001, 23). The PURIFIED function (V34) was present if the Scapegoat’s expulsion from society was suggested to be cleansing or served as an example to others who would seek to violate the same beliefs. “The myth ‘explains away’ the faults, problems, or issues raised by the individual. And the myth serves as a warning to those who might take a similar path,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 79).

The Trickster myth is more than just a sly character fond of playing tricks; the myth is much more formable and complex than that and is found in cultures from Asia to Africa (Lule 2001, 23). Much like the myth of the Scapegoat, the Trickster myth reinforces the rules of society, but unlike the Scapegoat myth, the Trickster myth does not involve a culminating event, instead it shows the need “for societal standards as he [the Trickster] lives an error-filled life of ruin” (Lule 2001, 124). The DUALITY function
(V35) means that the article depicted a person, group, or nation that was given one, some or all of the following attributes: crude, stupid, unreflective, senseless, instinctual, and animal-like. The Trickster is half-man and half-beast, and his manifestation in the pages of the newspaper often possesses some of the attributes of each. “The myth of the Trickster often portrays a crude and stupid figure, half animal and half human. He is senseless and unreflective,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 24). The PRANKS function (V36) is evidenced in news coverage by cruel, often dangerous, pranks, or malicious actions, that are usually played on unsuspecting victims. These actions are often a crude attempt of the Trickster to correct his duality, or take revenge for it. Carl Jung identified the characteristic behaviors of the Trickster that included acts of senseless destruction, the playing of malicious tricks, and self-imposed suffering (Jung 1959, 136). The SUFFERING function (V37) was apparent if the Trickster’s actions or those attributed to him or her by a source, or by the reporter, bring about suffering on the Trickster and those around him. Lule wrote that the Trickster “brings on himself and others all manners of suffering” (Lule 2001, 24). Also, the Trickster “proceeds from one afflicting happenstance to the next, seemingly always on the edge of self-destruction” (Lule 2001, 124). The CONTEMPT function (V38) was evident if the Trickster’s actions resulted in making him a subject of contempt or mockery by those around him, as evidenced by sources or by the reporter. This was based on Lule’s observation that the Scapegoat is “a subject of mockery, contempt, and ridicule” (Lule 2001, 24). The REGRET function (V39) was present if, in the article, the Trickster did not express remorse or regret for his or her actions and had little comprehension of how he or she hurt others. Lule wrote that
the Trickster is “senseless and unreflective,” a creature of impulse and animal desires (Lule 2001, 24).

The myth of the Victim reconciles society, and individuals, to seeming meaningless death in a world full of happenstance (Lule 2001, 22). The INNOCENT function (V40) was apparent in news coverage if the Victim was harmed, even though he or she was essentially innocent of any crime or transgressions. Often the Victim’s only mistake was to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. The myth of the Victim attempts to “reconcile people to the vagaries of human existence—to cruel fate, to bizarre happenstance, to death itself” (Lule 2001, 22). The RANDOMNESS function (V41) was apparent if, in the coverage, an event occurred that had little to do directly with the Victim, and he or she was killed or injured during the event, which illustrated the randomness of their death. The myth of the Victim “reconciles people to the tragic and seeming randomness of human existence” (Lule 2001, 22). The SACRIFICE function (V42) was present if the article highlighted the death or injury of the Victim as a sacrifice for the greater good. “The news, as myth, elevates and transforms death into sacrifice,” wrote Lule (Lule 2001, 22). The ELEVATES function (V43) was evident if the article elevated life in the face of death, meaning that the article detailed the positive aspects of the Victim’s life, thus giving their life meaning in light of their death. This is an important part of the myth as, “Through stories of the sacrifice of the Victim, myth offers reconciliation and elevates life in the face of death” (Lule 2001, 22). The LIVE ON function (V44) was marked if it was suggested by a source, or the reporter, that the Victim would live on in the hearts or minds of those who knew him or her. Lule wrote
that the Victim, particularly Leon Klinghoffer, who was killed by terrorists hijacking the
cruise ship *Achille Lauro* in 1985, “will live always in the hearts of those who love him”
(Lule 2001, 58). The functions just detailed form the core of the quantitative analysis and
following is a brief example of how that system was applied to news coverage.

A Brief Example of Coding For Functions

The myth of the Scapegoat serves as a good example—providing society a way of
reconciling its own guilt. The first function for the Scapegoat was **EMBODY**, which was
checked if there was textual evidence in the article that the Scapegoat embodied evil or
society’s guilt about an event. The second function was **CHALLENGE**, meaning that the
Scapegoat took some action that ignored widely-held social beliefs or threatened those in
control. The third function was **VILIFIED** and was coded if the Scapegoat was ridiculed,
degraded, or vilified for his action that violated societal beliefs. The fourth function was
**OUTCAST**, meaning that the Scapegoat was punished for his action by some sort of
isolation up to, and including, imprisonment and death. The last function was **PURIFIED**, and was coded if it was suggested by the reporter, or source, that the punishment of the
Scapegoat served as an example to others who would seek to violate taboos. None, one,
or even all five functions could be present in a given article. The following is an example
from the population of articles with the headline “Jailed for Cursing the U.S.: German
Gets 15 Days, Fined $25 in White Plains:”

Frank Biender, 42 years old, a German alien living here, was fined $25 and
sentenced to fifteen days in the county penitentiary today for having said in a
tavern last night “to Hell with the United States; I’d rather fight for Hitler.”
The defendant pleaded guilty to a charge of disorderly conduct. Detectives charged that he had made the remark while quarrelling with a couple whose son was killed in Pearl Harbor. 
“I wish I could arrange for you to return you to Hitler,” City Judge Basil Filardi said in sentencing Biender. “In Germany you would be shot for behavior such as your’s last night” (New York Times January 3, 1942).

The fact that Frank Biender was a German immigrant made him the embodiment of the enemy (fitting the EMBODY function). He was arrested for cursing the U.S. and voicing his opinion that he would rather fight for Hitler while arguing with a couple who lost their son during the attack on Pearl Harbor (fitting the CHALLENGE function). He was fined $25 and then jailed (fitting the OUTCAST function). The judge was then quoted as saying that the man would have been shot for his remark if he was in Germany, which even if true, ridiculed and degraded the man’s desire to fight for his homeland (which fit the VILIFIED function). In this example four of the five functions were found, indicating the presence of the Scapegoat myth.

Coding was a two-level process in that the overall presence of a myth was indicated by the presence of any of the five functions that make it up. In other words, if any function of the Flood, Hero, Good Mother, Scapegoat, Trickster, or Victim myth was found in an article then the corresponding nominal variable was coded. These variables were as follows: overall presence of the Flood myth (V45), overall presence of the Hero myth (V46), overall presence of the Good Mother myth (V47), overall presence of the Other World myth (V48), overall presence of the Scapegoat myth (V49), overall presence of the Trickster myth (V50), and the overall presence of the Victim myth (V51). The presence of any function indicated that the myth was present to some degree. This
provided for discussion at two levels, one being the overall presence of myth, and the other being a dialogue on the individual functions that construct those myths. The more functions of myth found in an article then the more that article embraced that archetype, giving a measure of comparison of the myths found in different articles. The articles found in the coverage of Pearl Harbor were the units of analysis for this study.

Other variables that articles were coded include: the Type of Article (V6), hard news, soft news, editorial, chronicle, and other; the Origin of the Article (V7), Times, state bureau, D.C. bureau, wire service, and other newspaper; and Prominence of the Article (V8), page one, page one of section, inside page, and other. The variables Type of Article (V6) and Origin of Article (V7) were coded to allow for a discussion of what types of articles were more likely to contain myth, as well as a discussion on who was responsible for these myths. The variable Prominence of the Article (V8) was coded to allow for a measure of how much importance was attributed to articles containing myth. Data recorded for each article included the Case Number (V1), the Coder Name (V2), the Date of the Article (V3), the Name of the Reporter (V4), Headline (V5), and the Main Topic of the Article (V9). For more details see the codebook and code sheet located in Appendix C and Appendix D.

Qualitative Analysis

A qualitative analysis was accomplished through close reading. This was done because most studies of myth are qualitative and also because “conventional counting and content analyses may miss the social, symbolic power of the words” (Lule 2002, 276).
This two-prong approach ensured that quantitative results are indicative of the larger picture and that the qualitative results have some numerical basis.

The qualitative analysis encompassed the articles examined in the quantitative method as well as the eighty-eight pieces that did not lend themselves to the coding instrument (mainly advertisements, news indexes, and letters to the editor). Coders performed a close reading on each article, which required them to carefully and thoughtfully read, and reread, each passage. Although, coders were not required to write an interpretation of each article based on the reading, this process allowed them to highlight articles that were receptive to such a process for later analysis.

*Pre-testing and Simple Agreement*

Fifty-five articles, or more than 12 percent of the sample, were randomly selected for a test of simple agreement between two coders. The coders were white males age twenty-five and thirty-five. The first coder was enrolled in the journalism master’s program at Ohio University, had received a bachelor’s in English literature from Wittenberg University, and had limited news writing experience. The second coder was enrolled in the journalism doctoral program at Ohio University, had earned his master’s in communication from Columbia University, and had extensive news writing experience.

Inter-coder reliability, based on percentage of agreement, for this study ranged from 100 percent for [the PUNISHMENT function (V12), the NO HOPE function (V14), the BIRTH function (V15), the ACCLAIMED function (V22), the MODEL function (V23), the PREDATOR function (V24), the INFLUENCE function (V25), the REPUTATION function (V26), the PUBLIC function (V27), the ANARCHY function (V28), the REVOLUTION function (V29), the REVOLUTION function (V30), the REVOLUTION function (V31), and the REVOLUTION function (V32)].
(V23), the **RIGID** function (V24), the **CONTEMPT** function (V38), and the **LIVES ON** function (V44)] to 98 percent for [the **NATURE** function (V13), the **SIGN** function (V16), the **DUALITY** function (V35), the **SUFFERING** function (V37), the **REGRET** function (V39), the **INNOCENT** function (V40), the **SACRIFICE** function (V42), and the overall presence of the Trickster myth (V50)] to 96 percent for [the Prominence variable (V8), the **FAULT** function (V11), the **QUEST** function (V17), the **RETURN** function (V19), the **MATERNAL** function (V20), the **GIVES OF SELF** function (V21), the **DIFFERENT** function (V27), the **PURIFIED** function (V34), the **ELEVATES** function (V43), and the overall presence of the Hero myth (V46)] to 95 percent for [the **DISASTER** function (V10), the **TRIUMPH** function (V18), the **HARBOR** function (V26), the **PRIMITIVE** function (V28), the **SUPERIORITY** function (V29), the **VILIFIED** function (V32), the **OUTCAST** function (V33), the **RANDOMNESS** function (V41), the overall presence of the Flood myth (V45), the overall presence of the Mother myth (V47), and the overall presence of the Victim myth (V51)] to 93 percent for [the **HEAVEN/HELL** function (V25), the **EMBODY** function (V30), the **CHALLENGE** function (V31), the **PRANKS** function (V36), the overall presence of the Other World myth (V48), and the overall presence of the Scapegoat myth (V49)] to 78 percent for [the Origin of Article variable (V7)] to 75 percent for [the Type of Article (V6)] for an overall percentage of agreement of 84.3 percent. The Name of Reporter (V4), Headline (V5), and the Main Topic of Article (V9) variables were qualitative and so were not subject to the intercoder reliability test. Likewise, the Case Number variable (V1), the Your Name
variable (V2), and the Date variable (V3) were not included in the intercoder reliability test. The level of significance for this study was set at .05.
Chapter 6: Results

Overall this study found that the *New York Times*’ coverage following the surprise attack on Oahu focused on finding signs that the attack on Pearl Harbor was coming, the investigation of the attack and the punishment of those held responsible for the readiness of the island’s defenses, the victims of the attack and their families, military heroes and those on the home front, the Japanese Imperial Navy’s lightning assault on British and Dutch colonies in the Pacific, the end of U.S. isolationism and the revving up of the industrial sector for war production, the role of Japan’s “fifth column” in the attack on Hawaii, the registration and internment of American Japanese civilians, the sacrifices made by the everyday citizen in the form of rationing and the buying of Defense and War bonds, the political environment of America’s allies and enemies, the sequence of events of conflicts such as the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Battle of Midway, and general troop movements.

The study identified 310 functions that comprised 110 myths in 103 articles from the total sample of 432 articles (see table 6.1). In other words, 23.8 percent of the articles examined contained some function of one of Jack Lule’s Seven Master Myths. The expected frequencies often fell below five in individual cells of the tables prohibiting a meaningful Chi-Square or Spearman-Rho analysis.

Seven articles contained more than one instance of myth. Because this study was concerned with the frequency of articles, not the frequency of myth, these seven articles were recoded based on whichever myth exhibited more functions in the article. For
example, case no. 113 exhibited functions of both the Flood and Scapegoat myth, but when it was recoded it was labeled as Flood because it contained more functions of that myth. There were no “ties” in the number of functions found in these articles.

Table 6.1

Frequency of Articles in *Times’* Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by Presence and Absence of Myth by Month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Articles without myth</th>
<th>Articles with Myth</th>
<th>Total Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1941</td>
<td>51 (15.5%)</td>
<td>22 (21.4%)</td>
<td>73 (16.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dec. 8-31)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1942</td>
<td>60 (18.2%)</td>
<td>18 (17.5%)</td>
<td>78 (18.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1942</td>
<td>53 (16.1%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
<td>68 (15.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1942</td>
<td>41 (12.5%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
<td>56 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1942</td>
<td>38 (11.6%)</td>
<td>9 (08.7%)</td>
<td>47 (10.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1942</td>
<td>38 (11.6%)</td>
<td>10 (09.7%)</td>
<td>48 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1942</td>
<td>40 (12.2%)</td>
<td>13 (12.6%)</td>
<td>53 (12.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1942</td>
<td>8 (02.4%)</td>
<td>1 (01%)</td>
<td>9 (02%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(July 1-7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>329 (100%)</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
<td>432 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.
Quantitative Results by Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1. Journalists tend to rely on myth in the first days of a great catastrophe, and because of this there will be a shift in the types of myths used to explain Pearl Harbor.

H1 was accepted. The coverage immediately following December 7, 1941, featured the Flood and the Trickster myth and later coverage shifted to focus on the Hero myth. Thirteen articles from the sample contained some function of the Flood myth. The month of December, 1941, had six articles that contained functions of the Flood myth, which is 46.2 percent of the total number of Flood myths found (see table 6.2). This was more than any other month. January, 1942, had four articles that contained evidence of the Flood myth, or 30.8 percent of the thirteen articles. No other month had more than one instance of the Flood myth (see table 6.2).

Evidence of the Trickster myth was found in nine articles from the sample. Three of these articles, or 33.3 percent of the total number of articles that featured functions of the Trickster myth, were in December. January and February each had two articles that contained functions of the Trickster myth, or 22.2 percent of the articles with that myth. No other month had more than one instance of the Trickster myth.

Twenty-three articles from the sample contained some function of the Hero myth. March had the most articles containing functions of the Hero myth with seven, or 30.4 percent of the total number of articles with functions of the Hero myth. April had only two articles, or 8.7 percent of the total number articles with the Hero myth, but May contained five, or 21.7 percent of the total number of articles with functions of that myth.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Flood</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other World</th>
<th>Scapegoat</th>
<th>Trickster</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec., 1941</td>
<td>6 (46.2%)</td>
<td>1 (04.3%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>5 (25%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>21 (20.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dec. 8-31)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1942</td>
<td>4 (30.8%)</td>
<td>2 (08.7%)</td>
<td>2 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>18 (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>7 (30.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>16 (15.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>2 (08.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>2 (16.7%)</td>
<td>9 (08.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>5 (21.7%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>10 (09.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (16.7%)</td>
<td>13 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (01%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(July 1-7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 (100%)</td>
<td>23 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>9 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.
February and June produced three articles, or 13 percent of the total number of articles with the Hero myth, apiece. December had two articles, or 8.7 percent of the articles with the Hero myth, and January had one, or 4.3 percent of the total number (see table 6.2).

Seventy-seven percent of the articles that featured the Flood myth appeared in coverage from December and January. Likewise 55 percent of the articles with evidence of the Trickster myth appeared in those months. More than 30 percent of the articles with the Hero myth occurred in March, and another 34.7 percent were found in coverage from May and June (see table 6.2).

These results indicated that different myths existed in coverage at different times. Coverage following the attack on Pearl Harbor in a relatively timely manner contained the Flood and Trickster myths. The Hero myth seemed concentrated around two different periods in time, March, and then May and June. This shift in the myths used to discuss Pearl Harbor in the Times seemed to be a product of political factors, such as government and military censorship, and the natural occurrence of myth following important events, such as the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Battle of Midway.

Hypothesis 2. As reporters had little time for preparation or consultation, their articles written closest to the date of the attack will rely more heavily on myth and, therefore exhibit more functions of myth.

H2 was accepted. December, 1941, had twenty-two articles that exhibited myth or 21.4 percent of the 103 articles with myth—more than any other month (see table 6.3). Three of the articles from December contained all five functions of a myth, which
represented 30 percent of articles with all five functions of a myth. This was more than any other month. Also in December, two articles contained four functions of myth, which was 14.3 percent of the fourteen four-function articles. Five articles contained three functions, which represented 15.2 percent of the thirty-three articles with three functions.

Table 6.3

Frequency of Articles with Myth in *Times’* Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by the Number of Mythic Functions and Month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Four</th>
<th>Five</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1941 (Dec. 8-31)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>9 (22.5%)</td>
<td>5 (15.2%)</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>22 (21.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1942</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>10 (25%)</td>
<td>3 (09.1%)</td>
<td>3 (21.4%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>18 (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
<td>6 (18.2%)</td>
<td>3 (21.4%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>6 (15%)</td>
<td>5 (15.2%)</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>3 (07.5%)</td>
<td>2 (06%)</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>9 (08.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (05%)</td>
<td>6 (18.2%)</td>
<td>1 (07.1%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>10 (09.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>6 (15%)</td>
<td>6 (18.2%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>13 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July (July 1-7)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (07.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (01%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 6 (100%) | 40 (100%) | 33 (100%) | 14 (100%) | 10 (100%) | 103 (100%) |

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.
Nine articles from December, or 22.5 percent, contained two functions and three articles that month, or 50 percent, had one function of myth (see table 6.3).

January had the next highest number of articles with functions of myth with eighteen articles, which represented 17.5 percent of articles with myth in the sample. Two articles from January exhibited all five functions of a myth, which was 20 percent of the ten articles from the sample that contained five functions. No other month had more than one article that exhibited all five functions of a myth. January also had three articles, or 21.4 percent, that contained four functions of myth. This tied January with February as having the most articles with four functions of a myth. Three articles from January had three functions of myth, which was 9.1 percent of the thirty-three articles from the sample that had three functions. Ten of the articles that contained two functions of myth showed up in January’s coverage, which was 25 percent of the forty articles with two functions—more than any other month. No articles in January exhibited just one function of myth (see table 6.3).

There was a greater frequency of articles with myth from the Times written in December and January than any other months, which represented 38.9 percent of all the articles with myth. Both months contained more articles with five functions of myth than later months, which made up 50 percent of all the articles with five functions. January tied with February with the greatest number of articles with four functions of myths. These results suggested that journalists initially relied upon existing narrative frameworks of myth following the attack on Hawaii on December 7, 1941, and were less likely to do so as time passed.
Hypothesis 3. Soft news articles, or those that use a dramatic or narrative approach to reporting, will have a greater frequency of myth than other types of articles.

H3 was rejected. Seventy articles with myth, or 68 percent of the 103 articles with myth in the sample, were coded as hard news (see table 6.4). These seventy articles represented 25.6 percent of the 273 articles in the sample that were labeled as hard news, meaning that myth was found in 25.6 percent of hard news articles. Only nineteen articles with functions of myth were found to be soft news, which was 18.4 percent of the total number of articles with myth (see table 6.4). Eighty-two soft-news articles were coded in the sample, and only nineteen of these articles contained some function of myth, which represented 23.1 percent of the total soft-news articles.

The Flood myth was found in eight hard news articles, which was 61.5 percent of the thirteen articles with functions of the Flood myth. Eighteen articles with the Hero myth, or 78.3 percent of the total articles with the Hero, were coded as hard news. Fifty percent of the articles with the Other World myth were hard news, compared to just 25 percent that were soft news. The Scapegoat was found in seventeen hard news articles, which was 85 percent of the articles with functions of that myth. The Trickster myth was found in seven hard-news articles, or 77.8 percent of the total articles with that myth, while zero was found in soft-news articles. Seven articles with the Victim myth, or 58.3 percent of the total articles with that myth, were coded as hard news. The only exception to this trend of myth in hard-new articles was in the case of the Good Mother myth, where the frequency was split fifty-fifty between hard and soft news (see table 6.4).
Table 6.4

Frequency of Articles with Myth in *Times*’ Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by Myth and News Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Flood</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other World</th>
<th>Scapegoat</th>
<th>Trickster</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hard</td>
<td>8 (61.5%)</td>
<td>18 (78.3%)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
<td>17 (85%)</td>
<td>7 (77.8%)</td>
<td>7 (58.3%)</td>
<td>70 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>4 (17.4%)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>5 (25%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>5 (41.7%)</td>
<td>19 (18.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>4 (30.8%)</td>
<td>1 (04.3%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>12 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (01.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 (100%)</td>
<td>23 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>9 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.*
Of the seventy-three editorials in the sample only twelve, or 16.4 percent, were found to contain myth. These twelve articles made up 11.7 percent of the 103 of articles with myth. No chronicles were found—these made up some of the eighty-eight articles not subject to the quantitative instrument—and only two articles were coded under the Other category, which represented just 2 percent of the 103 articles with myth (see table 6.4).

Five hard-news articles had all five functions of a myth, or 50 percent of the articles with five functions. The Hard News category had eleven articles with four functions, or 78.6 percent of the four-function articles, twenty-three articles with three functions, or 69.7 percent of the three-function articles, twenty-six articles with two functions, or 65 percent of the two-function articles, and five articles with one function, or 83.3 percent of the articles with one function (see table 6.5).

There were only three soft-news articles with all five functions, or 30 percent of the ten five-function articles. Only 7 percent of the fourteen articles with four functions of myth were coded as soft news. Also in the Soft News category seven articles contained three functions of myth, or 21.2 percent of the three-function articles, seven articles had two functions, or 17.5 percent of the two-function articles, and only one article had one function of myth, or 16.7 percent of the six articles with one function (see table 6.5).

The Editorial category contained two articles with all five functions, or 20 percent of the ten articles with all five functions. Zero editorials had four
functions of myth. Three editorials exhibited three functions of myth, or 9 percent of the thirty-three three-function articles. Seven editorials exhibited two functions of myth, which was 17.5 percent of the two-function articles; zero editorials had one function of myth (see table 6.5).

Table 6.5

Frequency of Articles with Myth in Times’ Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by the Number of Mythic Functions and News Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Four</th>
<th>Five</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hard News</td>
<td>5 (83.3%)</td>
<td>26 (65%)</td>
<td>23 (69.7%)</td>
<td>11 (78.6%)</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>70 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft News</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>7 (17.5%)</td>
<td>7 (21.2%)</td>
<td>1 (07%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>19 (18.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>7 (17.5%)</td>
<td>3 (09%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>12 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (02%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>40 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>33 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>14 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>103 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.

The fact that the majority of articles with functions of myth were hard news indicated that soft-news articles were no more likely to contain myth than
hard news; in fact, they were much less likely. Even when compared as a percentage of the total number of each type of article, the Hard News category contained slightly more articles with myth, 25.6 percent, versus the Soft News category, 23.1 percent. This result challenged the assumption that myth is more prevalent in soft-news articles, and seemed partly due to the fact that war coverage is concerned with facts rather than narration.

Results to Research Questions

Research Question 1. What are the most prominent and numerous myths employed to explain the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese?

The most prominent myths were the Flood and the Hero, identified in three and four page-one articles respectively. The three articles with the Flood myth that appeared on page one made up 23 percent of the thirteen articles containing functions of the Flood myth. The four articles that appeared on page one with functions of the Hero myth made up 16.7 percent of the total articles featuring the Hero myth. One article with the Good Mother appeared on page one, or 16.7 percent of the total number of articles with functions of the Good Mother, two articles containing the Other World myth were on the front page, or 10 percent of the total for that myth, two articles with the Scapegoat myth were found on page one, or 10 percent of the total for that myth, one article with the Trickster myth was on the first page, or 11.1 percent of the total for that myth, and zero articles with the Victim myth showed up on the front page (see table 6.6).
Table 6.6

Frequency of Articles with Myth in *Times’* Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by Myth and Prominence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prominence</th>
<th>Flood</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other World</th>
<th>Scapegoat</th>
<th>Trickster</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page one</td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td>4 (17.4%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>13 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page one of section</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>6 (05.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside page</td>
<td>8 (61.5%)</td>
<td>19 (82.6%)</td>
<td>5 (83.3%)</td>
<td>14 (70%)</td>
<td>18 (90%)</td>
<td>8 (88.9%)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
<td>84 (81.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 (100%)</td>
<td>23 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>9 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.
The most numerous myths were the Hero, the Other World, and the Scapegoat myth. The Hero myth was found in twenty-three articles, representing 22.3 percent of the 103 articles with functions of myth. The Other World myth was found in twenty articles, or 19.4 percent of the total articles with myth. The Scapegoat myth was also found in twenty articles and made up 19.4 percent of the 103 articles with myth. The Flood myth was found in thirteen articles, or 12.6 percent of the 103 articles with myth, the Victim was found in twelve articles, or 11.7 percent of the articles with myth, and the Trickster was found in nine articles, or 8.7 percent of the articles with myth. The Good Mother was found in only six articles, or 5.8 percent of the total number of articles with functions of myth (see table 6.2 on p. 89).

These results make sense for both myths, as coverage of Heroes was found in several combat reports that would be judged front page material, and a major event, such as Pearl Harbor, that precedes the Flood myth would naturally appear on page one. The four front-page articles that contained functions of the Hero myth were composed of two combat reports, one that focused on the USS Arizona during the attack on Pearl Harbor (New York Times, December 23, 1941) and one on operations in the Pacific (New York Times, June 17, 1942), one profile of the commander of the Allied forces (New York Times, January 4, 1942), and one article about the blackout of New York City that focused on air wardens (New York Times, March 7, 1942). Of the three front-page articles containing functions of the Flood myth, two articles “Tokyo Bombers Strike Hard at Our Main Base on Oahu” and “Large U.S. Losses Claimed by Japan,” written December 8 and December 9, 1941, respectively, focused on the attack on Pearl Harbor, and one
article titled “Cavite Naval base at Manila Receives Heavy Bombing,” written December 11, 1941, focused on the Japanese bombing of Manila.

**Research Question 2. Are the Japanese mythologized as Tricksters?**

The Japanese were often portrayed as Tricksters in the coverage of Pearl Harbor. Of the nine articles that contained functions of the Trickster myth, eight, or 88 percent, dealt with the Japanese. The Japanese surprise offensive on Oahu was generally described as treacherous and was labeled “barbaric aggression” by President Roosevelt in his radio address (*New York Times*, December 16, 1941). Not all of the articles were so serious, one recalled Japan’s use of flimsy dummy periscopes to try to fool Hawaiian defenses and their inadequacy in that regard (*New York Times*, February 18, 1942).

Considering the nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor it is not surprising that eight of the nine articles that contained functions of the Trickster myth focused on the Japanese and their “prank,” or unexpected assault on Oahu. The one article with the Trickster myth that did not focus on Japan gave an account of a military “hero” that boasted of his actions at Oahu on the radio but who turned out to be an imposter and a deserter (*New York Times*, April 29, 1942).

**Research Question 3. Are the Axis powers “othered” by the Other World myth, and if so is this myth exclusive to America’s enemies?**

Axis and Allied countries were both subjects of the Other World myth, along with countries where those powers’ militaries battled. Of the twenty articles that contained
functions of the Other World myth only five, or 25 percent, focused on the Japanese.

Other topics of the other world myth included Germany, Ireland, England, and islands in the Pacific. The Times’ coverage that contained the Other World myth focused not only on the Japanese (as expected) and the Germans, but also on American allies, such as Britain. Several articles also examined the cultures of the islands in the Pacific and reminded readers, for example, of how alien the vast jungles of Northern Malaya were (New York Times, December 28, 1941). “Othering” descriptions, such as Winston Churchill’s declaration that the Japanese have proved to be a “formidable, deadly, and barbaric” enemy, were often combined with brief histories of the places being examined and America’s political and military situation there (New York Times, February 16, 1942). Several articles made the assumption that any progress made by Japan was based on Western, or American, innovation. For example, an article titled “Japan Makes Mystery of her Real Air Power” pointed out that Japan’s airplanes were based on copies, or minor variations, of European and American aircraft with the implication that Japan’s air force was not formidable or sophisticated (New York Times, December 14, 1941), which of course was not true. Another article, titled “Wants God Law to Govern World,” explored Vicar Delegate to the Armed Services Francis W. Walsh’s idea of world order in which “America is to lead the world out of the dark morass where men are intent only on destruction” (New York Times, May 11, 1942). As a whole the Other World myth fulfilled its role of portraying the rest of the world as barbarians in need of help from the West.
Research Question 4. Does the myth of the Good Mother confine as well as celebrate women in the coverage of Pearl Harbor?

The myth of the Good Mother in *Times’* coverage dealing with Pearl Harbor celebrated the contributions of women on the home front while minimizing their usefulness to sending their sons to war, organizing fundraisers, performing secretarial duties, and nursing. Of the six articles that contained functions of the Good Mother myth, five, or 83 percent, dealt with American women. Of these five articles, three focused on women aiding the war effort, through logistics (*New York Times*, June 3, 1942), nursing (*New York Times*, January 18, 1942), and by guarding La Guardia Field (*New York Times*, January 7, 1942). One article highlighted the sacrifice of a mother who lost three of her sons to war, and then offered four more for duty if it would help “put down such sneaking and deadly enemies as the Japs, Hitler, and Mussolini” (*New York Times*, December 22, 1941). Another article focused on the First Lady, “Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,” and detailed her achievements with the Office of Civilian Defense prior to the war and the announcement of her resignation following the organization of the office. Although this account of her successes provided a model for other women to emulate, it came with a warning from the First Lady: “I realize how unwise it is for a vulnerable person like myself to try a government job” (*New York Times*, February 13, 1942). The article then went into great length to describe how Eleanor Roosevelt supported dancing as a means to raise funds for the OCD and the controversy this caused (*New York Times*, February 13, 1942).
As a whole, these articles celebrated women’s contributions to the war effort, but this was done while largely restricting their useful contributions to nursing and logistical work, which, when described in the article, seemed remarkably similar to secretarial duty. The one exception to this was the unarmed women’s corps that was assigned to guard La Guardia Field. However, even this article minimized the sacrifice of time and effort by stating that the reason why the women corps was called in was to create a “reassuring effect upon the public” and to offer directions to airport passengers (January 7, 1942). It was often remarked upon that the women were performing beyond expectations (for women), how unusual it was that they would be called to work in such positions, and that they should serve as a model to other women who wished to contribute. The one article that did not focus on an American came from the New York Times Sunday Magazine and examined Ivy Litvinoff’s work at the Soviet Embassy (New York Times Sunday Magazine, May 17, 1942).

Research Question 5. Who are the subjects of the Scapegoat myth, and how was it applied to them?

Of the twenty articles that contained functions of the Scapegoat myth, five, or 25 percent, dealt with U.S. preparedness at the Battle of Hawaii, and eight articles, or 40 percent dealt with individuals who expressed dissent against the government. Five articles, or 25 percent, dealt with Japanese Americans and fifth columnists (spies). Two articles dealt with other topics.
The articles that looked at those responsible for the defense of Hawaii cast Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Major General Walter C. Short as Scapegoats who were held accountable for Japan’s success at Oahu in the Roberts Commission ordered by President Roosevelt (New York Times, February 8, 1942). Both men were relieved of duty ten days after the attack, suffered a loss of rank, and were thus punished and expelled from their respective groups, in accordance with the Scapegoat myth. The men applied for retirement approximately two months following the attack.

All eight articles that focused on dissenters targeted individuals who committed some act of sedition against the government. This ranged from the detention of Prince Franz Hohenlohe Waldenburg Schillingsfurst of Hungary as an alien because of his mother’s involvement with Axis leaders (New York Times, February 19, 1942) to the trials of George W. Christians and Rudolph Fahl ordered by Attorney General Francis Biddle for seditious letters sent to U.S. servicemen that attacked “President Roosevelt, the government’s war policy and the Allies of this country” (New York Times, March 28, 1942). Two articles featured accused isolationists as Scapegoats; one article focused on Representative William B. Barry (New York Times, June 12, 1942) and the other on Representative Hamilton Fish Jr. (New York Times, May 1, 1942). Both men attempted to defend themselves from accusations of isolationism in the pages of the Times.

Five articles dealt with the restriction of certain rights to Japanese Americans and their subsequent internment because of the fear of fifth columnists, or spies. The round-up and registration of Japanese on the Pacific Coast began two hours following news of the surprise attack on Hawaii (New York Times, December 8, 1942). In February it was
proposed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities that all U.S. Japanese citizens should be moved 500 miles inland to internment camps (New York Times, February 9, 1942). This sweep for spies and undesirables even extended to college campuses; authorities arrested Miss Fumi Asazuma on University of California’s campus for failing to register herself (New York Times, April 3, 1942). U.S. Japanese citizens were generally blamed, punished, and expelled from society for a war begun by a nation that most had left behind years, or generations, ago to become Americans.

This vast violation of Japanese American’s rights, as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, was not without reason as Japan’s attack on Hawaii would not have been possible without in-depth information provided by Japanese-born spies stationed at Oahu. Attorney General Francis Biddle was charged with preventing another such occurrence on the Pacific coast, and to this end 9,405 aliens were arrested and 1,200 people were convicted of sedition charges by mid-July, 1942 (New York Times, July 5, 1942).

Although those numbers sound quite large, Biddle was commended for keeping the number of arrests to a manageable number, something that was not done during World War I, and for preventing espionage and sabotage. Biddle was also an ardent supporter of civil liberties and saw their protection as an important part of his job as Attorney General (Washburn 1986, 3-5). This respect for civil liberties was evidenced by his reluctance to move Japanese to internment camps in early 1942 (Washburn 1986, 66).

One of the two articles that dealt with other topics focused on strikers at the Arkwright Corporation, which produced textiles, who were portrayed as Scapegoats when they refused to return to work despite the no-strike agreement in war production

**Research Question 6. Do the myths found in coverage of Pearl Harbor seem like they are being formed by journalists or are they relaying the myths of others, such as the U.S. government?**

Many of the myths seemed to be formed by correspondents; however, the articles written by these reporters were subject to strict censorship that undoubtedly affected their coverage of the war, particularly those reports that dealt directly with the attack on Pearl Harbor. Forty-six articles with myth originated at the Times, which was 44.7 percent of the 103 articles with myth. Fourteen articles came from a state bureau, or 13.6 percent of the articles with myth, twenty were from the Washington, D.C., bureau, or 19.4 percent of the articles with myth, fifteen were from a wire service, or 14.6 percent of the articles with myth, and eight were from other papers, or 7.8 percent of the articles with myth, four of which were from the New York Times Sunday Magazine (see table 6.7).

However, there was no code for foreign-based correspondents, and many articles written overseas were recorded under the New York Times category code. Of the forty-six articles with myth that originated at the Times, eight articles were written by foreign correspondents. When correspondents were removed from the Times code, thirty-eight articles were left that came from New York City, or 36.9 percent of the articles with myth. Correspondents were responsible for eight articles with myth, or 7.8 percent of the
total number of articles with myth. Forty-two articles originated from reporters outside of New York. This included the eight articles from correspondents that were put under the *Times*’ code, as well as the fourteen from state bureaus and the twenty from the D.C. bureau, which made up 40.8 percent of articles with myth (see table 6.7).

Table 6.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th><em>Times</em> (100%)</th>
<th>State Bureau (100%)</th>
<th>D.C. Bureau (100%)</th>
<th>Wire (100%)</th>
<th>Other (100%)</th>
<th>Total (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1941 (Dec. 8-31)</td>
<td>9 (19.6%) 4 (28.6%) 5 (25%) 3 (20%) 1 (12.5%) 22 (21.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1942</td>
<td>12 (26.1%) 0 (0.0%) 2 (10%) 2 (13.3%) 0 (0.0%) 16 (15.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>6 (13%) 2 (14.3%) 2 (10%) 4 (26.7%) 0 (0.0%) 14 (13.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>6 (13%) 3 (21.4%) 4 (20%) 2 (13.3%) 1 (12%) 16 (15.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>4 (08.7%) 1 (07.1%) 2 (20%) 2 (13.3%) 2 (25%) 11 (10.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>4 (08.7%) 2 (14.3%) 2 (20%) 1 (06.7%) 1 (12%) 10 (09.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>5 (10.9%) 2 (14.3%) 2 (20%) 1 (06.7%) 3 (37.5%) 13 (12.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July (July 1-7)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%) 0 (0.0%) 1 (05%) 0 (0.0%) 0 (0.0%) 1 (01%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (100%) 14 (100%) 20 (100%) 15 (100%) 8 (100%) 103 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.
Upon further examination of articles and the data, particularly of the Name of Reporter (V4) variable, articles from foreign correspondents were removed from the Times origin code, which resulted in the following adjusted totals for articles with myth originating from the Times headquarters. Four articles were found to contain the Flood myth, or 30.8 percent of the thirteen articles with that myth. Six articles with the Hero myth came from New York City, or 26.1 percent of the twenty-three articles with functions of that myth. The myth of the Good Mother was found in two articles, or 33.3 percent of the total number of articles with functions of the Good Mother myth. Six articles with the Scapegoat myth came from the Times, which was 30 percent of the twenty articles with that myth. Functions of the Trickster myth were found in four articles that came from the New York City office, or 44.4 percent of the nine articles with that myth. Five articles from the Times contained the Victim myth, or 41.7 percent of the twelve articles with functions of the that myth (see table 6.8).

The largest change in frequency resulting from the removal of the correspondents from the Times code was in the number of articles with the Other World myth. The Other World was originally found in fifteen articles that originated from the New York Times; however, when articles from correspondents were removed this frequency dropped to eleven, or 55 percent of the twenty articles with functions of the Other World myth (see table 6.8).
Table 6.8

Frequency of Articles with Myth in Times Coverage of Pearl Harbor in the Sample from Dec. 8, 1941, to July 7, 1942, Organized by Myth and Origin, Adjusted for Articles from Foreign Correspondents Originally Recorded Under the *Times* Origin Code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Flood</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other World</th>
<th>Scapegoat</th>
<th>Trickster</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Times</em></td>
<td>4 (30.8%)</td>
<td>6 (26.1%)</td>
<td>2 (33.3%)</td>
<td>11 (55%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>4 (44.4%)</td>
<td>5 (41.7%)</td>
<td>38 (36.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>6 (26.1%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>14 (13.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C.</td>
<td>5 (38.5%)</td>
<td>6 (26.1%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>1 (08.3%)</td>
<td>20 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wire</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>15 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>2 (08.7%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>8 (07.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Correspondent</td>
<td>1 (07.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>9 (08.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 13 (100%) | 23 (100%) | 6 (100%) | 20 (100%) | 20 (100%) | 9 (100%) | 12 (100%) | 103 (100%) |

*Percents are rounded to the nearest tenth and therefore totals may not add up to exactly 100 percent.*
Four articles with functions of the Other World myth that were coded under the *Times* code were from foreign correspondents, which was 20 percent of the twenty articles with functions of that myth. Two articles that contained functions of the Scapegoat myth coded under the *Times* origin code came from foreign correspondents, which made up 10 percent of the twenty articles featuring the myth of the Scapegoat. One article from a correspondent had functions of the Trickster myth, or 11.1 percent of the total articles with that myth, and another article contained the Flood myth, which made up 7.7 percent of the articles with that myth (see table 6.8).

Six articles that had the Hero myth came from a state bureau, which was 26.1 percent of the twenty-three articles with functions of that myth. Three articles organized under the state bureau origin code contained functions of the Victim myth, or 25 percent of the twelve articles with that myth. Two articles from a state bureau contained the Trickster myth, which was 22.2 percent of the nine articles with functions of that myth (see table 6.8).

Reporters based in Washington, D.C. produced five articles that had the Flood myth, which was 38.5 percent of the total number of articles with that myth, six articles that contained the Hero myth, which was 26.1 percent of the articles with that myth, and six articles that had the Scapegoat myth, which was 30 percent of the articles with that myth. The wire services hosted a couple of articles for nearly every type of myth. The majority of articles from the Other origin code came from the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* and no frequencies above two articles were recorded for any type of myth (see table 6.8).
Correspondents played an important role in myth making. For example, 52.2 percent of the articles with the Hero myth came from correspondents in the Washington, D.C., bureau and state bureaus, compared to just 26.1 percent originating from the Times’ headquarters. Five articles dealing with the Flood myth, or 38.5 percent of the total number of articles with that myth, came from the Washington, D.C., bureau compared to four articles from the Times’ offices, which represented 30.8 percent of the total articles featuring the Flood. An equal number of articles featuring the Scapegoat myth originated from the Washington, D.C., bureau as New York City. Also an equal number of articles detailing the Trickster myth came from all three types of correspondents—state-based, Washington-based, and those overseas—as from the Times’ offices (see table 6.8).

However, government and military censorship also played a crucial role in promoting and suppressing myth. For example, immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor an “iron curtain” of censorship was placed over Honolulu, which cut off the United Press office in the middle of a telephone report to San Francisco (Knightley 1975, 272). For four days following the attack nothing but official communications came from Pearl Harbor. This explained the fact that correspondents based in Washington, D.C., produced 38.5 percent of the articles with the Flood myth, which was more than any other origin category.

The Office of Censorship was created twelve days after the U.S. announced a state of war with Japan. The office was charged with overseeing and censoring mail, cable, and telegraph communications that traveled across U.S. borders (Washburn 1990, 3), as well as tapping telephone calls and vetting films (Knightley 1975, 275). The office
was also responsible for monitoring newspaper and radio coverage to prevent the
dissemination of information that might be of use to the enemy (Washburn 1990, 3-4).
However, the office also concerned itself with suppressing information that might depress
American fighting spirits, especially in personal letters and in films. Just as it was seen as
in the national interest to control news that might cause unrest, it was also important to
disseminate news that might bolster morale.¹ This explained why 52.2 percent of the
articles with functions of the Hero myth originated from Washington, D.C., and state
correspondents.

On January 14, 1942, the U.S. government issued, by way of the director of the
Office of Censorship Byron Price, a voluntary Code of Wartime Practices for newspapers
that amounted to a request that editors ask themselves the question “If I were the enemy
would I want to have this information?” (Washburn 1990, 4). This accounted for the
dramatic drop in the frequency of articles with myth originating from the *Times’* offices
from January, 1942, to February, 1942. The frequency of articles with myth dropped
from twelve to six, a 50 percent decrease. Overall, the frequency of articles with myth
dropped from sixteen in January to fourteen in February. The frequency went up to
sixteen again in March; however the number of articles originating from the *Times’*
headquarters remained the same. The increase was due mainly to more articles with myth
originating from the state bureaus and the Washington, D.C., bureau (see table 6.7).

¹ The need for the dissemination of morale boosting information led to the creation of the Office of War
Information in the summer of 1942 (Honey 1984, 30).
The role of censorship in the management of the Scapegoat and Trickster myths was less evident than in the control of the Flood and Hero myth. It was, however, to the advantage of the government to perpetuate the Japanese as Tricksters that required U.S. intervention to stop their “barbaric aggression,” as President Roosevelt described it (New York Times, December 16, 1941). It was also to the advantage of the government to make Scapegoats of those who expressed dissent against the war or the administration.

Research Question 7. How does the coverage of Pearl Harbor compare to the Times’ coverage of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, as documented by Jack Lule?

Jack Lule used four myths to examine the first four weeks of editorial coverage following September 11, 2001, in the New York Times. These myths were the End of Innocence, the Victim, the Hero, and the Foreboding Future. The End of Innocence is a “mournful myth” that recognized that the “normal life” that awaited New Yorkers after 9/11 was not the same life that they knew before. The Foreboding Future myth focused on a world forever changed and an uncertain, frightening future. Both myths served to ready people for an upcoming conflict (Lule 2002, 281-285).

Only two myths that Lule used, the Victim and the Hero, were also used in this study. Both attacks produced heroes that were celebrated in news coverage. In the weeks following 9/11, stories of emergency workers emerged that detailed their bravery and sacrifice in extreme conditions. Articles describing the individual acts of heroism of sailors at Pearl Harbor, however, took several months to surface, which is perhaps the
greatest difference in coverage between the two events from the standpoint of myth. After both events, the Times’ coverage exonerated and hailed political leaders. This included President Roosevelt and New York City Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia following the attack on Pearl Harbor. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and President Bush were both celebrated in the Times following the World Trade Center attack (Lule 2002, 285).

In Lule’s article, the myth of the Victim was reserved for those trapped inside the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and coverage stressed that the victims were ordinary, everyday people. The exact number of dead at Pearl Harbor was not made public for several weeks following the attack (New York Times, December 16, 1941). The events surrounding Pearl Harbor were so unclear that one of the first Times’ reports stated that the attack was expected and defenses were prepared (New York Times, December 8, 1941). This report estimated the dead at 500, which is far less than the more than two thousand that had died. Times’ editorials began calling for the U.S. government to provide hard facts to put down rumor mongering the day after news of the attack hit (New York Times, December 9, 1941). Coverage of victims was spread between articles about local families who lost sons, famous or high-ranking military officers who were killed, and any peculiar stories, such as the case of a man shot by the Japanese but who did not realize it until months later (New York Times, April 21, 1942). The major difference between coverage of the two events involving the myth of the Victim is that, in the case of Pearl Harbor, news of the full extent of the damage was delayed by official censorship.
Even though the myths of the Hero and the Victim focused on different subjects in the coverage of each event, they both served to console and give hope to a nation facing a dangerous and uncertain future.

Although a quantitative analysis was not done for the Foreboding Future or the Innocence Lost myth following the attack on Oahu, a qualitative exploration confirmed their presence in several articles. The vast effort put forth by the American public and the industrial sector to increase production was covered and enthusiastically encouraged in the pages of the *Times*, as was the everyday sacrifices required by rationing and the sale of Defense and War Bonds.
Chapter 7: Discussion

Myth as Shorthand

Generally speaking, myth did not leap full formed into the newspaper page. It appeared that journalists tapped into just a portion of a given narrative framework. There were only ten articles that contained all five functions of a myth in the study, and only fourteen that contained four functions. Only six articles of the 103 contained just one function of myth. The majority, or 73 percent, of the articles with myth contained two or three functions, meaning that myths most often appeared in the newspaper not as fully formed narratives but as portions of larger mythic narratives. However, it should be noted that every function of each of the Seven Master Myths was identified at least once in the sample. This indicated that even though it was rare for all five functions of a myth to be present in one article, the narrative of these myths was intact, even if the functions were spread out through several articles over time. It is in this piece-by-piece way that myth was used to build a collective memory of Pearl Harbor.

The fact that the majority of articles with myth contained only two or three functions was not so surprising when one considers the timely, or immediate, nature of the New York Times. It is this natural disparity between myth and news that was most apparent in the frequencies when they were organized by the number of functions detected. The story of the Hero can not be told in a day’s accounting of his activities. Instead what was found was the latter part of the Hero’s tale, the QUEST, the TRIUMPH, and the RETURN functions, when a soldier returned home to accept a medal (New York
In the *New York Times*, May 12, 1942), or the first part of the myth of the Victim myth, the INNOCENCE, the RANDOMNESS, and the SACRIFICE functions, when a grieving mother accepted a telegram that informed her of her son’s death (*New York Times*, December 30, 1941). It is in this way that myth manifested itself in news coverage of Pearl Harbor. Just as any daily newspaper does, the *Times* provided coverage of the recent and imminent, as opposed to biographies, histories, or the ancient tales upon which the observations of myth have been built upon. These other mediums do not have the constraints of daily journalism and have the benefit of looking back on a life’s span. This fact has not gone unnoticed by previous researchers who have recommended other media, such as magazines, that are in some ways more likely to produce full mythic narratives. According to Carolyn Kitch:

> More so than other media, magazines are collected and saved by their readers, becoming touchstones for collective memory. Magazine editorial techniques—their specific and often personal ‘voice,’ their editors’ direct address to readers, their frequent use of narrative, and their acknowledged points of view—are particularly well suited for mourning and meaning-making (Kitch 2002, 298).

Generally magazines contain longer articles, provide more relaxed deadlines to their reporters, and employ more narrative elements. Magazines also provide readers a place to come back to so that they can reexamine past events, much like a book. These factors make magazines a likely place to look for mythic narratives that contain more than two or three narrative functions.

The collective memory of Pearl Harbor, which was formed piece by piece in the pages of the *Times*, was often called upon to provide context to other events. More than 75 percent of the articles from the sample contained zero functions of myth. A close
reading of these articles provided the insight that many of them mentioned Pearl Harbor in passing, especially as a reference point, such as “Since Pearl Harbor,” or “After the attack on Hawaii,” and often went on to discuss the week’s stock prices or some other topic not directly related to the war. However, as Jack Lule observed in his article dealing with the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, “Even brief references to events called forth mythic language” (Lule 2002, 276). These brief references to the attack on Pearl Harbor provided useful shorthand for journalists, which allowed them to provide context to an article without a lengthy narrative. These references, or touchstones, reinforced the myths that were presented through the many articles that contained functions of myth, much as chronicles do.

Discussion of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Journalists tend to rely on myth in the first days of a great catastrophe, and because of this there will be a shift in the types of myths used to explain Pearl Harbor.

Articles that featured the Flood myth naturally occurred immediately following the attack as reporters fought to provide context to the event. Likewise, articles containing the Trickster myth, particularly the Prank function, quickly followed the attack as America’s anger and sense of betrayal was reflected in the pages of the Times. The attack itself was treated as a Prank, or a malicious action that sought to harm unsuspecting victims, which is the operational definition of the PRANK function. This
“prank” performed by the Japanese was evident in all three of the articles that contained the Trickster myth in December, 1941.

The appearance of the Hero myth in later coverage was due to a combination of war censorship and the extra time it takes a reporter to research individual tales of heroism. The first report that appeared in the Times concerning the attack was incredibly inaccurate, listing the dead between one hundred to three hundred and fifty and estimating the number of attacking planes between fifty and one hundred and fifty. The reporter also stated that “it is now possible to reveal that the United States forces here had known for a week that the attack was coming and they were not caught unprepared,” which, as investigations in the following weeks would show, was completely false (New York Times, December 8, 1941). This was due to the government control over war news, which was noted in the following day’s Times article “Drastic Control Marks War News” (New York Times, December 9, 1941). The first fairly accurate report of the damage done, the lack of readiness of the defenses, and the number of dead did not appear for more than a week following the attack (New York Times, December 16, 1941). This censorship affected reporters’ efforts to identify and interview military heroes. Indeed, with America suddenly thrown into war it must have been quite a job to locate any one person in the armed forces.

The coverage that did deal with the Hero myth focused on persons officially recognized or approved of by government, such as those who received medals or parades. For example, the first personal accounts of heroics at Oahu were provided by censors from the navy to the Times (New York Times, December 23, 1941). Later articles that
featured the Hero myth were also focused on men officially recognized by the military, such as Doris Miller who received the Navy Cross for his actions during the Pearl Harbor attack (New York Times, May 12, 1942). Although required to pass their stories through military censors, in some cases Times’ correspondents were able to bypass official censorship. For example, Times correspondent Foster Hailey telephoned in his account of a discussion between bomber pilots following the Battle of Midway in his article “‘Eyes’ of Navy Tell of job at Midway” that contained functions of the Hero myth (New York Times, June 17, 1942). The political environment that reporters worked in during the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 made it difficult for them to print war news not sanctioned by the military.

The Hero myth seemed concentrated around two different periods in time, March, and then May and June. Many of the articles appearing in March dealt with Heroes from the attack on Pearl Harbor and early operations in the Pacific. The initial reports from Oahu were delayed because of the strict censorship placed communications originating from Honolulu (Knightley 1975, 272). For four days following the attack nothing but official communications came from Pearl Harbor. It would be expected that in a less restrictive environment, tales of heroism at Oahu would have been as readily available to reporters as any other detail of an attack, and thus would be represented on the newspaper page in the same timely fashion as the Flood and the Trickster myths.

Several of the articles with the Hero that appeared in May dealt with the Battle of the Coral Sea, which occurred from May 4, 1942, to May 8, 1942. The articles with the Hero myth appearing in the month of June dealt with the Battle of Midway that occurred
from June 4, 1942, to June 7, 1942. Although this battle was a “water-shed moment” in the Pacific campaign, it was also one of the worst reported battles in the war, with reports sometimes taking more than a week to clear censors. This was due to the extreme censorship that was placed on reports by naval censors, which was done because the armed forces were afraid that the Japanese would discover that they had broken their codes used to broadcast messages over the radio (Knightley 1975, 282-283).

Hypothesis 2. As reporters had little time for preparation or consultation, their articles written closest to the date of the attack will rely more heavily on myth and, therefore exhibit more functions of myth.

Faced with an unprecedented event journalists have to make “‘assignments’ or ‘news judgments’ quickly, and inevitably resort to existing frameworks” (Bird and Dardenne 1988, 81). This was certainly the case with the unexpected attack on Pearl Harbor when journalists turned to the Flood myth to explain the assault and the Trickster myth to describe those responsible. This corresponded to what researchers such as Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne have observed:

In newsmaking, journalists do not merely use culturally determined definitions, they also have to fit new situations into old definitions. It is in their power to place people and events into the existing categories of hero, villain, good and bad, and thus to invest their stories with the authority of mythological truth (Bird and Dardenne 1988, 80).

Reporters from the Times chose roles for the actors involved in the attack that resonated with the public and described the events surrounding the attack on Pearl Harbor using ancient definitions. This was not surprising. Nor should it be as Bird and Dardenne have
noted that “narrative reshaping will be most successful when this can present new information in such a way that it accords with readers’ existing narrative conventions, and can be accommodated within them” (Bird and Dardenne 1988, 82).

As described in the results to H1, a shift occurred in the myths used to describe the attack on Pearl Harbor from Flood and Trickster to Hero. This was due to the immediate censorship placed on war news following the attack and without this extramedia influence it would be expected that the Hero myth would have show up in the initial coverage much as the Flood and Trickster myths did. The fact that the number of articles with myth generally decreased over time seemed due to natural progression.

Hypothesis 3. Soft news articles, or those that use a dramatic or narrative approach to reporting, will have a greater frequency of myth than other types of articles.

Sixty-eight percent of the articles with myth in the sample were coded as hard news. Even when viewed as a percentage of the total number of each article, the Hard News category contained slightly more articles with myth. This result is contradictory to what other researchers have written about soft news, or narrative, articles being more conducive to myth. It may still be true that the storytelling devices used in soft news are more likely to contain functions of myth. However, soft-news articles are much less likely to be found in war coverage given the nature of such reporting. There were only eighty-two articles from the sample that were labeled soft news compared to more than three times that many articles labeled hard news. Soft-news contained less myth than the hard-news articles because the subjects of those myths were very somber topics that
required “serious” or hard reporting. It would be expected that soft-articles would contain generally higher frequencies of myth than hard news if this study examined a less serious subject.

*The Times’ Response to a Nation Challenged*

Adopting a social or cultural perspective allowed for an examination of how the *Times* responded when the nation’s societal structure was suddenly challenged. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, America was faced with a world forever changed. No longer could the U.S. sit on the sidelines and watch as Europeans fought one another. Something awoke in the imaginations of the public; a knowledge that a time for action was at hand and that the sweet slumber of isolationism had passed.

The *Times* was instrumental in responding to this challenge, and as Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne noted, “If we study these models, which news narratives are a type, we can learn about the values and symbols that have meaning in a given culture” (Bird and Dardenne 1988, 76). The values and symbols encoded in the pages of the *Times* provided reassurance to a panicked public and gave them hope that the hurdles Americans faced could be overcome.

In *The Good War* (1984), Historian Studs Terkel recorded the immediate reactions of Americans such as Dennis Keegan who was in San Francisco that Sunday night when the news of the attack came over the radio. He described the instant panic that the news and the order for a city-wide blackout caused:

> We were stopped on the Golden Gate Bridge by a national guardsman. He looked in the car. It was a battered Chevy. We heard later that a woman was
killed on the bridge that night because she didn’t respond to a guardsman’s order to halt.

We decided to drive downtown. That was an eye-opener. Market Street was bedlam. The United Artists Theatre had a huge marquee with those dancing light, going on and off. People were throwing everything they could to put those lights out, screaming Blackout! Blackout! The theater people had not been told to turn them off. Once in a while, they’d hit a light (Terkel 1984, 25).

Later Keegan returned to the room he rented from a woman and her daughter. He described their fear:

I flipped on the lights because it was pitch dark. Mrs. Kelleher screamed, “Dennis, turn the lights out! The Japs are comin’! The Japs are comin’!” She and her daughter were sitting on the couch, clutching one another in absolute abject terror. ‘The Golden Gate ridge has been bombed!’ I said, “Mrs. Kellher, I just drove over there a few minutes ago. There’s nothing wrong with the bridge.” But they were so terror-stricken, I turned out the lights. (Terkel 1984, 25-26).

Americans were clearly ill informed of the attack and fears ran wild. In an attempt to restore social and cultural stability, the Times responded by calling for accurate reports from the government about the situation at Hawaii (New York Times, December 9, 1941). Society demanded a clear direction from its leaders and was no longer content to allow discussions of whether or not America should get involved in the war. Jack Lule noted that “As of one society’s important and powerful institutions, news portrays the need for stability and the dangers of instability” (Lule 2002, 287). The sentiment that dissent and discussion would not be tolerated by the public was visible on the first day of coverage (New York Times, December 8, 1941). Thereafter, those who dared to challenge America’s role in the war were quickly denounced as Scapegoats.

These changes in society’s attitude about war were presented as a matter of fact. America was attacked and so America would attack back. Any discussion otherwise was
labeled unpatriotic if not seditious. This was not surprising as Dan Berkowitz noted that “evoking taken-for-granted interpretations about a society, mythical representations seem natural and the choice of actors becomes relatively closed” (Berkowitz 2002, 608). The role of any one journalist was remarkably similar to that of any other. They all took to the task of repairing a society that had been struck a surprise blow.

The *Times* offered up stories of Heroes, Good Mothers, and Victims as a way in which not only to console the public but also as a way of repairing the torn tapestry of myth. “News celebrates authorities and degrades those who challenge authority. News drives people to sacrifice, punish, forgive, avenge, protest, and surrender,” wrote Lule (Lule 2002, 287). From the first reports of Pearl Harbor that were printed on December 8, 1941, the *Times* set about this process of reaffirming the values and beliefs of a society under attack. It would be expected that this process would be evident throughout the period of the war if the timeframe examined by this study had been extended.

*Myth Legitimized Action*

Viewing the coverage of the attacks in the *Times* from a political and ideological perspective allowed for discussion of how the government used myth to inspire action. Jack Lule wrote that “Myth inspires people to go to war, to sacrifice their very lives, to kill and to die in the name of myth, for the sake of social order” (Lule 2002, 287). Myth played a similar role in the pages of the *Times*, inspiring its readers to emulate Heroes and Good Mothers, and legitimizing hatred and suspicion directed at Tricksters and Scapegoats.
For example, in Studs Terkel’s oral history of the war he interviewed a woman named Peggy Terry who worked in a plant making artillery shells in Kentucky during the war. Eventually her and her family relocated to Jackson, Michigan to work at another plant testing airplane radios. Terry and the folks she knew had little direct contact with the military or the war but this did not stop them from taking a symbolic stand against the hated Japanese:

We were very patriotic and we understood that the Nazis were someone who would have to be stopped. We didn’t know about concentration camps. I don’t think anybody I knew did. With the Japanese, that was a whole different thing. We were just ready to wipe them out. They sure as heck didn’t look like us. They were yellow little creates that smiled when they bombed our boys. I remember someone in Paducah got up this idea of burning everything they had that was Japanese. I had this little ceramic cat and I said, “I don’t care, I am not burning it.” They had this big bonfire and people came and brought what they had that was made in Japan. Threw it on the bonfire. I hid my cat. It’s on the shelf in my bathroom right now (Terkel 1984, 110-111).

These attitudes about the Japanese were widespread, but perhaps the worst effect of this suspicion was the shameful way in which Japanese Americans were treated.

In his oral history, Terkel also interviewed Japanese American Peter Ota who described the round-up of Japanese in Los Angeles, of which his father was a part:

On the evening of December 7, 1941, my father was at a wedding. He was dressed in a tuxedo. When the reception was over, the FBI agents were waiting. They rounded up at least a dozen wedding guests and took’em to county jail. For a few days we didn’t know what happened. We heard nothing. When we found out, my mother, my sister, and myself went to jail. I can still remember waiting in the lobby. When my father walked through the door, my mother was so humiliated. She didn’t say anything. She cried. He was in prisoner’s clothing, with a denim jacket and a number on the back (Terkel 1984, 28).

Eventually Ota was sent to an internment camp in Colorado with his family. Ota was only in the camp a year as he found employment in Chicago; his family was relocated to
various camps and eventually ended up back in California. Ota had been accepted into the army reserve and returned to Los Angeles to collect his mother’s remains, who had recently passed away. He described his humiliating arrival at the train station:

As soon as we stepped off the train at the Union Station in Los Angeles, there was a shore patrol and a military police who met me. They escorted me through the station. It was one of the most . . . (He finds it difficult to talk). I don’t even know how to describe it. Any day now, I’d be serving in the same uniform as these people who were guarding me. (Terkel 1984, 30-31).

Ota looked back on that period of his life with great sadness:

When I think back to my mother and father, what they went through quietly, it’s hard to explain. (Cries.) I think of my father without ever coming up with an angry word. After all those years, having worked his whole life to build a dream—an American dream, mind you—having it all taken away, and not one vindictive word. His business was worth more than a hundred thousand. He sold it for five. . . He died a very broken man (Terkel 1984, 32-33).

Ota and his family were just a few of the many of thousands of Japanese Americans that suffered such treatment. Almost no one complained including the Japanese that were interned. Ron Veenker, who as a child was staying with his grandmother in California when the news of the attack on Oahu was broadcast, described the effect the round-up had on his neighborhood, “Very soon after that, I noticed all our neighbors were not there anymore. Nobody talked about it. These were Japanese truck-garden people, who had been there a long time” (Terkel 1984, 27). Myth legitimized this treatment of American citizens and narrowed the discussion to such a point that complaint was almost unheard of.

Myth also legitimized American leaders, particularly military commanders. According to Phillip Knightly news reports of the time were typified by a “policy of
shielding the nation from reality, maintaining morale by avoiding the truth, and convincing the public that the war was being conducted by a command of geniuses” (Knightley 1975, 279). Information contrary to this was generally removed by government and military censors (Knightley 1975, 279-280). The only apparent exception to this were the commanders responsible for the defense of Hawaii on December 7, 1941, who were portrayed as incompetent Scapegoats too arrogant to listen to warnings from Washington, D.C., of a potential attack. From a political and ideological standpoint, the role of myth appearing in the Times was no different from other instances researchers have examined where it was used to “preserve hegemony by privileging the status quo, silencing dissent, and realigning diverse audiences to a consensus narrative celebrating the ideology of an imagined American mainstream audience” (Fursich 2002, 367).

The Role of Censorship and Correspondents in New York Times’ Coverage

Correspondents were directly influenced by government and military censors. “In the long struggle ahead to defeat Japan, the main purpose of news would be to render the greatest possible aid to the American war effort. Truth and objectivity would have to yield to a wholehearted patriotic participation in the conflict,” wrote Phillip Knightley (Knightley 1975, 274). Correspondents based in Washington, D.C., were influenced by those they covered; much as was the case when public relations agencies used the myth of Rebirth to describe the merger of car manufacturers as detailed by Elfriede Fursich’s examination of how public relations firms can affect myth (Fursich 2002, 358). The U.S.
government maintained strict control of what information was passed to news organizations during the period examined by this study, which undoubtedly shaped coverage of Heroes, Tricksters, and Victims.

The first reports of the attack on Pearl Harbor claimed that only an “old” battleship and a destroyer had been sunk and that the U.S. inflicted heavy damage on the Japanese. This censorship was not to keep the enemy from gaining information about the attack, as reports from Tokyo accurately stated the damage done, but was to keep the American people in the dark (Knightley 1975, 272-273). Phillip Knightley wrote that:

The American service chiefs immediately decided that news of a disaster of such magnitude would prove unacceptable to the American people, and steps were taken to ensure that they did not learn about it. So effective were these measures that the truth about Pearl Harbor was still being concealed even after the war ended (Knightley 1975, 272).

Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, eventually disclosed details of the attack to the press but mislead them by stating that only one battleship was destroyed and another damaged. In fact, five battleships rested on the bottom of the harbor. Knox went further and said that the majority of the Pacific fleet was intact and seeking contact with the enemy (Knightley 1975, 273). It was not until the eve of the anniversary of the attack that the government gave more honest figures, stating that five battleships had been sunk or damaged. However, there was no breakdown of these figures and the evasion continued years after the war (Knightley 1975, 274).

The Office of Censorship was created twelve days after the U.S. announced a state of war with Japan. The office was charged with preventing the dissemination of information that might be of use to the enemy in almost every medium imaginable, from
personal letters and telephone calls to newspaper articles (Washburn 1990, 3-4). There was good reason for much of this censorship. For example, Stanley Johnston of the Chicago Tribune wrote one of the first reports of the Battle of Midway which, since he was prohibited from disclosing the locations of Allied ships, he composed by giving the locations of enemy ships. This resulted in Johnston being summoned to Washington, D.C., and interrogated by a special commission. Years later he learned that all the “fuss” over the article was because the U.S. had cracked Japanese codes, and by acknowledging those locations in his articles he could have tipped the Imperial Japanese Navy off to the fact that their encryption had been broken (Knightley 1975, 283-284).  

The office also concerned itself with suppressing information that might depress American fighting spirits in personal letters and in films. On January 14, 1942, the Office of Censorship issued a voluntary Code of Wartime Practices for newspapers that amounted to a request that editors ask themselves the question “If I were the enemy would I want to have this information?” (Washburn 1990, 4). The Office of Censorship was open twenty-four hours a day to answer any inquires about what should or should not be printed (Washburn 1990, 4). It was advantageous to a military in the process of recruiting soldiers to censor and control the release of stories of heroism to the press. It was also to the government’s advantage to portray the Japanese as Tricksters deserving of American anger and contempt to promote unity, bolster recruiting, and help sell war

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1 Stanley Johnston’s article was able to bypass military censors because, through an oversight, he was not subjected to the accreditation process that other foreign correspondents were required to go through (Knightley 1975, 283).
bonds. The government’s censorship of war news also kept the grim reality of the
slaughter of the battle field away from American eyes and allowed the fallen to be
remembered as Victims who were sacrificed for the good of the nation.

Those correspondents based overseas were subject to even more direct control
because military censorship worked by containing information at its source, such as
preventing correspondents of learning anything that the military did not want them to
know. Reporters were forced to go through an accreditation process that meant
submitting all copy to military or naval censors before transmissions (Knightley 1975,
275). The “War correspondents went along with the official scheme for reporting the war
because they were convinced that it was in the national interest to do so,” wrote
Knightley (Knightley 1975, 276). The censors’ interests were opposed to those of the
journalists because “Correspondents seek to tell as much as possible as soon as possible;
the military seeks to tell as little as possible as late as possible” (Knightley 1975, 276).
Furthermore, the censors would not be reprimanded for what they cut out, only what they
let through.

The Role of Women in the War Effort

Ties between the government and the magazine industry were extensive and were
used to provide propaganda that would influence women to take jobs supporting the war
industry (Honey 1984, 28). Maureen Honey’s book Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class,
Gender, and Propaganda During World War II (1984) detailed how this was achieved.
One of the major ways that women were influenced was through fiction stories in
magazines. Chief of the Magazine Bureau of the Office of War Information Dorothy Ducas contacted fiction writers to request that they begin writing stories that glorified war work. She also made a special request to the Magazine Advisory Committee, which had representatives from ten major magazines, that they publish stories that might reduce prejudice against working women (Honey 1984, 41-42). Honey wrote that Ducas’s attempts to get magazine fiction in lines with the OWI’s goals “were systemized in the Magazine War Guide, which recommended ways fiction writers could weave appeals into their plots” (Honey 1984, 42). Although the OWI was concerned with filling the demand for workers, according to Honey, they were not much concerned about the long-term consequences of filling that demand:

> Policies that failed to consider the postwar employment opportunities for women war workers suggest that employers and government officials operated from a perspective that deemed wage labor as merely an adjunct of women’s “real” role, which was full-time homemaking. Recruiting married women into war production must have seemed to them an ideal solution to the problem of securing temporary works (Honey 1984, 27).

However, not all women were so inclined to follow this restrictive pattern.

A woman named Dellie Hahne was interviewed in Studs Terkel’s oral history of World War II (1984). Hahne recalled how the propaganda surrounding the war effort affected the course of her life:

> I met my future husband. I really didn’t care that much for him, but the pressure was so great. My brother said, “What do you mean you don’t like Glenn? You’re going to marry him, aren’t you?” The first time it would occur to me that I would marry anybody. The pressure to marry a soldier was so great that after a while I didn’t question it. I have to marry sometime and I might as well marry him. That women married soldiers and sent them overseas happy was hammered at us. We had plays on the radio, short stories in magazines, and the movies, which were a tremendous influence in our lives. The central theme was the girl meets the
soldier, and after a weekend of acquaintanceship they get married and overcome all difficulties. Then off to war he went (Terkel 1984, 117).

Seven years and two children later Hahne divorced her husband. If it were not for propaganda surrounding the war Hahne said she would not have married so foolishly. But the war did have some positive effects for women:

There was *one* good thing came out of it. I had friends whose mothers went to work in factories. For the first time in their lives, they worked outside the home. They realized that they were capable of doing something more than cook a meal. I remember going to Sunday dinner one of the older women invited me to. She and her sister at the dinner table were talking about the best way to keep their drill sharp at the factory. I had never heard anything like this in my life. It was just marvelous. I was tickled (Terkel 1984, 122).

But even here we were sold a bill of goods. They were hammering away that the woman who went to work did it temporarily to help her man, and when he came back, he took her job and she cheerfully leaped back to the home... . But they still wanted women to be dependent, helpless.

I think a lot of women said, Screw that noise. ‘Cause they had a taste of freedom, they had a taste of making their own money, a taste of spending their own money, making their own decisions. I think the beginning of the women’s movement had its seeds right there in World War Two (Terkel 1984, 122).

This idea that women belonged in the home, and would happily return there after the soldiers returned, was repeated in the pages of the *Times*, particularly those with the myth of the Good Mother. These articles offered up women who served their country by taking jobs in war production as models to be emulated. They tended to show no prejudice against working women other than noting the generally excellent job they were doing, with the insinuation that this should be surprising. Even Eleanor Roosevelt’s reorganization of the Office of Civilian Defense was trivialized by the *Times* who preferred to focus much of the article on the controversy caused by her endorsement of dancing as a fund-raising activity (*New York Times*, February 13, 1942).
Editorial Coverage of the Attacks on Pearl Harbor and the World Trade Center

Jack Lule noted that following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, “The paper responded with an intensity of coverage seen perhaps only in wartime” (Lule 2002, 276). This intensity was also, obviously, apparent in the Times coverage of Pearl Harbor. Just as “The terrorist attacks were a stunning assault on social order” (Lule 2002, 287) so was the attack on Oahu. In both cases within hours, the Times had begun answering that assault in an attempt to repair the social order.

The ways in which the attack on Pearl Harbor was mythologized were similar to how the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 were described in the pages of the Times (2002). The myth of the Hero and Victim were found in abundance in coverage following both events. Jack Lule’s myth, the Foreboding Future, was also evident in much of the editorial coverage following Pearl Harbor. For example, Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in an editorial titled “War Must be fought on Two Fronts” that the attack on Hawaii “means sacrifice—sacrifice and determination as yet undreamed of” for those on the home front (New York Times, December 14, 1941). Lule’s myth of the End of Innocence was also found in coverage that dealt with isolationists following the attack on Oahu. An editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer that was reprinted in the Times, for example, referred to Pearl Harbor as a terrible lesson to isolationists (New York Times, December 8, 1941). It was written in another editorial that the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the British ships the Prince of Wales and the Repulse marked the end of naval warfare. The editorial declared that “the war with Japan is an air war” (New York Times, December 11, 135
1941). The myth of the End of Innocence was applied to both American isolationism and also to the fact that air power now trumped naval strength, while the myth of the Foreboding Future primarily dealt with preparation and the sacrifice required for the upcoming conflict.

A major difference between how myth appeared in coverage of the two events was that articles detailing the heroism of those at Pearl Harbor were delayed by censorship. The extramedia influence of the military controlled what stories appeared in print that dealt with the war, and constraints of geography and time prevented many journalists from circumventing this influence. In fact, President Roosevelt and J. Edgar Hoover bullied members of the press through threats of prosecutions based on sedition laws and the Espionage Act. Patrick S. Washburn’s book *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (1986) detailed the internal war in the highest echelons of government over the black press. Roosevelt and Hoover wanted to prosecute members of the black press for writings that they declared seditious, and they also wanted to suppress such publications. Attorney General Francis Biddle, however, opposed this point of view and waged a behind-the-scenes battle with the President and the director of the FBI. Biddle was instrumental in protecting the freedom of the press during World War II and in keeping the number of prosecutions for seditious writings to a minimum (Washburn 1986, 204-205). Jack Lule did not address whether or not myth following 9/11 was directly influenced by the government, or other sources.
Another notable difference was the absence of an enemy, or Trickster, in the coverage following coverage of 9/11. Lule noted that this absence was significant considering that other newspapers focused heavily on Osama Bin Laden. He wrote that the *Times* “avoided bellicose and belligerent talk of vengeance” and even editorials focused on war “did not rally support for vengeance or rooting out of evil” (Lule 2002, 286). Instead, the *Times* focused inward and “built a case for the sacrifice and suffering that had been and would be endured by the American people” (Lule 2002, 286). As noted in the discussion of the results, this study found the Trickster in nine articles from the coverage of Pearl Harbor. Although the *Times* also avoided “loose talk” about reprisals after Pearl Harbor, as in the coverage of 9/11, it recognized that the country was in a war it could very well lose and the presence of the Trickster was undeniable.

*Articles Not Included in the Quantitative Analysis*

Eighty-eight of the articles from the sample of 510 articles were found to be either unrelated or were otherwise not fit for analysis. Generally these articles had only a tentative connection to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Advertisements often mentioned Pearl Harbor as a way of encouraging consumers to spend their dollars. The classified advertisements, news indexes, lists of radio broadcasts, list of best selling books, and “Today’s Events” only mentioned Pearl Harbor in passing. The photographs were often of related subjects, such as damage done to ships stationed at Oahu, but were unable to be analyzed by the quantitative method. The twelve book reviews were usually on books related to the war that often mentioned Pearl Harbor as a reference point. The five
“Sports of the Times” were identified in this study only because they mentioned Army or Navy teams, or discussed changes in sports since the attack. The article on the boxing match and the account of news on the stage were completely unrelated to any sort of war news. The poem appeared in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* and was an ode to bomber pilots.

The nineteen personal letters offered some interesting insights. Three of those letters were in response to the Roberts commission’s report on Pearl Harbor. Although one letter recognized that Kimmel and Short would surely be “pilloried” for their inaction, none of the letters expressed concern that these two men were scapegoats for greater government inefficiency; rather they applauded the result and called for stricter cooperation between the army and navy (*New York Times*, January 28, 1942). One letter warned America to beware the Japanese because they are a people “as treacherous as they are bestial” (*New York Times*, January 5, 1942). Other letters covered such serious topics as criticisms of the war and American leaders, the probable genesis of the conflict, and inflation. Not all of the letters were so serious, such as the writer who was concerned with the lack of music on the radio following Pearl Harbor.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

Myth had a powerful presence in the *Times* coverage of Pearl Harbor and was used to provide context to an event that shook the world and awoke a sleeping giant. The *Times* offered up heroes for emulation, scapegoats for mockery, enemies for contempt, and victims for comfort. The attack on Oahu was itself described in terms of the Flood myth. Both Allied and Axis countries and their inhabitants were discussed in terms of the Other World myth. Coverage highlighted their differences when compared to America, and these countries were often “othered” by reporters who described them as primitives in need of the benefits of U.S. intervention. The sacrifices made by women in the war effort were often described in terms of the Good Mother myth. Women were usually celebrated in coverage and served as models for others to emulate; however, these same articles often remarked upon how unusual their service was with the implication that when American GIs returned home so would their women.

The fact that 23.8 percent of the articles examined contained myth speaks volumes about the presence of myth in modern newspapers. This may not seem like a very high number of articles with myth, but it should be remembered that every one of the 432 articles had some reference to Pearl Harbor. The other 76.2 percent of the articles called forth the various myths surrounding the attack every time they mentioned the attack on Oahu. Myth is frankly everywhere, hiding just under the surface, and clustering around moments of national strife and combined suffering. It is not surprising that myth should be found around such moments that define the mindset of a nation. After all, myth
is used to convey and reinforce the values and beliefs of a society, and when that society is under attack so are these structures of social order. The Times responded to this attack by presenting myths that reinforced the social values that hold society together.

Myth is always concerned with promoting the reigning authorities and maintaining a stable social order. The myth of the Scapegoat serves to punish those that violate this order, just as the myth of the Trickster and the Other World validate people who dehumanize others and seek revenge for a wrong. The Hero, Good Mother and Victim myth serve up examples for others to emulate, namely a sacrifice of time or life for the greater good of the nation. The Flood is event-specific and is reserved for crises that create great stress in a nation or region.

These myths appeared despite, and partly because of, government censorship of news that sought to control what Americans thought of the war. Although, the creative, or mythic, elements of a report are owned wholly by the reporter, as they are the last decision makers between the facts and the public, censorship controls which facts reporters are privy to, and is therefore an effective means of limiting myth. Without the building blocks of facts reporters can not construct a story that might contain myth. Stories of the Hero were often handed to reporters by military censors as morale boosters, and it is just as likely that these same censors failed to pass on stories of grief, heartache, and the senseless loss of life that accompanies military conflict.
Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations associated with this study. The greatest limitation of this study was the low expected frequencies that prevented a meaningful statistical analysis. The articles that appeared later in the sample often used Pearl Harbor as a reference point before describing how something has changed, such as stock prices, recruiting, war bonds, number killed, rationing, etc. This led to many “false” positives, or articles that dealt with subjects totally unrelated to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although these articles used the term Pearl Harbor as both a point in time from which to measure changes in society and as a way of calling to mind the many myths associated with the attack, they did not themselves contain functions of myth. This resulted in lower expected frequencies that prevented Chi-Square and Spearman-Rho analysis. Other studies that attempt to quantify myth should compensate for this phenomenon by taking a very large sample. The second limitation was that any results observed, and any conclusions drawn from those results, are limited to the sample of 432 articles that this study examined. The third limitation was that the quantitative analysis of myth was based on functions that originated from the qualitative examinations of various scholars of myth. Until a morphology of myth in newspapers is done that concretely identifies functions of myth, similar to Vladimir Propp’s study of Russian folktales, a definitive quantitative exploration of myth with results that can be applied to other cases will not be possible. The quantitative method used in this study could serve as a starting point for such a study.
Further studies of myth could compensate for this last limitation by using Paul J. Deutschmann’s topical categories. This system consists of eleven categories that cover the full range of content found in most newspapers. These categories are war and defense, popular amusements, general human interest, economic activity, education and classic arts, politics and government, crime, accident and disaster, public health and welfare, science and invention, and public moral problems (Stempel 2003, 212). This would allow for comparison of frequencies of articles with myth by category. In this way researchers would be able to pinpoint the category of coverage in which myth appears following an event, and would then be able to eliminate or ignore unrelated coverage.

Future studies of myth, especially those interested in myths with all five functions, should consider examining magazines, or other media that allow for longer articles and more relaxed deadlines. This would help to insure that reporters are not constrained by institutional requirements that might hamper the development of myth in their articles. Studies of myth that focus on coverage after an unprecedented or unexpected event should make use of Jack Lule’s myths of the Foreboding Future and the End of Innocence. An origin code for foreign correspondents should also be included in further studies that deal with situations in which censorship is expected to play a role.
Bibliography


Appendix A: Glossary

**Archetype** has three entries in Webster, the third being most closely related to this study: 1) the original pattern or mold of which all things of the same type are representations or copies, 2) a transcendent entity that is a real pattern of which existing things are imperfect representations, 3) an inherited idea or mode of thought in the psychology of C.G. Jung that is derived from the experience of the race and is present in the unconscious of the individual (Merriam-Webster 2004, 65).

**Archetypal myths** are stories about or involving a Jungian archetype. Like myth in general, the story must contain elements common to many diverse myths.

**Chronicles** “are vital, myth-repairing narratives,” and “through chronicle, the overall structure of the myth is emphasized, although individual ‘stories’ are not” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 74-75). Chronicles are not stories, instead they “provide us with the backdrop of events that tell us the world is still going on and that things we value still matter” (Bird and Dardenne 1997, 340). Examples of chronicles include sports scores, stock market prices, committee reports, some news roundups, etc.

**Close Reading**, in the realm of literary analysis, is a thoughtful and careful interpretation of a relatively small amount of text. This interpretation emphasizes details of the passage, such as syntax, words, and literary devices.
Collective unconscious, also called objective unconscious, is a theory developed by Carl Jung. This sphere of consciousness is shared by everyone and holds “the deposit of all human experience right back to its remotest beginnings” (Otis 1994, 210).

Dialectic has several definitions in Webster but the following most closely matches that used in this study: 4a) the Hegelian process of change in which a concept or its realization passes over into and is preserved and fulfilled by its opposite; also; the critical investigation of this process, 4b) development through the stages of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis in accordance of the laws of dialectical materialism, the investigation of this process, the theoretical application of this process especially in the social sciences (Merriam-Webster 2004, 344).

Information model is an objective system of news making championed by Walter Lippmann as a better way to serve the public. This non-partisan journalism prided itself on fairness and factual information. Prior to this most newspapers were opinion-laden and aligned themselves along political lines.

Functions are elements that shape or give form to a story, according to folklorist Vladimir Propp. These functions only include elements that form the story and exclude narrative elements such as description, character, themes, and symbols. A story is composed of several functions, which are usually defined as an action and reaction. For
example, a Hero slays his enemy and is then pursued by his henchman. The action is the slaying of the villain while the reaction is the inevitable pursuit.

**Master Myth** is a term coined by Jack Lule, and the seven master myths of the media are as follows: the Flood, the Hero, the Mother, the Other World, the Scapegoat, the Trickster, and the Victim. Lule holds that these myths have the most sway in the pages of the newspaper.

**Myth** has four entries in Webster, however only the first two apply to myth as used in the context of this study. They are: 1) a traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or natural phenomenon, 2) a popular belief or tradition that has grown up around something or someone (Merriam-Webster 2004, 822). According to communication scholar Dan Berkowitz “The concept of myth builds upon archetypes by taking archetypal stories and adding social meaning” (Berkowitz 2002, 608).

**Mythic stories** contain elements of myth or archetypes.

**Mythic narrative structures** are narrative forms that are common among diverse myths. For example, stories invoking the Hero myth often share common plot elements, processes of character development, rising and falling actions, themes, symbols, and characters. According to Dan Berkowitz, “Myths have identifiable narrative structures
that become formulaic through repeated application, complete with common central actors and predictable outcomes” (Berkowitz 2002, 608). Vladimir Propp referred to the elements that shape or give form to a story as “functions” of the story.

**Semiology** is the study of how signs acquire their cultural meaning. There are two parts to any sign: the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the physical sign while the signified is the meaning of the sign. The connection between the two is derived from cultural agreement (Goodman, Duke, and Sutherland, 2002, 379).

**Organic memory** is memory that is passed down from generation to generation, and represents more than simple instincts. It is sometimes also referred to as racial or hereditary memory.

**Story** has several entries in Webster but the following relate most to this study: 2a) an account of incident or events 2b) a statement regarding the facts pertinent to a situation in question 3b) the intrigue or plot of a narrative or dramatic work 7) a news article or broadcast (Merriam-Webster 2004, 1230).

**Transmission belt theory** is a traditional view of communication that holds that information is transmitted through a medium to reach its audience, that the effect on the audience is usually strong, and that it will be more or less universal among all audience members (Severin and Tankard 2001, 287). It is also known as the bullet theory.
Appendix B: Timeline of Events from December 7, 1941 to July 7, 1942

December 7, 1941 - Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; also attack the Philippines, Wake Island, Guam, Malaya, Thailand, Shanghai and Midway.

December 8, 1941 - U.S. and Britain declare war on Japan. Japanese land near Singapore and enter Thailand.

December 10, 1941 - Japanese invade the Philippines and also seize Guam.

December 11, 1941 - Japanese invade Burma.

December 15, 1941 - First Japanese merchant ship sunk by a U.S. submarine.

December 16, 1941 - Japanese invade British Borneo.

December 18, 1941 - Japanese invade Hong Kong.


December 23, 1941 - General Douglas MacArthur begins a withdrawal from Manila to Bataan; Japanese take Wake Island.

December 25, 1941 - British surrender at Hong Kong.

December 26, 1941 - Manila declared an open city.

December 27, 1941 - Japanese bomb Manila.

January 2, 1942 - Manila and U.S. Naval base at Cavite captured by the Japanese.


January 11, 1942 - Japanese invade Dutch East Indies and Dutch Borneo.
January 14, 1942 - The director of the Office of Censorship, Byron Price, issued a voluntary wartime code of practices for newspapers that amounted to a request that editors ask themselves the question “If I were the enemy would I want to have this information?”

(Washburn 1990, 4).

January 18, 1942 - German-Japanese-Italian military agreement signed in Berlin.


February 1, 1942 - First U.S. aircraft carrier offensive of the war as Yorktown and Enterprise conduct air raids on Japanese bases in the Gilbert and Marshall Islands.

February 15, 1942 - British surrender at Singapore.

February 19, 1942 - Largest Japanese air raid since Pearl Harbor occurs against Darwin, Australia; Japanese invade Bali.

February 22, 1942 - President Franklin D. Roosevelt orders General MacArthur out of the Philippines.

February 23, 1942 - First Japanese attack on the U.S. mainland as a submarine shells an oil refinery near Santa Barbara, California.

February 26, 1942 - First U.S. carrier, the Langley, is sunk by Japanese bombers.

February 27- March 1 - Japanese naval victory in the Battle of the Java Sea as the largest U.S. warship in the Far East, the Houston, is sunk.
March 4, 1942 - Two Japanese flying boats bomb Pearl Harbor; Enterprise attacks Marcus Island, just 1000 miles from Japan.

March 8, 1942 - The Dutch on Java surrender to Japanese.

March 18, 1942 - Gen. MacArthur appointed commander of the Southwest Pacific Theater by President Roosevelt.


April 9, 1942 - U.S. forces on Bataan surrender unconditionally to the Japanese.

April 10, 1942 - Bataan Death March begins as 76,000 Allied POWs including 12,000 Americans are forced to walk 60 miles under a blazing sun without food or water toward a new POW camp, resulting in over 5,000 American deaths.

April 18, 1942 - Surprise U.S. 'Doolittle' B-25 air raid from the Hornet against Tokyo boosts Allied morale.

May 6, 1942 - Japanese take Corregidor as Gen. Wainwright unconditionally surrenders all U.S. And Filipino forces in the Philippines.

May 7-8, 1942 - Japan suffers its first defeat of the war during the Battle of the Coral Sea off New Guinea - the first time in history that two opposing carrier forces fought only using aircraft without the opposing ships ever sighting each other.

May 20, 1942 - Japanese complete the capture of Burma and reach India.
June 4-5, 1942 - Turning point in the war occurs with a decisive victory for the U.S. against Japan in the Battle of Midway as squadrons of U.S. torpedo planes and dive bombers from Enterprise, Hornet, and Yorktown attack and destroy four Japanese carriers, a cruiser, and damage another cruiser and two destroyers. U.S. loses Yorktown.

June 7, 1942 - Japanese invade the Aleutian Islands.

The timeline of selected events is from The History Place, except where noted.
Appendix C: Codebook

Greetings coders! You will read each article while keeping the myths below in mind. Analyze the article’s form by comparing the events depicted in the New York Times to the forms of the myths referenced in this codebook. There may be more than one myth in an article. In effect you will be performing a close reading, which emphasizes careful examination of details of the passage, such as syntax, plot, and literary devices. Pay special attention to the form of the narrative and record these forms on your code sheet. Please examine one article at a time. Read the article straight through once. Then go back and reread it carefully and closely. Think about each sentence. Although you will not be required to write an interpretation of the article, the process of close reading will help you consciously examine the text for evidence of myth.

Step by Step Instructions

Step 1. Place the article and your code sheet side by side.

Step 2. Record the case number (V1), your name (V2), and the date of the article on the code sheet (V3).

Step 3. Record the name of the author or reporter who wrote the article (V4) and the headline (V5).

Step 4. Determine the type of article (V6) and origin of the article (V7).

Step 5. Identify the prominence of the article (V8).

Step 6. Read the entire article. Provide 1-3 sentences about the topic of the article (V9).

Step 7. Now begin the process of close reading. Refer back to the code book periodically to examine the functions of each myth and its identifying characteristics.
Step 8. Record each instance of a mythic function on your code sheet. Be sure to highlight the sentences or paragraphs that correspond to a myth.

Step 9. Check for presence of Flood myth (V10-V14)

Step 10. Check for presence of Hero myth (V15-V19)

Step 11. Check for presence of Mother myth (V20-V24)

Step 12. Check for presence of Other World myth (V25-V29)

Step 13. Check for presence of Scapegoat myth (V30-V34)

Step 14. Check for presence of Trickster myth (V35-V39)

Step 15. Check for presence of Victim myth (V40-V44)

Step 16. Check over all your work.

**Explanation of Variables**

V1. Case Number: This is the number in the upper right hand corner of the article you are coding.

V2. Coder Name: Write your name.

V3. Date of article: On top of page is the date of the article, as provided by ProQuest. Copy it onto the code sheet.

V4. Reporter or author’s name: Simply write the reporter, editor, or author’s name. If the article is a reprint of a speech then write the name of the orator.

V5. Headline: Copy down the headline of the article.

V6. Type of article: 1=hard news, 2=soft news, 3=editorial, 4=chronicle, 5=other

Hard news: An article that sticks to the facts and generally avoids storytelling methods. Provides a strict sequence of events and often employ the inverted-pyramid style.
Soft news: A “human interest” story that generally uses more storytelling methods than the hard news article. The article is factual, but facts are presented in a way to excite readers.

Editorial: An editorial represents the opinion of the author, and usually the paper as a whole.

Chronicle: A chronicle is an essentially a list of data. It can be stock information, the scores of sporting events, and news indexes, but in this case it is more likely to come in the form of lists of ships destroyed and soldiers killed.

Other: Anything that does not fall into the preceding categories.

V7. Origin of article: 1=New York Times, 2= state bureau, 3= DC bureau, 4= wire Service (AP or UPI), 5= other newspaper

New York Times: The article comes from the newspaper staff.
State Bureau: The article is from a state office of the Times.
D.C. Bureau: The article is from the Washington D.C. office of the Times.
Wire service: The article is from a wire service, such as UP or AP.
Other newspaper: The article is from a newspaper other than the Times.

V8. Prominence of article: 1= page one of newspaper, 2= page one of a section, 3= inside page

Page one of newspaper: The front page of the Times, check where the date is listed to find the page number.

Page one of section: The very first page of a section inside the paper.

Inside page: Any page that is not the front page of the newspaper or a front page of a section.

V9. Main Topic of article: Please write 1-3 sentences about what you think the main topic of the article is.
**Flood:** The Flood represents a powerful, fundamental belief—humbleness before nature and God and disaster for those that ignore this. The myth of the Flood explicitly fingers the victims as either the cause of, or deserving of, the disaster. This myth reaffirms the idea that those not involved in the event are not affronting nature, or God, and are therefore superior.

V10. **DISASTER.** The article covers a natural disaster, catastrophe, or any unexpected event over which the victims have little or no control.

V11. **FAULT.** Somewhere in the story it is suggested by either the reporter or a source in the story that the disaster is the fault of the victims.

V12. **PUNISHMENT.** It is suggested by the reporter or the source that the disaster was some sort of punishment from God for those who have strayed from the “right path.”

V13. **NATURE.** The humbling power of nature or chaos is evident either by the amount of destruction and lives lost (body counts, property damage estimates, etc) or is suggested by the reporter or a source.

V14. **NO HOPE.** There is little or no apparent hope for any immediate relief as evidenced by either the amount of devastation or the difficulties in geography.

(see the next page for an example from the population of articles of the Flood myth)
**Hero:** The Hero is perhaps the oldest and most universal myth and at its core represents a loss of self for a greater purpose. They often sacrifice, or show a willingness to sacrifice, themselves for the greater good. However, for those who make the greatest sacrifice—losing their lives—consider the Victim myth as a potential fit. Remember though that a Hero can still die, sacrificing his life, and not be a Victim. The determination will be best decided by the number of corresponding functions. Heroes serve to provide exceptional models for others to strive to. A Hero has a thousand faces, and can range from a priest, to a carpenter, to a soldier.

V15. **BIRTH:** The Hero typically has a humble birth, often born to parents who are not of high social status.

V16. **SIGN:** There is often some reference to an early mark of greatness, whether it is in physical skills, intellectual brightness, kindness, or evidenced by an early sacrifice.

V17. **QUEST:** The Hero goes on a quest away from home and faces battles or trials. In a typical myth the obstacle between the hero and his goal is often a representation of his unconscious mind; however in coverage of a war, it is more often going to be fear itself or a very real enemy. Sometimes the Hero often performs an act of bravery, risking his life to help others.

V18. **TRIUMPH.** Slaying his enemy, overcoming his obstacle, or passing his trial, the Hero achieves his goal with a decisive victory. Often he is pursued by the enemies remaining allies or servants, narrowly escaping.

V19. **RETURN:** The Hero returns home triumphant.
**The Good Mother:** The Good Mother represents all positive attributes of the female gender. The Good Mother is a model of goodness; she is often maternal, often offers protection or help to others, and is incredibly kind. This myth offers a model for goodness when such models may be in short supply. Articles that detail nonviolent help from civilians such as fundraising and nursing may contain functions of this myth.

V20. **MATERNAL:** Someone is injured, either mentally or physically, and the Good Mother offers them comfort, care, nursing and protection.

V21. **GIVES OF SELF:** The Good Mother gives of herself, either her time or talents, to provide for someone else. This kindness is commented on or drawn attention to.

V22. **ACCLAIMED:** Because of her kindness, The Good Mother is acclaimed among women. Others are attracted to her because of her exceeding goodness.

V23. **MODEL:** Because she is acclaimed she offers others a model to strive to.

V24. **RIGID:** Although the Good Mother’s qualities are shown as desirable, her attributes provide a rigid model for other women to emulate.
**Other World**: The Other World is a myth of a region utterly different and unknown to us that acts as screen for projections of our society’s fears and desires. Like all myths, the Other World helps to uphold and affirm societal values. This myth will be most prevalent in articles that discuss places such as Pearl Harbor, Europe, Japan, the actual battlefield, other parts of the world, and theaters of battle.

V25. **HEAVEN/HELL**: The Other World can range from a paradise like Eden to a nightmare world of chaos. The fundamental quality is that the land is substantially different from the reporter’s home, in this case the U.S.

V26. **HARBOR**: The Other World is a land that either harbors enemies or friends.

V27. **DIFFERENT**: Coverage of the Other World highlights its differences from our own society. The actual differences that are reported vary infinitely (from animal sacrifice to a military coup) and can either be positive or, more often than not, negative. Whichever the case, the differences that are highlighted fall outside the commonly accepted societal beliefs of the U.S.

V28. **PRIMITIVE**: The Other World is incredibly primitive, which can connote innocence such as on a tropical island, or barbaric chaos, such as in the jungle with cannibal tribes.

V29. **SUPERIORITY**: Promotes the idea that the U.S. is a bastion of civilization in world beset by barbarians. People in the Other World are generally seen as requiring our help to overcome their primitiveness.
**Scapegoat: The myth of the Scapegoat illustrates the consequences of violating a society’s rules and taboos.** Often the Scapegoat is the recipient of society’s guilt or otherwise blamed for the fault of many. The removal or stigmatization of this person cleanses the rest of society from their supposed transgressions. The Scapegoat myth will be found most often in articles that discuss non-typical persons that operate outside the majority-held social beliefs or are under suspicion for operating outside these beliefs, such as foreign nations, U.S. Japanese civilians, possible Japanese spies, remaining Isolationists, and those whose poor oversight was blamed for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

V30. **EMBODY:** The Scapegoat embodies evil or society’s guilt about an event. This is suggested either in the article or is inherent in the context of the event.

V31. **CHALLENGE:** The Scapegoat takes some action that challenges or ignores social beliefs and threatens the comfort of those in control.

V32. **VILIFIED:** The Scapegoat is then ridiculed, degraded, and generally vilified for this transgression.

V33. **OUTCAST:** The Scapegoat is then isolated and propelled from group. This could range from getting fired from a job, deported, imprisoned, or even put death.

V34. **PURIFIED:** The Scapegoat’s expulsion from society is suggested to be cleansing or serves as an example to others who would seek to violate the same beliefs.
**Trickster:** The Trickster myth often adopts the guise of the Hero, or Scapegoat, so be careful when differentiating the three. Essentially, the Trickster is an individual that is unformed, incomplete, and lacking certain key qualities—usually a conscience. The Trickster represents a duality, possessing the attributes of both man and beast.

V35. **DUALITY.** The article depicts a person, group, or nation that is given one, some or all of the following attributes: crude, stupid, unreflective, senseless, instinctual, and animal-like. The Trickster is half-man and half-beast, and possesses some of the attributes of each.

V36. **PRANKS.** Cruel, often dangerous, pranks are a past-time of the Trickster. It is from this odd predisposition that the Trickster myth gets its name. These pranks, or malicious actions, are usually played on unsuspecting victims. These actions are often a crude attempt of the Trickster to correct his duality, or take revenge for it.

V37. **SUFFERING.** The Trickster’s actions, or those attributed to him by a source, or by the reporter, bring about suffering on himself and those around him.

V38. **CONTEMPT.** The Trickster’s actions result in making him a subject of contempt or mockery by those around him, evident through other sources, or by the reporter.

V39. **REGRET.** The Trickster does not express remorse or regret for his actions and has little comprehension of how he has hurt others.
Victim: The myth of the Victim helps society reconcile itself with the randomness of death. The Victim is closely related to the Hero, however the Victim only achieves any amount of heroics following his or her death. Logic will not explain the sudden death of a loved one or comfort those left behind. By telling the story of their life and how they died, other members of society are consoled about their own death, and thus the importance of their lives. Many people died in the attacks on Pearl Harbor, and it is their stories that will most likely fit this myth.

V40. INNOCENT: The Victim is essentially innocent of any crime or transgressions. Usually their only mistake is to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

V41. RANDOMNESS: An event occurs that has little to do directly with the Victim. The Victim is killed or injured during the event, seemingly with little meaning. This illustrates the randomness of their death.

V42. SACRIFICE: The article highlights the death or injury of the Victim as a sacrifice for the greater good.

V43. ELEVATES: The article elevates life in the face of death, meaning that the article details the positive aspects of the victim’s life, thus giving their life meaning in light of their death.

V44. LIVE ON: It is suggested by a source, or the reporter, that the Victim will live on in the hearts of those that knew him or her.
Appendix D: Sample Code Sheet

V1. Case Number: ____________________

V2. Your Name: ____________________

V3. Date: / / ____________________

V4. Name of Reporter: ____________________

V5. Headline: ____________________

V6. Type of Article (pick one):
1=hard news
2=soft news
3=editorial
4=chronicle
5=other: ____________________

V7. Origin of Article (pick one):
1=New York Times
2=state bureau
3=DC bureau
4=wire service (AP, UP)
5=other newspaper: ____________________

V8. Prominence of Article (pick one):
1=page one (front page)
2=page one of section
3=inside page
4=other: ____________________

V9. Main topic of article ____________________

V10. Disaster: ________
V11. Fault: ________
V12. Punishment: ________
V14. No Hope: ________

Flood

Correspondence of Functions of Myth

V15. Birth: ________
V16. Sign: ________
V17. Quest: ________
V18. Triumph: ________
V19. Return: ________

Hero

V20. Maternal: ________
V22. Acclaimed: ________
V23. Model: ________
V24. Rigid: ________

Mother

Other World

V25. Heaven/Hell: ________
V26. Harbor: ________
V27. Different: ________
V28. Primitive: ________
V29. Superiority: ________

Scapegoat

V30. Embody: ________
V31. Challenge: ________
V32. Vilified: ________
V33. Outcast: ________
V34. Purified: ________

Trickster

V35. Duality: ________
V36. Pranks: ________
V37. Suffering: ________
V38. Contempt: ________
V39. Regret: ________

Victim

V40. Innocent: ________
V41. Randomness: ________
V42. Sacrifice: ________
V43. Elevates: ________
V44. Lives On: ________

V45. Overall presence of Flood ________
V46. Overall presence of Hero ________
V47. Overall presence of Mother ________
V48. Overall presence of Other World ________
V49. Overall Presence of Scapegoat ________
V50. Overall Presence of Trickster ________
V51. Overall Presence of Victim ________