Children and our toxic culture   © Eddie Gallagher 2013

> *"In the present era the nuclear family is a site of submerged hostilities as precocious children wrestle with their parents for adult privileges and material goods."* [1]

When discussing behavioural and emotional problems of young people, the focus, and blame, is usually firmly placed on the family and on parenting. Even when problems have become common in large numbers of young people nationally, or internationally, it is still often assumed that parents must be to blame. Parenting is of great importance but parents are not all-powerful and there are many other influences on our children. In fact, it may be that as the influence of media has become stronger parents have less influence than they did in the recent past. The wider society, the culture that children grow up in, has a huge effect. When the surrounding culture is in keeping with parents' values (as it was throughout most of history) these influences reinforce each other. But most parents today feel that popular culture is pulling their children in the opposite direction to themselves, that they are paddling against the tide of an increasingly toxic culture.

There has been a big increase in violence to parents and also in petty defiance and disrespect towards parents, teachers and adults in general. This **is** partly due to changes in parenting, particularly the move to more indulgent parenting, but it **equally** reflects changes in society. These changes affect all of our children but some far more than others.

We are largely unaware of our own culture and view what *we* grew up with as being 'normal'. We take things like TV addiction for granted, for example. Our children are also unaware of the cultural influences on them and will insist that they are not influenced by the media. Those who are most affected are often least aware of it.

There has always been, to some extent, a separate culture of young children, but teenagers either adopted adult culture (being expect to act like adults) or blended this with childrens' culture. From the middle of the last century, largely driven by media interests (initially music and movies), teens developed a culture distinct from both childrens' and adults'. This is a historically new development. The very words 'teenager' and 'adolescent' are recent inventions[2].

We are now seeing the spread of teen culture downwards into childhood and upwards into the twenties. The historically new period we call adolescence is growing. The long years of being neither child nor adult, and often feeling useless and confused, can cause depression, conflict with parents and an urge to experiment with sex, drugs and rock and roll (the rock and roll is healthy). This paper is an attempt to show just some of the forces that are shaping our current crop of young people. Many of these influences work through children's increased sense of **entitlement** and lowered **responsibility**.

> *"**Kids Rule!**"* slogan of Nickelodeon company.

"If marketing continues to follow current trends, the next generation can look forward to a future based on superficial appearances, disrespect, hedonism and instant gratification." Palmer[3]

Individualism

Traditional societies focussed on the extended family, the clan, or the community more than on the individual. Western society has become more and more individualistic over the past two hundred years and this trend continues. The USA today is probably the most individualistic society that there has ever been with other English speaking countries close behind, followed by other European nations.

This is related to less contact with extended families, increased divorce, later marriage, smaller families and increased childlessness. The family is certainly not dead but its hold on people has become less powerful. Since this is a long term trend it has affected parents too, who are less likely to have supports.

This increasing trend towards individualism means that some of our young people are more individualistic in their orientation and attitudes than their parents. More adolescents are going through a phase of rejecting their families (there is a myth that all adolescents go through such a phase, but it is not true). The phrase 'the me generation' was coined some time ago but as the trend has continued I'm not sure what our current kids should be called, perhaps 'the me me me and sod-the-rest-of-you' generation?

Individualism is not all bad and there are still a lot of wonderful young people who are caring and well-meaning. They are not *all* ego-maniacs! But *on average* they are less family-focussed, less interested in collective action of any kind, more egotistical and more self-obsessed. The media and commercial forces encourage this stance – it sells!

Materialism

'Too many companies simply see our children as little cash cows that they can exploit." Hilary Clinton

Our children are the richest generation ever, yet more feel poor than in previous generations. There are a few reasons for this, mostly to do with the media. An American study found that those who watched more TV believed that people in America were richer because TV shows a disproportionate amount of wealthy people[4]. It isn't just poor kids who now feel that their parents are 'povs' but children in average homes who are aspiring to Hollywood images and craving the latest gimmicks and gadgets. I had one private schoolgirl say, with a straight face, that her family were 'povs' because they only had a small swimming pool!

Young people feel pressure to have the latest 'in vogue' items. Girls in particular experience feelings of inadequacy and discomfort as a result of 'images of perfection' promoted by advertising… The more consumerist children were – the ones who were 'brand aware', cared

about their possessions and liked collecting – the more likely they were to be dissatisfied more widely." Mayo[5]

If one of the common results of increased materialism is increased dissatisfaction generally this is bound to make some children more critical of, and more conflictual with, parents and authority.

I believe that many of the problems we are seeing in modern children are exacerbated by marketing and materialism. There seems little chance that our politicians are going to do anything about this in the foreseeable future as the markets come first. People will continue to blame parents for not supervising our children's media exposure.

Advertising[6]

"Advertising at its best (sic) is making people feel that without their product, you're a loser. Kids are very sensitive to that... You open up emotional vulnerabilities, and it's very easy to do with kids because they're the most emotionally vulnerable.[7]" This is the words of one of the people we give almost free access to our children, president of an advertising company. In the words of one recent report '*Advertising makes poverty bite*'[8].

The average child in English speaking countries watches between 20,000 and 40,000 TV ads per year[9]. Since many people now wear conspicuous brand labels (walking billboards who pay for the privilege) and product placement and internet ads are becoming ubiquitous, the total number of ads a typical child is exposed would be almost impossible to calculate and may be in the millions per year.

Part of the increased demandingness and entitlement that our children show nowadays is a result of our increasingly consumerist society and the influence of the advertising industry. Advertisers spend many billions of dollars targeted at the youth market, starting in early childhood. You can't expect to relentlessly bombard children with messages to increase **demand** (for products) from babyhood on and not increase **demandingness**! Yet we are so immersed in this barrage of brands and bullshit that we tend no longer to be fully aware of it and some parents themselves actually believe that brands are important! It is vital that parents are at least questioning the culture of greed and not reinforcing it.

Prosperity

"*Prosperity fosters bad tempers*" Seneca

The Greek philosopher Seneca, tutor to Emperor Nero, believed that rich people had higher expectations than the poor hence were more often disappointed and got angry more. This fits with the idea of Entitlement. It doesn't fit with common ideas that see violence as closely linked to poverty, stress and low self-esteem.

Our children are materially the richest generation that has ever sat on the planet. In terms of comfort, health, housing, clothing, variety of food and amount of entertainment there is just no comparison. Perhaps young Nero had a more luxurious childhood but he didn't have computers, phones and DVDs. Other than emperors, few people in history would have had the material wealth to compare with the children from average homes in the Western World today. Even if we as parents try not to be indulgent they are still materially indulged compared to any past generation. It has been claimed that, adjusted for inflation, kids in the past decade in the USA spend *five times* more than their parents did at their age[10]! In some children this only adds to their sense of entitlement, which makes parent abuse more likely.

There is evidence that violence to parents is actually more common for middle and upper class families than for poorer families when the effects of past domestic violence are taken into account. In world-wide terms it is *far* more common in rich countries than in poor. I'm certainly not suggesting that wealth alone is going to make any child abuse their parents but there does appear to be a relationship. You may be indignantly thinking, especially if you are a sole parent, 'we're not rich', but compared to the world as a whole, and to previous generations, your children probably are. And I'm certainly not saying that poor children can't be abusive to parents too, it's just one factor that can influence disrespect.

There are those who think that within Western nations rich kids actually have *more* problems than poor ones[11]. I don't believe this but it is certainly not true that they are immune to emotional and behaviour problems, especially drugs, suicide and eating disorders.

Our children certainly don't feel rich. Their expectations have gone through the roof and their high sense of Entitlement makes them feel hard done to. It is also of significance that the gap between the rich and poor has grown in English-speaking countries over the past few decades.

Media

"*the heady cocktail of popular culture that our kids engage in is responsible for everything from their attempts (and successes) to look sexy, to temper tantrums and distorted body image.*" Brooks[12]

"*The average eight to thirteen year old is watching over three and a half hours of TV a day. American children view an estimated 40,000 commercials annually. They also make approximately 3,000 requests for products and services each year.*" Schor [13]

The culture our children are growing up in consists more and more of media of various sorts, with written media increasingly overshadowed by electronic. Our children are immersing themselves in a sea of electronic media, which is changing so rapidly none of us can keep track. Just in the past few years (I'm writing in 2013) social media have become incredibly important

and you-tube videos have become as influential as TV to many young people. These developments are not all bad. I find it amusing that some parents think that watching commercial TV is overall more positive than surfing the web or talking to friends on FaceBook. Isn't watching commercial TV for hours on end just as bad?

Juliet Schor studied media involvement by American children and concluded that high media use resulted in a variety of problems, including depression, anxiety and low self-esteem. Of particular interest was her conclusion that higher levels of consumer involvement resulted in worse relationships with parents[14].

In her study of marketing to children, Schor noted that "*marketers blame parents for the excesses of consumer culture*" and she gives a particularly galling example: '*The reason that there is childhood obesity is because caregivers don't have enough time to spend with their children. So what they're doing is giving their kids 8 hrs of TV a day,*' says Ken Viselman. This typical parent blaming is rather rich coming from the man responsible for inflicting *Teletubbies* on America![15] But he does have a point as obesity is linked to screen time.

There is little point in my saying anything about particular electronic media as by the time you read this it would be out of date. The rate of change is incredible, and apparently speeding up. This is a problem in itself since it widens the generation gap and makes our children more convinced that we are out-of-touch; we all inevitably are.

> "*Television shows, movies, video games, and songs may seem trivial, but they are not. The percentage of our lives that mass media now take up should tell us all we need to know about media's power over us.*" Dill[16]

Disrespect for age and authority

Modern Western culture is probably the least respectful of age of any culture that has existed! We have a society which worships youth. In any past society, and in other societies worldwide, being called 'grandfather' is a sign of respect. In our culture it is an insult. We don't respect age and we are more critical of all types of authority. This is exaggerated even more in children's culture.

> "*the media typically depicts highly empowered children and childlike adults*" Schor[17]

I think the film *Home Alone* was one of the first times that the child as hero and all-adults-are-idiots theme was made glaringly obvious. It was a funny film. One media item is not likely to change someone's behaviour or attitudes but it isn't *just* one item. Children today view tens of thousands of media items and messages such as 'adults are idiots' are contained in many hundreds of them. The impact on attitudes when this is repeated from an early age may be enormous.

The fact that it is funny and entertaining does not in any way negate the harmful messages but actually make it *more* powerful and more likely to influence children. Media apologists argue that the good guys win in the end or that it is just satire and that children know it isn't real. This is all pretty much irrelevant when children of various ages are exposed to such material over a period of time. Juliet Schor in her study of marketing found a 'pervasive anti-adultism' in adverts aimed at children[18], reinforcing the message of TV shows, cartoons, movies and even recent children's literature.

> "*Children are bombarded from the time they are very small by conflicting and discouraging messages concerning parental authority*." Ambert[19]

A survey in the UK in 2000[20] found that 87% of respondents thought that a decline in respect for authority was the most negative development in society.[21]   Surveys in America similarly find that a lack of respect is seen as one of the biggest problems for today's young people[22].

> "*Hollywood, for example, elevates teens at the expense of the adults they undermine, sending the clear message that children can control adults, and those who do are heroes. Insults and put-downs, lying and deceit are portrayed on sit-cons as normal and amusing family behaviour.*" Cottrell[23]

Hyperstimulation and sleep deprivation

There is evidence linking the amount of television children watch with increased rates of ADHD and poor attention[24]. On a simple level aggression is more likely when people are aroused in some way so when children are hyped up they are more likely to argue, defy parents or become violent. Some young people noticeably become aggressive and over-aroused after playing video games (not necessarily violent ones) and I've seen a few cases where this greatly exacerbated violence to parents.   Often the effect is more subtle.

Children generally are sleeping less and I know of a great many adolescents who stay up very late whenever they get the chance (often till dawn) to play video games or use the internet. Since so many kids have computers, TVs and mobile phones in their bedrooms (very BAD idea!) I'm actually surprised that this has not become an even greater problem than it is. I do feel I am seeing an increase in school refusal among adolescents and their nocturnal screen time is one of the reasons for this. We are also seeing more youth who are becoming hermits, living their lives on-line[25].

If you are the parent of a younger child you may want to set firm guidelines now (such as no electronics in bedrooms) as things are going to get more complicated and more difficult for parents in the years to come.

Media Violence

"By now it is clear to most unbiased expert observers, in fact to anyone without an ax to grind who takes the time to look at the research, that the effect of televised violence is to increase aggressive behaviour in boys and girls." Garbarino[26]

A number of reports which have looked at all the evidence have concluded that watching violent media and playing violent games makes people more aggressive[27]. I find it hard to imagine how this could not be so! People know that advertisers are willing to spend billions of dollars to have media influence our buying habits and even subtle product placement can reap huge rewards in altering our behaviour. An average American child sees more than 200,000 violent acts and 16,000 murders on TV by age 18[28]. Is anything more heavily advertised than this? Yet many people choose to believe that this does not influence children! Those who make money from exploiting our children, and those opposed to all censorship, argue that there is no conclusive proof of the harmful effect of watching violence. It is not absolutely **conclusive**, but then almost nothing is in the realm of child rearing, psychology or sociology. Since the media we get most of our news and views from is linked to those making fortunes from this exploitation of the innocents it is not surprising that they are usually against control and censorship.

The majority of people watching violent films or playing violent video games don't become noticeably more violent, in the short term, but over time it has a significant effect on a great many children. And a few do become more violent in the short term. I believe that the fact that children are actually participating in the violence in video games makes them potentially more harmful. It worries me that our youngsters will soon be immersing themselves in realistic looking three-dimensional games where they can kill, torture and rape. This seems inevitable as no one in authority seems willing to try to control it in a meaningful way.

> *"To win such [modern computer] games one must immerse oneself in the battle-for-survival virtual cosmos and learn to maim and kill all rivals. A mind-set of aggressiveness is established, as violence becomes a 'natural' amphetamine, a sanctioned entitlement to 'get high on death' and kill the boredom of the postmodern childhood."* [29]

There is probably less of an effect for listening to violent, aggressive music . It isn't going to make someone violent who isn't that way inclined. However, for one of the many young people who are inclined to be aggressive it helps keep them in a state of irritation and excitation and lowers the threshold for them to act violently. And it isn't just violent lyrics, music can be aggressive by its tone and style. It is designed to be aggressive and to get the adrenalin pumping. We parents are not meant to like it. For most young people it is harmless but for some it is yet another factor increasing both aggression and negativity.

"Sadistic video games, lurid rap songs and grotesquely violent movies are everywhere available – even to young children. This debased popular culture may be creating an epidemic of incivility and insensitivity." {Sommers, 2005 #37}: 23

The Dark Side!

People have always had a taste for the macabre, violent, scary and weird. Look at the popularity of crime, war, action violence, horror, mystery and even hospital shows. This applies to adults as well as to young people. We like to be shocked and to feel the rush of adrenalin from vicarious fear, aggression or lust. Unfortunately our young people are getting a large dose of all this while growing up. It means that they are aware of suicide, rape, child abuse, torture and human perversity at much earlier ages. Not only video nasties (rapidly getting nastier) but the news, mainstream TV, cartoons, comics, video games and the internet all contribute to this. Since there is so much high level sex and violence (and high level general vileness) around we tend not to take warnings about 'adult concepts' very seriously but these may have a big impact over time. Like porn, the dark and weird gets tame as we are desensitized, and this leads to some people (and merchandisers) wanting to push the boundaries ever further into tasteless new frontiers.

This familiarity with the dark side of human nature can lead to fearfulness and a general level of low-lying paranoia. The world becomes seen as a dangerous, horrible place. Our tendency as parents to over-protection reinforces the idea of the world being dangerous and people being untrustworthy. It can also lead to world-weary cynicism at an early age, or in some to obsessions with evil, danger or self-destruction.   For most children the recent craze for vampires, for example, is absolutely harmless but for a minority it is linked to a dark and slightly sick view of life.

These cultural influences are so widespread it is very difficult to see their effect, and they influence different young people quite differently. Not all children become depressed, anxious or aggressive but they are almost all desensitized *to some degree*.   Such activities as binge-drinking, taking illegal drugs, cutting, suicide attempts, or suicide and self-harm threats, are all more likely than they were for previous generations. Overall I don't believe that young people, or society in general, are more violent than in the past[30]. However, there does seem to be a tendency for violence between young people to be more severe and cruel when it does occur and I suspect that media desensitization has a lot to do with this.

Ratings creep means that what used to be an R rating is now an MA and what used to be an MA is now an M. There does not appear to be any motivation among our politicians to stop this. It is ironic that right-wing politicians, who shout loudest about old-fashioned values, are even more reluctant to interfere with the market to actually protect our children (whether from nasty media or from junk food). Market forces are into giving people, including children, what they want, regardless of whether it is good for them or not. And little boys especially want violence, titillation and toilet humour. Even children's literature has moved towards more toilet humour and a darker view of life. Like viewers of

porn what was once shocking and exciting becomes tame and so there is a constant push for more excitement and titilation. Hence ratings creep, and creeping nastiness, continues relentlessly.

Sexualisation

"*Growing up in a sex-saturated culture isn't something previous generations of girls have had to deal with.*" Hamilton[31]

Our children, boys and girls, are growing up surrounded by far more sexual imagery and concepts compared to previous generations. The contrast in Western culture between now and the recent past is quite dramatic. Glamour has given way to porn imagery! Naturally enough, once they reach puberty more of them than ever before are keen to experiment. Early sexual activity either entails secrecy, conflict with parents, or blurring of boundaries. I now often hear about sexually active thirteen year olds – which used to be quite rare. Some groups of thirteen-year-olds appear to have the same attitude to oral sex that we had to kissing!

This precocious sex has all sorts of implications besides the obvious dangers. It can be a major source of conflict between young people and parents. It can make them think they should be treated as adults and distorts their peer group relationships, sometimes putting them in touch with much older youth and exposing them to bad influences (most notably drink and drugs). Physically children are reaching sexual maturity a couple of years earlier than in the past so they are emotionally less mature (this is further exaggerated by our children being slower to take on responsibilities) when attempting to have serious relationships. Earlier puberty is not the explanation for the big changes in adolescent behaviour (for sexuality or anything else) as there has been a shift of three or four years in many activities and attitudes in the past thirty years while the physical change in puberty over this time has only been about six months.

"*Girls are being pressured to appear and act sexy, not to encourage or empower them, but because they're easy to sell to. Companies know how much tweens want to be teenagers, and use this to sell the products.*" Hamilton[32]

Competition and bullying

One study found the amount of TV watched at age four was related to the child teasing and bullying classmates more when aged six to eleven.[33]

The culture of teens, and increasingly pre-teens, has become one of cut-throat competition. Competition to be one of the in-crowd, to look good, to have the latest fashions, most expensive brands, to watch the right shows, listen to the right music, to consume and to conform. Not only girls but recently boys are also becoming obsessed with their appearance and body image. Despite the huge increase in obesity over-weight kids are

abused more than in the past and odd-looking kids are more often ostracised.

This competitive pressure to conform can make some forms of bullying more intense, can make kids feel very insecure (even suicidal or depressed), can harm self-esteem, but it can also lead to arrogance and entitlement, especially among the in-crowd.

Selfishness, lack of empathy and narcissism

There is evidence that young people today are more self-centered, have less empathy for others[34], have higher self-esteem overall and more of them are narcissistic[35] (i.e. they love themselves).   Low self-esteem has long been a problem but excessively high self-esteem has become a big problem too and can be linked to violence and bullying[36].

On-line support for cutting, anorexia and suicide

Social media can provide support for some young people who are depressed or socially isolated or different. Being able to talk to other people with Asperger's, a disability, or who are confused about their sexual identity or depressed can be helpful for some people. However, there are groups of young people who support each other to be depressed and negative. There are web-sites that suggest that cutting yourself is an OK way to deal with problems, sites that instruct on how to commit suicide and there are web sites that encourage anorexia. Any form of sickness can find a home on the world wide web with these anti-social media. Parental guidance is strongly recommended!

Protecting our children from the toxic culture

"*Most parents are frantically doing their best in a world where the goal posts are not just moving – they've actually disappeared.*" Palmer[37]

These cultural changes are not being shaped by parents, most of whom detest it, but by marketers and entertainers intent on creating teen-zombi-consumers-clones. Thankfully it isn't a coordinated campaign, and some kids fall through the cracks, but it has billions of dollars at its disposal and Western governments have given them access to our children with few restrictions. The rapid change in technology, culture and fashion means that parents' heads are spinning almost as fast as the kids.

This is not to say that parents are blameless. I regularly come across tales of young children being allowed to watch completely inappropriate material (especially by irresponsible access fathers, often ones who have abused the child's mother) and many parents ignore the age limits on violent computer games.

One very simple thing that parents can do is **keep TVs and electronic devices out of bedrooms** (especially any with an internet connection). If your son has a computer in his bedroom it is 95% likely that he is occasionally viewing porn. And the porn on the internet today is not nicely photographed nude women like you see in Playboy magazine (though I haven't seen one of them for decades so they

may have changed) it is women with gaping vaginas and people copulating, sometimes with objects or animals. You do **not** want children growing up thinking this is normal!

Limit screen time. The American Academy of Pediatrics recommends no more than 1 or 2 hours in front of screens per day for children and no TV under age two. You probably feel this is unrealistic but this is what is considered healthy by the experts.

You can, and should, **restrict your child from watching things you disapprove of**. However they will still have some affect on your child because what the majority of other children are watching affects their culture and shapes the behaviour of their peers. Unless you want to live in some kind of isolated cult you just can't escape the influence of the media on your children.

Children will go to friends homes to watch the things you didn't let them see. This does not mean that you should give up. It is still worth making a point about your disapproval and you will be reducing the amount of exposure. However, technology is making it more and more difficult for parents to monitor their children's viewing. Children can watch every episode of South Park on the internet. And just in the past year or so the internet is available on mobile phones and other devices, which their friends have even if you are sensible enough not to give in.

I think parents should be making a point of showing their disapproving of some things. But on the other hand I don't think parents should go overboard in trying to ban everything they don't like, especially once your child is a teenager. This is an area where the rights of children and young people may conflict with parent's deeply held beliefs. You may prefer it if your child never watched anything that glorified violence or sexualized females. If so then 95% of all TV would be out and chances are that your child is going to rebel against you with a vengeance, and possibly leave home at an early age.

It's all about compromise.   Choose your battles carefully, then stick to your guns.

Despite all the doom and gloom I don't believe that our children overall have dramatically higher mental illness (though it may have worsened a bit) or that they are beyond redemption. Children are pretty resilient and despite the poisonous culture there are still an awful lot of nice, responsible teenagers around.

> **Eddie Gallagher 2013   May be used in *Who's in Charge?* groups or with individual clients in not for profit agencies. Other uses contact the author gallagher@aanet.com.au**
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[1]

[2] The word teenager has only been used since the 1940s. "Adolescent" is a few hundred years old but was a rare term until last century, and there was no equivalent word in Middle English. Youth could mean men up to 30.
[3] Palmer, S. 2006 *Toxic Childhood*, London, Orion,   Page 241
[4] [5]

[6] *Linn, S. (2004). <u>Consuming Kids</u>. N.Y., The New Press.*

Brooks, K. 2008 Consuming innocence. Uni Queensland Press, Australia.

Paul, P. (2008). <u>Parenting, Inc.</u> N.Y., Times Books.

[7] Nancy Shalek, president of the Shalek Agency, in Ruskin, G. 1999 "Why the whine: How corporations prey on our children." *Mothering*, Nov-Dec, 41-50.

[8] Mayo 2005: 3

[9] Linn (2004) p 230.

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[11]E.g.

[12] Brooks, 2008: 9

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[14] ibid: 170

[15] ibid: 183

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[17] Schor, 2004: 202

[18] Schor, 2004

[19] Page 201

[20] Haste, H 2000 *Mapping Britain's Moral Values* London: Nestlé Family Monitor/MORI

[21] Page 7[22] Greenberg/Quinlan Democracy Corps, 12/99. Quoted in Discipline and Development. M. Bostrom 2003, Frameworks Institute   Http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/toolkits/canp-/resources/pdf/DisciplineAndDevelopment.pdf

[23] <u>When</u>

[24] found increased TV viewing between one to three years resulted in increased rates of attentional problems at age 7.

[25] This is a big issue in Japan where there are estimates of hundreds of thousands of these Hikikomori.

[26] Page 102

[27]   Dill, 2009

[28] These figures are undoubtedly much higher by the time you read this. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. *Children, violence, and the media: a report for parents and policy makers.* September 14, 1999.

[29] Steinberg & Kinchelo, 1997 pge 22

[30] Stephen Pinker argues that society has become less violent in his book "The better angels of our nature", 2011, London: Allen Lane.

[31] 54[32] Ibid Page 53

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[34] [35] Twenge, 2009

[36] Baumeister, R. F. (1997). <u>Evil: inside human violence and cruelty</u>. N.Y. , Holt.: 135

[37] Palmer 2006 Page 281