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for

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SPORTS MEDICINE, Vol. 4, No. 2
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"Toot-Toot" or spectator sports. Psychological and therapeutic implications

Mr. President -

I'm fortunate not to
have to ventilate supressed hostility
toward you.

Wick
(Proctor)

Mr. Brantley, Dr. Scales asks
that you add this to your
list of things to acknowledge--
thanks-- shirley anders

Mr. Proctor

A Pecuniary Type of Sado-Masochism With Origins in Scotland

Richard C. Proctor, M.D., F.A.P.A.

SPECIAL ARTICLE

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"Toot-Toot" or spectator sports. Psychological and therapeutic implications

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Kill the umpire! Get that SOB out of there! Why can't that guy learn to make an easy lay up?" Do these statements sound familiar? Isn't this the voice of a 250 pound fat man with a "beer gut" that gets no exercise himself and is the first to criticize an official, umpire or player from the stands? Is this decadence, laziness, or, at best, purely a boredom-fighting activity?

Spectator sports have been under attack for centuries as representing decadence, noninvolvement, laziness and a host of other less than complimentary phenomena. We are constantly told by our political leaders and people in the sports establishment (i.e., makers of sports equipment) that we should participate instead of merely observing in order to attain physical well being. Of course, we know that "if you don't use it,

you lose it." Medical authorities have assured us that the way to good health is good diet and exercise. This implies that participating as a spectator in an organized sports activity is "bad" for us.

Why do so many persons enjoy the role of a spectator? The answer lies in the basic personality structure of civilized modern man which allows each individual few methods of expressing hostility, anger, and hate; our highly industrialized, impersonal, computer-oriented and at times controlled society, offers limited objects where one can ventilate. "We must not show our hostilities" is a product of the basic conscience limitations most of us possess. We risk feeling guilt if someone, especially a loved one, is hurt by our words or actions. Consequently, because of the insecurity of man in a competitive society and because of man's own fears, anger and hostility are not freely expressed.

We all have hostile, angry feelings at times, especially toward authority figures including our bosses, parents, and government leaders. Hostility not allowed to be expressed results in a host of psychiatric problems including depression and psychosomatic illness (peptic ulcer, ulcerative colitis). What happens when our boss or parent makes us angry? We kick our family pet, pout, drink, or speed in the family car. We just "can't safely express our strong

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A Pecuniary Type of Sado-Masochism With Origins in Scotland

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IT would be somewhat heretical to begin any psychodynamically oriented psychiatric treatise without first paying due homage to the father of modern psychiatry. Hardly a psychoanalytic paper begins without first mentioning his name and manifold contributions. Consequently, I would be very remiss indeed if I too did not bow to Mecca and mention his name. This is, of course, none other than Sigmund Freud!

And now that I have done my duty, I would like to pursue my subject. After several years of intensive experience in the practice and teaching of psychiatry, I have become positively fascinated with a strange but very common syndrome of sado-masochism. This malady affects an estimated 3,265,000 Americans annually. It seems to become most prominent around the age of 15, but in most cases continues to plague its ill-fated subjects so relentlessly that death alone seems to be the only escape. In past generations it appeared to occur primarily in the male, but since the advent of modern psychiatry, it is diagnosed in ever increasing frequency in the female.

I have exhaustively studied Freud's writings for some description of this symptom complex, but all search has been fruitless. It fills me with considerable trepidation, as you can well imagine, not to have recourse to some of the wisdom of

the father of psychiatry for direction. To make the problem even more awesome, these patients can never be studied exhaustively by free association, regression, transference phenomena, and other psychoanalytically accepted research techniques. Actually it is extremely rare to see one of these emotional cripples in the office at all. They do seem to have the "herd complex," however, and therefore when they are seen it is usually in large groups. As a matter of fact, they seem to have a weird tendency to gather especially on Thursday and Saturday afternoons. I don't know if Sigmund Freud ever observed this phenomenon, and if he had I do not know what he would have called it. Among those individuals who are completely ignorant of psychodynamic psychology it is frequently referred to rather naively as *golf*. I think it is all too obvious that we could not accept so simple a designation for it, so I have duly complicated it by giving it a proper scientific terminology. I choose to call it "Golf Addiction — A Pecuniary Type of Sado-Masochism with Origins in Scotland."

There are, in my opinion, several different syndromes to be observed among the golf addicts. These syndromes appear to relate very closely to the various stages of psychosexual development as described in the literature. I propose to trace these syndromes along the fairways of psychosexual development with you; but before I begin, a short history of the origins of this disease may serve as a good, Bermuda-

tufted mound from which to tee off.

HISTORY

Golf is an outdoor game (sic — they call it a game, but it's really self-torture) which emphasizes skill rather than strength. It is played by both men and women. The player always tries to make a lower score than his opponent but he must not try to interfere with his opponent's play. (Of course, most modern players don't seem to know this, since they interfere in every way possible; from the subtle choked-up cough at the top of the backswing to the overtly hostile attempts to kick their opponents' balls — out of bounds, that is.)

Golf as we know it was originally played in Scotland with a leather-covered ball stuffed with feathers. (The phallic symbolism seems obvious.) Much earlier, the Romans in their day of empire played a golf-like game called "paganica" (and they named it well since we are all acquainted with some of the sado-masochistic Bacchic orgies these early Roman pagans indulged in). The Romans occupied parts of England and Scotland from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 400. We now believe that the Roman game of paganica was the forerunner of golf (which just goes to prove that every adult sado-masochistic syndrome probably originates in an infantile sado-masochistic ritual).

The earliest written evidence of the existence of golf dates back to 1457. In that year, the parliament of King James III of Scotland prohibited the playing of "golfe" because

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feelings" toward the object or person who brought them about, because we fear a loss of love, loss of job, loss of social position, or loss of many other things. It is a well-known psychological fact that feeling the emotion of fear may produce within an individual anger and hostility. If a person induces fear in another individual the fearful individual will become angry at the one producing or causing the fear. We are angry at the Russians and the Chinese because we fear them.

During basketball season, in this area of the country—North Carolina—intense collegiate rivalries usually are the rule. Most of the "fans" at these games will show a great amount of hostility toward referees when a call is made that goes against the home team. If the call is truly doubtful, the crowd reaction is extremely hostile. If one could imagine observing the local bank president, minister, lawyer, or doctor acting during his job or while at home as he does as a fan-spectator, we can see how inappropriate this behavior would be outside of the fan-spectator role.

A referee represents a true authority figure. His decision is, on occasion, quite arbitrary and instantaneous and is hardly ever reversed. The individual fan-spectator knows that no matter how much anger is shown, even to the point of physical attack, the official will not change his decision. This reminds one of the temper tantrums we all experienced as children ourselves or that we observed in children. *The fan-spectator is aware that his verbal expressions of anger are tolerated.* This is the key to understanding the reason why for many persons the fan-spectator role is psychologically beneficial. While outbursts of angry words and phrases are not usually tolerated by our peers or authority figures in our everyday working and home lives, they are tolerated in the role of fan-spectator.

Why should a person be so angry at a referee (a man he's never met or even spoken to)? Our minds do not always differentiate between individual persons. In many instances we see all of a type of person as the same person. This is much like a child being afraid of all dogs, even though a particular

dog bit him. Or someone who has been thrown from a horse is afraid of all horses and probably mules, donkeys, or anything that resembles a horse. A referee may be "seen" as our boss, a parent, a dominating spouse, or any authority figure. The fact that our hostility may be expressed and be socially acceptable allows many of us to blow off steam which would never be released outside of the fan-spectator role.

Recently in a T.V. interview, John Wooden, the former coach of U.C.L.A.'s intercollegiate championship basketball team, said that "the game is mainly for the fans." This observation by someone so intimately involved with the phenomenon of consistent winning in sports gives further credence to the proposition stated above. After all, could you imagine the national championship basketball game being played in a small high school gymnasium with only several hundred people present, no television audience, and no sports writers sending the descriptions of the game to the most important newspapers in the land? There are those who say the fan's reaction to both the officiating and the events in a game could actually change the result of the game itself. This though is most frequently expressed when people speak of "the home court advantage." In these situations the fan is actually encouraged to show strong verbal disagreement with unpopular calls that go against the home team and to try to intimidate members of the opposite team in order to make them perform less skillfully. Coach Wooden must have had in mind the reaction of the fans before and after a ball game. Many times fans pour onto the court, actually assaulting officials or players. When the home team wins after an important game the fans are jubilant. This kind of jubilation expressed openly and freely is very rarely seen in any other context of our society.

One conflict which seems to be fairly easy to understand in this situation is the authority conflict. This conflict is one closely correlated with the socialization process and super-ego development. Most of the do's and don't's are learned from authority figures—church, schools, parents, teachers,

it had become so popular that it threatened the practice of archery for national defense. (The castration threat as experienced by King James seems fairly clear. Even more interesting, however, is the self-destructive aspect of the disease: the young Scots were apparently willing to let the whole damn country go to pot just so they could indulge their sado-masochistic impulses.) This law apparently remained in effect until the invention of gunpowder near the end of the 1400s made archery less important and restored golf to the people. (Many of the Scottish subjects would have shown better judgment had they destroyed themselves more quickly and effectively with gunpowder than with the more chronic self-destruction associated with golf.) The game was played with the feather ball until a ball of solid gutta percha was introduced about 1850. The present rubber ball was invented in the United States in 1899. (It is not stated who invented the rubber ball, but I presume it was the U.S. Rubber Company.)

The first permanent golf club in the United States, the Foxburg Country Club in Foxburg, Pennsylvania, was established in 1887. The St. Andrews Golf Club in Yonkers, New York, was formed in 1888, with a six-hole course laid out in a pasture. (Really. How symbolic can we get?) The St. Andrews club was instrumental in organizing the United States Golf Association in the winter of 1894 (certainly anyone who plays golf in the winter in New York is a determined and singularly dedicated masochist).

The first 18-hole course in the United States was opened for play in 1893 at Wheaton, Illinois. It was designed for the Chicago Golf Club. (Perhaps it is just coincidence, but it does seem rather appropriate that the first 18-hole playground for the unique bragadoccio of the golf addict should have been established for residents of the "Windy City." I understand this from personal experience since I never fail to take advantage of the opportunity to tell a new golfing partner about how I used to play par golf before I got out with him and shot 17 double bogies

and a pick-up.) The first public course, at Van Cortland Park in New York City, was in operation in 1896. The first Professional Golfer's Association championship was held in 1916. So much for this history of golf, but lest you gentlemen doubt my sources of historical information, I would refer you to any children's edition of the World Book Encyclopedia under the letter "G."

SYNDROMES

I should like now to describe the various syndromes seen in golf addicts. It is my personal belief that the observation of a golfer at work — or play — (or whatever it is) will one day be a valuable addition to the armamentarium of psychiatry, as a psychodiagnostic tool. Even superficial observation allows us to determine quickly, but accurately, whether the subject's primary infantile trauma occurred at the oral, anal, phallic, or genital stage of development. It certainly promises to replace the tetanus anti-toxin test (er — I mean the TAT) as a rapid diagnostic agent. Perhaps many of you will differ with me in my interpretation of these syndromes in relation to the psychosexual stages of development. To this end constructive character assassination of the writer is imperative. In my own defense, however, I would like to remind you at this time that the only reference I had available to me in this study was the Children's World Book Encyclopedia — under the letter "G."

Weather Paranoia

The first syndrome of the sado-masochism of the golf addict that I would like to describe is that of Weather Paranoia. Freud was not sufficiently impressed with the entire question of fetal engrams to have been able to describe these patients even if he had had occasion to study them. The nuclear conflict in these individuals is that it was raining like hell on the day they were conceived, and raining like hell again on the day they were born. (The sado-masochistic theme is here well demonstrated, since it was certainly a sadistic parental act to conceive these people in such

foul weather, and it was equally as masochistic on the part of the future addict to emerge from the blissful environs of the uterus under such adverse climatic conditions.) Further intensive inquiry about the mothers' emotional responses to their pregnancies in these cases will almost inevitably reveal that they felt as though a dark cloud were hanging over them throughout their entire pregnancy. They will often describe dreams in which they are caught up in dreadful rain storms, signifying the fear of impending emotional collapse that the pregnancy represents. Leaving the mothers for the moment, however, let us consider the effect of these fetal engrams in regard to the future golf addict. On the two singular most important days of his life — the day of conception and the day of birth — it was raining buckets (the number two here seems to be of vital symbolic significance, since most golf addicts indulge their illness two times each week). If one observes the weather paranoiacs it will be found that no one can reverse their delusional system. They are convinced beyond reason that it always rains on the two afternoons each week that they have set aside for golf. These individuals are convinced that the "Fates" are truly against them, since Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday will be beautiful, but Thursday and Saturday will bring horrible storms. On some days the Fates will be especially playful and allow the sun to shine all morning on Thursday and Saturday. Inevitably, however, by 11 a.m. it will start to cloud up. By the time the addict gets into his car to start to the golfing meadow with the 18 holes it will have started to sprinkle a little rain. And before he has had time to change into his golf shoes and pick up a few tees, a veritable biblical flood has deluged the golf course. To add to his almost maniacal frustration, the rain seems to be localized to the golf course. Just across the street from the club house the sun will still be shining — maddeningly — sadistically!

Of course, the Weather Paranoiac has this experience only four to six

etc., and those do's and don't's tend to thwart our id drives. Anger erupts and has to be dealt with by the ego. We still face these authoritarian conflicts in our adult life and what better way to rid ourselves of these conflicts than to symbolically discharge them at an athletic event where the threat of retribution is minimal? In fact, these acts and thoughts are encouraged. Many people will become extremely angry at the officials of the game even though these men, from time to time, continually state that they are impartial, unbiased and try to be fair at all times. Why then must they bear the brunt of much of the criticism when the home team seems to come out on the short end of an official's call? It is conceivable that the official represents the boss, spouse, or other institutions to which anger cannot be directed in a socially acceptable form.

Coaches have been known to blame referees for losses and dismal showings when, in fact, their team's performance and, possibly the coaching the team received during the game were less than acceptable. The winning coach usually complains less.

We have here a rather unique phenomenon. We observe that given the proper role of fan-spectator, which implies that expression of hostility and anger will not be punished, many persons may release these pent-up feelings who would never do so in "real life." May we then conclude that spectator sport is not so useless or decadent? Could the immense popularity of sports be to some degree based on our unconscious need to express anger and hostility especially in those games in which referees and umpires play such an authoritarian role? How much depression, peptic ulcer disease, headaches and low-back pain have been prevented by persons assuming the role of fan-spectator?

Many times officials are accosted, assaulted, intimidated both verbally and physically, after ball games and have to be protected by police and, when this is not possible, are left on their own to try to handle the situation.

The psychiatric literature gives little useful information concerning the psychological impact of sports. A report by Berkowitz and Alioto¹ showed that aggressive reac-

tions toward a tormentor in an experimental situation were greater if a previously observed event had been described as depicting "real" aggression rather than actors acting out a fictional event.

Goldstein and Arms,² in a paper tracing various violent episodes occurring secondary to sporting events, essentially disagreed with those, including us, who believe observation of competitive sports reduces hostility among spectators. They concluded that "regardless of team preference and the outcome of the game, subjects were significantly more hostile after observing the game than before." These researchers infer from their data that the aggressive nature of the event determines the crowd and individual fan's hostility. Yet it is difficult to understand, if Goldstein and Arms' hypothesis is correct, the difference between professional boxing matches and wrestling matches. Professional wrestling matches are carefully programmed to emotionally involve the spectator. There are "good guys" and "bad guys." There are grunts, groans, facial grimacing, etc., all of them familiar. Expressions of feeling are common among spectators, and the fans react more aggressively. They become intensely involved. It is an aggressive sport. Yet boxing is also an aggressive sport where the object is for one participant to render the other unconscious and helpless. However, the response of the crowd and individual fans is generally very mild when compared to the response of the wrestling fans.

In a report by Hastorf and Cantril³ it was demonstrated that the partisan fan is likely to "see" events during a game differently than his fellow fan on the opposite side.

These papers scientifically validate the facts that:

- (1) We get angry when observing aggressive events that are "real."
- (2) Our level of hostility may depend on how aggressive the event really is or how aggressive we perceive the event to be.
- (3) We respond differently.

However, none of these papers address the issue of why people pay good money for the privilege of becoming angry and hostile. A subconscious drive to express hostility must exist!

times per year, but he will never believe it if you try to tell him so. These patients are often confused with individuals who suffer the "Monday Morning Blues." The Weather Paranoiac is not "blue" on Monday because he hates to relinquish his dependency and return to work, however. The true Weather Paranoiac wakes up depressed on Monday because his first thoughts with the dawn of the new week are that it will probably rain like hell on Thursday and Saturday afternoons. He is so obsessed with this paranoid system that if by chance there is beautiful weather on these two days, he becomes so frustrated that he hates nature, he hates people, he hates himself, and he hates golf! He still plays 18 holes, but his hostility is so aroused that he cuts his golf balls, chews up the course, plays a miserable game, and can't get back to the club house fast enough to get stone drunk and return to Nirvana.

Needless to say, these people are untreatable!

Golfing Sado-Masochism Related To the Oral Stage

In observing quietly the activities around any golfing meadow, evidence of various types of *oral masochistic* and *oral sadistic* syndromes are readily seen.

Oral Masochist: I should first like to describe some of the typical personality characteristics of the orally masochistic golf addict. These individuals (as their personality patterns clearly demonstrate) experience their primary infantile trauma within the first three to five months of life. The nuclear conflict therefore pertains to the oral receptive — or oral sucking — phase of psychosexual development. The illness usually is most prominent in these individuals between the ages of 35 and 50. Many of them are members of golf clubs, but a very interesting observation to be made about these oral masochists is that they almost never play golf! They congregate around golfing clubs because this seems to afford them a socially acceptable and approving environment in which to gratify their oral-receptive impulses and

needs. They differ from the usual golf addict in that they seem to appear at the club house 6 or 7 days a week. They are almost always closeted in a small smoke filled room which interestingly enough seems to be set aside primarily for their use.

I have fortunately had occasion to work with one patient of this variety in rather intensive investigative psychotherapy. Examination of his dreams revealed that they were replete with themes about houses or buildings of varying structure. In these dreams the patient felt very protected from severe electrical storms by closeting himself in one small room somewhat isolated from the rest of the house. With free association the patient very quickly arrived at the manifest content of the dreams; namely, they suggested to him the peculiar comfort he derived from spending hour upon hour in the small, smoke filled room in the club house. After several hours of intensive free association, the patient was able to recognize the latent or deeper meaning of these dreams. The symbolism of a protected room within a house came to be clearly recognized by him as being suggestive of his desire to return to the safety and peace of his mother's uterus.

As I mentioned earlier, these people rarely play golf. They used to, but it led to so much frustration that complete personality disintegration became imminent. So they remain in the club house waiting for all the active golfers to come in from their rounds and they bask in the reflected glory of whoever happened to achieve a low score. While in the "room" — or uterus — as you will, they are not inactive however. They drink alcoholic beverages constantly; and they gamble. Here their masochism becomes eminently clear, since they consume very little alcohol and rarely allow themselves to feel good — or high. Their drinks are usually composed of one or two drams of alcohol in a 16 ounce glass filled with water. This does not produce any feeling of euphoria, but it does result in a constant distention of the bladder. Since they are usually playing poker

or gin, it is always inopportune to release their bladder distress, so they just sit there in pain. (It is needless to say that they always lose money in their gambling.) When blissful relief of bladder distention is finally possible, these gentlemen can always be heard to emit loud sighs of utter relaxation very suggestive of the manner in which an infant feels totally gratified after nursing successfully at the breast.

My attempt at psychotherapy with this one individual met with total failure due to irreversible resistance. He kept reiterating the same phrase after all my carefully chosen and timid interpretations of his conflict and obvious symbolism; showing a complete lack of insight. That is, he would always say, "I don't give a damn what it means, I enjoy it."

I'm afraid other patients of this variety would demonstrate the same hard core of resistance to psychotherapy.

Oral Sadist: Examples of oral sadists about golfing meadows are really quite common. In keeping with psychoanalytic theory, their nuclear conflicts arose during the oral-aggressive — or oral biting — stage of psychosexual development. In a nutshell, albeit not very scientifically put, these people talk you to death. Oral expression is simply impossible to control. They talk during their opponents' back swing, down swing and follow through. They are especially pleased when their opponent's ball hooks or slices and winds up in the water hazard, or out of bounds. Their sadism becomes clear in these instances, since they are never satisfied to say simply that this was tough luck. On these occasions they plunge into a maddeningly intensive critique of their opponent's (or enemy's) entire golfing history, attitude, swing, clothes, and everything else. Eventually they will wind up in some way by condemning their opponent's mother. By this time the connection with golf is completely lost, but this is of little consequence since the ultimate goal of the game for them is to find ever

Goldstein and Arms conclude that a hostility catharsis does not occur because hostility levels are increased after a game. But how long after a game? It may be that the expression of hostility that they measured serves a useful purpose even though the hostility levels remain increased for some time. This obvious hostility is hostility that develops from frustration at work and home and much of it is generalized to the sporting situation which symbolizes the struggles and conflicts the fan faces every day in his life. His team becomes an extension of himself; and the other team (including the officials, opposing fans, sports announcers and writers) becomes an extension symbolically of his everyday adversaries. When his team beats the opposing team the fan senses unconsciously a victory over boss, coworker, wife, stubborn mother-in-law, governmental agency or bureau, or what have you. When his team wins "in spite of the biased officials," this is further proof that real authority figures cannot thwart the fans' achieving his goal of absolute domination of his environment.

One of the authors was quoted in an article in the June 1973 issue of the *Atlantic* entitled "Speed, Sex and Heroes" by William McIlwain as follows, "in an automated society, there is little that a man can do to vent his hostilities. What can he do—kick the machine? Stock car fans feel that they have little control over what's happening to them in the world. They want to identify with Richard Petty, who has complete control. Look at Richard out there in his Dodge, controlling it, passing cars at 180 miles an hour. The fan puts himself in Richard Petty's place and it makes him feel like a man."

Recently, Lou Bello, a premier Atlantic Coast Conference basketball official for more than 31 years, was interviewed in the Durham, North Carolina *Morning Herald*.⁴ Bello, insisting he was unbiased in his officiating, described many incidents of fans', players', and coaches' hostility which occasionally become "rough and nasty" after games. "They threatened to beat me up," Bello said. "The fans—they're wonderful. Did you know I never knew what SOB meant until I came here? I always thought it

meant one "Sweet Old Bello!" But they had their own definition, I've been called a Jew Bastard, a Wop, and a nigger—and an SOB. But I laughed. Lou Bello never lost his temper over something a fan yelled in the stands." Fans seem to desire officials and players who are decisive, dramatic and authoritative. It is almost as if the fan knows that these types of officials will bring out the hostility that needs so badly to be expressed. The more powerful, commanding and dominating the official is, the easier the fan identifies him as an authority figure from his past.

Lorentz (in his book *On Aggression*)⁵ describes aggression as "an essential part of the life-preserving organization of instincts." He also discusses the need for "ritualized aggression" between species members. The phenomenon of flocking behavior, the inhibition of killing a member of one's own species, and other phenomena seen in animals can be applied to the sporting event. In 1955 Lorentz stated, "I believe—and human psychologists, particularly psychoanalysts, should test this—that present day civilized man suffers from insufficient discharge of his aggressive drive." He sees primitive forms of responsibility for violent acts in animals. "A simple and effective way of discharging aggression in an innocuous manner is to redirect it at a substitute object. It was probably in highly ritualized, but still serious, hostile fighting that sport had its origin." Also, "while some early forms of sport, like the jousting of medieval knights, may have had an appreciable influence on sexual selection, the main function of sport today lies in the cathartic discharge of aggressive urge." Militant enthusiasm described by Lorentz as the most dangerous form of aggression is allowed a safety valve in sports.

Berkowitz's paper, "The Contagion of Violence,"⁶ concludes: "It may be that the sight of aggression, or of an object associated with aggression, elicits aggressive thoughts in virtually everyone. However, this perceptual-cognitive reaction will not necessarily lead to open attacks upon available targets."

Much of Berkowitz's work has allowed him to conclude that there is a classical

increasing ways to release their pent up hostility for their own mothers.

One patient that I have observed with this syndrome seemed to demonstrate by his behavior that he probably had fantasies of omnipotence in regard to his oral aggressivity. This gentleman does not just annoy his partners by his talk. He yells constantly to everyone on the golf course. The sound of his voice is rarely lost to the oral masochist sitting in the club house, since he can be heard on every green and fairway. He tries to veil his hostility under a mask of outgoing friendliness, because he is often yelling and screaming cheerful greetings. The hostility is clear nonetheless, since the other players can almost never hit a drive, iron, or putt without hearing his raucous voice clanging in their ears.

Another patient of this type that I have observed seemed to demonstrate an unconscious awareness that his father was in some way responsible for the fact that his mother thwarted his needs during the oral-aggressive stage. This gentleman played golf horribly, but occasionally he would hit a good shot. On one such occasion this patient hit what appeared to be a perfect tee shot on a 230 yard par three hole. The ball was heading straight for the pin, but as fate would have it, it bounced on a small rock partially embedded in the fairway and veered sharply toward a tree in the rough. He felt immediate rage at being so cheated, but he contained his rage at first. As he walked closer to his ball his controls lessened. When he finally reached his ball and found it directly behind a tree guarding the green he exploded. His face became livid, his cheeks blew up until we feared they would burst, he smashed his two wood against the tree (breaking it neatly in two, incidentally), he threw his hands and head up toward the sky and he roared — "God — I ain't askin' you to help me — just don't hinder me!" The hostility toward the Father figure seems clear.

I have no statistics about the treatability of the oral-sadistic golf addict. One thing appears especially to be true, however, and that is that

they are hell to play with!

The Anal Stage

Anal Retentive: As with the oral stage, the psychoanalytic literature commonly divides or separates the anal stage of development into two phases — or types, namely, the anal retentive and the anal expulsive. Among golfing addicts these subdivisions are often fused, but some differentiation can be made. I would first like to describe the anal retentive golfer.

It has been well documented, that children from one to three years of age are frequently thrown into conflict with their parents because of the need for toilet training. The child very quickly learns that in the act of elimination there appears to reside some mystical but great power over the parents. To comply with parental wishes brings approving responses from the parents, and inversely, when the child retains his excreta he can in this manner control and demonstrate hostility toward the parent. Finally, we are all quite well acquainted with the dynamic formulation whereby children equate excreta with money.

The Golfing Computer: With this brief introduction, I would now like to describe an example of the *Anal Retentive Golf Addict*. I have chosen to refer to these people as the *Golfing Computers* for reasons which I hope will soon be clear. The patients really do not seem to be interested in golf either. They like to play in "gangsomes" (which is a unique though frightening term frequently heard around the golf meadows) and their whole purpose seems to be to see how many and varied bets they can make on the outcome of the match. They are fiendishly capable of betting *with* and *against* everyone in the gangsome; individually, in foursomes, or collectively. How they keep track of all their bets is in itself a considerable wonder, but they are amazingly accurate. It generally takes them 3½ hours to play 18 holes, but they spend four or five hours telling everyone what they won or lost, and who owed how much to whom.

Most of the other members of the "gangsomes" will retire immediately to the shower after the round, but these people make a mad dash for everyone's score card. They then ensconce themselves comfortably in a chair, they order a drink, and become completely lost in their world of "filthy lucre" as the phrase goes. They don't care how they played golf — they just want to figure out the bets. It is partially due to these individuals that I felt this entire golfing syndrome should be referred to as a pecuniary one.

One other finding among the *Golfing Computers* that would be of interest is the fact that on the golf course they seem to speak an unknown tongue. When we listen to them talk, it seems that golf shouldn't be called golf at all. They seem to think of it as "A Dollar Nassau with Automatic Double on the Backside (symbolism again) — Adjust Within 50% — and You Can Sign Whenever You Go Two Down." It's a hell of a complicated way to say golf, but this is how the computer says it. (Incidentally, the number "2" again seems to be quite symbolic in this matter of giving their opponents the right to "sign" when they go two down. When children desired to have a bowel movement, they would say they wanted to "go number two." So much for the anal retentive — or *Golfing Computer Syndrome*.)

Anal Expulsive: Examples of golf addiction with primary conflicts of the anal expulsive variety are very easily recognized. They seem to assume a characteristic posture with every golf shot. Because of this posture I have labeled this the "*Squatters Rights Syndrome*." With every shot in their game they assume a position which is disturbingly similar to the appearance of a man on a toilet. At no time is this posture more clearly symbolic than it is on the putting green. These people are extremely frustrating when one is in the following foursome, since it seems as though every time you look toward the green ahead, there they are squatting — and putting. They enjoy this entire procedure so much that they

conditioning model for media violence, although in his paper, "Some Aspects of Observed Aggression,"⁷ he states that "the present evidence does not unequivocally demonstrate that aggressive scenes can in themselves elicit aggressive responses or that external objects associated with the witnessed violence evokes the strongest overt hostility."

Seymour Feshback concludes in his paper, "The Stimulating Versus Cathartic Effects of a Vicarious Aggressive Activity,"⁸ that the subject may react with increased or decreased aggression depending on "certain conditions." It was found that aggression was lowered subsequently when the subject is "emotionally aroused" versus not being aroused during the time he is engaged in the activity itself. Also, Feshback^{9, 10} concluded that the expressing of aggression by the use of fantasy will decrease subsequently displayed aggression. If this theory be true, then there is no substance to the idea that children viewing violence on television are more prone to violent acts. For surely a child watching television is utilizing fantasy. He is identifying with the characters in the trauma just as some of us, years ago, identified with the cowboys and the Saturday afternoon "horse operas" we saw at the local movie house.

What does basic psychology tell us about displaced anger? Judson Mills in his book, *Experimental Social Psychology*,¹¹ asks: "Could it be that the person who has inhibited his aggressive tendencies toward the original frustration has perhaps ceased to rehearse the appropriate labels for his aroused state, so that in a way he does not know why he feels as he does"? In discussing the catharsis effect of observing an aggressive event, the only experimental sound evidence which supports the catharsis phenomenon is found in a study by Wheeler and Caggevia showing that "The subject's hostility will be reduced if he observes someone else actually injuring his enemy." Although "there remain several sources of ambiguity in the design," Mills says of the experiment. In short, Mills takes no firm stance on the long held belief that the catharsis hypothesis is valid.

Berkowitz seems to discount the "hostility-catharsis notion" saying, "Whether we perform the responses ourselves or see other people carry them out, expressed hostility in word or deed could evoke further aggressive responses in many situations."¹² Berkowitz also showed experimentally that if a contest is perceived as occurring between contestants who are truly aggressive toward one another, the aggressiveness of the observer is increased, when if the event is seen as a struggle between professionals merely doing their job, the observers were less aggressive. Obviously Berkowitz never observed the old Brooklyn Dodger fans, though surely they were "professionals merely doing their jobs."

Leon Mann¹³ states that fans of losing teams use several mechanisms of rationalization to explain why their team lost. Spectators were interviewed following two soccer games. Most "losing" fans attributed the loss to external factors, such as luck, or poor officiating, and "saw" more dirty play by the opposing team. Also, losing fans tend to rate umpire quality lower. Mann states, "of course, the most common reaction to loss in a sporting event is not violent outburst but a series of face-saving rationalizations in which defeat is attributed to bad luck, poor refereeing, dirty play by the opposition, or a combination of all three." Mann also found that strength of allegiance measured by frequency of games attended had no effect on the fan's reactions.

In an article presented by Melvin S. Heller, M.D.,¹⁴ at the American Psychiatric Association convention in May 1975, he stated that children shown violent T.V. programs had more aggressive fantasies but no real increase in aggressive behavior. What's more, there was no correlation between the intensity of the portrayed violence and the subsequent behavior. He concludes: "Television will not cause the bully, thief, or murderer to be a bully, thief, or murderer, but it can teach him new techniques of bullying, stealing, and murdering."

Summarizing the published material as to whether there is a catharsis effect in observing violence, particularly sporting event violence, it is fair to say that there is disagree-

seem to spend hours in this position on the green, and it inevitably causes someone in the following foursome to say with considerable anger, "I wish he would putt or get off the pot."

If it is upsetting to follow a foursome including such an addict, it is equally as frustrating to play in a foursome with them. They seem to have quite a morbid pre-occupation with waste products of the body, and when they play 18 holes they verbally fertilize the whole golf course. It seems to me they call the game "Oh Crap" — because every time they make a shot this is what they say. I'm certain you have all seen many of these individuals in your professional experience.

THE PHALLIC STAGE

The next stage of psychosexual development is, of course, the Phallic Stage. As a result of my professional experience, I have found that those individuals who have entered the phallic stage successfully, but who experience serious conflict during it, develop personalities which are rigidly fixed in a state of perennial adolescence. As might be expected (due to the greater degree of maturation they have achieved) these individuals are among the happiest and most mature of the golf addicts. Truly mature genitalization of the libido is nonetheless impossible of attainment, and therefore these people also continue to be slaves to their sado-masochistic pursuits in the golfing meadows. There seem to be innumerable phallic characters on American golf courses, and I'm certain you could give many examples of your own. I would like to describe only three types. Let me caution you, however, that this is not in any manner a statement that I consider these three types to be all inclusive. Actually a great deal of further research will be necessary before any conclusive statements can be made about this large group of addicts.

The Long Knocker's Syndrome: The first group of individuals in this category appear to be suffering from what I have chosen

to refer to as the Long Knocker's Syndrome. These individuals are very easily recognized. They have discovered that the golf club (or phallus if you wish) is truly a remarkable instrument. In addition to this these people are, as often as not, blessed with a quite smooth, attractive, and powerful golf swing. Due to the well recognized return of secondary narcissism associated with adolescence, these patients love to have their golf swing admired, so they look like perpetual motion machines when seen. If ever you look across a golfing meadow and think you see a windmill, you are looking at an addict with the "Long Knockers Syndrome." For each swing they actually take at the ball, dozens of preparatory swings are demonstrated to the admiring audience. If an observer is foolhardy enough to say to one of them, "You really have a beautiful and natural swing" — all hell breaks loose, since they will oblige with so many demonstrations that their opponents feel that a veritable tornado has suddenly come up!

Some of these individuals will occasionally, and quite accidentally, learn how to achieve low scores, but the lack of true maturity is still clearly seen in the fact that this doesn't matter. Their primary aim is simply to knock the ball clear out of sight, and then wait for the inevitable admiration from the gallery. These patients are frequently placed in the position of true hero symbols by the more impotent and frustrated oral and anal sado-masochists. One sage gentleman whom I knew in college summed up the basic lack in the character structure and insight of the Long Knocker in a statement he made about billiards; namely, "It's not the size of the cue you use, but the English you put on the ball with it that really counts." The Long Knocker is still not truly effective, and doesn't care. He simply wants to demonstrate his 3 megaton explosive orgiastic fantasies with a golf club.

One other facet of the personalities of these individuals is that they love to play in Scotch foursomes. They usually play with older

women too, so that the persistence of the infantile fixation to the mother as a love object is readily observed.

The Golfing Chameleon: A second group of golf addicts with fixation in the phallic stage seems to me to be well classified by the description — *Golfing Chameleons*. I suspect that in terms of numbers of cases, this type of addict is the most common of all. As can probably be surmised from my terminology for them, they are characterized by the fact that they never seem to have the same golf swing twice. They constantly study it, cuss it, discuss it, re-evaluate it, and change it. The whole point of the game for these people is to see how many suggestions they can get from innumerable sources of reference about their swing, and to change it in an endlessly repetitive manner.

The Age Shooter: The last of the phallic group of addicts I refer to as the "Age Shooter." This syndrome usually doesn't appear until the patient is 70 years of age. It is quite progressive, however; these gentlemen are not just emotional cripples . . . they are physical cripples as well. They cause a rather considerable number of ulcers among golf professionals since when they depart from the first tee, the pro is never quite certain that they are going to return. They are remarkably tenacious, however, and they usually do. They seem to me to be an older version of the Long Knocker, since they are frequently low scorers, and they demonstrate the clinging to perennial adolescence very clearly. By a fiendishly simple but effective bit of rationalization, they feel younger the older they get. The entire ritual of "shooting their age" becomes a truly remarkable process of trying to maintain their youth. These gentlemen are invariably the most pleasant and generally best adjusted of the golf addicts. They are truly a pleasure to play with. Since they do not seek a gallery, they are not constantly demonstrating, their hostility is well mellowed, and they just go quietly about their business of "shooting their age."

ment. Feshbach's paper, quoted earlier, stating that if emotional arousal is increased during the time the spectator is participating in the activity, subsequent levels of aggressiveness are lowered. This lends support to the catharsis hypothesis. Also, fantasized aggression will decrease subsequent aggression.

The facts are that:

- (1) A person will pay money to observe violent sporting activities, and
- (2) Tend to react emotionally while present at these events.

If we assume that persons are motivated by a drive to witness these events, then what is that drive? Many of the previously quoted papers stress that the resulting behavior may be altered—but no one elucidates the motivations or drives present that drive us to observe sporting events. The catharsis effect theory seems sufficient to explain this motivation. The needs of spectators must be met—they return to contest after contest!

Positive reinforcement does occur for the habitual fan. Why else would he continue to return? Why were there fewer student riots during the 60's at universities with successful major sports programs? There was little student rebellion at Alabama, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Notre Dame. What kind of intercollegiate sports program was at University of California at Berkeley, and how many football games did Columbia win in the 60's?

The catharsis theory in spectator sports has not been disproved and actually is substantiated by several scientific publications.

People's emotions are similar to steam locomotives. If you build a fire in the boiler of a locomotive, keep raising the steam pressure and let it sit on the track, sooner or later something will blow. However, if you take it and spin the wheels and toot the whistle, the steam pressure can be kept at a safe level. Spectator sports give John Q. Citizen a socially acceptable way to lower his steam pressure by allowing him to spin his wheels and toot his whistle.

We may continue to recommend that our patients observe sporting events knowing that their psychic needs are being fulfilled in a safe, socially acceptable manner.

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GENITALIZATION OF THE LIBIDO

We have now arrived at the state of maturity — namely, genitalization of the libido. By definition, the individuals who fall into this category are mature. They have truly arrived. Obviously a mature individual would not be caught up in any form of sado-masochistic activity. It is natural, therefore, that these people would not play golf, and they don't! They tried it briefly in their adolescence, but insight was quickly gained. With successful "working through" of the conflicts they concluded that to play golf would be to waste their youth, so they soon gave it up. Since they are mature, however, they do not condemn either the disease or the addicts. They are accepting of both; but any association they are ever to have with the game must be adult, potent, effective, and of the highest

standards. Many physicians are found among this group and their orientation to golf is quite similar in all cases. On Thursday afternoons they do not even think about golf, since they prefer to work. On Saturday afternoons, they generally take time off, but they repair directly to their dens and peruse the medical literature. At precisely 4:50 p.m. on Saturdays they stop reading, they fix one potent highball, they seat themselves comfortably and they watch golf on television. They do not continue to read the medical literature during commercials, for this would demonstrate a degree of personality rigidity. During the mid-commercials, however, they fix one more highball. After watching only those individuals who have truly arrived at genitalization of libido in reference to golf for one hour, they turn off television, eat supper, and return to the medical literature.

In conclusion I would like to point out briefly some of the pecuniary aspects of golf addiction. Golf equipment is quite expensive. It is impossible to play the game without betting. There are nearly as many golf balls sold annually as Valium® or Librium® since one of each will last 18 holes, but many addicts require 18 golf balls per round. The essence of sado-masochism is that either the infliction of pain on oneself, or on another person, is a prerequisite to the experiencing of pleasure. For this reason, I will terminate this article and you and I can repair to the golfing meadow to suffer and enjoy ourselves the rest of the day.

Acknowledgment

I am indebted to the late Dr. Jerry Hounsouki of Asheville, North Carolina, for some of the ideas and thoughts expressed in this article.