Part 3

107149

PREFACE

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has
compiled a comprehensive package of materials related to coopera-
tive agreement #84-JN-AX-K007, "Role of Pornography and Media
Violence in Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and
Juvenile Delinquency," awarded to the American University School
of Education. Due to questions that were raised concerning the
soundness of the research, OJJDP is making all three versions of
the final report available for public review. The package
consists of three parts. Part 1 consists of three volumes (I, II
and III) submitted to the grantee, American University, as a
draft report by the project's principal investigator. Part 2
also consists of three volumes (I, II and III) that were deli-
vered to OJJDP by American University, and submitted as the
official final report of the grantee. Part 3 consists of a
single volume (I) that was subsequently prepared by the principal
investigator as a proposed substitute report for Part 2, Volume
I, of the official final report.

Only material in part 2 is included in the OJJDP cooperative
agreement file and constitutes the official final report of the
grantee. OJJDP has decided, with the concurrence of the grantee,
to also make the material in Parts 1 and 3 available, upon
request, to the public for the purpose of providing full and
complete information about the project.

THE INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA EDUCATION

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G E N E R A L   C A V E A T
November 20, 1986

Complying to the demand by my project monitor Pamela Swain
(letter received November 12, 1986) that this report be
delivered to OJJDP on November 13, 1986, the attached
document was presented to Mr. Verne Speirs, Acting OJJDP
Administrator, at 2:00 PM, November 13, 1986. Based upon
the November 27, 1985 Memorandum of Understanding between
The American University, OJJDP and the Principal
Investigator, all final editing of this document was to have
been undertaken by OJJDP. As the production of the
attached product was demanded within nine weeks of The
American University's September 2, 1986 submission to OJJDP,
the report lacks the final proofing and editing normally
expected in a formal document.

While the Principal Investigator went to great lengths to
ensure overall quality control, the attached report must be
examined with obvious time and resource limitations in mind.
It would be preferable to hold the document until final
editing and proofing is completed. Yet, the November 14,
1986 OJJDP public rejection of The American University
report--and the refusal of OJJDP's research director to read
this final product--has forced premature dissemination of
the attached volume.

The readers' indulgence is thus solicited while technical
errors in the document are in the process of correction.

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator

Note to Dr. Fotopoulos:

Due to the above chronology of events, I am submitting the
attached errata to The American University to replace pages
the university now has in hand. As you know, I delivered
four copies of my report to OJJDP on November 13, 1986, and
expect to have these four copies immediately returned. If
The American University insists on retaining a copy, then I
require that the new sections replace the OJJDP originals.

CHILDREN, CRIME, AND VIOLENCE IN THE PICTORIAL IMAGERY OF

PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, AND HUSTLER

The Role of Pornography and Media Violence in
Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and
Juvenile Delinquency

A REPORT IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME 1:   OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.
The Institute for Media Education

Arlington, Virginia

U. S. Department of Justice
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

November 1986

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE

IN

PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER*

E X E C U T I V E   S U M M A R Y

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Mainstream erotica/pornography is generally said to portray non-violent adult female nudity for an adult audience. However, a content analysis of Playboy (N=373), Penthouse (N=184), and Hustler (N=126) magazines, December 1953 to December 1984, yielded 6,004 child images as well as an estimated 14,854 images of crime and violence. Received both by juvenile and adult readers, newsstand available child imagery in the context of erotica/pornography increased nearly 2,600% (16 to 412) from 1954 to 1984 peaking in 1978 at 465 newsstand available depictions. Nearly two-thirds of the child scenarios were sexual and/or violent; the dominant age bracket 3-11 years; girls more prevalent than boys and most likely associated with adult males; and racial portrayals almost exclusively Caucasian. Close to 1,000 sexual scenarios included children with adults; 80% of the children were actively involved in all scenes; and each magazine portrayed children as unharmed and/or benefited by adult-child sex.

Juxtaposed with some 50,000 images of adult female nudity, the 6,004 child depictions were also associated with 14,854 images of adult crime and violence. In the latter, young-adult Caucasian males and females were equally victimized with primary offenders young-adult Caucasian males. As the only mainstream newsstand publication of its genre from 1954 to 1968, Playboy averaged 17 monthly depictions of children, crime and violence. Since 1975, the addition of Penthouse and Hustler increased the newsstand available aggregate to 111 monthly depictions of children, crime and violence. In sum, these magazines paired adult female nudity with images of children, crime and violence, for millions of juvenile and adult readers for over three decades.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of true democracy presumes both freedom of information and adequate public access to truthful information. In 1832 James Madison[1] argued that an informed public was a prerequisite to educated debate and decision-making on social issues. Public debate regarding the role of pornography in child abuse has already begun. Yet, until the present research, little information on the incidence and nature of child abuse in mainstream erotica/pornography [E/P][2] has been publicly accessible. The purpose of this exploratory research has been to provide the juvenile justice systems and the public with requisite information for informed debate on children, crime and violence in E/P to provide researchers with a solid data base for future research and testing of hypotheses. To this end, this study tested three hypotheses: first, that children have been portrayed both sexually and nonsexually in mainstream E/P magazines; second, that crime and violence have been portrayed both sexually and nonsexually in these same E/P magazines; third, that these images of children, crime and violence have been paired with female nudity and graphic sexual display.

BACKGROUND

The present exploratory research, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), was designed to provide juvenile justice agencies with an extensive data base on Depictions of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. The attached three volumes constitute the definitive report by the Principal Investigator, inclusive of clarifications, corrections and additions to the September 2, 1986 draft delivered by The American University to OJJDP. (A chronology of the project report may be found in the overleaf of Volume I, p. ii.)

As the first indepth investigation of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler--leaders in the commercial sex industry--this project was the subject of extensive press and public attention. On the one hand, the public has expressed an abhorrence of child pornography and of violence associated with sexuality in sexually explicit magazines.[3] Yet, the

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most prominent of these magazines publicly denied any misuse of children in its content (4) while certain public officials and individuals otherwise noteworthy as proponents of child welfare attempted to dismiss this research, largely because they were sure children were not misused in these popular magazines.(5)

On the other hand, preliminary research by the Principal Investigator had indicated that children had been extensively sexualized in popular E/P.(6) Furthermore, Juvenile Justice and other professionals identified "softcore" E/P as tools employed to lure and indoctrinate children into sexually abusive situations.(7) Child welfare professionals have also observed that victimized children often continue the cycle of violence, frequently becoming juvenile delinquents and/or adult offenders. Based upon growing concerns regarding the role of E/P in child sexual abuse, and the preliminary work identifying children, crime and violence in these magazines, an exploratory investigation of the most widely read erotic/pornographic magazines was undertaken. The present research focused upon the analysis of children (juveniles), crime and violence in <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u>, the three most popular "softcore" erotic/ pornographic magazines read by both juveniles and adults.

Why Study Mass Media Communication?

Communication researchers tend to debate particular ways in which specific media messages may affect particular recipients and receivers.(8) Numerous communication models have been designed which attempt to precisely replicate the communication process. Despite subtle differences, communication theorists may be said to agree that any communication process has some effect on receivers:

> [I]n most general terms, communication
> implies a sender, a channel, a message,
> a receiver, a relationship between
> sender and receiver, an effect, [and]
> a context in which communication occurs
> . . . (9)

It follows from the above accepted body of communication theory that E/P messages affect receivers in some manner and thus are worthy of indepth analysis.

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Why Study Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler?

Recent data available from Canada confirm the existing American studies that adolescents, ages 12-17, report the most frequent exposure to mainstream E/P.(10) Moreover, according to recognized market research sources, Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler maintain the highest readership amongst all E/P magazines.(11) These materials have provided a body of "informal sex education" for juveniles and adults since December 1953, accessible both inside and outside the home environment. The overall readership can be said to cross all socioeconomic boundaries, while a large percentage of readers may be classified as relatively well-educated upscale "change agents." Based upon circulation figures and concerns in the sphere of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention, Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler were selected for the present examination of children, crime and violence.

Why Study the Depiction of Children?

Children have historically been exploited in pornography.(12) Yet, prior to this research, it was generally believed that such exploitation was confined to peripheral, "hardcore" pornography, traditionally found on the fringes of society. Research confirms that hardcore child pornography is nearly always of a sexual nature, and that it constitutes a form of child abuse. The current research effort, however, sought to identify nonsexual and sexual depictions of children as well as depictions of crime and violence in "softcore," or mainstream erotica/pornography.

Why Study the Depiction of Crime and Violence?

The general public has expressed its concern about the juxtaposition of violence and sex within one medium. For example, in the Newsweek Poll by Gallup (March 18, 1985) 73 percent of respondents believed explicit sexual magazines, movies and books lead some people to commit rape or other sexual violence while 93 percent called for stricter control of magazines displaying sexual visual violence. Moreover, the concern about the association of sex and violence is supported by the body of research on media depictions of crime and violence. Here, it is generally conceded that gratuitous depictions of crime and violence have been known to precipitate aggressive behavior.(13) The present investigation: a) established the general context of crime

and violence in which child depictions also appeared, and b) captured information on both the nonsexual and sexual depictions of crime and violence in the context of mainstream erotica/pornography.

Why Study Cartoons?

Research confirms that adult readers of E/P magazines commonly rate cartoons as favorite features, while further evidence suggests that juveniles are also drawn to the cartoon feature.(14) The cartoon has its own artistic and historic tradition. By its very nature, the cartoon has a way of overstating, stereotyping and exaggerating its case. Similar to other art forms, the cartoon demonstrates a view of life, of an issue, of an event, or of a people. While appearing as light and guileless humor, the vast body of cartoon research documents cartoons as a sociopolitical art form. The "Socialization of Taboo Ideas" suggests that cartoons have been used historically to a) circumvent readers' resistance by b) humorously trivializing existing taboos. Based on its historical and popular role in mainstream E/P, an examination of E/P cartoon messages about children, crime and violence is appropriate.

Why Study Photographs?

Photographs are generally viewed as accurate representations of real life, with little public awareness of the illusions inherent in the photograph.(15) Research identifies such illusion as the result of professional skill and knowledge: the making of the photograph, its reproduction, communication, reception, and interpretation. Photographic scenes and pictures are immediately organized in perception without need for cognitive effort or attention. Since the great majority of E/P pages contain photographic depictions, it is appropriate to examine any widesale circulation of photographic messages pertaining to children, crime and violence.

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METHODOLOGY

1. <u>Development of Instrumentation</u>: Utilizing standard content analysis methodology, four discreet instruments were designed, tested and implemented: 1) child cartoons (excluding comic strips), 2) child visuals (illustrations and photographs), 3) crime and violence cartoons (excluding comic strips and child cartoons), and 4) crime and violence visuals (illustrations and photographs, excluding child visuals). The final child cartoon instrument contained 114 variables, child visuals 75, adult crime and violence cartoons 35, and adult crime and violence visuals 49, yielding 273 variables and 12,126 cases.

2. <u>Coders</u>: Twenty-two coders over 21 years of age were employed (64 percent female, 36 percent male, 14 percent Black, 86 percent Caucasian, 95 percent college graduates). The project retained a clinical psychologist who held one-hour group sessions each week.

3. <u>Training</u>: Coders were tested and retested in Critical Viewing Skills, via great works of art for preliminary analysis, and training in content analysis as outlined by Krippendorff. Each coder was tested for use of their "Coder's Portfolio;" coding instruments, coding manuals and sheets, the Cartoon/Visual Guide, the Emotional Expression Guide (EEG), and the Age Evaluation Guide (AEG).

4. <u>Materials</u>: From December 1953 to December 1984, all issues (N=683) were coded for depictions of children: <u>Playboy</u> (N=373), <u>Penthouse</u> (N=184) and <u>Hustler</u> (N=126). Magazines missing in the collection were coded at the Library of Congress. A 42 percent random sample was coded for depictions of cartoon and visual crime and violence.

5. <u>Magazine Distribution and Instrument Handling</u>: Coders received a random distribution of magazines in their library carrels, marking instruments with a red pen and personally initialing any changes in analysis. A random selection of two coding sheets per coder per week were checked for accuracy, original coding sheets copied and held in locked metal cabinets for safety while originals were batched and delivered for key punch and data entry to the contracted key punch agency.

6. **Inter-Rater Reliabilty Measures**: Inter-rater reliability was computed at 0.87 in the pilot study and 0.85 for child cartoons, 0.83 for child visuals, 0.81 for crime and violence cartoons, and 0.85 for crime and violence visuals.

SELECTED FINDINGS

Over 9,000 scenarios in <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> were identified as depicting characters under 18 years of age. From this population pool, 6,004 scenarios met the project's narrowed criteria for the analysis of child depictions. (17)

Child Depictions

Basic Facts:

- o   49% (2,971) photographs
- o   34% (2,016) cartoons
- o   17% (1,017) illustrations

PRINCIPAL CHILD	AND	OTHER CHARACTER

o 39% 3-11 years		o 78% adults
o 26% 12-17 years	AGE	o 7% 3-11 years
o 16% fetus-2 years		o 7% 12-17 years
o 14% pseudo children (*)		o 6% unspecified
o 5% unspecified		o 2% fetus-2 years
o 47% female		o 49% male
o 32% male	SEX	o 35% female
o 21% both/other		o 16% both/other
o 85% Caucasian		o 85% Caucasian
o 3% Black	RACE	o 3% Black
o 12% Other minority		o 12% Other minority

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<u>Sample Child Depictions</u> (Nonadditive)

    o   29% nude/genital display (visuals only)
    o   21% visually exposed/sexualized
    o   .20% genital activity
    o   16% sexual encounter with adult
    o   10% force
    o   6% internal genital ("pink") exposure (visuals only)
    o   4% sex with animals/objects
    o   10% killing/murder/maiming

<u>Share of Child Depictions by Magazine</u>(**)

    o <u>Playboy</u>: 8 avg/issue (~5% of <u>Playboy</u> cartoons/visuals)
    o <u>Penthouse</u>: 6 avg/issue (~4% of <u>Penthouse</u> cartoons/visuals)
    o <u>Hustler</u>: 14 avg/issue (~12% of <u>Hustler</u> cartoons/visuals)

    o <u>Playboy</u> highest year: 1971 (N=187, or 16 per issue)
    o <u>Penthouse</u> highest year: 1972 (N=131, or 11 per issue)
    o <u>Hustler</u>   highest year: 1978 (N=228, or 19 per issue)

THREE TOPSELLING E/P* PUBLICATIONS
NEWSSTAND AGGREGATE

CHILD DEPICTIONS   ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE DEPICTIONS
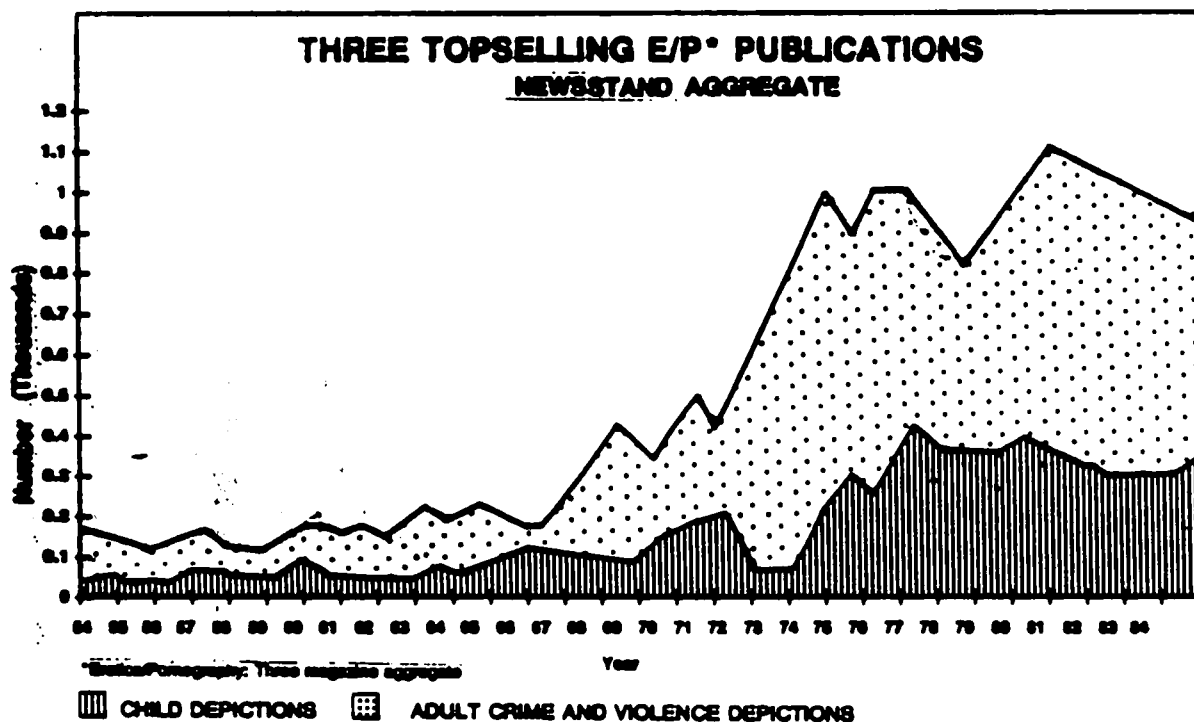
Adult Crime and Violence Depictions

Basic Facts:(***)

- 42% (6,273) photographs
- 36% (5,338) cartoons
- 22% (3,243) illustrations

VICTIM	AND	OFFENDER
o 46% male		o 54% male
o 43% female	SEX	o 22% female
o 11% both/other		o 24% both/other
o 66% 18-39 years		o 57% 18-39 years
o 15% 40-60 years	AGE	o 17% 40-60 years
o 3% 61 + years		o 3% 61 + years
o 16% unspec/mixed		o 23% unspec/mixed
o 85% Caucasian		o 82% Caucasian
o 2% Black	RACE	o 2% Black
o 2% Asian/Hispanic		o 2% Asian/Hispanic
o 11% Other/Mixed		o 14% Other/Mixed

Sample Crime and Violence Depictions: (Nonadditive)

- 56% violent props (Visuals only)
- 32% nude and/or sexualized victims
- 14% killing/murder
- 14% assault/battery
- 14% white collar crime
- 13% sex dealing/prostitution
- 12% violent sex act
- 12% other violent activity

Share of Crime and Violence Depictions by Magazine:

- **Playboy**: 21 avg/issue (~12% of cartoons/visuals)
- **Penthouse**: 16 avg/issue (~9% of cartoons/visuals)
- **Hustler**: 32 avg/issue (~25% of cartoons/visuals)

- **Playboy** highest year: 1976 (N=490, or 41 per issue)
- **Penthouse** highest year: 1980 (N=271, or 23 per issue)
- **Hustler** highest year: 1984 (N=568, or 47 per issue)

AGGREGATE SHARE OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE BY MAGAZINE

o <u>Playboy</u>:   29 average per issue
o <u>Penthouse</u>: 22 average per issue
o <u>Hustler</u>:   46 average per issue

CONCLUSIONS

The present research findings quantify the nature of children, crime and violence imagery in over three decades of <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> magazines. Sexual and nonsexual child depictions and sexual and nonsexual crime and violence depictions were common themes throughout all three magazines. The pairing of these themes over time with images of adult female nudity and graphic sexual display are pertinent to the current debate on erotica/pornography.

Contrary to popular belief, the depiction of sexual and nonsexual child abuse has not been limited to "hardcore" pornography. It is surprising to many that in 1954 <u>Playboy</u> delivered 170 images of crime and/or violence to the public increasing total newsstand depictions 650 percent across all three magazines by 1984. Looking at children, the <u>Playboy</u> only distribution of 17 child images in 1954 were increased across all three magazines 2,600 percent by 1984. Since May 1954 children have been documented as desiring of and unharmed by adult sexual interactions in these "softcore" magazines. Moreover, the present research found children depicted as viable targets of both sexual and nonsexual physical abuse, documenting a trivialization of child abuse. It is now up to the public and professional communities to document the role of mainstream erotica/pornography in children's lives and child abuse.

An unforseen finding may be that roughly 30 percent of <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> cartoons and illustrations were "Child Magnets." Briefly, Child Magnets are features which are generally unique to the children's world of entertainment (e.g., books and television), and known to attract child readers/viewers. Examples of child magnets are full-color, three-dimensional pop-ups and cutouts, coloring books, paper dolls, Santa Claus, fairy tales, Cowboys and Indians, Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse, choo-choo trains, etc. Since evidence confirms the large juvenile readership of these magazines, the unique quality of Child

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Magnets may be viewed as a marketing technique both catering to, and attracting, a juvenile audience.(18)

The body of research on sexual arousal suggests that acts of child sexual molestation by some vulnerable juveniles or adults can be precipitated if they have achieved orgasm via fantasies of sex with children. Similarly, the body of research on media and aggression documents depictions of violence as precipitating aggressive responses in certain vulnerable viewers. Therefore, it may be of compelling public concern that the present research documents a contextual association of three discreet stimuli: 1) adult female nudity and graphic sexual display, 2) child depictions, and 3) depictions of crime and violence. The magazine genre evidences a unified cultural view which incorporates all three stimuli, pairing arousal to sexual fantasy with child sexualization and crime and violence. Thus, it is likely that some vulnerable juvenile and adult receivers may fuse child depictions with arousal to sex (genital stimulus) and/or arousal to violence (aggressive stimulus).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Dissemination of Information

These findings should be provided to public agencies, educators, policymakers, parents and juveniles. Distilled into dispassionate, concrete components (i.e., charts, graphs, statistical tables and explanatory narrative), the information is now ready for public access. Such access means that both adults and juveniles may objectively assess, critique, and debate this issue without requiring exposure to primary sources.

Education

Evidence and anecdote confirm extensive juvenile exposure to, and reliance upon, the informal sex education provided by these magazines. Thus, it is only realistic to implement these research data into school programs and other modes of juvenile guidance. The findings should be provided in nonexploitive educational formats such as slide presentations, booklets and videotapes (a preliminary videotape has already been prepared by the Principal Investigator). The use of underage models by the sex industry, the entry of increasing numbers of juveniles into

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prostitution and the growth of juvenile pregnancy suggest the need for a critical examination of the notions of sexuality presented to youngsters by these informal sex education materials. Use of the suggested educational formats addressing mainstream erotica/pornography could facilitate creative discussion by youth regarding the role of these materials in juvenile sociosexual behavior.

Training

Beyond dissemination of the research findings, training in crime site data collection should be conducted. Techniques developed for data collection should be taught on several levels: justice, law enforcement and child protection teams; health professionals such as physicians, nurses, clinicians and counselors; secular and religious educators; parents and juveniles. A data base on the distribution and use of E/P is vital for future policy making. In addition, such data may serve as evidence from point of arrest to final case disposition and sentencing.

Research

As in most large scale data collection efforts of this nature, due to time restrictions, only a limited amount of analysis was conducted, leaving it to other researchers to more fully explore the policy questions suggested by the data. The voluminous data base provides extensive opportunity for future analyses on mainstream erotica/pornography. The present investigation should facilitate continued and innovative research on erotica/pornography in general and its specific influence upon juveniles in particular. Time series should be conducted across all magazines on all variables. For example, when were child images juxtaposed with violence, sex or crime imagery and text? Special mention should be made of the potential for change exhibited by these magazines during the duration of the present research project. While under direct scrutiny, there appeared to be a marked change in the treatment of children, crime and violence, particularly in the most popular of these magazines. Thus an ongoing monitoring system should yield valuable changes in the editorial policies of these magazines. Society can no longer avoid recognizing that sophisticated communication technology requires equally sophisticated techniques of analysis.

Age of Consent

Finally, based upon the research findings on the use of children, crime and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography, those recommendations proposed by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986) are all strongly supported. The content analysis of <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> uncovered a steady escalation of graphic depictions from 1954 to 1984 progressing from simple female nudity to those described by the Attorney General in his discussion of obscenity:

> . . . child pornography, sado-masochistic scenes, rape scenes, depictions of bestiality or excretory functions, and violent and degrading images of explicit sexual conduct . . . (19)

Arguments supporting mature age-of-consent parameters for sex industry employees appear to be reasoned and compelling, based as they are on the notion of youthful vulnerability. As the three magazines examined do include substantial displays of the above activities singled out by Attorney General Meese in his October 23, 1986 press conference, it is proposed that <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> magazines be included in the Commission's recommendation that sex industry models be twenty-one years-of-age or older. Similarly, publishers should be required to maintain records proving that models are twenty-one years or older.

In addition, a voluntary moratorium of child depictions (in cartoons, illustrations and/or photographs)--by all sex industry publications--is urged until such time that sophisticated research techniques yield adequate data on the harm factor.(20)
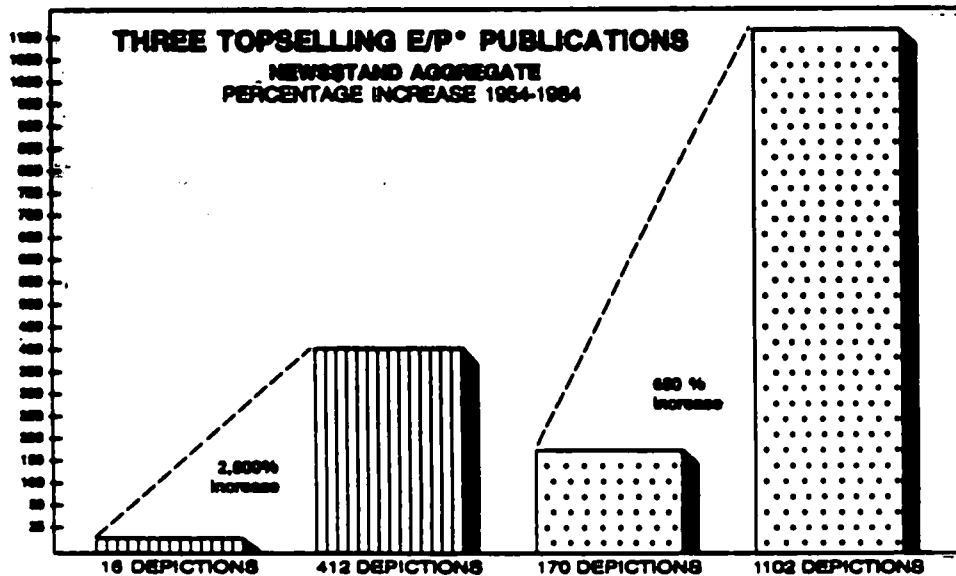
THREE TOPSELLING E/P* PUBLICATIONS
NEWSSTAND AGGREGATE
PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1954-1984

16 DEPICTIONS   412 DEPICTIONS   170 DEPICTIONS   1102 DEPICTIONS

*Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate

▥ CHILD DEPICTIONS   ▦ ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE DEPICTIONS

NOTES

1.   Letter from James Madison to W.T. Barry (August 4, 1832), reprinted in The Complete Madison 337 (S. Padower ed. 1953).

2.   The slash in "erotica/pornography" (E/P) is intended to indicate a separation or a bridge between erotica and pornography. For the definition of E/P in the present research, see Reisman's Overview of Project (Volume I), "Working Definition," (p. 27). For additional definitions, see "Central Terms" in the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986, pp. 227-232).

3.   See for example, Newsweek Poll by Gallup (March 18, 1985), wherein 73 percent of respondents believed explicit sexual magazines, movies and books lead some people to commit rape or other sexual violence while 93 percent called for stricter control of magazines displaying sexual visual violence.

4.   See for example, Playboy (1985, December): "If other magazines are publishing cartoons of 'gang rapes of children, fathers sexually abusing daughters, benevolent or father figures raping or murdering young girls,' Playboy never has, never will" (p. 16). For evidence to the contrary, see Overview of Project (Volume I), "Sample Appendices."

5.   See for example, commentary by senators (1985, May). In Reisman [Statement], Oversight [Hearing] of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Committee on the Judiciary (Serial No. J-99-23), (pp. 152-175). Said Senator Spector: "This subcommittee has reviewed a great deal of this kind of literature, I have never seen an actual picture of a crime being committed against a child" (p. 64).

6.   See Bat Ada (Reisman) and Lederer (1980). Playboy isn't playing: An interview with Judith Bat Ada. In L. Lederer (Ed.) Take back the night: Women on pornography (pp. 111-124).

7.   For more extensive information see Overview of Project (Volume I: Literature Review): "Research on Child Abuse" (pp. 62-67), and "Research on the role of erotica/pornography among children and adolescents" (pp. 28-30).

8. Ibid. "Research on Mass Media as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 30-38), and "Content Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique" (pp. 43-46).

9. See McQuail and Windahl (1981). Communication models for the study of mass communication, pp. 3-4.

10. See the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, (1986, July), p. 916. Also see Hass' research Teenage Sexuality: A Survey of Teenage Sexual Behavior (1979). In chapter 12, "Teenagers' Responses to Pornography" (pp. 153-161), teenagers discuss the influence of erotica/pornography (particularly Playboy) in their personal and sexual lives.

11. For more extensive information see Overview of Project (Volume I: Literature Review): "Research on Erotica/Pornography as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-30), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).

12. Ibid. "Research on Child Abuse" (pp. 62-67), and "Research on the role of erotica/pornography among children and adolescents" (pp. 28-30).

13. Ibid. Reference is made to crime and violence in "Research on Erotica/Pornography as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-30), "Research on children, television and aggression" (pp. 32-38), and "Content Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique" (see synopsis of the Phillips research), and "Research on Child Abuse" (pp. 62-67).

14. Ibid. "Research on Cartoons and Humor as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 39-44).

15. Ibid. "Research on Photographs as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 45-54).

16. For extensive information see Reisman's Methods and Procedures (Volume II). In addition, the "Research Parameters and Limitations (RPL)" are located in Overview of Project (Volume I), pp. 68-115.

17.   For extensive data presentations, see Reisman's _Data Book_ (Volume III). A compendious overview of the findings and discussion of findings are located in _Overview of Project_ (Volume I), pp. 116-138. In addition, the seven preliminary studies conducted during the present research project are discussed in Volume I, pp. 161-183.

18.   For additional information on the Child Magnet study, see _Overview of Project_ (Volume I: Preliminary Studies), "Child Magnets," pp. 161-169.

19.   This quote is from the _Washington Post_ article "Meese forms antipornography task force" by H. Kurtz (1986, October 23), p. A21.

20.   The concept of a voluntary moritorium was raised by the Principal Investigator in the testimony delivered to The United States Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Miami (1985, November).

*   The description of "pseudo-child" provided in the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986) reads: "Pseudo -child pornography or 'teasers' involve women allegedly over the age of eighteen who are 'presented in such a way as to make them appear to be children or youths.' Models used in such publications are chosen for their youthful appearence (e.g., in females, slim build and small breasts); and are presented with various accoutrements designed to enhance the illusion of immaturity (e.g., hair in ponytails or ringlets, toys, teddy bears, etc.). 'Pseudo- child pornography' is of concern since it may appeal to the same tastes and may evoke responses similar or identical to those elicited by true child pornography" (Vol. I, p. 618).

**   For rationale of estimates, see _Overview of Project_ (Volume I), Table I, "Average Total Number of Features Per Magazine," and Table II, "Average Number of Cartoons and Visuals Per Issue Containing Child Imagery" (pp. 93-94).

***   For rationale of final 14,854 estimate, (originally 14,692) see _Overview of Project_ (Volume I), Table I, "Average Total Number of Features Per Magazine" (p. 93), and Tables "Crime and Violence Data" (p. 131), "Crime and Violence Cartoon Data" (p. 132), and "Crime and Violence Visual Data" (p. 135).

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II. INTRODUCTION

Research conceptualizations for this content analysis
of media violence, with special focus upon the role of
erotica/pornography in sexual abuse and exploitation and
juvenile delinquency, were formally begun in March, 1984.
The data were collected between January and August, 1985,
and an interim final report was prepared for OJJDP on
November, 1985.

The project explored the cartoon and visual information
delivered by Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler, the three
magazines that dominate mass circulation
erotica/pornography. Erotica/pornography is defined, for
the purpose of this study, as visual content representing
nude or semi-nude female or male humans of any age, some of
whom engage in genital display (biologically classifiable as
solicitous of copulation, as in estrus-posturing or
presenting/mating displays), or cues or symbols linking such
sexual imagery and scatological and/or violent imagery.

Within the added framework of political and social
articles, film and music reviews, these magazines devote a
large percentage of their pages to erotic/pornographic
pictorials of females, as well as to articles, advice
columns, letters, illustrations, cartoons, and other
features of a sexual and/or violent nature.

The focus of the study was the depiction of children in
sexual and violent contexts. However, because the
environment in which such depictions appear might affect the
interpretation of readers, the portrayal of crime and
violence in the depiction of adults was also assessed.
Therefore four kinds of data were collected on cartoon and
visual depictions:

1. Children in cartoons;

2. Children in visuals;

3. Non child in cartoons of crime and violence;

4. Non child in visuals of crime and violence.

In this exploratory study, erotica/pornography is
viewed non-pejoratively as a subcategory of communication in

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general. Every type of communication can be conceived of as an information delivery system (Shramm, 1973, p. 3). While there is little argument among communication experts that communication does have some effect upon receivers, the precise effect is seen by experts in the field as a function of the special nature of the message interacting with different publics in different places and at different times (Davison and Yu, 1974; Golden, Berquist and Coleman, 1976; Hayakawa, 1972; Schramm, 1973).

Therefore, as in any other communication, the effect of erotica/pornography would also be a function of the special nature of its messages, interacting with different publics in different places and at different times.

Until this project, no longitudinal study of the pictorial and cartoon content of mainstream erotica/pornography had been conducted. Moreover, no other research had investigated the specific portrayal of children in either these or any other mainstream erotic/pornographic materials. The goal of this project was to conduct an in-depth, exploratory analysis of the cartoon and pictorial content of these magazines, with particular focus on the role of children in violent and sexual scenarios as well as the presence of adult crime and violence themes in cartoons and pictorials.

The results of this study provide the most comprehensive longitudinal data to date on the content and nature of widely disseminated mainstream erotic/pornographic materials. Most important, this study provides the public with an exhaustive analysis of the roles played by children in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines over time. As in any innovative research which reports on the nature of heretofore unchartered waters, this research should raise as many questions as it may answer. It is anticipated that these questions will lead others to further investigations and new discoveries which go well beyond the existing body of data.

III.   LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to place the content analysis of <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, and <u>Hustler</u> magazines in its proper context, at minimum, seven topics require discussion: 1) research on erotica/pornography; 2) research on mass media/television as an information delivery system; 3) research on cartoons and humor as communication; 4) research on photographs as communication; 5) the use of content analysis as a media research technique; 6) market research on <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, and <u>Hustler</u>; and 7) research on sexual and nonsexual child abuse.

1.   RESEARCH ON EROTICA/PORNOGRAPHY AS AN INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM

Erotica, obscenity,* and pornography have been variously defined, with differing emphases on the behavior, graphicness, and departure from publicly accepted standards. Although obscenity has somewhat wider boundaries,* sexual behavior is invariably an essential element for the labels "erotica" and "pornography." Recently some researchers have attempted to encourage the idea of a distinction between the two, with the former said to be confined to sexual activity and the latter seen as coupling sexual with antisocial, and particularly violent behavior.

The landmark investigation of such communications content was conducted by the U.S. Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970).** Recommendations put forward by the Commission argued that available evidence indicated pornography was a non-harmful expression. Indeed, the majority of Commission members can be said to have concluded that pornography was either innocuous, therapeutic, or cathartic and should, therefore, be more liberally accessible.

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*
According to The Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970):   "Material may be deemed 'obscene' because of a variety of contents: religious, political, sexual, scatological, violent, etc." (p. 3).

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For purposes of this literature review, "pornography" will be used as defined by the cited researchers.

During the last decade, however, a new body of research findings seems to indicate that the majority view of the Commission members may not have been wholly justified (Wills, 1977).

Indeed, at the time of this writing, November, 1985, the U.S. Attorney General's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography is conducting hearings throughout the United States, in an effort to update the 1970 President's Commission findings.

Objections were directed at the President's Commission research by feminists who challenged, among other possible shortcomings, over-representation of males on the Commission, its language, research designs, and selective research interests (e.g., Bart & Jozsa, 1980; Diamond, 1980; Lederer, 1980). Critics also observed that the Commission research did not look at child pornography, nor did it adequately distinguish between explicit sex content and violence set within a sexual scenario (e.g., Bart & Jozsa, 1980; Cline, 1974; Malamuth & Spinner, 1980). While recent research does not invalidate the position of the 1970 Commission, new information suggests numerous inadequacies in the research designs accepted by the Commission, as well as the Commission's inability to accurately forecast the social evolution of pornography.

Moreover, much justification for the Commission's notion of pornography as harmless was based upon work by Kutchinsky (1971, a, b), who claimed that increased availability of pornography in Denmark reduced sex offense reports in that nation. Bachy (1976) and Court (1977) subsequently pinpointed in some detail what they saw as weaknesses in the Kutchinsky studies (1971 a, b, c). Court (1977), reviewing Kutchinsky's Denmark data and the catharsis and satiation theories, reported to the contrary that rape reports in Denmark increased following the liberalization of pornography. Prior sex offenses, such as voyeurism and the like, Court argued, had been decriminalized. By including categories of decriminalized sex crimes with extant sex crimes (homosexual rape with exhibitionism, peeping-Toms, and other milder "sex offenses") Kutchinsky (1971 a) reached a spurious conclusion of reduced sex crime.

As Feshbach and Singer (1971) applied the "catharsis" theory to television and aggression, Howard, Reifler, and Liptzin (1971) give some credence to the opinions of some of

the subjects in the experiment that pornography was a safety valve—a fantasy outlet for persons who otherwise might engage in rape and other sexual forms of abuse. Their finding was that exposure led to decreased sexual interest. The result is a satiation theory which holds that pornography leads to boredom with such stimuli.

Schaefer and Colgan (1977) pointed to many problems associated with the Howard, Reifler, and Liptzin study, as cited by the researchers themselves. A principal criticism is that the research design may have satiated viewers, whereas opportunities for sexual response and/or exposure to a greater variety of pornography could have produced alternative responses. Moreover, with regard to the catharsis model, subsequent research has tended to question the fantasy safety valve concept and, in fact, to suggest a contrasting theory. For example, the social learning theory of Bandura (1973) suggests that the viewing of a media behavior could result in some emulation and imitation of the perceived behavior (e.g., Berkowitz, 1970, 1974; Hartmann, 1969).

Court (1981) challenged the therapeutic effect argument presented by Wilson (1978) which was based upon the massive survey of adult and adolescent sexuality conducted by Abelson, Cohen, Heaton & Luder (1971). Court argued that the research by Abelson, et al, found a statistically insignificant number of respondents claiming they received help with their sex problems (Court, 1981).

While the satiation, therapeutic, and catharsis interpretations of the effects of pornography are in dispute, current researchers have been examining numerous alternative theories of pornography effect, including general arousal, excitation transfer, conditioning, modeling, disinhibition, and desensitization (e.g., Baron & Straus, 1984; Donnerstein, 1980; Donnerstein, Donnerstein & Evans, 1975; Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978; Donnerstein & Linz, 1984; Donnerstein & Malamuth, 1983; Donnerstein & Penrod, 1983-1984; Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth, Feshbach & Jaffe, 1977; Malamuth, Heim & Feshbach, 1980; Zillmann, 1971; Zillmann & Bryant, 1982).

A common perspective among these researchers is that aggressive media stimulate heightened levels of viewer arousal and possibly disinhibit some persons toward aggressivity. Zillmann and Bryant's "Pornography, Sexual Callousness, and the Trivialization of Rape" (1982)

exemplifies such current thinking: They conclude, on the basis of personal feelings reported by subjects viewing violent pornography, that such stimuli contribute to callous attitudes toward women.

To date, only Court (1981) has investigated numerous cross-cultural changes in rape with pornography as the independent variable. He found that where there was a high consumption of pornography culturally, there was an increase in reported rape. This change could also be related, it is argued, to better data collection systems and to a more open attitude toward the reporting of sex crimes. A trend toward increases in rape in Denmark and the Netherlands, where child pornography has been more loosely controlled than in the United States (Kelly, 1984), was similarly found in Sweden. Geis and Geis (1979) interpret the higher rate of rape in Stockholm, as compared to similar size U.S. metropolitan areas, as reflecting a "positive relationship between a culture with a reputation for permissiveness and its rate of forcible rape" (p. 319).

This observation of a symbiosis between sexual permissiveness and rape may be supported by the recent work of Baron and Straus (1984) which looked at reported rape, homicide, and assault across the United States. While their findings are the subject of continuing scholarly debate, it is impossible to ignore their conclusions. They conclude: "The results show that the readership of sex magazines is associated with the largest percentage of state-to-state variation in rape, followed by the incidence of murder and assault" (p. 2).

Feminists have noted, explicitly and implicitly, that few pornography researchers are female and little work has been conducted examining the impact of pornography upon females (Lederer, 1980; Reisman, 1978-1979, 1979, 1985, and Shepher & Reisman, 1985). Stock (1983) has found that women who are exposed to violent rape films express feelings of depression and hostility, while Russell (1980) found women reporting that some men exposed to erotic/pornographic material use coercion or more violent behavior and act out erotic/pornographic fantasies upon their wives or other female intimates. Some researchers, looking at pornography and male hostility toward intimates (wives/female lovers), have postulated pornography as a possibly hostile evoking stimulus among some male viewers (Shepher & Reisman, 1985).

One of the more important discoveries--especially important in the examination of the cognitive labeling of erotic/pornographic arousal--may be excitation transfer theory. That is, the idea that any high arousal state, even that resulting from physical exercise, may, under certain circumstances of attribution confusion, facilitate misattribution of arousal to a subsequently experienced stimuli (Cantor, Zillmann, & Bryant, 1975). Qualifying the notion of arousal as a simple energizing behavior, these findings were interpreted as supporting excitation-transfer theory, which posits that residual excitation enhances emotional responses to unrelated, immediately present stimuli only when the prevailing arousal cannot be attributed to its actual source (p. 69). This concept of excitation transfer, misattribution of emotion, or the general arousal model, is supported by a broad spectrum of related research (e.g., Donnerstein, Donnerstein & Evans, 1975; Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth, Feshbach & Jaffe, 1977; Meyer, 1962; Tannenbaum & Zillmann, 1975; Zillmann, 1971).

The notion entertained here would be that arousal produced by varied stimuli may be cognitively mislabeled as sexual or aggressive arousal (Schechter, 1964; Erdmann & Janke, 1978), and this misattribution may facilitate sexual and/or aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1973). Along this line, many of these and other researchers have noted that "erotic" imagery, such as that in Playboy and in some sex therapy films, has been used for purposes of orgasmic reconditioning (e.g., Malamuth & Spinner, 1980); while Baron and Bell (1977) found that the use of unspecified types of Playboy imagery inhibited aggression. Whatever the general consensus of contemporary researchers regarding the role of erotica or pornography, all appear to favor the notion that labeling of emotional/physiological arousal takes place in many viewers of erotica/pornography.

Recent findings by researchers regarding their subjects' self-reported fantasies and emotions (e.g., Malamuth, in press; Malamuth & Check, 1981; Malamuth & Donnerstein, 1982; Malamuth, Heim & Feshbach, 1980) suggest that a normal male non-rapist population can be sexually aroused by media images of rape, and self-reports of this subject population state that many perceive of themselves as engaging in rape if they would go unpunished.

Obviously, the behavior of a person is not necessarily equivalent to his/her stated fantasies. Nevertheless, it would be scientifically irresponsible to casually dismiss

self-reports of male viewers. These recent findings are in sharp contrast to prior scholarly beliefs that only rapists were sexually aroused by depictions of rape and violence to women (e.g., Abel, Barlow, Blanchard & Guild, 1977). In addition, the data collected by these various researchers suggest that exposure to aggressive pornography may predispose viewers to see rape as trivial and rape victims as guilty or unharmed by their victimization. It is within this body of knowledge that these study findings on images of children, crime, and violence need to be reviewed.

Working Definition of "Erotica/Pornography" in the Present Study

Erotica and pornography have been defined in a variety of ways by different authors. Various authors, as well as various laws, also connect a third term "obscenity," with the two. Some authors have attempted to distinguish between erotica and pornography, with the former confined to sexual activity and the latter encompassing antisocial behavior in addition to sexual activity. From another perspective the definition devised for the present study emphasizes the nature of male and female physical displays and the linking of childhood cues with the sexual, obscene, or violent.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, erotica/pornography is defined as visual content representing nude or semi-nude female or male humans of any age, some of whom engage in genital display (biologically classifiable as solicitous of copulation, as in estrus-posturing or presenting/mating displays), or cues or symbols linking such sexual imagery and scatological and/or violent imagery (Shepher and Reisman, 1985).

All definitions of erotica and pornography include the sexual component (including the one devised for this study). Thus, all research, speculation, comment, and argument on erotica, obscenity, and pornography have some pertinence for this investigation. The definition devised for this study encompasses violence because of the study's focus on the depiction of children, whose abuse has become a prominent social concern in the past decade. Research, speculation, comment, and argument that deals with erotic and antisocial content jointly, is thus particularly pertinent to the present study.

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Research On The Role Of Erotica/Pornography

Among Children And Adolescents

Limited formal research on the impact of pornography upon children and adolescents exists (e.g., Hass, 1979; O'Brien, 1983; O'Brien, 1985; O'Brien & Bera, 1986; Wilson & Jacobs, 1971). However, sexual entrapment and the use of children in sex rings and pornography rings has been reported and is recently documented (e.g., Burgess, 1984; Burgess; Groth, & McCausland, 1981).

Burgess (1984) and Keating (1970) have documented the most popular magazines under study as directly implicated in cases of sexual entrapment of children by both adult and juvenile offenders. As a member of the Missing/Abducted Children and Serial Murder Tracking and Prevention Task Force for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Deliquency Prevention and the National Institute of Justice Missing Children, this Principal Investigator attended lectures by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and police representatives, who corroborate claims of the use or the presence of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler and other forms of erotica media in recruitment of children into child pornography and prostitution (Battaglia, 1983; Burgess, 1984; Keating, 1970; Lanning, 1984; Linedecker, 1981).

Indeed, Burgess and Clark (1984) have documented that "adult pornography" was shown to 62 percent of the children entrapped in groups of child sex rings (p. 78). It is perhaps stating the obvious that while we do not, as yet, understand the many complex responses of individuals to erotica/pornography, millions of adults and youths who read the materials casually or continuously do not engage in sexual assault of others. Nevertheless, many popular press critics and law enforcement personnel are taking note of the home cable and dial-a-porn pornography market and its attraction, to youth, and questions are being raised regarding the questionable sex-educative properties of pornography for children and adolescents.

One of the more detailed attempts to isolate pornography in the sexual education of youth was by Hass (1979), who said, pornography "...provides teenagers with a sexual education. Many adolescents turn to movies, pictures, and articles to find out exactly how to have sexual relations" (p. 154-155). He also quotes several of

his teenage subjects:

> -- 15-year-old boy: "It's interesting to read about problems and solutions in the <u>Playboy</u> advisor. You really learn a lot."

> -- 17-year-old boy: "I was curious and the basic health education they give you in school is bullshit. I wanted to learn the real facts."

> -- Others: "...These magazines gave me something to go by on where things are, how they're done, and how it feels. ...Interest me and I enjoy reading and learning new things about sex. ...Sometimes get (me) excited..." (p. 155).

An additional body of scholarly research on sources for children's initial exposure to sexual imagery identifies erotica/pornographic magazines as a prime source of such information (e.g., Abelson, Cohen, Heaton, Suder, 1970; Kinsey, et al., 1948; Green, 1985).

In their therapeutic treatment of adolescent sex offenders, O'Brien and Bera (1986) identify seven distinct types of offenders based upon associated family and personal variables and behaviors. The following case example identified the naive pornography user. It may be that additional user types may be identified over time to explicate The Naive Experimenter (Type 1):

> Johnny is a 13-year-old boy who had been asked to babysit a neighbor girl, age 5, named Nicky. Johnny had been babysitting for only a short time and the situation was still new to him. While there he discovered a <u>Playboy</u> magazine hidden under the couch and Johnny found the explicit photographs arousing. While helping Nicky change into her pajamas he wanted to see what it was like to kiss and touch her in the way depicted in the photographs. After a short time he felt guilty and stopped. Later that week Nicky told her mother and Johnny was arrested for criminal sexual conduct (p. 2).

Some have argued that small children may have imitated in-house pornography scenarios upon siblings. It seems unreasonable to ignore reputable press accounts, which mentioned on-site magazine materials, even to the point of <u>infant</u>icide via sexual battery (e.g., <u>The New York Times</u>,

"Boy, 9, Convicted of Murder in Sex-Related Death of Infant," April 24, 1984). Kendrick (1984) noted both the national increases of reported male juvenile sex offenders and the increase in findings of sibling incest in incest-abusive households. Other research supports this (e.g., O'Brien & Bera, 1986; O'Brien, 1985). Of some concern also to Juvenile Justice authorities are several studies which have found coerced sexual activities, such as incestuous relations, to be a significant variable in female prostitution (Densen-Gerber & Benward, 1976; James, 1980; James & Meyerding, 1977).

Although erotica/pornography is present in large numbers of homes today, very little is known about the manner in which different consumers use its information. We would presume that the majority of viewers/readers of these magazines do not engage in antisocial or child abusive activity. There have been reports, however, e.g., testimonies to the Attorney General's Commission (1986) and the Task Force on Domestic Violence (1985), based on case histories (Burgess, 1984) and mail surveys of police officers (Reisman, 1979), that erotica/pornography, including Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler, has frequently been present in child molestation and incest-abusive homes. While the presence of these magazines in incest-abusive homes could hardly be a causal claim for incestuous assault, it does suggest a need for further investigation.

A second group of persons found to be unusually responsive to or to have made unusual use of sexually explicit media are certain juveniles and adults who are known to have used these materials just prior to or in the midst of their autoerotic fatalities (Burgess & Hazelwood, 1983; Dietz & Hazelwood, 1982; Hazelwood, Dietz & Burgess, 1981).

The research on children's use of erotica/pornography is limited, while exposure is commonly understood to be epidemic. It is within this body of knowledge that these study findings need to be reviewed.

2. RESEARCH ON MASS MEDIA AS AN INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM

Writing in "Sweet Madness, A Study of Humor," William Fry addresses the meaning of communication:

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Communication theory considers <u>all</u> forms of communicating information exchange as "communication"....To be strictly accurate, one would say that communication theory concerns all that by which a nervous system might be influenced..." (Fry, 1963, p. 44).

Mass media communication serves as a vast and extensive information delivery system ostensibly influencing the receiver's "nervous system." The express purpose of mass media is to relay messages from a given "sender" to one or more "receivers" (e.g., Schramm, 1973). There has long been discussion and argument among media scholars regarding the persuasive effect of mass media upon individual and societal attitudes and behavior (e.g., Halpern, 1975; Malamuth & Check, 1981; Phillips & Hensley, 1984; Russell, 1980; Wilson, 1978). Yet, few would contend that mass media stimulus does not have some effect on the human mind (e.g., Comstock, et al., 1978; Eysenck & Nias, 1978; Gerbner, et al., 1978; Runco & Pezdek, 1984). The scope of the debate may be said to be confined to the precise nature and degree of different mass media effects upon different receiving publics (e.g., Austin & Myers, 1984; Cantor & Sparks, 1984; Singer, Singer & Rapaczynski, 1984).

Clearly, books and newspapers are read for entertainment, education, general informative guidance and diversion. Similarly, magazines and journals are perused, and television, film and video tapes are viewed, with these intentions. <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, <u>Hustler</u>, and many other periodicals serve all three purposes in the scope of each magazine issue. One might therefore ask, "To what extent do the visuals in this genre raise the emotional/arousal level of the viewer/reader and influence subsequent behavior as compared to the reader of books and newspapers?" Do some readers combine and synthesize these "entertainment" and "educative" components into one single body of cognitive information?

Recognizing the importance of a sex-educative medium, one is led to consider the accuracy of the information which it contains. Confusion between media portrayals and the real world has increasingly become a recognized public and scholarly issue (e.g., Gerbner & Gross, 1979; Newcomb, 1978). Indeed, the concept of visual literacy education (e.g., Berger, 1972) has emerged as perhaps as urgent a public need as that of print literacy.

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The research in advertising and the role of mass media in social learning, acquisition of skills, and cross-cultural pro-social and anti-social influence cannot be addressed within this limited format. Suffice it to say, it is within this framework of knowledge of mass media as an information delivery system that these study findings need to be reviewed.

Research On Children, Television And Aggression*

The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (1972) concluded, on the basis of prior research and its own $1 million research program, that experiments in laboratory settings and surveys of everyday behavior supported the hypothesis that aggressive behavior by some young persons was facilitated by the viewing of violent television entertainment. The conclusion was based on two different types of evidence with distinctly differential inferential features:

1. Experiments in laboratory setting in which differences in subsequent aggressive behavior could be attributed unambiguously to differences in exposure to violent television sequences (e.g., Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963; Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963; Geen & Berkowitz, 1967).

2. Surveys of everyday behavior in which the regular viewing of violent television programs has been recorded as positively correlated with everyday aggressive behavior, with no indication that some other "third" variable fully accounts for the association (e.g., Lefkowitz, Eron, Walkder, & Huesmann, 1972; McLeod, Atkin, & Chaffee, 1972 a, 1972 b).

The former type of research permits causal inference, but questions can be raised about the applicability of such conclusions to everyday events. The latter type tests everyday correlations and is consistent with the causation implied by the experiments. In deciding that each contributed important evidence, the Surgeon General's Committee wrote of a "convergence" of experimental survey results.

Although the research literature on television violence and aggression has increased substantially since 1972, little has been produced to change these pattern findings, although each separate strain has been strengthened by new evidence. Numerous reviewers have concurred with the Committee's finding of support for the causal hypothesis (Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs, & Freedman, 1984). Although there remain those who are skeptical about effects outside the laboratory (Cook, Kendzierski, & Thomas, 1983; Eysenck & Nias, 1980; Roberts, 1978), these concurring reviewers include the recent comprehensive assessment of television research sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health (Pearl, Bouthilet, & Lazar, 1982 a, 1982 b).

Three complementary theories have evolved that apparently explain the phenomenon. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1971, 1978) emphasizes the acquisition of specific modes of behavior by observing their performance. Social learning theory is perhaps especially useful since it identifies the shaping by observation of the appropriateness of the behavior in question, and especially its likely effectiveness and acceptance by others as normative. Disinhibition and cue theory (Berkowitz, 1962, 1973) posts that television and film portrayals may alter either (a) the restraint (or inhibitions) operating in regard to an internal state, such as anger, or (b) the response likely to be elicited by an external cue, such as a verbal threat or a person's race or sex.

Although the disinhibition theory has been identified in the study of television and film, it would also seem applicable to cumulative images within a magazine genre. Arousal theory (Tannenbaum & Zillmann, 1975; Zillmann, 1971) posts that the excitation or arousal induced by exposure to violent or other highly stimulating visual stimuli in television and films may transfer to subsequent behavior, therefore heightening its intensity; when the subsequent is aggressive the effect would be the facilitation of higher levels of such behavior. Again, the application of arousal theory to visual data in this magazine genre would appear to lay within its definition parameters.

Such interpretations have become sufficiently accepted to win endorsement in basic college texts in psychology (e.g., Atkinson, Atkinson, & Hilgard, 1983; Kagan & Haveman, 1980), social psychology (e.g., Aronson, 1980; Jones, Hendrick, & Epstein, 1979; Perlman & Cozby, 1983), and child development (e.g., Hetherington & Parke, 1979; Kopp & Krakow, 1982).

Especially relevant to our study of images of children, crime, and violence in cartoons and visuals in the three top selling erotica/pornographic magazines, Dr. George Comstock (in press) has catalogued 16 distinct factors documented by experiments as heightening the likelihood that exposure to a violent television or film portrayal will increase the display of aggressive behavior:

1. Reward or lack of punishment for the portrayed perpetrator of violence (Bandura, 1965; Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963 b; Rosekranz & Hartup, 1967).

2. Portrayal of the violence as justified (Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963; Meyer, 1972).

3. Association with violence of cues in the portrayal that resemble those likely to be encountered in real life, such as a victim in the portrayal with the same name or same characteristics as someone toward whom the viewer holds animosity (Berkowitz & Geen, 1967; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981; Geen & Berkowitz, 1967).

4. Portrayal of the perpetrator of violence as similar to the viewer (Lieberman Research, 1975; Rosekranz, 1967).

5. Depiction of behavior ambiguous to the viewer solely on the basis of the behavior itself as motivated by the desire to inflict harm or injury. In effect, behavior that might be ascribed to other motives is perceived as being motivated by malicious intent; for example, perceiving a football game as a grudge match, where injuring the opponent is as important as scoring (Berkowitz & Alioto, 1973; Geen & Stooner, 1972).

6. Violence portrayed so that its consequences do not stir distaste or arouse inhibitions over such behavior, such as violence without pain, suffering, or prolonged hurt on the part of the victim, sorrow among friends and lovers, or remorse by the perpetrator (Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963).*

7. Violence portrayed as representing real events rather than events concocted for a fictional film (Feshbach, 1972).

8. Portrayed violence that is not the subject of critical or disparaging commentary (Lefcourt, Barnes, Parke, & Schwartz, 1966).

9. Portrayals of violence whose commission particularly pleases the viewer (Ekman, Liebert, Friesen, Harrison, Zlatchin, Malstron, & Baron, 1972; Slife & Rychiak, 1982).

10. Portrayals in which the violence is not interrupted by violence in a light or humorous vein (Lieberman Research, 1975).

11. Portrayed abuse that includes physical violence and aggression of or in addition to verbal abuse (Lieberman Research, 1975).

12. Physical aggression against a female by a male engaged in sexual conquest, when a likely real-life target is a similar female (Donnerstein & Barret, 1978; Donnerstein & Hallan, 1978).

13. Physical aggression against a female by a male engaged in sexual conquest in which the victim is portrayed as eventually relishing the assault and a likely real-life target is a similar female (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981).

14. Portrayals, violent, or otherwise, that leave the viewer in a state of unresolved excitement (Zillmann, 1971; Zillmann, Johnson, & Hanrahan, 1973).

15. Viewers who are in a state of anger or provocation before seeing a violent portrayal (Berkowitz & Geen, 1966; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981; Geen, 1968).

16. Viewers who are in a state of frustration after viewing a violent portrayal (Geen, 1968; Geen & Berkowitz, 1967; Worchel, Hardy, & Hurley, 1976).

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* Images of child sexual exploitation, may in this context, be viewed as forms of violence, despite the child's generally acquiescent behavior.

The above 16 precipatory factors need to be kept in mind when examining the data--and the examples--of children presented since 1954 in these magazines.

Comstock argues that such factors (and probably factors to be investigated in the future) can be subsumed by four broad dimensions:

1. Efficacy, or the effectiveness imputed to behavior, as exemplified by reward or lack of punishment, or an eventually grateful victim;

2. Normativeness, or the acceptability of the behavior by others, as exemplified by justified, no consequence, intentionally hurtful violence;

3. Pertinence, or the applicability to current circumstances implied, as exemplified by similarity of perpetrator to viewer, portrayed victim to real-life target, and commonality of cues;

4. Susceptibility, or the emotional state of the viewer, as exemplified by pleasure, anger, and/or emotional frustration.

The first four are beliefs or perceptions said to be open to media influence; the fourth is the state of the viewer. Comstock argues that whatever heightens the four circumstances increases the likelihood of a media experience contributing to aggressive behavior in the future.

Very recently researchers have turned to the investigation of violent television and film stimuli in which the violence is linked with sexual stimuli. Their findings are beginning to constitute a challenge to the conclusion of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography that erotic/pornographic materials have no harmful social consequences.

This more recent research is principally of two types:
1. Experiments in the laboratory (e.g., Malamuth & Donnerstein, 1982), comparable to those conducted by Bandura and Berkowitz, in a restricted atmosphere in which brief exposure to a television or film stimulus is followed by measurement of the hypothesized effects.

2.   Experimental manipulations extending over several
      days and/or weeks (Donnerstein, 1984; Zillmann,
      1983), in which subjects are repeatedly exposed to
      films. This manipulated experience is naturally
      intermixed with ordinary events in the subjects'
      lives   prior   to   measurement   of   hypothesized
      effects.

     In the first type, a series of experiments has
demonstrated that portrayal of aggression and physical and
verbal abuse directed at a woman by a man in an erotic
context, with intercourse or other sexual relations often
the goal, will heighten subsequent aggressive behavior
directed at a female or male. Typically, a person
conducting the session will do or say something to provoke
or frustrate the subject; later, after the manipulated
experience, the subject will have the chance to aggress--
typically, by the ostensible delivery of electric shock in a
game-playing or puzzle-solving context--against that person.

     The portrayal of sexual aggression heightens subject
aggression against the experimental target under a · vision
and film violence and aggression. Aggression is heightened
when the target is a female; matching the sex of the victim
in the portrayal. When a female induces the anger or
frustration in the target role, this appears to give the
subject a justification for expressing hostility against a
female, especially if the female victim in the portrayal
eventually comes to enjoy the abuse--that is, acknowledges
sexual pleasure. These factors readily fit the dimensions
of pertinence, susceptibility, and efficacy. (What could be
more rewarding from the viewpoint of the aggressor than
forced sex that the victim confesses was a good idea?)

     In these experiments, exposure to portrayals of
consenting sexual intercourse does not increase aggressive
behavior against the female target. However, in this case,
the type of activity and the level of sexual exposure are
still unclear. Nevertheless, portrayals of abuse and
aggression directed against a female without the erotic
element does increase such aggression, but not as strongly
as the combination of erotic or sexual purpose and abuse and
aggression. Therefore, a key element is that of portrayed
aggression, which has a particularly powerful effect when
combined with sexual motivation and an appropriate victim.
These portrayals typically have little effect when the
target is a male. Again, the importance in media effects of

a linkage between the portrayed situation and the real life situation is exemplified.

In the second type, the films have consisted largely of either "hard core" pornography or films of brutality--what has been perhaps too coyly dubbed "slasher" films. These are movies in which women suffer horribly, generally with their fear sexualized, at the hands of a stalker.   In both instances, the evidence is consistent--exposure to such films alters somewhat the attitudes and beliefs of male viewers of college age. The subjects become desensitized to portrayals of violence, eventually labeling behavior they earlier would have perceived as violent as non-violent. They become less sensitive to women in the role of a victim, imposing less stringent penalties on alleged perpetrators of rape, and they become more accepting of the rape myth--that females yearn for forced sex. It is within this framework of research on children, television, and aggression that these study findings need to be reviewed.

3. RESEARCH ON CARTOONS AND HUMOR AS AN INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM

Scholarly investigations of the cartoon as a powerful and influential form of expression can be traced at least to the 1930s with the works of Schaffer (1930) and Johnson (1937). Scores of scholars have since entered this field of study, each contributing to the dialogue from a range of disciplinary perspectives (e.g., Bogardus, 1945; Bryant, Gula, & Zillmann, 1980; Gombrich, 1980; Harrison, 1981; Ryan & Schwartz, 1956; Saenger, 1955). The importance of cartoons was adroitly summarized by Harrison:

> Because the cartoon makes us laugh, it may not seem serious. But, by most standards--social, psychological, economic, political, or artistic-- the cartoon is a unique force in modern society. And it seems to be growing in importance. European scholars have long studied the cartoon. They consider it a serious reflection of society's inner vision. They see it as a vital form of art and communication which, in turn, shapes a society's perceptions. But in America, where the art of cartooning has flourished as perhaps nowhere else in the world, cartoons have not been studied--until recently. Now, however, growing attention is focused on this form of communication in courses on popular culture, the mass media, and a range of classes across the humanities, arts, and social sciences (1981, p. 9).

The cartoon, according to Harrison, is "communication to the quick." It is fast, lively, and penetrating. It grabs the reader on the run (Johnson, 1937). Both Harrison's and Johnson's observations regarding the immediacy of cartoon reception are supported by the work of Ryan and Schwartz (1956). They found that among the four modes of graphic representation--photographs, line drawings, shaded drawings, and cartoons--cartoons are seen, processed, and remembered "in the shortest time" (p. 69). It is generally assumed that the raison d'entre of cartoons is simple humor. However, humor itself is hardly simple. Indeed, humor is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon; it can be good natured, grim, traumatic, or sad (Harrison, 1981, p. 43).

As both Johnson (1937) and Bogardus (1945) have pointed out, the cartoon has been used by great European artistic

ethicists, such as Goya, Daumier, and Philipon, to articulate and advocate the rights of the downtrodden and oppressed. Benjamin Franklin was the first known cartoonist in the United States. His historical cartoon, "Join or Die" (1754), urged the colonies to unite against the oppression of their common foe (Johnson, 1937, p. 33). In drawing attention to the historical role of the cartoon in illuminating social issues such as Indians' rights, nuclear disarmament, racial equality, poverty, and the plight of the elderly, Bogardus observed:

> ...The cartoon can indict human weakness and evil more incisively than columns of editorials, months of sermons, or reams of social reform literature (1945, p. 147).

The cartoon has often served in the defense of the weak and unprotected. Stocking and Zillmann (1976) however, examined what lay persons and historians have long observed--that the pleasure of a joke can also depend upon the disparagement of "others." Numerous other researchers have also identified the use of humor and sarcasm to disparage, belittle, or otherwise victimize the subject of the "joke" (e.g., Bogardus, 1945; Zillmann, 1983); Zillmann, Bryant, & Cantor, 1974; Zillmann & Cantor, 1972). During World War II, for example, the Allies circulated countless thousands of propaganda cartoons ridiculing our Axis enemies. Ironically, at the same time Germany, Japan, and Italy circulated countless thousands of propaganda cartoons ridiculing the Allies. The general and scholarly literatures are replete with such cross-cultural examples of nationalistic, racist, and sexist cartoon humor.

Scholars argue that the cartoon has served and continues to serve as a powerful editorialist and educator. The force and potency of the cartoon was suggested by Bogardus (1945):

> Because of its power to depict feelings, the cartoon makes a wide appeal--wider, for instance, than the editorial, with its reflection of opinions and ideas....but its possibilities in this connection have scarcely been dreamed (pp. 143-7).

The interest children show in cartoons is generally recognized. Tests of children's responses to pictures in Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, and other similar magazines, performed by the principal investigator (1979),

suggested that although a drawing might be less than one square inch, the small child was immediately attracted to cartoon figures, particularly color figures of same--sex children, and animals. Most important, because of this research, children may learn more quickly and attend more closely to those educational features which are fast-paced, appealing, and humorous. Bryant, Zillmann & Brown (1983) observed that, for children, "visual attention is greatly facilitated by humor and special effects..." (p. 237).

Some child advocates argue that the interest children show in cartoons may contribute in some measure to the effect of certain cartoons on children's self-identity and their opinion of others. If this could be the case, it seems reasonable to examine erotic/pornographic cartoons which may now reach children or which may have reached children over the past several decades.

With this in mind, the "Spiderman" comic book format was chosen by expert educators and child development specialists to help teach children, nationwide, appropriate child/adult sexual attitudes and interactions (NCPA, 1984). One question resulting from this national distribution concept could be: How do cartoons in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler graphically demonstrate adult/child sexual attitudes and interactions? What have they been "teaching" children about sexual behavior?

Even adults never seem too old to appreciate ideas and humor propagated through cartoons. In fact, Playboy and Penthouse adult readers commonly rate cartoon pictorials as favored features (Stauffer & Frost, 1976, The Penthouse Reader, 1981, p. 31). At this time, there are no similar data available for Hustler's readership. Cartoons are part of the editorial decision-making process, and magazines' editorial staff generally choose their cartoons with care. For example, according to Harrison (1981), the Playboy cartoon editor examines approximately 200,000 cartoons per year, from which about 400 are chosen for use (i.e., approximately one in 500 submitted cartoons is eventually printed).

Greenberg and Kahn (1970) conducted a pioneering analysis of racial trends in Playboy cartoons. Smith (1976) applied content analysis to pornographic novels. Malamuth and Spinner (1980) examined cartoon and pictorial sexual violence in Playboy and Penthouse. Their study, both useful and extensively cited in the literature, was limited in

scope from January, 1973, through December, 1977. Coders
were told their judgments "should correspond to those of the
'average' person" (p. 229), and apparently coders did not
identify adult/child sex during these years. An examination
of the Malamuth-Spinner study raises the question of how
much information coders unconsciously process as compared
with what they see and consciously record. That is, are
there identifiably perceptual differences as functions of
the age and sex of researchers or subjects? More recently,
a sketchy but interesting analysis of the content of
Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler, Oui, and Playgirl reported a
combined use of images of child abuse, bestiality, and the
like (The Center for Media Awareness and The National
Institute for Media Education and Research, 1983). And, the
Canadians contributed the Badgeley Report (1985), which also
looked at visual data therein. However, on the whole,
content analysis techniques have been little used in the
assessment of erotica/pornography, and even less used in the
study of its humor, especially its humor in comic
illustrations called cartoons (also see literature review on
"Content Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique.")

The psychology of humor is a well researched field
(e.g., Chapman & Foote, 1976; Freud, 1905/1960; Goldstein
& McGee, 1972; Haddod & Maesen, 1976; Zillmann & Cantor,
1976). The old idea of incongruity as the sole requisite for
humor (e.g. Goldstein & McGhee, 1972, Haddod and Maesen,
1976, and Zillman and Cantor , 1976.) leaves a great deal
unanswered regarding racist, enthnocentric, sexist humor,
jokes about the disabled, and the like. Sigmund Freud's
views on humor regarding the actual effects of "smut" jokes
seem worthy of note:

> Where a joke is not an aim in itself--that is,
> where it is not an innocent one--there are only two
> purposes that it may serve...either a hostile joke
> (serving the purpose of aggressiveness, sadism, or
> defense) or an obscene joke (serving the purpose of
> exposure). ...A person who laughs at smut that he
> hears is laughing as though he were the spectator
> of an act of sexual aggression....It becomes
> positively hostile and cruel and it, thus,
> summons...the sadistic components of the sexual
> instinct (Freud, translation, Strachey, 1960, p.
> 72, 99).

The idea of hostility in humor, including that of
cartoon humor, is reflected in Haddod and Maesen's (1976)

discussion of superiority in humor and by Zillmann and Cantor (1976) in their "Disposition Theory of Humor," while support is garnered for this concept in Sperling's discussion on the psychodynamics of teasing: "Teasing as a special technique of expressing hostility under the guise of being playful..." (1953, p. 458). These ideas differ from Voltaire's oft-cited notion of laughter as a gay, naive activity, neither tinged with derision nor contempt.

Communication and humor theories were studied by William Fry, who went beyond the Freudian view of humor arguing that unconscious thoughts or emotions are usually more powerful or influential than conscious thoughts affecting both mundane and the "process of creation" (1968, pp. 57-58), while McGhee essentially addressed the power of the unconscious upon humor, when he discussed children's humor (McGhee, 1979). Briefly, McGhee observed that little is known about humor development in children yet, boys test out as enjoying hostile humor more than girls, replacing bathroom jokes by sexual jokes by the early elementary school years. Aggressive cartoons verses cartoons based on nonsensical incongruity, find boys "more likely to choose the aggressive cartoon as the funnier one as early as age four or five . . . ". (pp. 213-4). McGhee does not point to cultural aggressivity influences when he asserts boys initiate and enjoy hostile humor nor does he note whether researchers distinguished socioeconomic levels and/or child sexual abuse in the assessment of onset of sexual/bathroom jokes.

In discussing cartoon research Robinson noted that research on newspaper comic reading from 1939 to 1950 found the comics the highest read material in these papers (White & Abel, 1963, p. 180). While children discussed "situations, content, and comic characters with friends at school" (p. 182). Not surprisingly, comics appear to be a "lifelong source of pleasure" and memory (p. 185). The appeal to children "lies in the pleasure and humor that the comics provide" (p. 187). While Bogart (1963) points out, they are "a link to the intimacies of the past" (p. 236).

White and Abel (1963) report on the intimate treatment of children in newspaper comic strips in 1954 when hypothesizing that "America's overwhelming love of children" stemmed from frontier days. At any rate it is useful to compare these comic ideas of happy, safe children, to the comics under study, "Generally, in art as in life, the protagonists in these adventures are freckled, tousled,

slightly spoiled boys or small girls... Mom is never far away, and the place is warm with security" (p. 85). These observations contrast starkly with current difficulties for children and with the treatment of children found in erotic/pornographic cartoons since 1954. Along this line George Newton pointed to the cartoonist as feeling freer than others to depict what he wishes, and to truly reveal his own reality or "self image" (p. 160).

However, while the cartoonist may be truthful about himself, his cartoon is likely to be perceived by some as a kind of truth about children.

Bogardus argued that some readers may identify with certain comic characters, others are drawn to them for other reasons, deriving "different gratifications from the same strips" (p. 238) but that to children, the cartoon characters appear to be real and alive. "Even some adult readers invest these characters with a high degree of reality...speaking of them as though they, in fact, existed" (1945, p. 238).

4. RESEARCH ON PHOTOGRAPHS AS AN INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM

The following review of the literature and monograph on photography was written by Dr. Richard Zakia, Fine Arts Photography Chairman at The Rochester Institute of Technology.

Introduction

We are a nation of verbally-educated people who rely heavily on the integrity of the written or spoken word, and we take pictures for granted. This is not a new revelation. Nearly 100 years ago, Rudyard Kipling wrote, "There aren't twelve-hundred people in the world who understand pictures and others pretend they don't care" (The Light That Failed, Chapter 7, 1890). Kipling's position may be overstated but his point is still valid, and our difficulty in "reading" pictures is a serious handicap, particularly in a profession such as law. The ability of lawyers to contest or defend verbal truth in such areas as advertising, contrasts with their inability and pristine ignorance in dealing with pictorial truth in pictures. This, of course, provides a perfect opportunity for those picture users who thrive on ambiguity, confusion, half-truths, no-truths, and the like.

Photographs

The most prevalent and prolific method for making pictures is by photographic means. One of the characteristics which makes it unique is the way it "accurately" represents things. Sometimes, without thinking, we mistake the photograph for the reality, the photograph as signifier for the thing signified. Further, when we as amateurs take photographs of others, we do so directly, without any fancy cosmetic manipulation. Unfortunately, when we look at photographs made by professionals we, without much thought, assume they did likewise and marvel at the quality and seductiveness of their photographs. For example, a nude or partially nude photograph of a model in Playboy is naively taken to be "the real thing." Nothing could be further from the truth. The real thing is sheer cosmetic fantasy, the creation of the art director, photographer, and a crew of attendants. One has only to look at the accompanying snapshots of the same model to see the amazing transformation.

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Glamorous lighting, layers of face and body makeup, posing and the artistry and skill of the photographer are essential ingredients in creating pictorial fantasies. Years ago, as told in a private conversation, a photographer who applied to Playboy with his portfolio of nudes was given a chance to prove himself by photographing a nude woman in the Playboy studio. For the photographer, as he related, this seemed like an easy task. He was surprised, however, when he was presented with a 45-year-old ordinary looking woman and told not to come out of the studio until he made her appear beautiful, sensual, and desirable. He worked for several hours, succeeded and got the position with Playboy. Since then he has gone on to do fashion photography with major women's and men's magazines.

The point being made is that professionally created photographs are fabrications--an illusion and not the real thing (if there is such a thing). Obviously, we are more likely to mistake a photograph than a painting for reality.

This Is Not A Photograph

In looking at a reproduction of a photograph in a magazine, newspaper, or on television, that one is not looking at an actual photograph, but rather, a reproduction of a photograph. This distinction is very important. Not to realize this leads to problems when attempting to assess the image. Photographs for certain publications can be, and often are, altered to enhance their quality or to exaggerate, diminish, include, exclude, distort, and/or substitute elements within the photograph. Goldsmith (1975) writes:

> Photographs sometimes certainly do lie, and you'd better not believe everything you see or think you see. However, photography's reality quotient is much higher than that of other visual media, and photographs carry a conviction, a credibility, which is both one of the medium's greatest powers and one of its severest limitations (p. 154).

Seng-gye Tombs Curtis and Christopher Hunt (1980), two airbrush artists, write about the "reality quotient" of early pin-up creations:

> In the autumn of 1933, the first issue of Esquire appeared, and in it the first Petty

Girl...in October, 1940, Vargas, also in Esquire, created his Varga girl...Petty and Varga girls were not real; they were attractive and inviting, and unattainable. This style is highly individual, suggesting a plastic quasi-quality, a bedroom any man could escape to without a suggestion of the real world to bring him down to earth. It is a notable postscript to the story of Esquire and Vargas that a man from Esquire production department, Hugh Hefner, founded Playboy magazine in late 1953. The famous Playboy centerspread was an idealization of Varga girls who had then entered the American dream mythology; and there is little doubt that the airbrush was used to adjust reality by perfecting the bodies of the models. A little deft photo retouching removed blemishes, scars, and other inappropriate natural features, transporting the pin-up out of reality into fantasy (p. 18).

A brief review of how photographs can be manipulated in the reproduction process and also in the photographic process will follow. The photographic process will include such things as preparation of the model and the setting, choice of photographer, lighting, camera equipment, color, space, film, darkroom work, and editing. The reproducing process will include alterations of the photograph such as manual and electronic retouching.

Making A Photograph

For discussion purposes we will assume the photograph to be made is of a nude female model and is to be used in a national magazine for a male audience. What is to be communicated photographically is sensuality, beauty, and sexuality. The language attribute is primarily arousal as supported by the writings of Buhler and Gombrich. The choice of the model is not based on her real-life attributes, but rather on her photogenic attributes. Does she photograph well? Since no model is perfect, it is understood that any deficiencies can be corrected during the actual photographic session, after the session by retouching, or during reproduction of the photograph for printing in a magazine. The photographer and art director know that the viewer's response will be to what appears in the photograph and not to the actual person. John Berger (1982) writes:

Our response to appearances is a very deep one, and it includes elements which are instructive and atavistic. For example, appearances alone--regardless of all conscious considerations--can sexually arouse (p. 87).

Susan Sontag (1978) put it this way:

Instead of just recording reality, photographs have become the norm for the way things appear to us, thereby changing the very idea of reality, and of realism (p. 87).

The mega-distance between the reality of the nude body in front of the camera and the photographic fantasy that results is seldom realized by the viewing public. Arthur Goldsmith (1975), who has spent many years as a photo editor and editorial director for a major photographic magazine writes in his Playboy-published book, The Nude in Photography:

In photographing a nude, the camera's quality to see and record everything becomes relentlessly obvious, capturing every blemish, wrinkle, sagging line, or other imperfection of an always imperfect body. ...Try to find a pose that is spontaneous but not awkward, natural but not cliche. As in painting, you will become acutely aware of what a complex and unmanageable piece of architecture the human body is, and how difficult to approach it honestly (p. 40).

Before the model is chosen, one would expect that a decision would have been made regarding the photographer. Photographers, like other artists, have distinctive styles. If the nude is to project a romantic dream-like sensual arousal, the choice of photographer would be quite different from that for one designed to project a somewhat blatant sexual arousal. Further, it is important for both model and photographer to be able to work comfortably together. Some photographers, such as Bert Stern (n.d.), will work with a model for several months to obtain the photograph he envisions. Here are some candid remarks regarding a model he worked with for over a year:

Stern started looking for a model who could fit an image that he calls the "American Dream Girl"...an idealized image that he calls "a perfect example of

my mentality"--a mixture of old posters, cartoons, and adolescent daydreams about girls (p. 36)....
What happens between Stern and a model, he now thinks, is that she picks up a picture of herself directly from him, through some non-verbal but quite real contact (p. 39).... The model agrees. She trusts Stern's photographs because "Bert Stern is my mirror"...a model exists as just that, a "model" representing something general, something other than herself. "In fact," Stern says, "she doesn't exist outside of the picture...I show her the layouts, the Polaroid tests, and let her in on the idea while I'm shooting. I get involved with her. In a sense, it's like having a love affair in a vacuum" (p. 40).

Once the decision on a photographer and model is completed, work on the setting, lighting, cosmetic masking of the model, positioning of the model, and so on, are made. It is not unusual for photographers and art directors to take their cues from successful and familiar works of art. Berger (1972, p. 138) invites his readers to compare photographs found in magazines with those depicting paintings illustrated in museum catalogues.

How the body language of the nude model and the setting are transformed by the optical system of the camera and enlarger can be thought of as the "optical language" of the photograph (what Edward Weston referred to as "photographic seeing"). The three characteristics of visual experience are space, time, and color. Through the use of lighting, size, and distribution of objects in the setting, color and lens types, camera format and camera positions, the experience of space, distance and size can be manipulated. For example, since perception is relative, a short model standing by a smaller than average chair will appear taller.

After all the preparations to photograph are completed, a large number of photographs of the nude model are made as the photographer coaxes the model into different movements and poses much as a dance director, stage director, or movie director might do. The photographer Bert Stern describes his sessions, in which he plays background music and has a fan blowing:

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A fan stirring the air creates a little activity in the studio, like a curtain blowing in a window. Besides, it can make a model who is standing still look as if she is moving, by lifting the hair or the fabric of a dress (p. 37).

The many rolls of sheets of film used are then contact printed and carefully reviewed. Out of the many photographs made, some are selected for printing to a larger size for further editing. This process of editing is critical and requires a good intuitive eye. Often, why one photograph is selected for publication over many others is not fully explainable in word language. It is not uncommon to hear loose remarks such as "it feels right," "I like it," "its got something going for it," to support the choice. In short, editing at its best is an art and is highly dependent on the unconscious process.

Once the editing process is completed and the one or more photographs are selected for publication, the photographs are retouched to remove any unwanted blemishes such as wrinkles, freckles, hair, pimples, etc., or to shrink waistline, a nose line, accentuate the eyes, improve the shape and size of certain body parts, remove shadows, insert shadows, modify colors, etc. What started out as an optical recording of a nude woman on film now has been further manipulated and manually enhanced. In fact, the retouching and enhancement of photographs and other visuals are a discipline in themselves with their own journal called <u>Air Brush</u>. This process of retouching removes the photograph one step further from "reality" and intensifies the illusion and fantasy. The photograph has yet to be prepared for reproduction in a magazine--a step that further removes it from a faithful optical recording of a real event.

Reproducing The Photograph

The first step in preparing a photograph for reproduction in a magazine is to <u>re-photograph</u> it through a fine screen that breaks up the continuous tone image into discreet halftone dots. The new discreet image is then transferred onto quality magazine paper stock. For a reproduction of a color photograph four separate super-impositions are made, one for each color: cyan, magenta, yellow, and black inks. There are a variety of different

printing processes used to transfer the halftone image depending on the quality desired, quantity, and cost. Magazines such as Playboy spare no costs to provide quality reproduction of their nudes.

One must remember, however, as Magritte has cautioned, that when one opens such a magazine, one is most looking at the nude, or a photograph of a nude, but rather a graphic arts reproduction of the photograph, and not an exact reproduction, which is impossible, but a quality reproduction. One only has to put the original photograph alongside its reproduction to note the difference. Further, it is customary in quality printing to use laser scanners in re-photographing the photograph. This allows complete control of color balance, color enhancement, and sharpness enhancement. Additional manipulation is possible using a computerized system that will digitize the entire photograph and provide very precise electronic retouching--retouching that is nearly impossible for a viewer to detect or even suspect. Computerization allows one unlimited opportunities for alterations. Both geometrics and calorimetric can be altered. Once can omit any part of the image desired; from a single pixel (minute picture element, e.g., a dot) to many pixels; add or change colors; add or omit elements and components; change shapes, sizes, forms, lines, textures, anything. One has to see electronic computerized retouching to fully appreciate the amount and degree of alteration possible.

Although one may be knowledgeable about the various stages between the real live model, the photograph and all the manipulations along the way, it is still difficult not to experience the facsimile of the photograph as the photograph and as the real or fantasized nude. Much has been written about photographs in an attempt to understand them and provide some type of structure for discussing them--from the pragmatic to the philosophical--but for the most part, the results leave much to be desired.

Photographic Communications

It was stated earlier that photographs are excellent in fulfilling that dimension of language called arousal, but not in expression or description. There is no question about the ability of photographs (including films and video) to stir the emotions and to affect behavior. We learn from photographs--single photographs, photographs in sequence to form a narrative, slides project side-by-side, slides with

fade-dissolves, moving images as with films and video.

Photographs are a <u>direct and immediate representation</u> of the event, requiring little or no cognitive processing. Photographs are iconic; they resemble what they represent. The photographs hit at gut level, hit hard, and hit precisely. Words, however, are abstract, removed from the direct representation, requiring cognitive processing to grasp the situation. Words grasp the intellectual, <u>not necessarily</u> the emotional. Practical experience and a flood of experimental results from brain studies on how the brain processes visual information bear this out. (The recent television series, <u>The Brain</u>, shown on public television, is an excellent visual/verbal reference.) The directness of photographs can be supported by an early perceptual experiment that has become a classic. It was performed in the late 1960's by Dr. Posner (1969). He used a tachistoscope to flash on the screen two letters such as "AA" or "Aa." The subject had to immediately respond as to whether the letters were the same or different, a simple task. The results showed that it took a fraction of a second longer to respond to the letters "Aa" than to the letters "AA." The longer reaction time suggests that cognitive processing, a left brain activity, was involved, whereas recognition of the similar letters "AA" was immediate. A photograph of an nude is a direct iconic representation of the actual contrived cosmetic situation. A word representation of the same photograph, as the saying goes, would require 1000 words or more to describe and still leave much to be desired in terms of representation.

Dr. Ralph Norman Haber (1981) writes:

Why is a picture worth so many words? ...Our superior comprehension, retention, and retrieval of visually presented and visually represented information are due to the automatic processing of visual scenes and pictures, so that they are immediately organized in perception without the need for further cognitive effort or attention (p. 1).

Words and pictures are processed differently. Dr. Ralph Norman Haber (1969) in a series of classical perceptual experiments, showed a group of subjects hundreds of slides, one after the other. Then, at a short time later, he again showed hundreds of slides, half of which had been shown earlier and half, which were not. The task was

to recognize the slides which had not been shown. The results were startling. Not only was recognition over 90 percent for the short interval of few hours, but also over longer periods of times, days, and weeks. The results demonstrated that the perception and storage of photographs are well-embedded in memory and can be correctly retrieved and in random order. Picture memory and, therefore, picture communication, is unique in its ability to store and retrieve information. Further, there is considerable evidence for "eidetic memory," an uncanny ability to remember and recall detailed information from pictures.

Photographic communication includes more than just a photograph. Since the photograph was taken by a human being, it is both a mirror and a window. A mirror of the intent (conscious or unconscious) of the photographer and a window to the event photographed. Since a photograph isolates and records only part of an event (in space as well as time), one will hear the expression, "look at what lies outside the frame," when looking at a photograph. Often, what is in the photograph tickles things in memory that become associated with what is in the photograph and extends its potential. Photographs are often captioned and/or surrounded by words. The intent is for the words to supplement, clarify, and assist in the expressive and descriptive function of language while the photograph serves primarily the arousal function.

Pictures are more direct, more easily seen, more representative of an implied situation, more desirable, more emotional, more believable than words. One is tempted to conjecture regarding the word warnings on cigarette packages. The glamorous photographs of young men and women depicting the fun and frolic of smoking pictorially contradict the abstract word warning that appears in a rectangular frame. Would the warning be more effective if it were in pictures? All the data on picture communication support the belief it would. Skull and crossbones on flags and poison bottles are immediately and unequivocally understood.

Interpreting Photographs

Photographic interpretation is a well-practiced discipline, but primarily concerned with obtaining objective quantitative data from photographs. Government agencies such as the military, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (and

international counterparts), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), etc., make extensive use of the information in photographs. On the other end of things, those in the arts attend to the <u>subjective, aesthetic</u> and arguable aspects of a photograph, "photographic criticism." In between these two extremes there is very little information. A beginner's approach to looking at photographs is given by James Brooke (1977, p. 12):

> Analyzing a photograph is a slow process.... An average photograph takes 20 to 30 minutes. A complex photograph will take several hours.

> Berger (1982) writes: The meaning of an image is changes according to what one sees immediately beside it or what comes immediately after it (p. 29).

In other words, photographs are influenced spatially and temporally (space and time, layout and sequence). Photographs are also influenced by the magazines in which they are placed. A specific example is: An advertisement for an expensive fur coat shows a photograph of an attractive and sophisticated woman strutting through a highly recognizable Paris environment with a long and loaf of French bread protruding from and cuddled under an arm. What function does the elongated loaf of bread serve? Yes, it is novel; yes, it does attract attention; yes, it is a loaf of bread, but as Minor White would ask: "What else is it?" What else it is depends on what one wants it to be, represent, or suggest. It is the visual equivalent of a double entendre. It is ambiguous, equivocal, and subject to multiple interpretations, some of which are more probable than others. Since sex seems to be paramount in fashion advertising, perhaps the loaf of French bread has Freudian connotations.

This connotation, of course, is somewhat dependent on the placement of the ad. It appeared in <u>Vogue</u> magazine which, of course, is appropriate, but supposed it has appeared in <u>Gourmet</u> or <u>Bon Appetite</u>, or, <u>Playboy</u>? Placement influences connotation; context suggests meaning.

Ralph Hattersley (1976), a professor of photography, in focusing on the personality and intentions of the photographer as they effect the photo writes.

It is within this body of research on photography by Richard Zakia that these study findings need to be reviewed.

5. CONTENT ANALYSIS AS A MASS MEDIA RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Researchers employ a variety of techniques and theoretical perspectives for the analysis of mass media information. One of the most practical and oft-used techniques is that of content analysis. As a research methodology, content analysis has a long and distinguished history. The methodology was effectively developed by Lasswell, who had pioneered political analysis in "The World Attention Survey," (1941) with this new tool of investigation.

The history and techniques of content analysis (CA) are described in Krippendorff's book <u>Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology</u> (1980). Krippendorff provides reliable technical and theoretical assistance for the analyst engaged in the analysis of complex content schema. Since Lasswell's introduction of this technique, and especially since Krippendorff's operationalization of its methodology, CA has emerged as a verifiable and increasingly diverse investigatory tool.

Said Krippendorff:

> We define: **Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.** As a <u>research technique</u>, content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Like all research techniques, its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of 'facts,' and a practical guide to action. It is a tool....a method of inquiry into <u>symbolic meaning</u> of messages (pp. 21-22).

Both Krippendorff, James (1965), and Holsti and Stone (1966) recognize the empirical meaning of content analysis as based upon

> ...relating them to audience perceptions or to behavioral effect. We, too, demand content analysis to be predictive of something that is observable in principle, to aid decision making, or to help conceptualize that portion of reality that gave rise to the analyzed text. To this end, we suggest that any content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of <u>the context of the data</u> (Krippendorff, p. 23).

To this end, a great body of content analyses have been conducted on that genre which would influence large populations and especially upon those materials which might be weighted by racial, sexist or ethnocentric bias.

Standard practice in scholarly analysis of content has been to investigate media materials that command the largest circulation and respect within a given genre as well as those materials that have similarities in audience, content, and purpose. CA techniques have been implemented to examine a myriad of information delivery systems. Recent research has applied the technique to information to literally all delivery systems in electronic, audio, and print media, e.g.: prime-time television drama (Cantor, 1980, 1982); television soap opera (Cantor & Pingree, 1983); cinema (Rosen, 1973); magazine fiction (Cantor & Jones, 1983); textbook humor (Bryant, Gula, & Zillmann, 1980); advertisement (Goffman, 1976); alcohol advertisements in college newspapers (DeFoe & Breed, 1973; Walfish, Stenmark, Wentz, Myers, & Linares, 1981); fine art (Harris & Nochlin, 1976); and popular music (Rosenbaum & Prinsky, 1986). These are just a few of the areas examined via the research technique under discussion.

Professional educators have used CA to examine ethnocentric bias and racism in teacher's training manuals, textbooks, films and other educational materials (e.g., Allen, 1971; Lang & Kelley, 1971; Simms, 1976). Following the work on racial bias, other researchers in the field of education began applying content analysis techniques to an examination of textbook sex bias (e.g., American Psychological Association, 1975; Helgeson, 1976; Pyle, 1976; Reid, 1983; Women on Words & Images, 1975).

A controversial body of recent research focuses upon the work of Dr. David Phillips. In 1974 Phillips suggested a rise in suicides precipitated by certain suicide stories publicized in newspapers in Great Britain and the United States. Several years later, Phillips (1979) followed up with additional CA work in the area of suicide and motor vehicle fatalities, identifying a correlation with mass media influence. By 1980, Phillips had established a body of data isolating mass media influence as a contributing agent to airplane accidents and homicides, and in 1983, he continued to point to mass media content as stimulating increased levels of homicides. In all of his research, Phillips' underlying methodology had been the employment of content analysis in various mass media forms to discover

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the presence of media stimuli as a contributing agent to subsequent trauma.

Recent concern has been echoed regarding "copy cat" suicides among the juvenile population. Content analysis has also been implemented in the investigation of alcohol advertisements. This limited body of research has included the examination of alcohol advertisements in general (Jacobson, Atkins & Hacker, 1983); college newspapers in particular (DeFoe & Breed, 1979; Walfish, et al., 1981); and the beer industries' sponsoring of various campus activities such as sports (Bottom Line, 1981). Lastly, Winick's (1981) research examined alcohol depictions in the general media (drama, movies, fiction, biographies, newspapers, magazines, television, popular music and jokes). The general consensus of this limited body of research has contended that accurate information on social and health problems associated with the use of alcohol beverages has not been transmitted as frequently and with the same intensity as appeals to consumers to buy these products, and that alcohol-related advertising has not promoted responsible alcohol consumption.

Cartoons and comic strips have been a particularly popular media form for CA. Analyses have included the study of Sunday comics (Barcus, 1963); the comic strip as a subculture (Spiegelman, Terwilliger, & Fearing, 1953); male-female relationships in comic strips (Saenger, 1955); the changing role of women in patriotic cartoons (Meyer, Seidler, Curry, & Aveni, 1980); libelous cartoons of women by women (Mitchel, 1981); comic strips in Black newspapers (Stevens, 1976); comic books and juvenile delinquency (Hoult, 1949); politically biased cartoons focusing on the McCormick Era (Rothman & Olmsted, 1966); and newspaper editorial bias during the 1976 election (Hill, 1978).

On occasion, CA has also been implemented to examine various cartoon and visual themes in erotica/pornography. Malamuth and Spinner (1980) examined cartoon and visual sexual violence in Playboy and Penthouse; Reisman, Reisman and Elman (1986) identified the sexual exploitation of patients by health professionals in Playboy cartoons; Greenberg and Kahn's (1970) research analyzed depictions of Blacks in Playboy cartoons; and The Center for Media Awareness and the National Institute for Media Education and Research (1983) reviewed the sexual and violent content of Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler, Oui, and Playgirl.
The foremost authority on content analysis, Klaus

Krippendorf (1980) says six issues are involved in the application of this technique:

o   the <u>data</u> as communicated to the analyst
o   the <u>context</u> of the data
o   how the <u>analyst's knowledge</u> partitions his reality
o   the <u>target</u> of a content analysis
o   <u>inference</u> as the basic intellectual task
o   <u>validity</u> as ultimate criteria of success (p. 26).

Based upon the above framework, the data under study could be described as "images of children, crime and violence," which the context of the data might be seen as "the three best selling erotic/pornographic magazines," the analyst's knowledge of the data involved training and teaching Critical Viewing Skills (CVS) pertinent to the task, the target of the analysis would be seen as the usefulness of the study in uncovering "what people have been learning about child sex and crime and violence from <u>Playboy, Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u>," the inferences drawn from the data would be based on a broad spectrum of multidisciplinary theory and research such as contained in this Literature Review, and finally, the validity of the work would be based on both its internal checks (Inter Rater Reliability) and later research replication.

6.   MARKET RESEARCH ON PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, AND HUSTLER

Standard practice in scholarly content analysis procedures is to investigate those media materials that command the largest circulation and respect within a given genre and/or those materials that have similarities in audience, purpose, and content. High circulation presumes a "high likelihood of being read and of influencing and being reflective of beliefs in the fields which they address" (Bernon, 1983, p. 57).

From ancient Aristotelian theories of communication effects (Cooper, 1932) to today's scholarly marketing/advertising concepts (e.g., Enzensberger, 1974; Kotler, 1967; Yankelovich, Skelly & White, 1981), well-educated adults have been viewed as important and influential members of the overall society. The proper meaning to be ascribed to the percentage of erotica/pornography readers working in the communications fields--such as fiction, TV, film, radio, newsprint, and such--may be indicated via an analysis of trends in media depictions established over time.

This project focuses upon the information delivery of erotic/pornographic magazines, Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler. In light of the following seven marketing facts, these three magazines were chosen for special study:

1. Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler are the three top selling erotic/pornographic sociosexual magazines in the United States today, according to Folio (1984), magazine market research firm:

2. Folio reports that Playboy and Penthouse rank among the top thirteen U.S. magazines in sales revenue; Hustler ranks among the top-selling thirteen magazines in U.S. newsstand sales. All three are sold in drugstores, bookstores, and the like, while Playboy is also available in some college libraries.

3. Market research data documents these materials as reaching audiences of up-scale, well-educated adults: approximately one-quarter of the professional adult male population has read various amounts and types of same (Axiom Market

Research Bureau, Inc., Target Group Index, 1976, M-1, p. 11).

4. The following readership breakdown is reported in Comparative Readership <u>Statistics</u>, Total Adult Audience, 1979-80 (Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1980, M-1, pp. 0002-3):* The readership is calculated by average copies circulated per month times the estimated average number of readers per copy. The data are from Media Mark Research Inc. (MRI) Spring, 1984 except for <u>Hustler</u> and dual readers. The latter are from the most recent available source; Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978-80).

	PLAYBOY:	15,584,000
	PENTHOUSE:	7,673,000
**	HUSTLER:	4,303,000
	MS:	1,635,000
	PSYCHOLOGY TODAY:	4,704,000
	SPORTS ILLUSTRATED:	13,034,000
	VOGUE:	5,672,000
**	PLAYBOY and PENTHOUSE dual readers	4,384,000
**	PLAYBOY and HUSTLER dual readers	2,450,000
**	PENTHOUSE and HUSTLER dual readers	1,771,000

*   The comparison between the above magazines is limited to the extent of their respective circulations. No further comparison is intended.

**   Dual readership is presented in Simmon's Market Research Bureau Volume M-4 pg. 0018 and 0025. Hustler Volume M-1, 0002-3. While the "aggregate" or triple adult readership is currently unknown, it is roughly estimated at between 1 and 2 million readers.

5. "In-home" distinguishes home readers from those who claim to read only during travel, in the workplace, or elsewhere. In 1975, the adult in-home readership of Playboy reached 11.1 million and Penthouse reached 5.9 million. According to Axiom Market Research Bureau, over 6 million Playboy ad over 3 million Penthouse in-home readers had one or more children under the age of 18 residing in their domiciled (Target Group Index, M-2: pp. XV, 99).** Thus in addition to adult readers, Playboy and Penthouse are accessible to vast numbers of juveniles, many of whom find the material in their homes.

6. Approximately 37% of the Penthouse magazine readership recently stated they read Penthouse to "learn about ways to live and the life-style of others (The Penthouse Reader, 1981, p. 34).

   Please note that there is indeed a recorded aggregate readership of these magazines. Data are not easily retrievable on three-magazine readerships. However, probable readership aggregates can be identified and should be undertaken.

7. Of the Playboy/Penthouse group, TGI reported that 23% of Playboy and 21% of Penthouse readers were college graduates, while 23% of Playboy and 23.8% of Penthouse readers had attended or were attending college (TGI M-1, p. 15). Thus, 46% of Playboy's readership, and 44.8% of Penthouse's readership, consists of those individuals who are normally viewed as influential within this society. Comparable statistics for Hustler are not available.

8. Moreover, Playboy magazine has been purchased for library use at taxpayers' expense at least since 1970 when the braille Playboy edition was approved for production and narrative. It is estimated that the American taxpayer has invested about $1.5 million for the braille edition, and at least that sum for subscriptions paid by those libraries which subscribe to Playboy, of the approximately 13,785 public, academic, in addition to prison library facilities.

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7.   RESEARCH ON CHILD ABUSE

According to state welfare agencies, child abuse had become more visible over the past ten years. While child abuse in the United States was first identified over a century ago (Taylor and Newberger, 1979), no reliable national statistics were available until 1976. It has been said that the abuse and neglect of children has become a major pediatric problem since its incidence has been increasing at a yearly rate of 15% to 20% throughout the U.S. (Fontana, 1984, p. 736). The American Humane Association and the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect recorded 929,310 reported cases in 1982; a 123 percent increase from the 416,033 reported cases in 1976 (AHA, 1982, p. 2). The visibility of child abuse and neglect is present in all socioeconomic backgrounds (Fontana, 1984; Gelles, 1980; Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980).

Based on household surveys, researchers have estimated that child abuse ranges from one to four million per year (Gills, 1970; Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980). While the actual frequency of child abuse cannot be ascertained, the apparent acceleration of such abuse over the past decade has elicited widespread concern from the general public. The problem has been recognized to the point that all states now have mandatory report laws for suspected child abuse cases (Fontana, 1984; Levine, 1984; Newberger, 1983).

Such national concern has manifested itself both fiscally and programmatically. Across the nation, federal, local and private funds have been invested in innumerable programs concerning child abuse (e.g., Child Assault Prevention Project, Parents' Anonymous, Court Observer Program [COP], Court Appointed Special Advocates [CASA], Illusion Theatre). The programs have been geared towards public education and awareness, prevention, and intervention. Primarily three sectors have been active in these programs: 1) the professional sector (e.g., doctors, lawyers, social workers, researchers, law enforcement and mental health professionals); 2) the private sector (those who represent private institutions and businesses); and 3) the volunteer sector (concerned citizens). The ability to work together, to pool professional field and research expertise, business know-how and citizens' involvement have proven crucial in the effort to combat child abuse.

Defining Child Abuse

Public recognition of child abuse was facilitated in 1962 when C. Henry Kempe and his colleagues published the article "The Battered Child Syndrome" in The Journal of the American Medical Association. More than two decades later, professionals and social service personnel have yet to agree upon a standard definition of child abuse (Gelles, 1980; Taylor and Newberger, 1979; Zigler, 1980).

Similar to the difficulty in agreeing upon an operational definition for child abuse, professionals have not yet reached a consensus on who/what qualifies as child abusers. Some states and researchers have limited the definition to parents and foster parents in the home (e.g., Code of Virginia, Section 63.1-248.2; Kemp et. al, 1962), while others have also recognized caretakers in institutions for children, where abuse and neglect are not uncommon (Brown and Bing, 1976; Durkin, 1982; Garret, 1979; Gil, 1982; James, 1971; Walker, 1980).

The term "child abuse" has served as a general category comprised of a wide spectrum of child maltreatment cases. These cases of abuse/maltreatment could fairly fall into one of two basic categories: nonsexual child abuse and sexual child abuse. (Clearly, through, cases can be a combination of both nonsexual and sexual child abuse.) Again, this subdivision is for ease of presentation, and is not intended to serve as an operational categorization of child abuse per se.

Nonsexual Child Abuse

Nonsexual child abuse connotes inflicted injuries to children of a nonsexual nature. Nonsexual child abuse could be said to include physical abuse, physical neglect, emotional abuse, and emotional neglect (Fontana, 1984; Helfer, 1984; Taylor and Newberger, 1979).

It appears that physical abuse and neglect are more commonly reported than emotional abuse and neglect, most likely due to the tangible physical evidence in the former (e.g., Child Abuse Prevention Task Force to the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1985, p. 11). One particularly serious type of neglect, called "failure-to-thrive," results from lack of adequate nutrition (physical neglect) and/or

prolonged lack of emotional stimulation (Fontana, 1984; Helfer, 1984; Kessler, Ward, Koch and New, 1986).

On an individual level, physical abuse and neglect can result in serious, permanent physical, intellectual, behavioral, social and emotional damage (Alfaro, 1984; Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980; Schilling Wolfe, 1984). On a societal level, physical abuse and neglect have been proven to self-perpetuate from generation to generation due to learned behavior (Alfaro, 1984; Fontana, 1984; Shilling Wolfe, 1984; Walker 1979). In addition, child abuse and neglect have been identified as an etiological factor of deviant behavior among adolescents (Hunner and Walker, 1981; Green, 1981; Wick, 1981).

While such abuse has serious individual and societal ramifications, it is important to note that with early intervention for abused and neglected children via psychotherapeutic programs (e.g., play therapy, group therapy, individual therapy) and special education programs, some children overcome their abusive environments (Krugman, 1984; Schilling Wolfe, 1984; Straus, 1986). Thus, while nonsexual child abuse and neglect is a serious societal problem, numerous creative approaches appear to be evolving to deal with these issues. Several varieties of family therapy have also been developed to facilitate constructive inter-generational communication (Shilling Wolfe, 1984; Krugman, 1984; Duhl & Feldberg, 1986).

Sexual Child Abuse

Sexual child abuse, or exploitation, connotes inflicted trauma to children of a sexual nature. Over the past decade, the volume of literature on child sexual abuse as well as cases reaching social service facilities have increased significantly (American Humane Association, 1984; Blumberg, 1984; Sgroi, 1982). Data supplied by the American Humane Association records a proportionate increase in child sex abuse over seven years--from 3 percent (2,013) in 1976 to 7 percent in 1982 (22,876 cases) (1984; p. 94). The child and family characteristics of sexual abuse victims are different from maltreatment cases in that the victims are generally female and racially similar to the national distribution of all U.S. children (AHA, 1984, p. 33).

Both the child sexual abuse cases and the pertinent literature have identified the following types of child

sexual abuse: "stranger" sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1979; Rimsza & Niggemann, 1982) "acquaintence" sexual abuse (DeJong, Emmet & Hervada, 1982; Finkelhor, 1979; Tilelli, Turek & Jaffe, 1980); "familial" sexual abuse, or incest (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1982; Herman & Hirschman, 1981; McNaron & Morgan, 1982); child prostitution (Brally, 1983; Brown, 1979; O'Brien, 1983); and child pornography (Burgess, 1986; Lanning & Burgess, 1984; O'Brien, 1983; Rush, 1980; Burgess & Clark, 1984).

Child sexual abuse is not gender-specific. Both boys and girls are victims of child sexual abuse, although victimized girls are more prevalent in the research to date (Blumberg, 1984; Finkelhor, 1979, 1985; O'Brien, 1983). Finkelhor (1985) presents numerous reasons for the limited research on sexual abuse of boys in the past. Early recognition and treatment of such abuse is crucial. One reason is to break the cycle of victimization, since-- similar to nonsexual child abuse--it appears as though male juvenile and adult sex offenders were sexually victimized as children (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1982; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; O'Brien & Bera, 1985). While the focus of the current literature has been on the juvenile sex victim, recent attention is also focusing upon the juvenile sex offender (O'Brien, 1985; O'Brien & Bera, 1986; Wenet, Clark & Hunner, 1981).

Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) among sexually victimized children are no longer uncommon (Blumberg, 1984; Tilelli, Turek & Jaffe, 1980; Rimsza & Niggemann, 1982). Preadolescence does not appear to be a deterrent in STD's among children. Nor does it appear to deter child sexual abuse. For example, a May/June 1977 citation in the monthly UCLA Alumni Bulletin identified the "new" but growing phenomenon of oral venereal disease in children under five years; and Boston District Attorney Scott Harshbarger (1986) stated that a startling 45 percent of the child victims were under the age of five in one county.

On an individual level, child sexual abuse and exploitation, whether short-term or long-term, has severe ramifications upon the child's social, psychological/emotional and cognitive development (Blumberg, 1984; Burgess, 1986; Finkelhor, 1979; Herman & Hirschman, 1981). While the long term emotional effects vary among the sexes (Blumberg, 1984), female victims have tended to reconcile with the victimization via self-destructive behavior, and male victims have tended to reconcile with the

victimization via other-destructive behavior (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1982; Herman & Hirschman, 1981).

Documented long term behaviors of child victims include: a) runaways (Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Densen-Gerber & Benward, 1976; O'Brien, 1983); b) masochistic sexual promiscuity (Blumberg, 1984; Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom & Sgroi, 1978; Lukianowicz, 1972); c) teenage pregnancy (Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom & Sgroi, 1978; Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Linedecker, 1981); d) prostitution (James, 1980; Lloyd, 1978; O'Brien, 1983); e) drug and alcohol abuse (Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom & Sgroi, 1978; Finkelhor, 1979; Herman & Hirschman, 1981); f) continual victimization, or "repetition compulsion" (e.g., rape or battering) (Finkelhor, 1979; Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Peters, 1976; Porter, Blick & Sgroi, 1982; Rosenfeld, 1979); i) suicidal ideations (Blick & Porter, 1982; Herman & Hirschman, 1981); j) becoming pedophiles or pederasts (Blumberg, 1984; Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom & Sgroi, 1978; Groth 1982); as well as k) constructive adjustment via therapy (Amstrong, 1978; Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Tsai, Feldman-Summers & Edgar, 1979).

Over the past decade, child abuse has been a well-researched topic. The present research has identified the role of child abuse (nonsexual and sexual) in mainstream erotica/pornography. It is now up to the professional sector to identify the role of mainstream erotica/pornography in child abuse--both nonsexual and sexual. As noted, Michael O'Brien, director of the Program for Healthy Adolescent Sexual Expression (PHASE) is doing just this. In their work with juvenile sex offenders, O'Brien and Bera (1986) identified as a "type" of sex offender found with some degree of consistency, "The Naive Experimenter." John Rabun, Deputy Director of the National Center for Missing Children stated:

> ...[W]e investigated 1,400 cases of suspected child exploitation. One of the things that became preeminent in what we found in these cases... was that all, that is 100 percent of the arrested pedophiles, child pornographers, pimps...in effect child molesters had in their possession at the time of arrest, adult pornography ranging from...soft pornography, such as Playboy, on up to harder, such as Hustler, and et cetera...The scenario, usually went something like the adult presenting them pictures in decent magazines, Ladies Home

Journal...whatever.   Just simply showing   them
pictures of children, adult women who are fully
clothed...and then progressing to something in the
form or fashion of Playboy...partial or   full
nudity...up   to something like Penthouse   and
Hustler...full nudity to full exhibition, to actual
sex acts themselves, all of which was done over a
long . period of time (testimony given to Senate
Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, 9/12/84, p. 133).

Numerous similar "discoveries" about child abuse have
been made along the way by researchers and social service
workers regarding its etiological factors, its short term
effects and its long term effects.   In conducting research,
having the background knowledge to know what questions to
ask is one of the keys to discovery.   Many questions remain
unanswered in regard to child abuse, partially because many
questions have remained unasked.   Once researchers become.
informed   about   an issue that may contribute   to · a
comprehensive understanding of child abuse, it become the
researcher investigator's responsibility to ask the right
questions.

Dr. Burgess, in a lecture for Harvard Medical School's
Continuing Education conference on Abuse and Victimization,
A Life-Span Perspective, (March 21, 1986), noted that "over-
the-counter" pornography is used by pedophiles to recruit
and to indoctrinate child victims into sexual activities.

From researchers to social service workers, those in
the professional sector, must learn to ask questions.   The
therapeutic potentiality of such data collection is endless.
A final reiteration: the present research identified -the
role- of child abuse in erotica/pornography.   It is now time
for the professional sector to ask those questions which may
identify the role of erotica/pornography in child abuse.

IV. RESEARCH PARAMETERS AND LIMITATIONS (RPL)

Research parameters and limitations (RPL) are presented in four parts: 1) the objectives in documenting the RPL 2) a four page synthesis of the 44 pages of RPL parts I and II for the reader's convenience 3) the Limitations presented in the original November 30, 1985 Overview (Limitations I), and 4) the RPL presented to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention on September 2, 1986 (Limitations II). Since a separate set of RPL was delivered by The American University to the Peer Advisory Review Board in July/August 1986, these peer questions are integrated and addressed in both Limitations I and II.

1. Objectives of RPL

The goal of science may be said to discover what is true and to further develop knowledge and understanding on a given subject or issue. Recognizing that researchers have perceptions based upon their own personal backgrounds as well as the collective consciousness, one scientific paradigm holds researchers within the limits of a theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and technical order (Kuhn cited in Cournand, 1981).

In The Sciences, Andre Cournand, winner of the Nobel Prize in medicine for Physiology, identified three types of researchers:

> ...[S]cientists exemplify three different types: the 'investigator-discoverer,' the 'verifier-consolidator,' and the 'revolutionary,' who denounces the weaknesses of the prevailing paradigm and ultimately goes beyond its limits to create a new model. . . . The revolutionary is not necessarily the one who verifies his or her own discovery. Recognition by other scientists of the validity of a new paradigm comes but slowly; it is achieved through the results of observations or experiments performed by the investigator-discoverer and the verifier-consolidator. . . . In the face of facts and ideas, the investigator-discoverers must ask themselves questions prompted by their curiosity. This curiosity, sustained by a heuristic passion, leads the discoverers in their quest for a truth that non-reductionist scientists know can only be relative (1981, pp. 7-8).

Classifying the Present Research

The present research on children, crime and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography utilized two of the above three typologies: revolutionary and investigator-discoverer. It must be reemphasized that this has been exploratory research. The endeavor was revolutionary in that no prior research had theoretically or conceptually envisioned the need to analyze the depiction of children, or nonviolent crime in popular mainstream erotica/pornography. The exploratory research required investigation-discovery for development and implementation of the methodology and techniques used to explicate research hypotheses. As the present study was the center of great controversy, those involved in its execution took great care to work within the Kuhn paradigm to mitigate against personal bias in the quest for scientific discovery.

Another advantage of their ability to verify research is the potential to learn from the previously untrodden path provided by the pioneering investigators. The benefits of following the original research can often be measured by the degree to which the original researchers have marked pitfalls and obstacles they had experienced along the way, so that those who follow behind can avoid any unnecessary stumbling blocks. Following this paradigm research limitations have been carefully addressed so as to permit verifiers-consolidators to both 1) replicate the present research, and 2) to go beyond these research parameters to the role of revolutionary or investigator-discoverer as well.

2. SYNTHESIS OF RPL I AND II

I. *A major objective in documenting research parameters and limitations is to assist future researchers in avoiding certain investigatory pitfalls, that is, as a means of posting directional and cautionary signals along the research route. This is especially useful in new, exploratory research efforts. A key research finding has been the level of emotional or nonsexual response, with which individuals generally respond to the subject under study. This may be viewed as either a discovery or an unavoidable "limitation" based upon the nature of the

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*   Limitations I: the November 30, 1985 draft by the Principal Investigator presented to The American University.

materials under investigation. As a pioneering research effort, the descriptive versus experimental nature of the investigation broke new ground in the analysis of content while being unable to predict cause-effect. Content analysis, however, can and should engage in inference, and in this sense the research could infer that millions of juveniles and adults have learned about ways of viewing "child sexuality" from the three magazines studied for more than three decades.

The use of an "over 21-years-of-age" coding team and the decision not to study coder reactions, set parameters about what could be said about impact on coder-subjects. The dominant gender of the coders provided a first-time female skewed analysis of such data and may offer new or different insights versus those offered by past research teams.

The crime and violence sample in the Data Book III is not estimated to the universe and thus requires that the reader multiply the totals of Playboy and Penthouse by 2.4 and Hustler by 2.5 for comparison to child data. Manuals should be consulted for complete definitions of variables prior to drawing inferences from said data. Desensitization toward subject matter, particularly the final sessions on visual crime and violence, would doubtless deflate these findings.

We conducted several preliminary studies; these studies looked at the absence of children in alcohol and tobacco advertisements as a denominator; body depictions and "Child Magnets" over time, and at the use of the research instruments to examine other nonsexual, women's or men's magazines (See VII Preliminary Studies).

II. *The study missed hundreds of children estimated in comic strips as well as approximately 2,000 visuals identified as "under-18 - years" (due to the narrowed age parameters), while roughly 200 cartoons and visuals of child surrogates, deemed clearly designed to represent a child, were coded. This latter group, while small, was considered

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* Limitations II: the July/August 1986 draft by The American University to the Peer Advisory Review Board. A variation of this draft was delivered September 2, 1986 to OJJDP.

important in the information centered upon birth and the meaning of children. Thus, monsters discovered to be born of a human mother or father, or angels (generally engaged in precocious coital behavior) described as child actors, were examined for their relevance to what the reader could be learning about these fantasy children. In this regard, the pseudo-child, an apparent adult dressed/posed as a child, was examined.

Evidence has confirmed that some percentage of apparent adults (pseudo-children) were actually underage models. While that percentage is not retrievable, the concept of a child-woman-child, age-variable cartoon character was explicated.

While units of analysis were exclusive and exhaustive, permitting tracking of magazine changes over time, it is important for readers to refer to the manuals for precise definitions of the activities coded. To assist in this current limitation, a corrected "Aggregate Activity Table" is provided at the conclusion of this Limitations synthesis.

For some reason, the Magazine Page Size (a denominator chosen for comparison of child images), was not included in either the university draft sent to the Peer Advisory Review Board or the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This time line is attached for review. Magazine size, overtime, suggests that the inclusion or exclusion of child images did not depend upon the increase or decrease of the size of the magazine. Also, estimates of total magazine cartoons and visuals are provided, as these were not present in the earlier documents.

Training for analysis followed the pattern outlined by Krippendorff, including "months of training sessions during which categories are refined...data sheets are revised until the individuals feel comfortable and can do their job reliably and efficiently" (1980, p. 72). Trained coders provide quality data by informed critics, but the use of naive, untrained coders may be useful for comparative analysis. Original pilot study Inter-rater reliability scores were computed at 0.87. On-going rater checks were maintained. The final 0.85, 0.83, 0.81 and 0.85 scores on inter-rater-reliablility, while quite acceptable, may have been better had the analyses been somewhat less complex or the emotional climate somewhat less constricting.

Since this was an exploratory, not an experimental, study, it is not yet possible to explicate precise effects upon the coders, staff, and others involved with the

university effort. The psychologist on board, conversations with the coders and staff, diaries and commentaries made available to the Principal Investigator suggest that these materials had varying effects at varying times upon all of those associated with the effort. From these items, collectively and separately, one can infer that the research, while disturbing coders to a greater or lesser degree, has also presented coders with information which may have been enabling and empowering for them. However, only a series of follow-up interviews with each of these coders could provide cues to the impact of the tasks.

- Coders were fatigued toward the last week of coding, apparently deflating some imagery clearly violent and/or criminal. The coder's informal techniques for efficient coding (taping pictures, key words, signals and signs on their carrels) were noted as a research "limitation" as was their inability to concurrently record definitions for all three instruments, in the last hour, on the last day of coding. It is suggested that this was less a coder limitation, but rather a misunderstanding of the activity by the September 2, 1986 report editor.

In follow up research projects it is suggested that investigators might reverse the order of presentation of each instrument, permitting some coders to investigate one body of data and another set of coders to investigate other body of data, thus varying the order effect.

Revisions of coding instruments are tedious and time consuming but they are a natural "limitation" of meticulous content analysis technique. While an analysis of the universe of child imagery was deemed appropriate, the 5/12 sample, across all years, was adequate for the analysis of the context of crime and violence.

Each instrument captured the desired data within and across magazines. Since the logic behind the differences in nomenclature were not adequately identified, this led to confusion on the part of some project reviewers. The revised Aggregate Activity table (attached) should assist readers with this problem. Similarly, it may be that the reasoning for coding certain activities was not clearly explained, leading to some reader confusion as to why coders chose the most "serious" activities to code. Since there was a limit on the time for coding each image, visual data informing readers about children associated with sex or violence, etc., was deemed of greater interest to the public

than peripheral data on children's walking or talking. These latter were coded whenever possible.

The crime and violence data were seen to establish the CONTEXT within which the children appeared. As such, it's instrumentation was shorter and its data basically limited to victims (Character A) and perpetrators (Character B). However, as can be seen in the Aggregate Activity Table, data can be appropriately compared between and among instruments and over time, due to the exhaustive and exclusive nature of the variables described. Finally, a statement by the outside statistician who critiqued this document--inclusive of limitations--may be helpful:

> ...I could find no significant error of commission
> or omission which could bias the result regardless
> of the overall quality of the conduct of the
> study...Having participated in several large-scale
> studies involving the preparation of complex coding
> manuals and training of coders, I appreciated the
> care with which this operation was conducted...The
> authors have tended to overstate the imperfect
> qualities of this content analysis study. It is a
> sound study producing high-quality data in a
> complex and difficult area conducted in a
> scientifically acceptable fashion (Landau: 1b; pp.
> 12-13).

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* Dr. Emanuel Landau served as the Chair of the American Statistical Association's Committee on Statistics and Environment and is currently the Consulting Epidemiologist for the American Public Health Association in Washington, DC. His full critique is attached as Appendix H.

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TABLE 1

AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS*

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME CARTOONS	AND VIOLENCE VISUALS
VIOLENT ACTIVITIES				
Murder/Maiming	X	X	X	X
Inflicting Pain	X	X	X	X
Force or Planned Force	X	X	X	X
Violent Message	X	NA	X	X
Violent Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Violent Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Other Violent Activity	X	X	X	X
Excretory Activity	X	X	X	X
Scatological or Morbid Presentation	X	X	X	X
Killing	X	X	X	X
Assault/Battery	X	X	X	X
Violent Sexual Activity	X	X	X	X
Suicide	NA	NA	X	X
Wearing/Displaying Violent Prop	X	X	X	X
SEXUAL ACTIVITIES				
Genital or Anal Sex	X	X	X	X
Sexual Foreplay	X	X	X	X
Being Nude	X	X	X	X
Invasion of Privacy	X	X	X	X
Sexual Arousal	X	X	X	X
Sexual Message	X	X	X	X
Sexual Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Sexual Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Venereal Disease	X	X	X	X
Medical/Surgical Sex Activity	X	X	X	X
Other Sexual Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Sexual Foreplay/Sexual Arousal	X	X	X	X
Sex Dealing	X	X	X	X
Other Illegal Sexual Behavior	NA	NA	X	X
Anal-Genital, Oral-, Object-	X	X	X	X
Homosexual/Lesbian Activity	X	X	NA	X

*NOTE: The above nomenclature can signify comparable features presented in various sections across all four instruments. [See Exhibit VIII-5 (1-2).]

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TABLE 2
AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS (continued)

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE	
			CARTOONS	VISUALS
NONVIOLENT/NONSEXUAL ACTIVITY				
Affection	X	X	X	X
General Discussion	X	X	NA	NA
Nonviolent/Nonsexual Fantasy/ Memory	X	X	NA	NA
Other Nonviolent/Nonsexual Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Trickery	X	NA	NA	NA
General Activity	X	X	NA	NA
ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES				
Theft	X	X	X	X
Drug-related Activity	X	X	X	X
White Collar Crime	NA	NA	X	X
Crime Against the Public	NA	NA	X	X
Accident	NA	NA	X	X

NOTE: Definitions for all of the "activities" in this aggregate table should be thoroughly reviewed by the reader prior to interpretation. The manuals generally carry descriptions of each feature. For example, in crime and violence, scatalogical or morbid activities were not coded alone but as a "modifier" of other acts. The term "modifier" was used to warn coders that the coding task entailed only illegal or clearly violent acts. Thus, some scatalogical or morbid acts were not coded were they of a nonviolent and non-criminal nature. The features however are comparable although the findings may be deflated.

Differences in nomenclature describing what are comparable events, reflect subtle differences in scenario modalities. That is, terms were developed which afforded coders the highest degree of concentration for the particular style investigated. Thus, cartoons focused more on the contextual suggestions of nudity and future or past events while visuals focused more on levels of explicit body display. The specific terms aided coder concentration and orientation to unique forms of artistic schema. For example, "Being Nude or Taking off/Putting on Clothes" (question 49, for all three cartoon characters, Appendix A.1) represents a comparable act to "Sexual Display" (e.g., being nude or partially nude; taking off or putting on clothes, etc.; question 56 for both visual characters A and B, Appendix E). These two descriptions are comparable acts and coders distinguished clearly between taking off hats and coats (clothes) and taking off clothing in preparation for a nude or sexual encounter. The context of the imagery was considered and the nature of the nude display was the coder's concern.

3. RESEARCH PARAMETERS AND LIMITATIONS I

Emotional Involvement With The Topic of Erotica/Pornography

Any investigation related to the controversial topic of human sexual activity, and of "erotica/pornography," in particular, risks eliciting emotion-laden responses. These responses include approval and disapproval in their various forms, and curiosity. Such responses apply to the undertaking itself and to each of the tasks that constitute it, to those engaged, peripherally and directly in those tasks as well as to outsiders. While this research has translated visual information into statistically usable data, the emotional climate surrounding this effort is an independent variable which could not be controlled. The reader would do well, therefore, to review the data, the findings, and the conclusions of this project with this caveat of surrounding emotional ferment in mind.

Pioneering Research

As has been observed in the Literature Review (see section II), this study is the first in-depth examination of images of children, crime, and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography. This endeavor required the creation of original measuring instruments with which to examine a broad spectrum of complex and sometimes elusive visual depictions. It is expected that certain unanticipated difficulties should arise in a pioneering research endeavor (e.g., Cochran, Mosteller & Tukey, 1954; Cournand, 1981). These difficulties are set forth in this section and in the reporting and discussion of findings.

Identification Versus Cause-Effect: Parameters Of Study

The project's main objective was to explore, discover, and describe patterns and trends in the content of certain mainstream erotica/pornography as such content are defined for the purposes of the study. The study of the effects of a given genre of communications content can benefit only from the accurate and thorough codification of that genre. This is not simply a matter of documenting the quantity and character of the content under scrutiny, but of furthering hypothesis formation and theory development by clarifying the makeup of that content over time.

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The present research was clearly limited to the codification of content: identification and classification of depictions of children, crime and violence in the genre over time. This was a fact finding activity and conclusions are based upon the facts uncovered. It seems reasonable for other researchers to further examine any relationships that may exist between the longtime availability of images of children, crime, and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography and acts of antisocial behavior.

Coding Team

The coding team comprised an average of 10 individuals per coding session. The team consisted of adult males and females over the age of 21, crossing socioeconomic and cultural boundaries (for detailed breakdown, see Methodology, Volume II).

Female-Male Ratio

While an attempt was made to maintain an equal female-male ratio, the attempt became impractical. Since these magazines are primarily male entertainment, involving the use of female models versus male writers, humorists, and artists, the female analysts' perceptions of imagery conceivably could differ from those of male analysts. Indeed, the commentaries offered by the coders at different points in the coding process suggested that female analysts viewed and experienced the information in the three magazines in different ways than did male analysts. Since the majority of past research in this area has been skewed toward a male bias, using mainly male coders/subjects and male principal investigators, this analytical effort may turn out to be of special value to scholarly dialogue on erotica/pornography.

Desensitization Toward Subject Material

An additional constraint on the research would appear to have been the desensitization which set in over time particularly during the analysis of crime and violence. The first coding session, occupying 13 weeks, and the second session, occupying another 13 weeks, indicated that, over time, it was increasingly difficult for coders to identify images as criminal or violent. Such a process of desensitization inevitably minimized the research findings on crime and violence. It is again recommended that various strategies be employed in presentation of materials for

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coding.   Interestingly,   such   desensitization   and
minimization do not seem evident during the analyses of
images of children.

Although this is an analysis of print media, our
unanticipated finding corroborates work on pornography-
violence (eg., Baron & Bell, 1977; Donnerstein, 1980).   It
was found that following exposure to violent film
depictions, adult males perceived a violent scenario as less
violent than in their initial experience with film violence,
suggesting that there may be some degree of conditioning or
desensitization.

It is anticipated that the data identifying crime and
violence scenarios are uniformly low compared to that which
would perhaps be obtained from trained coders who worked for
short durations.   Fresh, trained—or naive—coding teams,
replaced within a short duration of the coding time are
likely to identify higher levels of crime and violence
imagery, while identification of child imagery might tend to
remain stable.   On the other hand, replacement of fatigued
coders with a fresh coding team could create other
statistical difficulties as could the use of naive · versus
trained coders.

Personal Coder Techniques[*]

-In order to facilitate speedier coding for the child
cartoon and child visual instrumentation, some coders
developed personal techniques for coding.   These techniques
included posting of pertinent sections of the manual on
one's carrel or the use of picture keys for rote questions
and the like.   Following intense weeks of training coders
were seen as reliable and independent thinkers.   Their · use
of personal coder techniques was seen to facilitate
efficiency and comfort with the tasks.   It is possible that
without such personal recording techniques, · inter-rater
reliability computed at 0.87 in the Pilot study, and
measured as 0.85 for child cartoons, 0.83 for child visuals,
0.81 for adult cartoons, and 0.85 for adult visuals, may
have been even greater. On the other hand, empirical
observation suggests that the complexity and the difficulty
of the activity were best being served by such personal
techniques.

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[*]   The American University draft of September 2, 1986
defines this informal activity as "conventions."

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Policy Toward Coders

It had been argued that the coders would have been excellent subjects for a pretest/post-test study examining the effects of constant exposure to mainstream erotica/pornography over time. Such testing would have quantified any suspected change in aggression, hostility, desensitization, as well as contentment, joy, and increased sensitivity. Attitudinal changes could also have been measured had the coders been simultaneously treated as research subjects. However, in agreement with the University's Human Subjects Review Board, the Principal Investigator assured each coder that he or she was not the subject of this study, but was employed solely in the professional capacity as an analyst.

While certain knowledge may have been sacrificed, the need for the coders to maintain a sense of professionalism was seen as fundamental to the integrity of the research. During the months of coding, many coders voluntarily contributed information regarding their attitudes and responses to the subject material.

During the hiring of the coding team, the Principal Investigator refused to entertain any information regarding the personal, ideological attitudes of potential coders toward erotica/pornography. Therefore, no systematic information can be provided regarding the ideological orientation of coders prior to or following involvement in the research activity. This standard was maintained throughout the coding activity. A body of coder comments, diaries, letters and such are available and, following permission of each coder, some of this data may be included in future discussion.

Magazine Size

The following section on magazine size was excluded from both drafts of the university report presented to the Peer Advisory Review Board and OJJDP. Since the Peer Advisory Review Board requested the denominator data, the the breakdown of magazine size can be found at the conclusion of Limitations I. The analysis was centered on a baseline evaluation for trends and missing data was estimated for the same series.

The total number of pages for each magazine for each year provides a convenient baseline to evaluate the role of magazine size in the frequency of depictions. Editorial policies in regard to the proportionate share of space given to any given category of depiction would be reflected in changes in frequency that parallel changes in annual numbers of pages. Shifts in such policies would be marked by divergencies between the frequency of depictions and annual numbers of pages.

Information on the page content of magazines over time indicated that there was not a consistent relationship between increases or decreases in page numbers and increases or decreases in the specific content under analysis, suggesting an editorial decision rather than an artifact of increase or decrease in the specific content under analysis.

Inability To Code All Pertinent Information

Despite the fact that the child cartoon instrument comprised 114 questions, not all information could be coded (see Volume II). This is the typical circumstance with content analysis: what is measured is selected from what is available. For example, comic strip data were ignored. Similar limitations apply to the child visual, adult cartoon, and adult visual data. As it was, the length of the instruments, plus the general emotional freight of the material, may be seen to have made their use tiring.

Crime And Violence Sampling

While the analyses for the child cartoons and the child visuals were a census (100 percent of the population), the analysis of adult crime and violence utilized the sampling technique, examining 5/12 (41.67 percent) of the total population. The 5/12 (41.67 percent) sample is statistically viable. However, in retrospect, a 6/12 (50 percent of the population) would have been more aesthetic and easily manipulatable. Moreover, since the Data Book does not estimate from the 5/12 base to the universe, the reader must make this adjustment, if she/he is to mentally compare crime and violence to child imagery over time. This adjustment would have been easier with a 6/12 sample.

Child Focus

The fact that children and crimes against children, had not surfaced in past research on this genre is both an

important discovery and an important question. The focus on children led to the coding of all cartoons and visuals depicting children. Depictions of children in a sexual or violent context and all other depictions of a specified character are subcategories of total child cartoon and visual depictions. Therefore, total frequencies of children depicted should not be mistaken for the frequency of depictions of children in a sexual, violent, or other context.

Limitations Due To Time Constraints

The time allotted to conducting this investigation of children, crime, and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography was spent collecting basic data on these components. Certain avenues might have' been explored further within the primary data analysis. This also included the preliminary studies: Child Magnets, children in alcohol/tobacco ads; Body Depictions; The Body Validation Instrument; Comparative and Control Studies; Trends in Reported Crimes; and Child Interest Levels (see VIII, pp. 161-183). Similarly, the analyses in this report represent only the major variables open to examination.

Cautionary Note To Reader

The data should be read within the context of the instrumentation manuals and training given to the coding team. Any attempt to go beyond the data would be both imprudent and unjustified. Recognizing the careful training and the attempt to objectify emotionally laden materials, one must be careful not to view coder interpretations of the cartoons and visuals as: a) analyses which imply that readers behave in the manner described by the cartoons and visuals analyzed; or b) indications that readers share the attitudes described by the cartoons and visuals analyzed. Rather, the cartoons and visuals coded may more realistically be said to reflect behavior and attitudes of the genre's publishers, editors, and artists who also saw these as sufficiently appealing to hold current readers and to attract potential readers. Readers of this report are advised to examine the manuals and instruments prior to reviewing the data.

Magazine Size*

	Playboy ('56-'84)	Penthouse ('70-'84)	Hustler ('75-'84)
Total Issues	360	172	110
Total Pages	76,749	30,826	14,421
Average Pages per Issue	213	179	131
Missing Issues/Estimates	9	8	10

TOTAL E/P PAGES PER YEAR
NEWSSTAND ACCESSIBLE

Number of Pages

Year

PLAYBOY   + PENTHOUSE   ● HUSTLER
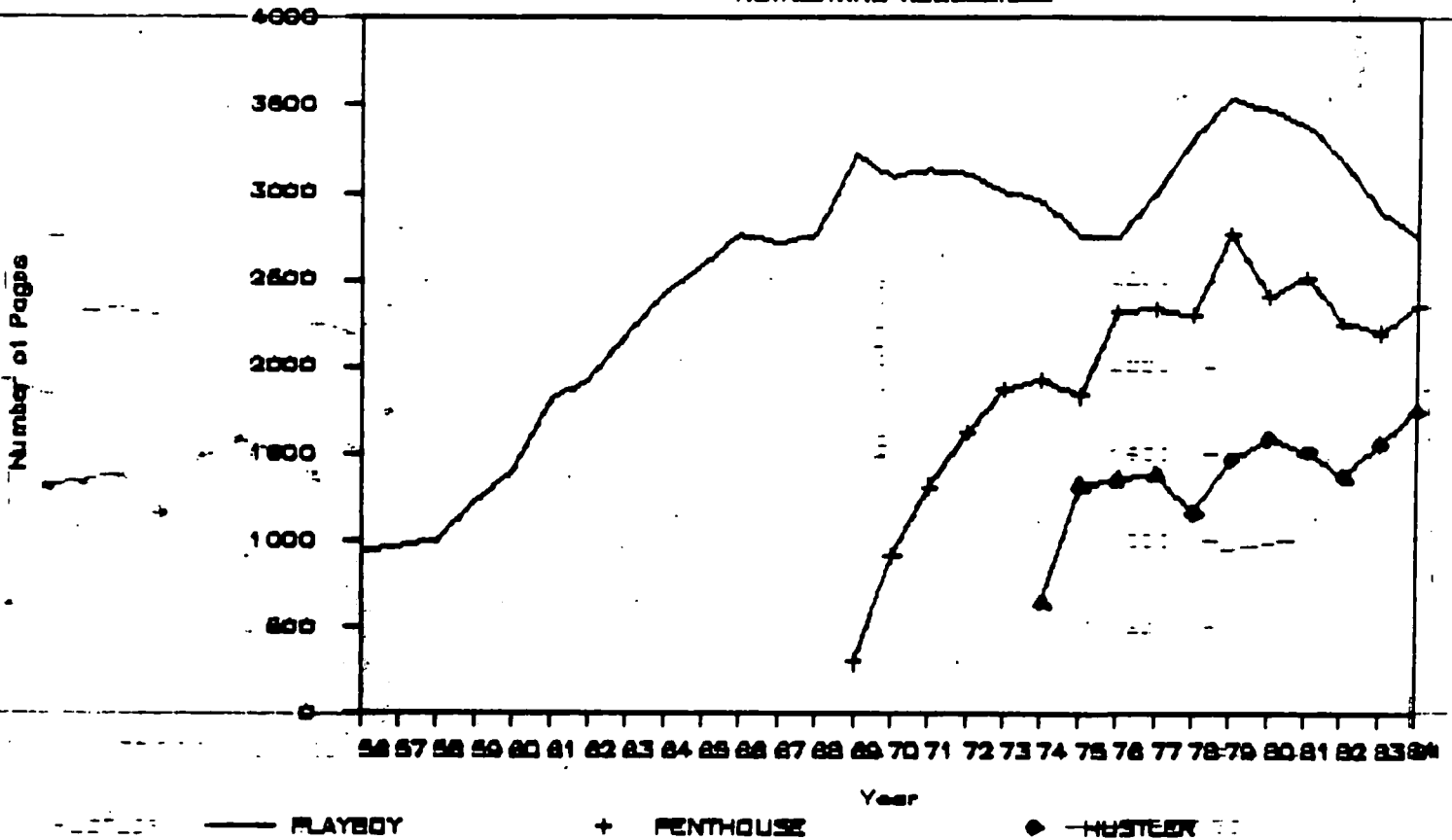
4. RESEARCH PARAMETERS AND LIMITATIONS II

Discussion and Clarification[1]

The boundaries of research conclusions are determined by the project methodology and data. This investigation looked at children, crime, and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography. The research involved the analysis of numerous complex and widely divergent images using content analysis methodology (see Volume I, Literature Review, and Volume II, Methodology). As is the case in any investigation, the conclusions drawn from the study should be interpreted in the light of research limitations.

This study design had as its purpose the detection of the existence and nature of child-related images in what was known to be a mass-received medium with a strongly sexual context. A major concept advanced by this research effort was that of Association of Stimuli. Within this theoretical framework, the purpose of the "adult" crime and violence analysis was to confirm that this context actually existed and to detect variation in both the child and the contextual depictions over time.

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[1] The discussion format of the following "Limitations" of the study section adheres to the format set in Volume II Methods and Procedures (pp. 97-106) in The American University version (2 September 1986) of the Principal Investigator's original report (30 November 1985). For ease of comparison, the titles used in the university edition are presented either parenthetically or [as is.] The present Limitations should be compared to the September American University draft for clarification of errors-of-fact contained in that later document. Although an effort to avoid repetition was made, some overlap was required in order to retain the integrity of the University's draft

The Wide-to-Narrow-Net of the Study
("Inclusive Nature of the Study")

The study was designed to document the frequency of occurrence of relevant images. As such, content analysis methods were employed to establish specific criteria for inclusion of images, and for classification and identification of characters and activities. The study employed a wide-to-narrow-net image collection technique. An initial coder (Coder I), noted child or crime and violence imagery on a "set-up" sheet. A second coder (Coder II), re-examined the codability of each selected image.

Upon receipt of Coder I set-up sheets with selected images, Coder II culled the child pictorials, adhering to a tailored coding criteria. Should Coder II have isolated an image she/he felt was outside the narrowed parameters, the image would be rejected and not coded. Coder II would write "not a child" in the appropriate cell. For example, using the wide-to-narrow technique, coders first identified nearly 9,000 images as containing persons under 18 years of age. The narrow-net concept reduced the "child" depiction figure of 9,000 by more than 2,000 images. Thus, it is conceivable that large numbers of images which appeared underage to some people, may have been lost, subsequently reducing the numbers of certain acts and displays. On occasion, Coder II identified an image inadvertantly missed by Coder I and it might be admitted to the analysis pool. This same wide-to-narrow-net protocol was followed for analysis of both child cartoons and visuals and for the analysis of crime and violence cartoons and visuals.

<u>Presence of children in cartoons and visuals:</u>

Every image culled from the almost 9,000 identified images fulfilling the criteria of a cartoon or visual child or child representation (<u>excluding</u> comic strips) was included in the study. This resulted in a data base of 6,004 children in cartoons and visuals (2,016 child cartoons and 3,988 child visuals). Additionally, complex instrumentation would have been required for comic strip analysis. Thus, although an informally identified set of children and pseudo-children appeared regularly in comic strips in all three magazines, the comic strip analysis was not conducted. It is anticipated that the addition of comic strip analysis would have significantly increased the child representations -- across all variables. As a study of both child imagery and the association of stimuli, child images were analyzed

whether or not the child was involved in, or aware of, the action, and regardless of the topic or action portrayed.

The periodicals under study, <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, and <u>Hustler</u> magazines, differ from <u>Ladies Home</u> Journal, <u>Time</u>, or even <u>Sports Illustrated</u> or <u>Esquire</u>. That is, as the three magazines under study portray sexual and nude displays in each magazine, they inevitably convey a sexual context. Indeed, the preliminary study of body parts identifies roughly 50,000 sexual body parts displayed across these three magazines; 37,000 nude breast depictions, over 9,000 genital and 3,000 gynecological females displays. As such, it is reasonable to infer from the aggregate data that a) 6004 child representations were depicted within the explicit sexual (and violent) context; b) these child representations began to appear in 1954; c) the depictions of children increased in the 1970; and d) decreased in recent years but were—and still are—present in 1986. The basic underpinning of content analysis can be seen as an analysis of content in a specific context. Since this was apparently not fully understood in the September 2, 1986 draft of Limitations, Krippendorff's commentary is referred to:

> ...any content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the <u>context of the data</u>....By defining a larger context unit for each recording unit, the researcher recognizes and makes explicit the fact that symbols codetermine their interpretation and <u>that they derive their meaning in part from the immediate environment in which they occur</u> (second emphasis not in the original) (1980, pp. 23, 59).

Methodologically speaking, the units of analysis in this study were the items counted. That is, 1) recording units which fit the criteria for children, crime and violence; and 2) context units within which these characters and activities interact (Krippendorff, 1980, pp. 58-59). Coders counted the larger "child-related" visual scenarios and subsequently described the specific components within such qualifying scenario. Clearly, the aggregate count for child imagery (6,004) identify the presence of a child or a child-representation in each magazine **but not specific activities.**

As in any complex content analysis study, activities, demographics, displays, themes and the like were identified

as subsets of the full count of child images. Thus, the conclusion should not be drawn that all 6,004 context units represent only males or females, non-violence/sex or of sex or violence, etc. Rather, for example, frequencies of child nudity or sexual display, or age or sex should be referred to for information regarding the number of nude, sexually displayed, toddler or female child representations and the like. The 6,004 images may be appropriately interpreted as the aggregate count of our full child population.

While reasonable caution is appropriate in reviewing and comparing total (aggregate) data on depictions of children in these magazines, the **context** of an image has long been seen as relevant to the way in which that image is processed by viewers/readers (Berger, 1977; Eysenck and Nais, 1978; Krippendorff, 1980; Sontag, 1978). Therefore, the presence of 6,004 child representations in erotica/pornography may be seen to place children in a sexual context-_per_ _se_. In this regard, the theoretical justification for content analysis is prima-facie, the context of the content analyzed, inclusive of roughly 50,000 female nude and/or genital displays, sexual _per se_.

Important associations between child and context should be displayed in an easily accessible format of tables within the Overview and Data Book. In its present format, to retrieve specific data on child and activity requires that the reader carefully peruse non-consecutive pagination in Volume III (roughly 700 Data Book pages) to locate frequencies of special interest or concern. In addition, the reader would be wise to verify his/her conclusions by examining specific questions and their frequencies, against definitions in the manuals.

Where sexual, violent, or other activities took place, the child might be an initiator, recipient, unaware or uninvolved in the situation. The child could be a foreground or background figure. Data runs have been conducted which identify the child's level of association with the activity. In this case we have located a 4:1 ratio with the child as an initiator/recipient - versus the child as unaware or observer. Relevant associational "level of involvement" tables may be located in the Data Book.

Definition of "child":

Bearing in mind the fact that this is exploratory research, the final definitions of "child" may seem too

restrictive. Doubtless, according to other analysts, definitions may seem too inclusive. Since the issue of inclusiveness was mentioned in the American University September draft, it may be reasonable to remind the reader that nearly 9,000 images were originally identified in set-up sheets by coders as "under 18 years" although only 6,004 images were eventually accepted as fitting narrowed project "child" parameters. Thus, more than 2,000 visuals of young people (generally female) who appeared to be under eighteen years to trained coders, were excluded from analysis. Beyond this, based upon cogent arguments, the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography recommended risking an educated guess, restricting commercial sex participation to persons over 21 years-of-age, where age 21 used as a bench mark in this research effort our juvenile population would have tripled.

Informal observation suggests that hundreds of comic strip child representations were lost to analysis. On the other hand, four percent (N=245) of child cartoons and visuals included a variety of images analyzed as "child representations." Such "under 18" cartoon representations were generally portrayed as an anthropomorphized animal or object (N=13) offspring of a human parent: objects as symbols of children (N=19), elves (N=3), angels (N=33), demons, science fiction and bizarre creatures, or monsters (N=37). A full breakdown of these child surrogate images is underway but a large body of information exists in the Data Base. (2)

The cover of Playboy (April 1976) was a prototype used to train coders for this "over 18" pseudo-child imagery. The cover shows what appeared to be an adult female, her blonde hair pulled back in hair bow and barrettes, little-girl style. She wears black patent leather Mary Jane shoes and her toys and dolls surround her in her white rocking chair, as she gazes at the reader -- pink breasts exposed -- from a hunched up, pouting child-like posture. Since it is generally illegal in the United States to display individuals under 18 years-of-age in graphic sexual

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2 For example, 104 visuals included child representations such as an "erotic" stone angel being pressed up against the puedenda of a nude woman. In the following page of the magazine photo essay, the lady's red, air brushed tongue is inserted into the angel's parted mouth. The clear and unambiguous sexual connotations of adult female sex with an infant are emphasized in the text (Playboy, September 1984).

scenarios, material often called "hard core" pornography has long employed the "pseudo-child" as a vehicle for stimulation. (See notes in the Executive Summary Pseudo-Child).

These categories of representations of real children were created originally to accommodate Hustler scenarios which presented child surrogates as fetish objects-- generally used sexually. However, they were also found in the least graphic magazine. For example: a male eagerly explains to St. Peter his desire to be reincarnated as his young niece's bicycle seat (Hustler, May 1984); Pinnocchio's fairy godmother has sex with Pinocchio (Playboy, June 1976); a high school boy recoils in horror as his young girlfriend opens her blouse to reveal monster breasts complete with mouth and teeth (Playboy, 1974); a horrified father gasps as the nurse presents him with his infant born as an "eight-pound, ten ounce tongue" (Playboy, November 1974); and four little angels are engaged in adult sex (Playboy, February 1982). These were important data to capture since the concern of this project was a) the treatment of children in a specialized sexual mass media context, and b) the possible relationship between magazine sexualization of child imagery and subsequent nonsexual and sexual abuse. That is, the research concern centered upon any possible modeling of such media treatment in real life -- treatment of children by both juvenile and adult readers. Pictorial child abuse, child fetish objects, the view of all child objects as sexualized by association, becomes of great interest as a "child" treatment and is of appropriate research concern. This pattern has been identified in several reports, including the Attorney General's Commission Report on Pornography (July 1986, p. 405). Moreover the pseudo-child appears regularly in advertisements for "child" pornography in certain of these magazines.

Relying upon the Age Evaluation Guide (AEG) "Physical Changes at Puberty" Appendix C (13), coders identified 174 "adult" cartoon characters as Principal Child by physical depiction. Included among these 174 "adult" child characters would be images coders felt to be adult, but which contained specific child cues in imagery and/or text to be coded as Principal Child.(3)

In addition to the nine percent of children in cartoons (N=174), 17 percent of those in visuals (N=690) were identified as pseudo-children, "18 years old or older." (4)

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(3) e.g.: A wife finds her elderly husband in bed with a childlike but fully developed female with hairbow and young face. Her husband claims "...surely you don't think this young thing is an adult!!" (Playboy, January 1966, p. 181). Or, a similarly child-like young blonde female in a bordello (big eyes and hairbow, holding a teddy bear) is introduced by the madame to a customer with a whip. The madame says; "She's spanking new," (Playboy, October 1976, p. 91). It is noteworthy that juvenile and adult sex offenders experience the real life problem of the blurring of age demarcations. This awareness led to careful attention to magazine age-blurring activities. Additional analyses need to be conducted focusing upon such age-blurring materials since copious testimony already exists to suggest sex offender tendencies to blurring of age bounderies.

(4) The 690 pseudo-children in visuals were required to fit at least two criteria for their inclusion as pseudo-children (See Principal Child; Appendix E 3 and 4). These criteria should be carefully examined for an understanding of the pseudo-child depictions. Please note that due to coder confusion over what constituted "Shirley Temple curls, etc." permissible "child" hair styles had been narrowed to two styles only; pony tails and child braids. Also note that a review of major art books on the nude (recommended by the chief curator of art education at a major Washington, D.C. art museum) identified the absence of C and D (child poses) as part of the art history of nude females. Thus, as contrasted with traditional nude displays, these unique child poses could be unisolated as child cues.

An additional perceptual issue surrounding the 2,016 child cartoons involved 31 of the 89 same-young-girl character created by one _Playboy_ cartoonist. This cartoonist repeatedly drew the same female character every time. The cartoonist maintained the girl's physical appearance but alternated surrounding cues and text. Sixty-five percent of his scenarios presented the character we called "Cathy" as an adolescent. Cathy was portrayed as a high school girl (43), a junior high school girl (15), an adult (31) and back again. Such character ambiguity can be seen to create the serious problem of reader confusion and blurring of age boundaries.(5)

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5   A series of five recent "Cathy" cartoons were presented to the peers for discussion, analysis and guidance. With text masked, the Cathy's appeared visually adolescent. With text uncovered, one Cathy was seen as adult. The decision was to code this adult/child heroine in each cartoon by this artist. This decision was based upon the following five observations: 1) Cathy represented a technique of age manipulation across time of the same basic physical criteria of "schoolgirls." This criteria included: elongated legs; slender waist and "hipless" trunk; small, high breasts, large eyes which occupy approximately two-thirds of the upper face small nose and mouth complemented by long, straight "teenage" hair (Morris, 1981, p. 276); 2) a broad body of literature on picture perception, paired associate learning, recognition memory and concept learning confirms the tendency to overlap such perceptions; 3) similar sexual exploitation and subliminal implants employed by cartoon artists were discussed in _Playboy_, March 1985, p. 108 - 113; 4) the fact that 65 percent of these 89 cartoons were "girls" - underage as late as 1985 - was evidence that Cathy did not "grow" into adulthood, but vacillated between adult and child; and 5) in three preliminary case studies, when removed, cut-out and shown to young children in conjunction with other adult and child cartoon females, youngsters view Cathy as "a girl."
Reasonable argument exists which suggests that (especially when viewed cumulatively by regular adult and juvenile readers), such a vacillating juvenile-woman-character could facilitate reader confusion over juvenile versus adult female cues. A separate data analysis of these 89 cases is planned.

Thus, **within this world of overall sexual fantasy** there was a concern for what imagery represented a child. Of the 3,988 child visuals, 77 percent (3,089) included actual children.

Four percent (140) of the images described objects used as children and 17 percent (681) were "pseudo-children," (an apparent adult fitting two specific child criteria or an apparent adult with hairless genitalia). The aggregate data integrates the presence of all images as **fantasy** - child representatives - both pseudo as well as "real" children. It is also unclear what percent of those latter models, dressed as children but coded as adults may have actually been underage models who were misrepresented as adult by the publications. For example, Baby Breese (Penthouse, January 1976) was described as "12" and was in later months said to be 21 years-of-age. However, we have no evidence to verify either the adult or juvenile status of this or other youthful models. As noted elsewhere, all of these magazines had been involved in recruitment of models who could have been underage.

So, these **sexual fantasy** periodicals contain drawings and photographs of both "real" children as fantasy figures and some surrogates not thought of normally as real adolescents or children. Along this line, it is clear that numbers of juvenile and adult readers of these materials are drawn to visual child representations/surrogates and certainly could view pseudo-children as "real" representations of children. Dr. Ira Parley, psychiatrist, noted this issue when he discussed child-sex-abusers' responses to "Pedophile Cues" (Conference on Sexual Abuse, 1986). Indeed, this exploratory research may assist those in the sex therapy field. We have every reason for concern that some significant percent of the current child sex abuse epidemic may be traced to vulnerable persons whose sexual fantasies are triggered by symbol and age blurring confusion perceived as "Pedophile Cues."

Tracking Over Time
("Varying Time Periods")

The study encompassed all obtainable issues of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines in their respective publication histories —approximately 31 years of Playboy, 15-1/4 years of Penthouse, and 10-1/2 years of Hustler. Tracking time periods of the publications included in the study had two effects that should be taken into

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consideration when reviewing data. Pooled (aggregate) data from the three magazines over time, obviously reflect the entry of one, then two, then three publications into the data base. This aggregate data also reflects the entry of one, two and then three magazines on the nation's newsstands. Thus, the total number of child exposures increased exponentially by 2,600 percent over thirty years. And it should be remembered that it is not simple heuristic speculation that some percentage of consumers do read all three monthlies.

Individual magazine data subsumed in the aggregate therefore, mixes publications with different sample sizes spanning markedly different periods of time. _Playboy_ had a publication history more than twice as long as the other two magazines, including not only more total magazines, but spanning markedly different eras. In order to be sure that data from _Playboy_ magazines in the 1950s and 1960s were comparable to those of _Playboy, Penthouse_ and _Hustler_ from the 1970s and 1980s, the criteria within each cell represented objective evaluations which were not time bound.

The exhaustive and exclusive nature of the units of analysis permit tracking changes over markedly different times. For example, nudity, waist-up, sex, age, and genital display will be similarly operationally coded over time. A "body fragment" would be the same definitively in 1955, again in 1975, and in 1985. A gun, an affectionate activity, infliction of pain, killing and maiming, Boy Scout or Girl Scout uniforms, teachers, priests, parents and doctors, foreground and background, color, or black and white, size of image and so on do not change in time. Each of these units of analysis were operationally defined so as to withstand time differentiation and so as to permit comparisons between magazines overtime.

Each unit of analysis is applicable and comparable from 1954 to 1974 to 1984 to 1994 to 2004. The amount of blood in a scenario may differ, as may the qualitative levels of gruesome violence. However, since this research did not attempt to measure qualitative distinctions, no conclusions will be incorrectly drawn from the data based upon such a variable. Thus, the magazines and the periods are comparable - despite the differences in time frames and sample size. This comparability lends special value to the data and to tracking time lines across all variables.

Beyond this, for purposes of comparison, a small but carefully selected sample of months and years across magazines was drawn from each of the three magazines as a preliminary estimate of percentages of overall cartoons and visuals. Based upon this sample, the following estimates are offered. Therefore, percentages of "x" activity in total magazines for each publication should establish individual magazine differences. Frequencies should be referred to, for any questions, and samples of images from each time frame should be reviewed.

TABLE I:

AVERAGE TOTAL NUMBER OF FEATURES PER MAGAZINE

FEATURE	PLAYBOY	PENTHOUSE(*)	HUSTLER	POOLED
CARTOONS	35	20	23	28.7
VISUALS	143	147	100	136.1
TEXT ONLY	35	24	03	26.1
TOTAL PAGES	213	191	126	191.0

The above table reflects a small but carefully selected sample of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler magazines. As a base for sample-to-universe comparison, the average number of total pages per magazine were coded in the sample and compared to the universe of analyzed magazines (1956-85). Universe-to-sample results were as follows: 213 in Playboy (as compared with 213 in sample); 177 in Penthouse (as compared with 191 in sample); 130 in Hustler (as compared with 126 in sample); pooled average across the three magazines was 173 (as compared with 177 in sample).

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* Only 1974-1984 were available for current Penthouse sample.

The universe on visuals will be conducted, and the cartoon universe will be retrieved from the existing data base in follow-up analyses. Note: These estimates need to be read with an understanding of the existence of a dual/triple "aggregate" readership of P/P/H. Therefore, the reader needs to take into account the "additive" or "cumulative" or "aggregate" nature of the readership activity for some number of the public.

TABLE II:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CARTOONS AND VISUALS PER ISSUE CONTAINING CHILD IMAGERY

	PLAYBOY	PENTHOUSE	HUSTLER	POOLED
CARTOONS				
Total # Cartoons	35	20	23	28.7
Child Imagery	3.2	1.4	4.4	2.9
% CHILD IMAGERY	9.2	7.0	19	10.2
VISUALS				
Total # Visuals	143	147	100	136.1
Child Imagery	4.9	4.9	9.7	5.8
% CHILD IMAGERY	3.4	3.3	9.7	4.5
CARTOONS AND VISUALS COMBINED				
Total # Combined	178	167	123	164.9
Child Imagery	8.1	6.3	14.1	8.7
% CHILD IMAGERY	4.5	3.8	11.5	5.6

Table II represents the child cartoon and visual universe, and presents percentages and frequencies of child imagery within the estimated universe of P/P/H cartoons and visuals. "Universe" is used here to define the entire feature count (i.e., cartoons, visuals, and cartoons and visuals combined) in the average issue.

Scenarios from the 1985 Playboy (20), the 1985 Penthouse (21), and from the 1985 Hustler (15) were coded and entered into the child cartoon and visual data base.

Frame of Reference
("Lack of Frame of Reference")

Magazine size:

Magazine Size was used as a denominator and is explicated in "Limitations I." For some reason this entire section was omitted, as noted, from the University versions to the Peer Advisory Board and to OJJDP. See the appendix for Magazine Size Over Time.

Additional denominators:

In reviewing the Peer Advisory Review Board criticisms of The American University version of the November 30, 1985 report, one reviewer noted the lack of a denominator asking, images of children "compared to what?" One answer would have been, images of children compared to magazine size over time.

And, as noted on Tables I-V, child cartoons and visuals could be compared to overall cartoons and visuals. Moreover, children in erotica/pornography could be compared to children in alcohol and cigarette advertisements. Beyond this, the project selected a broad spectrum of denominators which were used to carry out comparisons over time, e.g.: a time series in which total child images served as the denominator and child sexual or violent images served as the numerator. (6)

It is to be remembered that our project interest focused, appropriately, upon the **presence or absence of**

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6 The data on the total universe of overall cartoons will be retrieved for our follow-up research.

child representations. That is, magazine issues which contained 'x' representations of children as compared to magazines issues which did not contain representations of children. The justification for this focus is spelled out in the null hypothesis. It is addressed also in the Executive Summary and is inherent in the nature of the grant award. Reiterating what is not always thoroughly understood, it is seen as relevant that children have been shown in this sexually explicit genre "per se"! Numerous citizens, correspondents and political figures have insisted that crimes were never committed against children in cartoon, illustration or photo in these materials. The best selling of these magazines has publicly denied that a cartoon of child sexual abuse or children as sexual targets was ever included in its pages. The significance of such public denials should take on larger meaning as the researchers further develop our findings of child sexual abuse, of child pornography, and other anti-social values, across all three periodicals, over time.

It is deemed especially relevant that children have been described both as solicitors and targets of sex and as targets of violence over time and across magazines. Using content analysis methodology it is useful to "compare" the presence or absence of "abnormal" versus "normal" children over time. Comparisons can be made of the presence or absence of nudity, violence, sex acts and the like over time both within and across magazines, by age, sex, race, etc. That is, how did this magazine culture treat children and thus how did their communication encourage readers to treat children, over time?

Finally, frequencies in and of themselves do not fully identify the significance or impact of the cartoons and visuals. Identifying, for example, the number and percent of visuals that portrayed a real, human child--versus a pseudo-child--under 18 as the clear recipient of a violent activity does not necessarily permit interpretation as to the particular impact of such imagery upon each individual. The impact of an image may be seen as a function of numerous variables affecting an individual at one point in time and/or over time.

It may or may not be relevant that these visuals may accompany articles decrying physical and sexual child abuse (113), war and famine (50). An examination of the nature of these illustrations for "serious" articles suggests that a portion of these very depictions may be viewed as sexually

provocative and/or gratuitous violence. Such associations of imagery may have been intended to inform and yet succeeded only in titillating readers. Or, they may have been intended to titillate and yet succeeded only in revolting or angering readers. Interpretation of the data is based upon the nature of the image, with the magazine context in mind.

Specificity of Concepts
("Ambiguity of Concepts")

The training process meticulously followed standard content analysis procedures as outlined by Krippendorff in his discussion of coder training (Krippendorff, 1980.) As is proper in such an effort the development of analysis instruments was an interactive process. Instruments were altered appropriately as coders provided feedback on magazine images which did not fit the exclusive boundaries.

The definition of the images studied followed the painstaking process of creating exhaustive classifications. As in all such analyses, the labels that referred to certain units took on specific meanings. Care should be taken to examine the definition of labels in order to ensure the proper interpretation of data. The definition of partial or complete nudity included "nude from waist up" in the crime and violence instrument. Since this applied to males as well as females, sexual meaning is limited (until nudity--waist-up--is analyzed by sex of character). On the other hand, a male or female genital display holds sexual meaning, prima facie. Much of these specific adult crime and violence data including nudity by sex, were tabulated but inexplicably did not appear in the American University report delivered in September to the Office of Juvenile Justice.

The preceding portions of this report have addressed some of the ways in which concepts of the study were defined and interpreted. The coding instruments themselves provide accurate guidelines regarding what each category encompassed. The instruments may best be consulted for information as to what is contained in the categories of the data tables and exhibits.

The concept of child:

As has been noted prior, based upon a) the sexual fantasy nature of the magazine and b) its unusual treatment of children and birth, the concept of child came to include

both unreal and "real" children. That is, fantasy child characters-described as under-18 <u>representations of children</u>, were coded when these were a) offspring of a human parent, or b) if they were <u>clearly used as children</u>. On occasion a pile of child's clothing or a child's hat, etc., would be depicted in a joke about cannibalization of the child. Child images in the form of angels appeared in particularly "human" ways, engaged in sodomy and various other sexual activities. Children were shown as deformed creatures and monsters. These descriptions need to be carefully isolated and analyzed. They should be compared over time to sexual depictions of "real" female versus male children. Current conclusions about the meaning, for example, of the monster-child can be based only on the frequencies identified in the Data Book.

<u>Activities</u> evolved and were given labels or meanings that differed from what some might assume to be included in those categories. As is standard in content analysis, the range of activities has been aggregated into a few categories, such as violent activities, sexual activities, nonviolent and nonsexual activities. Interpretations of the data should be based upon the <u>specific language</u> of the findings and manual definitions of character and activities.

<u>Characters</u> played specific roles. These definitions should be considered in evaluating any data that relate to roles of characters. <u>Text analysis was used</u> to inform visual analysis to a limited extent in the visual studies. Text accompanying or surrounding a visual was used as a source of information about the content of the visual, providing an understanding or interpretation of the visual often not possible on the basis of the image alone. (See Dr. Zakia's discussion of this issue in the Literature Review on photography).

The above examples are not a definitive list of concepts in the study. Rather, they illustrate the fact that, as in any exploratory research, inferences from the data should be based on the specific data features and definitions.

<u>Inter-Rater Reliability</u>
("Inter-Coder Variations")

As in any research effort there will be subtle differences in the way individual coders analyze images.

Sex differences:

An attempt was made to maintain an equal female/male ratio. However, over time the composition of the coding team was skewed toward a female bias. Of the 22 persons who worked as coders on the project, 14 were women and 8 were men. All were over twenty-one years of age and all but one had a college education.

The magazines being coded primarily contained female nudes versus male nudes whereas the images and information are generally seen as male entertainment. It may be hypothesized that female analysts' perceptions of this entertainment imagery would be more sensitized in certain ways than would male perceptions. Anecdotal information suggested that this was indeed the case. Since this was not an experimental study, differences in results attributable to the sex of the coders were not within the scope of the study. Future research which cross tabulated sex of our coders with their question responses may identify sexually dimorphism attitudes.

Coder Techniques
("Coder Conventions")

In the course of the study coders sometimes preferred to minimize the use of their manuals, and they developed individual techniques for quick recall of certain project definitions. These included pictures or words taped up in the coder's carrels. These cues were often referred to for key questions. Many personal reminders helped in individual efficiency. As coders were seen to be accurate and reliable, such techniques, inaccurately dubbed "conventions" were held to be quite reasonable.

In addition, during the process of coding, unique scenarios were encountered outside existing definition boundaries which required supplementary coding decision-making. Once consensus was reached, this decision would be noted by the coders for coding any future similar scenarios. Since it was impractical to cancel the coding activity in order to retype and reprint all coder manuals based on discovery of one unusual scene, coders were all a.ked to note these additions in writing. At the conclusion of child cartoon coding--and during a one-hour session at coding end--coder's were given the option to write up the ways in which they coded all three instruments. Some coders chose to perform the task and some did not.

The Principal Investigator had reassured all coders that they would not be study subjects and that their only public contribution would be their completed data sheets. Any change would require written permission from each coder. Thus the formal presentation by the American University of 65 pages of informal comment, mislabeled as Coder's Conventions, violated project agreement. The contention that casual comments collected in the final project hour--including doodles and drawings--represented the serious professional work of the coding team a) is inaccurate, and b) misrepresents the team's diligence.

Coder staff turnover:

Due to University policies it was not possible to hire coders for the length of the entire study. Therefore, two sets of coders were employed. In addition, there was some attrition and replacement of coders in the course of the two separate sessions. This turnover could be expected to have somewhat lowered Inter-Rater Reliability (IRR). That is, new coders were introduced to the study after the formal training and received individual or small group presentations as well as on-the-job orientation to tasks.

In the present study, unexpected signs of strain were apparent, especially during certain coding periods. Indeed, the problem arose even before the study began when coder as well as staff applicants declined association with the project, once they were appraised of the material to which they would be regularly exposed.

Following permission by the coders, data analyses could be conducted to examine the coding sheets of analysts for evidence of any relationship between drift and other variables, e.g., age, sex, date of coding and prior exposure to the materials. Conclusions drawn must be tempered by the fact that these coders had been self-selected with awareness of the nature of the study prior to accepting the position. Among data available for analyzing responses to these erotic/pornographic materials are the coder-identified answer sheets themselves, as well as a wealth of other types of usable data, including on-going coder commentaries.

These latter consist mainly of the informal comments noted as well as ongoing reports in the form of private communications addressed to the Principal Investigator and comments written in notebooks provided for the purpose. In addition, there are personal materials such as diaries which

were made available to the Principal Investigator during or following the investigation. Following coder permission, all of these would yield valuable information about the possible impact of the material.

Inter-rater reliability:

As noted elsewhere, Inter-Rater Reliability (IRR) was established in the pilot study at 0.87. Following this, a check on reliability or congruence was conducted daily throughout the training phase. Spot checks were done each week on each coder. Formal Inter-Rater Reliability was assessed at the end of each coding phase yielded an IRR of 0.85, 0.83, 0.81 and 0.85 across each of the four instruments. (see following pages for original IRR)

The tendency of most people who read erotic/pornographic materials is to keep them from public view, and the inability to display these visual data in press, television, and even during lectures without overwhelming audience attention to cognitive processing, suggests that the stimuli are complex in their effects. Despite on-going debriefing phases by the Principal Investigator, such emotional, non-sexual responses appear to have exerted some impact upon coders and staff. This was especially the case with most or all of those associated with the research effort inclusive of the university administration, the popular press and political officials.

Coder fatigue:

As in the foregoing comments on coder/staff response, fatigue and desensitization cannot be ruled out as factors which might have affected coding. This appeared especially to be the case for Crime and Violence coding 0.81 and 0.85. The Crime and Violence Coding Instrument, Part B (Visual), was the last instrument for which coding occurred. Coders seemed fatigued in that they missed many important images during the set-up phase. Set-up was repeated twice for this instrument after coding had begun. This suggests that visual crime and violence frequencies would be somewhat deflated. (Resetup magazines were distributed for re-coding). With such coder fatigue in mind, the last day's hour long optimal session for coder "conventions" predictably found coders blurred on recall across all three instruments.

REPORT ON THE PLAYBOY CARTOON PILOT STUDY
COMPUTATION OF INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

I. Conceptual Description

A pilot study was conducted using version eight of the Cartoon Content Analysis Coding Instrument (CCACI), wherein 40 cartoons were each coded by two individual coders. Following completion of the coding process, Inter-coder Reliability (IRR) was determined in order to provide a quantitative check on the overall level of agreement between the responses of individual coders in this cartoon coding process. Specifically, IRR was operationalized as the total number of cases where the responses of the two coders agreed (for a given question pertaining to a given cartoon) divided by the total number of required responses. The score obtained was 0.87 (See Figure A).

The major objective in determining IRR was to identify problems with coder bias, the coder training process, and/or the CCACI. Such an analysis was necessary, since the primary purpose of the pilot study was to serve as a learning tool -rather than as a definitive test of the current version of the CCACI.

II. Operational Description

Forty Playboy child cartoons examined within the context of each total magazine, were each coded independently by two separate coders, resulting in 80 completed data sheets. (Four coders participated in the IRR test for the pilot study; each participated in a training process during the summer of 1984.) The four coders followed the CCACI, which called for 37 responses for each cartoon. For the IRR check, nine coded magazines were randomly chosen from odd-year, 1971-1979, Playboy magazines.

After completion of the coding process, the data sheets for each cartoon were paired. Two people not involved in the coding process cross-checked the 37 responses for each pair of data sheets. The number of discrepancies per cartoon was counted and logged on a form, together with the following information: the month/year of the magazine, the page number of the cartoon, the question number of each discrepant answer, and each coder's individual response. Each pair of data sheets was checked by both the monitors to guarantee accuracy. The number of discrepancies per magazine was then counted and logged on a similar form together with the following information: the month/year of the magazine, the number of coded cartoons, the page number of each cartoon, and the number of discrepant answers per cartoon. Once these data were collected, recorded, and checked, the IRR

was computed (See Figures A and B).

III. Discussion

In computing the IRR score of 0.87, agreement for each response pair was measured on an "all or nothing" basis; that is, a response pair was considered a match only if the two coder responses were exactly identical. In many instances, however, a less restrictive method of judging the level of agreement between the coders may have been valid. To illustrate:

o   In numerous cases the coders choices were close though not identical. For example, both coders would record the depiction of violence, but the precise nature of the violence was different (e.g., beating and hitting versus mutilation); or both coders would record the presence of a child, but the precise age of the child was different (e.g., preschool age versus elementary school age). In such cases, some level of agreement between the coders could have been formally acknowledged.

o   In other cases, a single discrepant answer resulted in a chain of discrepancies. For example, where the coders disagreed on the selection of a "peripheral character", this single disagreement could result in as many as six to eleven additional discrepant answers (e.g., whether the peripheral character was an authority figure). In such a situation it may have been appropriate to count only the initial discrepancy, and to discount the related responses.

o   In yet other situations, a coder intentionally circled more than one answer. Unless both coders were in full agreement on all answers, the question was recorded as a discrepancy. Here too, partial credit could have been reasonably justified.

Despite the fact that all of these considerations tended to lower the determination of the IRR, it was decided to operationalize IRR in such a way that every non-identical response was counted as a completely discrepant answer. This provided a conservative measure of IRR that tended to err in favor of a lower score; yet, an IRR of 0.87 was achieved.

The determination of IRR served as an educative tool, helping to highlight the need for a number of refinements that have been and will be implemented in the upcoming Cartoon Content Analysis Coding Instrument. It is expected that the IRR will continue to increase as the coding instrument evolves into its final form.

FIGURE A

PLAYBOY PILOT STUDY ANALYSIS

COMPUTATION OF INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Total Number of Required Answers

```
  40   cartoons
  37   required answers each
 ----
1,480
```

Total Number of Paired Answers in Agreement

```
1,480   total number of required answers
  190   total number of discrepancies in paired answers
 -----
1,290
```

INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

$$\frac{1,290 \text{ agreements}}{1,480 \text{ TOTAL}} = 0.87$$

FIGURE B

PLAYBOY PILOT STUDY ANALYSIS

MAGAZINE ISSUE		# DISCREPANCIES	# CARTOONS x REQUIRED ANSWERS
March	1971	16	185
June	1971	23	259
January	1973	24	148
February	1973	16	148
April	1973	24	148
September	1973	38	222
October	1973	16	74
March	1975	12	111
September	1979	21	185
		-----------	-------------
		190	1,480

The order effect:

In general, balancing the order in which stimuli are presented through randomization or other methods permits certain types of comparisons. In this case, for example, had some coders analyzed child cartoons subsequent to the analysis of child visuals it might have been possible to tease out certain effects. In fact, the four coding Phases followed one another in the same sequence for all coders. While it is impossible to know what the results of any other order might have been, it would have been helpful to note any change in perception.

In view of the abundant evidence that association with the type of materials examined in this study do produce strong human responses, and that these responses may also occur in the real world, information on order effects would be useful.

Revision of Instruments

As is standard in any exploratory study and is standard content analysis procedure, each instrument went through large and small revisions in the course of its development. In the most extreme case -- Crime and Violence Coding Instrument Part A (Cartoon) -- three changes were made to the instrument after several cartoons were coded. One change involved a single data entry, one involved no data entry and one change lost no data but required collapsing two categories (of mythological creatures) into a single category. The frequencies reflect these changes. In all three cases data findings and conclusions remain unchanged.

Although no other instruments were "changed" following coding it should be noted again that, naturally, some unanticipated features in categories continued to arise. As unusual problems were presented explanations were hand-written by coders in their own notes or coding instruments and manuals. Since most of these explanations referred to relatively rare anomalies, they were not applied retroactively to a similar unique feature which may possibly have been coded previously by another coder. To do the latter would have been cost inefficient and unnecessary.

Following upon this point, mutual exclusiveness of categories across each dimension was maintained and features remained unmodified. The data can not identify coder drift on those few unanticipated dimensions which still required

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decisions during the coding process. Coding sheets that were completed and already sent to be keyed may not reflect one specialized, unique feature. Few such incidents were repeated and these changes remain unique and bizarre exceptions to the rule - both expected and in keeping with other such complex analyses.

The Crime and Violence Sample
("Issues Related to Sampling")

It was intended that the period of time for magazine analyses should range from their individual dates of onset of publication through December 1984. As noted, several 1985 magazine images were coded; the images entered were in the child data Playboy, 24; Penthouse, 21; and Hustler, 15. These were entered into the child visual and/or cartoon data base and subsequently merged with data analyses.

While a census of any given population is always preferable, and indeed while such a census was conducted for the magazine's child population a massive census study is rare and a sample study is common. The analysis of non-child ("adult") crime and violence scenarios utilized the statistically sound, widely recognized stratified random sampling technique in which 5/12 (41.67%) of the total population was coded. Any sampling procedure logically suggests some degree of caution regarding time series analyses although estimation from the data is commonly not seen as a problem.

The Exclusive Nature of the Instruments
("Limitations of the Instruments")

It is manifestly obvious that as each instrument dealt with different scenes and characters, each had certain parameters as to the kinds of data recorded and the kinds of analyses that could be performed on the data thus collected.

Child cartoon coding instrument:

The project identified how often children were simply
associated with sex versus how often they were giving or
receiving a sexual act. We can say, for example, that in a
scenario coded as containing genital sex, the child will be
identified as either observing, initiating, or receiving
this activity. Thus, if "Chester the Molester" is having
sex with a child's teddy bear the child would be coded as
observing (an adult male in genital sex with an object).
Were Chester initiating sex with the child (which has
normally been the case) the child would be coded as
receiving genital sex (from an adult male). In this manner
the degree of contextual associational trauma is assessed.
While this information was seen as quite sufficient for our
project interests, some researchers may find the data
insufficient for their own purposes. In the latter case it
is hoped that our exploratory labors provide a baseline for
further research efforts.

Some small tangential amount of associational data
between the child and other character was not identified.
These were not deemed of overwhelming importance. What was
of special concern was the Association of Stimuli and
Context. What was taking place in the scene in which the
child appeared? What was the context in which the child was
placed? What took place adjacent to the child's scenario in
the magazine? What was the magazine overall context?

Activities were to be chosen in order of their
seriousness. Quite reasonably, for the purposes of this
research as in "real life," serious activities were selected
and would tend to be "over-represented" relative to neutral
activities in the same scenario. In cases of real child sex
abuse the child welfare worker may be interested in finding
out what "affection" was shown the child, but the record
needs to first note the serious, illegal acts of sex abuse
alleged.

Similarly, if a child was portrayed in bed with a man
and talking on the phone, coders first identified the sexual
interaction with the adult male, next the affection,
(holding hands). Talking on the phone could have been
missed (general conversation). This was not deemed to be a
problem. Since children associated with images of sex and
violence tended to be the overriding project concern, this
was the focus of the coding activity.

Thus, the criteria of seriousness also applied regardless of whether these were of the greatest significance to the child in question. In this sense, a child might be walking in the background, apparently unaware of a sex exhibitionist who was bragging to another man, "I once got a whole troop of Girl Scouts in one big flash - best day I ever had!" (Playboy, June 1972, p. 192). However, for the purposes of this research, the depicted child's general activity (walking) is not as important as her visual association with Girl Scouts, the humor of adult male genital exhibitionism and the suggestion that it might be humorous or harmless for men to exhibit their genitalia and sexually harass Girl Scouts (children) or other children walking by.

Child and adult visual coding instruments:

To increase information retrieval of the Child Visual and Crime and Violence Coding Instruments, the questions on Level of Involvement and Level of Depiction were organized into a matrix. Level of Involvement and Level of Depiction were coded for each activity and for the Principal Child and Other Character. This yielded data not obtained in the Child Cartoon Coding Instrument. It was possible to obtain more detailed data on the interaction of the characters and the relationship of activities to the Level of Depiction of the activities. However, this matrix created other difficulties and it required an added step to relate the age or sex of the characters with received, initiated, mutual, or other Levels of Involvement.

"Adult" crime and violence cartoon and visual coding instruments:

This study design had as its purpose the detection of the existence of child related images in what was known to be a strongly sexual and what was found to be an often violent context. The purpose of the "adult" analysis was to confirm that this context existed and to detect variation over time. Thus, these were the shortest instruments, providing less information about characters and their activities. The Level of Depiction of activities was deemed to be adequately captured by distinguishing between a Victim (Character A) and an Aggressor (Character B). It was not considered necessary to determine much more than simple cross-tabulations regarding the characteristics of the Victim (A) and characteristics of the Offender (B). This did yield a massive body of data on sex, violence, crime,

victims and offenders. The data identify victims and offenders in domestic violence, sexual harassment in the work place, recreational drug use, rape, gang rape, and the like. The level of Involvement and Violence is addressed by the victim or aggressor role and by other related cross tabulations.

Instrument Comparability
("Lack of Comparability")

Comparability between instruments:

The instruments were developed in sequence, each one drawing upon the experience gained in working with the previous instrument and adapting to make the transition from cartoon to visual media and from child-focused concerns to a focus on crime and violence. As the instruments evolved, concepts were revised to fit new scenarios and thus new informational needs. The definitions and interpretations of what comprised the various categories changed. Frequencies should be examined in conjunction with relevant instruments to compare results across instruments.

The majority of violent and sexual activities and events are comparable across all four instruments. One needs to review the definitions, for example, for a) Killing in crime and violence analyses and b) Murder/Maiming in child analyses in order to identify comparability. Drug use was identified across all instruments as was prostitution and so on although the particular nomenclature may have differed. Pages 55 and 60 present some important detail on this issue.

While it seems somewhat out of place to discuss the pseudo-child here, we will do so in order to follow the original American University draft format of "limitations." Since this document was the source of information delivered to the peers, and since this was the document critiqued by the peers, and since peer critiques have subsequently become public document, the aim is to deal with the issues as they were presented.

The concept of child changed in the analysis of visuals to include apparent adults dressed or posed as children, or apparent adults with shaved genitalia. These two categories were identified, based upon review of a broad spectrum of relevant literature. For example, pseudo-child images have been historically used to sell hard core pornography, while

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statements in _Playboy_ and _Hustler_ identified the child-focused nature of shaved genitalia (Flynt, House Subcommittee on Crime, September 20, 1977, p. 262 and _Playboy_, on Gary Gilmore, October 1979, p. 25). Inclusion of pseudo-children would reasonably effect the numbers of images and acts incorporated into the study. Moreover, the nature of pseudo-child activities suggest that further data analyses may explicate important information regarding the use of the pseudo-child over time.

As noted earlier, the pseudo-child was a difficult category since some models may or may not indeed be juveniles. _Hustler_ contained advertisements for nude models which required under age model permission slips to be signed by parents or guardians and _Playboy_ employed an underage centerfold (_Playboy_, January 1958) and defended that use as appropriate (December 1958).(7)

Also, this latter magazine did not specify "over-18-years" when it required its amateur nude contestants to be "adult citizens of the state or province in which each of us resides, as of September 1, 1976." (_Playboy_, November 1976, p. 257.) "Adult Citizen" thus could have applied to 16 years-of-age or even 13 years-of-age in some states and

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(7) The coder's assumptions in examining any sexual photographs were that the model was over 18 years. However, nude and semi-nude foreign models have been identified all by three magazines as under 18 years. Based on this evidence, the model release forms, and other supporting data, certain models --identified as pseudo-children-- may have actually been adolescents. The most recent documented case of such a child was that of 15 1/2 year old Tracey Lords who appeared nude as the _Penthouse_ centerfold in September, 1984 (Loken, 1986, Michigan Senate Corrections Committee).
The pseudo-child was identified by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986, July) as a category "hard core" of child depictions: "Pseudo child pornography or 'teasers' involved women allegedly over the age of eighteen who are 'presented in such a way as to make them appear to be children or youths. Models used in such publications are chosen for their youthful appearance (e.g., in females, slim build and small breasts); and are presented with various accoutrements designed to enhance the illusion of immaturity (e.g., . . . toys, teddy bears, etc.)'" (p. 618).

provinces -- in the U.S. or abroad. Beyond this, all three magazines have clearly identified young nude and semi-nude girls as underage in the captions accompanying artistic, cinematic and various other photographic presentations.

Again, while some may describe this as a "limit" of the project, the broad body of literature addressing association of stimuli and other similar research, suggests this is a discovery, identifying a specific form of child erotica/pornography information delivery. For example, the "adolescent" chained to her bed, dressed only in black stockings (Playboy, August 1975) was cued to appear as a juvenile, ("How one family solved its discipline problems" p. 167; see appendix A). While this person may or may not legally have been under 18, she could have been coded a pseudo-child, based upon the assumption that she was an over-18 model.

Recall that a sizeable readership of these magazines are now and have been juveniles. Over twenty-five years ago, in 1963, Mr. Hugh Hefner acknowledged a recorded 5.9 percent of his readership as "under 18" (Playboy Philosophy II, 1963, p. 19). Since nearly 6 percent of readers - at that early date - were a recognized marketing population, the inclusion of child-oriented "child magnets," the use of drug "pop-ups" and of sexualized Santas may take on a new editorial dimension - that of targeting the child market - as early as 1963. Numerous subsequent surveys indicate that most male youth receive their first female sexual exposure from this genre (see Literature Review).

Thus, a hypothesis suggested by the literature would be that images of children undressed or dressed provocatively - when seen by juvenile or adult readers - could provoke unwarranted mental associational images of "sex" with mental images of younger sisters or other children and daughters. Drs. Wambolt and Negley address the incest potential in these images (see Appendix C). And, we know that child cues, such as toys, dolls, teddy bears and child clothing, poses and such, are child associational stimuli(8).

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8 It should be clearly stated that those working in the sex offender field with pedophiles are cognizant of the impact of what they call "Pedophile Cues." Teddy bears and child-associated stimuli are examples of such cues said to trigger pedophilic interest and often arousal to the (associated) owner.

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A cartoon activity had to be depicted graphically as occurring or just occurred/about to occur, discussed, or implied in the cartoon. A visual activity could be depicted as occurring or just occurred/about to occur, implied in the visual itself, or implied in the surrounding pages of text referring to the visual. In the latter case it could be said that surrounding text of a photograph tended to serve a similar function served by the cartoon caption.

A careful review of Aggregation of Activities for Analysis (pp. 59-60, originally in the Data Book Exhibit VIII-5(1) pp. 95-6, and attached in the appendix) suggests that the editor's reliance on the nomenclature chosen inhibited her/his understanding of like definitions. There was a serious misreading by the American University editor of the variables' definitions studied. The major activities are manifestly comparable across all four instruments. (9)

"Sex Selling/Barter," for example, is defined as the action parallel to "prostitution." Or, in the American University draft it is incorrectly stated that "Nudity" was coded as a child "activity" but not coded as a crime and violence "activity." In fact, nudity was coded in the analysis of crime and violence (see questions 34 & 35 for cartoon "Nudity" of Characters A & B: A-19) and questions 19 & 25 for visual "Nudity" of characters A & B: A-9). These can be compared with ease and accuracy. "Theft" identified in the Aggregate Table as NA (not applicable) for child analysis, can be found as question 32 A1-11, child cartoons and questions 45 A-22 for child visuals. Scatological information was mislabeled in the Aggregate Table as NA in child cartoons although it appeared as appendix A-23, question 56 (defecation, urination).

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9 The American University version "Limitations" and Volume I Overview. In the first paragraph of the Overview, page 36, the editors state, "None of the activities were defined the same as for child cartoons and visuals." This comment, lacks verbal precision. It could be read incorrectly to mean that none of the activities in child cartoons and visuals were defined the same. Comparing Child Cartoon Appendix A2 (13-24) and Child Visual Appendix E (31-34) one finds the same activities coded across both instruments. Moreover, the editor states on p. 106 of American University Limitations: "with the exception of invasion of privacy, none [activities] were the same for child cartoons and visuals."

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"Killing/Murder/Maiming" was analyzed across all four instruments. Yet, the Aggregate Table identifies this act as N/A (not applicable) in the crime and violence instrument.

Although the nomenclature differed, the child instrument coded MURDER, as:"an unlawful killing without a sexual component" (Appendix A.1 (15) question 143). The Adult instrument described KILLING as "e.g.: any violent or criminal activity resulting in death, manslaughter" (Appendix G question 29 and 30 and questions 8 and 9 in Appendix G-13). As in the real world, conceptually and analytically, these two (Killing and Murder) can be seen as sufficiently similar for reliable comparison. While these two variables were identified separately in the Aggregate Table as separate and non-comparable entities, they are comparable.

"Force or Planned Force," involving restraint and forceful assault, noted on the Table as NA in crime and violence cartoon and visual, is found in appendix G-27 as question 32 and as question 11. "Violent Message" is applicable in crime and violence to answer 33 (29) as "Wearing or Displaying Violent Prop or Symbol." Again, it is captured as questions 11 (Appendix G-18) re: violent props present in the visual. It is misleading to suggest the same events or cues were not coded when they were merely identified by using different nomenclature. This is one of the important reasons for a careful reading of the frequencies and definitions prior to drawing inferences.

Non-child crime and violence instruments and nomenclature differed from the child instrument and nomenclature for reasons of efficiency and logic. Relevant activities, from prostitution, drug use, killing, invasion of privacy and genital activity remained the same across all instruments. Moreover, the "aggregated" activities sometimes reflect the quality of overall treatment of "x". That is, while surgery was aggregated as sexual in child materials in the crime and violence analysis surgery was found to be violent in the aggregate(10).

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10 Due to the child cartoon treatments of venereal disease (only 10 cases discussed) venereal disease was classified as a sexual activity (in child cartoons). On the other hand, when clustered into the three aggregate groups, excretory activity, (a rather graphic cartoon feature in Hustler) was classified as violent. As acts, operationally/ quantitatively, scatology and venereal disease can certainly be compared across instruments.

Comparability Across Magazines
("Lack of Comparability Across Magazines")

This research was limited by time constraints for appropriate analyses (project closure: November 30, 1985). Analyses should have been made more easily accessible to readers via additional tables of appropriate frequency comparisons. However, as in an exploratory study, many comparisons must await subsequent analyses and presentation by this researcher and others.

As Principal Investigator, I had anticipated that the child cartoon instrument would be presented with each magazine's frequencies for each question identified linearly as in the other three instruments. The pagination used in the Data Book now limits cross checking between magazines and across instruments. By using standard consecutive pagination and a fully labelled table of contents, the Appendix and all data could be made more accessible.

The data reflect frequency of occurrence of the images selected and the variables coded. In comparing magazines, readers should remember that Playboy's record is two times Penthouse and three times Hustler due to its longer history. In that sense, the data are quantitatively descriptive of activities while comparison between magazines require accounting for the time frames.

Qualitative inferences may certainly be drawn regarding certain information (nudity and genital display, taking place in scenarios with child recipients, etc.) Inferences of the relative impact upon readers would have to be related to the larger literature of mass media effects. The search for effect would require a different level of analysis and a new research design.

One single cartoon may be more powerful, may have a greater effect on the reader, may be longer remembered, than 10 other cartoons similarly coded. Moreover, a child of six may note, process and recall the two little cartoon angels engaged in sodomy and disregard the nude seven-year-old or vice versa. Again, it is useful to remind the reader that this was exploratory, non-experimental research. Frequency data identify the presence of important activities and features - they are not evidence of effect. It is up to others to use these data to test other hypotheses of effect.

Preliminary use of the instruments on <u>Time</u>, <u>Playgirl</u> and <u>Players</u> magazines, suggest the instruments may be valuable in coding similar features in different types of magazines. For instance, it would be very useful to identify the number of child cartoons and visuals in <u>Ladies Home Journal</u>, across all of these criteria. Our preliminary examination of <u>Time</u> for example, suggests that it carried few child images meshed with violence. Where these were displayed there generally were photos of war and famine and at the same time unassociated with sexual display. Art magazines may have more images that would be coded as sexual yet our examination of "nude" art books found almost no pseudo-child patterns - few nude children beyond the angels. Indeed, empirical observation suggests a valuable comparative analysis could be the treatment of the angel/cherub in fine art versus the treatment of the angel/cherub in these periodicals.

This estimate of availability of erotic and pornographic pictorial material does not take account of the addition of numerous other periodicals of the genre which have also recently come into existence. Nor does it note the rise and fall in circulation of the magazines studied nor their movement into video and other highly accessible action formats. It was beyond the scope of this investigation to fully study other periodicals. However, casual observations of available materials suggest that figures based only on these three magazines constitute a small fraction of child-related imagery <u>in the context of sex, crime and violence</u>, accessible to juveniles and the adult consumer for over thirty years.

In order to objectively and accurately identify the limits of this project, it may be prudent to refer to the concluding statement of the environmental statistician who critiqued this document (11).

> It is a sound study producing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in a scientifically acceptable fashion" (Landau, pp. 12-13).

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(11) As stated earlier, Dr. Emanuel Landau is the past Chair and present consultant to The American Statistical Association's Committee on Statistics and Environment was not known to the Principal Invigorator and was selected by The American University for this critique.

This exploratory investigation was designed to test

the hypothesis that children were present in cartoons, illustrations and photographs in the three most readily available and highest-circulation magazines identified as erotica and/or pornography. Children and child-associated pictorials were present in these publications for all years of publication and increased significantly from 1953 to 1984. Analysis of sexual and violent pictorial material without child imagery (adult cartoons and visuals) clearly establish that all three magazines convey a sexual, and (most frequently for Hustler) a violent/pornographic context. It may well be that the discovery of 30 years of mass distributed images of children, the larger portion sexualized and/or brutalized, will contribute to the dialogue on the possible effect of mass media materials on the escalating problem of national child sexual abuse. Certainly, this constitutes new theory, new knowledge and the findings suggest many issues of serious consideration for researchers, policy makers, child welfare professionals, and the public at large.

V. SELECTED FINDINGS

DATA CHARACTERISTICS

The findings for child cartoon, child visual, crime and violence cartoon and visual data are presented in several different ways to maximize access for different purposes. The basic datum is the frequency of occurrence of the specified measure. Such a datum is available for each of the three magazines: <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u>. It is also available for the universe of the three pooled. Because of the different lengths of publication history, the latter data initially represent only <u>Playboy</u>, then <u>Playboy</u> and <u>Penthouse</u>, and finally <u>Playboy</u>, and <u>Penthouse</u> plus <u>Hustler</u>.

The use of frequencies makes comparisons within and between years, and within and between specified types of depictions, straightforward when the total number of instances examined remains constant, or when the question concerns only frequency of occurrence. Otherwise, percentages are required. Percentages, for example, would be required to compare the publications in regard to proportionate occurrence. The presentation of the data by year ensures the ready discernment of trends over time. Questions about the role of the size of the magazine in the frequency of occurrence of any specified type of presentation can be answered by data on the number of pages published by each magazine in each year. In sum:

1. Frequency of occurrence is the basic datum.

2. Data are presented for each of the three magazines separately, and for the universe of the three pooled.

3. Percentages are required for certain comparisons.

4. Data are displayed by year, with trends over time.

5. The magazine size is presented via data on number of pages per year.

The data represent every coded reference to the subject. For example, the child cartoon data represent every reference to a child image in cartoons, and the adult crime and violence visual data represent every reference to a non-child in the context of crime and violence in a visual. The unit

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of analysis is the child cartoon, child visual, adult cartoon, or adult visual. The additional data describe the context within which the principal figure was presented.

The attributes of the cartoons and visuals recorded, in addition to the presentation of a child or adult, constitute a contextual description of the cartoons and visual is identifed as presenting children or presenting non-children in the context of crime and violence. Frequency of occurrence of child and adult presentations, then, does not represent the number of children or adults but the number of child cartoons, child visuals, adult cartoons, and adult visuals.

Frequency of occurrence represents attributes of the child cartoon, child visual, adult cartoon, and adult visual except when specifically defined as an attribute of the principal or other figure.

The amount of codifiable information in visual stimuli, such as cartoons, illustrations, and photographs, is enormous. The information conveyed by the findings is a subset of the total material conceivably codifiable. The utility of a contextual analysis is that it provides a thorough, if not exhaustive, description of the attributes associated with a specified presentation, such as a child in a cartoon or visual, or an adult in a cartoon or visual in the context of crime or violence. By definition, while a contextual analysis precludes certain inferences, it makes others possible that an alternative type of analysis might preclude.

The present analysis emphasizes attributes of the child cartoon, child visual, adult cartoon and adult visual. The inference invariably permitted by contextual analysis is that the described attributes were part of the context of the presentation of the specified figure. Other inferences must be made with some sensitivity. For example, the data for child cartoons do not identify pairs of principal children and major other figures mutually participating in various kinds of activities recorded, such as affection, sexual display, and murder/maiming. What they do document however, is the role of the principal child and major other figures as initiator or recipient of such activity, as well as the context in which such initiation and receiving occurred.

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CHILD CARTOONS

The findings of the analysis of the data on child cartoons can be presented under eight headings: a) attributes of display, b) child depiction, c) child context, d) other character depiction, e) accompanying information, f) props, g) activities, and h) surroundings. The data presently available can be examined both for the three magazine pooled and for the separate magazines. The first category represents the universe of the three publications; the second, differences among them.

Three Magazine Universe

Attributes of display:

More than half of the cartoons were between one-fourth and one-third page in size, and more than a third were a full page. Cartoons less than one-fourth page, a half page, between one-half and a full page, and more than a page were relatively rare. The cartoons were about evenly divided between left and right page display, and between black-and-white and color.

Child depiction:

The figure identified as the principal child was female in 35 percent of the cartoons, and male in 51 percent. Principal children were overwhelmingly Caucasian (90 percent of all those for which ethnicity could be coded). Data based on physical depiction and on age cues are consistent in identifying the most frequent age category as 6 through 11. Physical depiction data recorded preschool (3 through 5 years) as next most frequent, followed by late puberty (16-17); age cue data record late puberty as next most frequent, followed by preschool.

With approximately 40 percent of the conflicts between age data, the caption was said to be responsible; the remaining 60 percent were about equally divided between juvenile clothing/hairstyle, furniture/equipment, including toys, facial expression and culture of childhood symbols. About two-thirds of the children were natural human children without handicaps or defects; about five percent of natural human children had exaggerated sexual parts.

About 18 percent were in some stage of sexual undress

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(ranging from full nudity to genital display to undergarment display). Two-thirds were clothed, with nine out of ten in typical childlike or juvenile clothing; of the remainder, two-thirds were in mature dress and one-third in sexual clothing. Four out of five principal children were in the foreground. In a third of the cartoons, the principal child's expression was not discernible, and in about another third the expression was negative, ranging from distress over disgust, anger, shock, fear, and sadness; about a fourth expressed pleasure, and five percent, interest. The most prevalent form of facial expression, approximately 36 percent, was "blank," indicating neither negative nor positive responses to the scene.

Child context:

About one-third of the cartoons contained two figures, and another fifth, three figures; about 60 percent contained three or fewer figures. Almost a third of the physical settings were home/doorway/yard; about two-thirds dealt with standard daily life, and the rest with such special topics as social issues (peace, racism), politics, (elections, etc.), religion (nativity scene, church service), or something else apart from routine.

In approximately one-fourth of the cartoons, the principal child was recorded as involved in a sexual encounter with an adult; in 16 percent, as potentially connected with assaults, with almost half of these sexual assaults; in about 8 percent, with murder with fewer than one of three of these, sexual murder; in about 6 percent, with indecent exposure; in about 5 percent, with prostitution or sex buying/barter; and in slightly fewer than 5 percent, with adultery.

Other character:

The Other Character in the cartoon, when present, was infrequently another child. Over 80 percent of the Other Characters were adults, while males appeared nearly twice more often than females. About 86 percent of all Other Characters were Caucasian; in a few cartoons ethnicity could not be identified. Nearly all Other Characters were normal human beings with no handicaps or birth defects. Where authority roles were identifiable, the largest group depicted was that of parents and/or guardians. Almost all Other Characters appeared in the foreground of the cartoon scenarios.

CHILD VISUALS

The findings of the analysis of the data on child visuals can be presented under eight headings: a) attributes of display, b) child depiction, c) child context, d) other character depiction, e) accompanying information, f) props, g) activities, and h) surroundings. The data presently available can be examined both for the three magazines pooled and for the separate magazines; the first category represents the universe of the three publications; the second, differences among them.

The Three Magazine Universe

Attributes of display:

Almost 4,000 visuals were published by the magazines in which a child or children could be said to be presented. Almost 60 percent were in color. More than half were between two square inches and a quarter page; about one-seventh were less than two square inches; about one-ninth were between one-fourth and one-half page; the remainder were larger than one-half page, with about 6 percent occupying a full page.

The ratio of photographs to illustrations was almost three to one. More than half were associated with a centerfold or female display of the month (often child portrayals of Playboy's centerfold). Nearly one-quarter were labeled in sexual terms. About one of four were part of a series in a single eyespan, almost one of six were part of a series illustrating text, and almost one of four were not part of a series or regular feature.

Of the visuals appearing in advertisements, somewhat less than two-thirds accompanied ads for general merchandise (e.g., clothes, food, cameras, travel, and autos) and slightly more than a third were used in ads for pornography, generally in Hustler ads for films, books, telephone sex, etc.

Child depiction:

In about three-fourths of the child presentations, the principal (or only) child was identified as an actual child under the age of 18. About one-eighth were pseudo-children; that is, an apparent adult portrayed to a recognizable degree as a child, through dress, physical features,

activities, and the like. A special case of the latter was about 4 percent of visual presentations that consisted of apparent adults with hairless genitalia.

The predominant age cue for the principal child was the caption, representing more than one-third of the cases; next most frequent was dress, representing about half as many.

Females outnumbered males two to one, with one out of ten of unspecifiable sex. More than 85 percent of the principal child presentations were Caucasian. Almost all of the principal children were in the foreground; only about 5 percent were offstage with a 4:1 active to passive scenario ratios. Data on physical depiction and on other cues were consistent in regard to age distribution, with about one out of four identified as six to eleven years old. Very similar in presence with about one-eighth of the presentations represented in each instance were infants (neonate through two years), preschool (three to five years), and early puberty (12 to 15 years), late puberty (16 to 17 years).

However, physical depiction played a much larger role than cues in the detection of pseudo-children, with more than twice as many being identified by physical depiction (somewhat more than one-eighth of presentations) than by cues. About one-fourth of the presentations involved discrepant age cues, with one-fourth of these discrepancies involving the caption and one-fifth clothing. More than one-fourth involved some degree of exposure of sexual parts.

Somewhat less than a third depicted full genital or anal display; there were similar frequencies of some genital or anal display and of breast display only. Buttocks only, and buttocks and breasts together, appeared less frequently. About one-third of the full and partial genitalia displayed some "pink." Somewhat less than one-sixth of the presentations involved a nude child image.

Child hair symbols, particularly pigtails and braids were present in slightly less than one-sixth of the presentations or more than one-fourth of those involving females. In one-eighth of the presentations, the principal child identified in one visual appears in another as an adult. When the presentations were categorized by six child poses, only about 7 percent involved thumb or fingers in mouth, child object (e.g., blanket, candy, or bottle) in mouth, fetal position on side or knees, knock-kneed or pigeon-toed, spread leg with underwear covering clear

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genital display, or bent over with underwear covering clear genital display, or bent over with underwear covering buttocks, most frequent, accounting for more than half the above cases, were thumb or fingers in mouth or fetal position.

In about one-fourth of the visuals, the principal child's expression conveyed interest, and in a similar quantity, joy; negative emotions, such as, distress/fear, sadness, or disgust/anger were present in about 12 percent of the visuals, with distress/fear accounting for about three-fifths of these instances.

Child context:

Almost one-half of the child presentations occurred in a blank, abstract, or otherwise unspecifiable physical setting; the remainder fit one or another of two dozen categories, with more than a third of these specifiable settings made up of home/doorway/yard, or country/nature/beach. Bed/bedroom/hotel room accounted for about 13 percent of specifiable settings. About one out of seven presentations also involved a Culture of Childhood figure, such as a rock or sports star, fairy tale character, or popular doll; most frequent were rock or sports stars, accounting for about a third of Culture of Childhood figures.

Slightly fewer than one-sixth employed special themes, such as holidays, childbirth in and out of wedlock, loss of virginity, and war. Of these, childbirths out of wedlock was seen more often than in wedlock in cartoons, but overall the latter was employed three times more often than childbirth out of wedlock. Together, childbirth accounted for more than one-fourth of the presentations employing special themes and childbirth themes decidedly outnumbered all holiday themes (Christmas, New Year's, etc.).

Almost all of the presentations (more than 90 percent) occurred in a setting not specifically associated with childhood, such as a nursery or play area. About one-third of the presentations of the principal child involved direct eye contact with the camera/reader, and about one-fourth had the child gazing offstage or at someone, with the whites of the child's eyes visible; about one-sixth had the eyes cast downward or closed, with the sclera and iris hidden; and in about the same number of cases, the eyes were hidden or otherwise eluded classification. (These issues regarding

eye contact with the camera will be evaluated against level of sexual exposure.) The question centers upon the child's contact with the camera in states of explicit exposure and relates to existing literature on eye avoidance behavior.

Other character:

The major Other Character in the visual, when present, was infrequently another child. Other children accounted for this role in fewer than one out of ten visuals. Somewhat more than a third of the visuals had no character other than the principal child. More than one-third of Other Characters were adult; thus, more than four times as many adults appeared as the other character in a visual presenting a child than did another child.

Males were only somewhat more frequent than females; Caucasians were overwhelmingly predominant when ethnicity could be coded, but in more than a third of the cases ethnicity could not be determined. Almost all of those for which placement could be categorized were in the foreground, although in more than a third of the instances, foreground, background, or offstage (the three placement categories) could not be unambiguously determined.

Data on physical depiction and on cues present were consistant in regard to perceived age: somewhat fewer than half the cases could not be specified, and a somewhat greater number were adults. About two-thirds of Other Characters present could not be said to have a role of authority in regard to the principal child, but, of those who did, more than half were parents, step parents, or guardians. Almost no Other Characters were in the role of effective unambiguous protectors or defenders of the principal child.

Accompanying information:

About 3 percent of visuals contained one or more lifeless human or animal beings, the majority of which were lifeless children. Of the approximately one-fourth classifiable in regard to sexual orientation, almost 90 percent qualified for the label heterosexual; about equal numbers received the labels homosexual and autoerotic. In about a fourth of the cases, the visual, caption, or text-within-eyespan, referred to a child in sexual interaction with another figure, almost all of which were human, although about 2 percent were an unreal or fantastic

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creature, an object, or an animal.

Very small proportions of the visuals depicted indecent exposure or an obscene phone call (fewer than 1 percent), sex for money or barter (fewer than 2 percent), or arson or theft (fewer than 1 percent). About 5 percent of the visuals depicted nonsexual child abuse or neglect.

About 4 percent depicted consumption of alcohol or some other substance, with more than a third of these depicting alcohol consumption, about a fifth, consumption of a legal "soft" substance (e.g., a cigarette, diet pill, or nonprescription drug), and some substantial number remaining indicating consumption of a "hard" illegal drug (e.g., heroin or cocaine) or marijuana/hashish. In slightly more than 1 percent of the visuals, the depiction was classifiable as of a runaway/truant.

Props:

A variety of props appeared in the visuals, and none could be said to occur with substantial regularity. Childhood props appeared more frequently than others (almost 10 percent of visuals), with about a third identified as toys. Slightly fewer than 10 percent of the child props were school items, such as lunch boxes, report cards, or a blackboard.

About 10 percent of all visuals contained a violent prop, with weapons (gun, knife, club, etc.) accounting for more than a third of the instances; a body fragment or blood was present in about 1 percent of all visuals.

Somewhat fewer than 10 percent contained erotic props of which the most frequent were discarded clothing (fewer than 2 percent of all visuals), followed by food or other items used as a phallic symbol without reaching the mouth (more than 1 percent) and food or other items used as a phallic symbol and approaching the mouth (fewer than 1 percent). In a minuscule number of cases (one-twentieth of 1 percent, or 18 actual cases), violent symbols were clearly employed in sexual application; these included a body fragment or blood, guns, fire, or knives.

Activities:

Several activities could be taking place within the same scenario, often suggesting mixed messages. Looking at the activities via discreet variables, however, we found romantic kissing to be about as infrequent as sexual application of violent props.

Affectionate activity, however, was identified in about a fourth of the visuals. Sexual display of body parts, usually cloaked in social intercourse, occurred in slightly fewer than one-third of the visuals. Slightly more than 2 percent (102 instances) depicted genital or rarely, anal sex, and somewhat more than four times as many implied such activity.

Somewhat more than 4 percent contained sexual foreplay or physical arousal. About 10 percent contained force or planned force; about the same precentage of depictions included the inflicting of pain and killing or maiming. A few (somewhat more than 2 percent of all visuals) contained medical/surgical procedures applied to sexual body parts. A similar few were categorized as containing a sctological or morbid presentation.

About three-fourths were recorded as depicting miscellaneous general activity, and a similar quantity contained miscellaneous sexual or violent activity other than those so far discussed in regard to activities. A scant number (about 1 percent) contained a reference to the invasion of privacy that did not fit any of the categories of an invasive nature so far discussed in regard to activities.

Surroundings:

Somewhat more than half the time the visual containing a child was within two consecutive eyespans (2 consecutive eyespans would be 4 consecutive pages) of text or pictures of another child. About one-fourth of the visuals containing a child were within one eyespan (both the left and right pages of an open magazine or book, etc.) as a picture (photograph, illustration, or cartoon) involving the sex industry, such as, a sexual service (massage parlor, topless bar), erotica/pornography (magazines, video, etc.); by far the most frequent of these were erotica/pornography. Somewhat fewer than two-thirds of the visuals containing

children were within one eyespan of a recognizably sexual picture.

Somewhat fewer than one-fourth were within one eyespan of a violent picture, about a fourth of which involved death, mutilation, battery, or physical abuse, and another fourth which involved instruments of violence. Slightly fewer than one-fourth were within one eyespan of a non-fiction article or interview. Three-fourths were within one eyespan of a text or caption classifiable as having at least minimal reference to sex or violence, and three-fourths of these exceeded the minimal category.

More than half the visuals were within one eyepan of text or a caption referring to children, of which about half were the captions for a cartoon or visual. In about a fourth of the cases, the visual contained a child illustrated text involving a child, family, violent or sexual topic. About a fourth of these concerned miscellaneous sexual behavior and not quite twice as many concerned children's sexual behavior. About a fourth of the words accompanying the visuals--as title, caption, or text--involved sexual or violent terms, with sexual terms present about four times more frequently than violent terms; there were a number of instances (about 3 percent of all visuals) in which the words reinforced the child-like image of an apparent adult.

In about 5 percent of the cases, the visual was within one eyespan of references (in text, caption, or picture) to alcohol, drugs, or cigarettes, with alcohol and drugs more frequent than cigarettes. About 2 percent contained satanic items, such as devils, ritual sacrifice scenes, and the like.

Relationships Among Variables

When such activities as a) affection, b) invasion of privacy, c) sexual display, d) sexual foreplay, e) genital/anal sex, f) other nonsexual-nonviolent, g) force, h) infliction of pain, i) murder/maiming, j) medical surgical sex, and k) the scatalogical in child visuals are examined in regard to their level of depiction, several patterns are discernible. Level of depiction was categorized as a)depicted, b) just occurred/just about to occur, c) visually implied, d) implied by text, or e) implied both visually and by text. The major patterns emerged:

1. There were no categories of activities in which actual portrayals (the combination of depicted and just occurred/just about to occur) were not recorded, and there were no categories in which depictions did not marketedly outnumber just occurred/just about to occur, except for the rare instances of medical/surgical sex, where the fourteen depicted instances were almost matched by the twelve just occurred/just about to occur.

2. In several instances, portrayals (depicted and just occurred/just about to occur) outnumbered implied activity, and very often by a sizable and sometimes overwhelming degree. These included the accepted, benign, or physically non-threatening activities such as affection, invasion of privacy, nudity, other non-sexual/nonviolent activity and the scatological.

3. Thus, the pattern of treatment of activities differs as a function of the intensity or unpleasantness of the physical contact involved. Those low on this dimension are much more likely to be portrayed, with actual depiction by far the most frequent mode of portrayal. Those high on this dimension are more likely to be implied, and the mode for those portrayed is somewhat less likely to be depiction. The implication is that with intense or unpleasant physical contact of the kinds under scrutiny, there is a tacit editorial recognition of these portrayals as falling within a universe of the marginally acceptable with some taboos restrictly the genre from total freedom in portrayal and depiction.

4. Although the presence of sexual display in these publications will evoke no surprise, it is interesting to observe how unambiguously such display, including nudity, is treated as accepted, benign, or physically non-threatening. There were 1,292 portrayals of child sexual display, of which 1,273 were actual depictions, and 98 instances were of implied display.

5. The data on level of depiction in child visuals make clear the very real differences among Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. Although it has a

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shorter publication history, Hustler portrayed sexual displays/nudity in more than twice as many child visuals as did Playboy and Penthouse (730 vs. 271 and 291 respectively). The differences between Hustler and the other two publications are even more striking for sexual foreplay, genital/anal sex, force, murder/maiming, medical/surgical sex, and the scatological. Hustler also outnumbered Playboy and Penthouse in portrayals of the infliction of pain, although not to the same marked degree as in the case of sexual display or the other variables. A similar impression is left by the data on total violent and sexual activities in child visuals. For Playboy, violent and sexual activities accounted for 30 percent of all activities involving the principal child; for Penthouse, 44 percent; and for Hustler, 70 percent.

When such activities are examined by the role of the Principal Child and the role of the Other Character, the seven roles examined lead to 49 possible combinations of Principal Child-Other Character roles. The seven roles included: a) no activity of the kind under scrutiny, b) initiator of activity, c) recipient of activity, d) mutual participant, e) observer, f) unaware, and g) involvement in some way other than the foregoing. For each, the principal child could be paired in seven different ways with the other character (no activity - no activity, no activity - initiator, no activity - recipient, etc.). Again, a number of patterns are discernible:

1. There are only five kinds of activity in which the Principal Child is more likely to be an initiator than a recipient. These consist of affection, sexual display to any degree, sexual foreplay, genital/anal sex, and general activity. For all five, there are also substantial instances in which the Principal Child is a mutual participant with figure, which almost always is the Other Character.

2. The predominance of children as initiators of activity is particularly large in regard to sexual display; in sexual display Principal Child is classified as an initiator about twice as often as the next most frequent category (886 vs. 317), mutual participant. Together, the two account for

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about three-fourths of nudity recorded.

3. The sole instance in which mutual participant is the predominant category is genital/anal sex.

4. The Principal Child is markedly more often the recipient than the initiator when the activity is infliction of pain, murder/maiming, or medical/surgical sex. In each case, the most frequent pairing is Principal Child as recipient and Other Character as initiator.

5. Invasion of privacy and the scatological occur so infrequently in any of the classifications of the 49 possible pairings that no interpretation is merited.

6. Thus, the role of children depends upon the type of activity, but the grouping of activities observed in regard to level of depiction are decidedly different. The decisive distinction in regard to role is whether the activity is likely or not to be pleasurable. For pleasurable activities children are more likely to be initiators; that is, they perform something enjoyed by others. Thus, affection, nudity, foreplay, genital/anal sex, and general activity display the same pattern in regard to the child as initiator or recipient. Mutual participant is the predominant category if genital/anal sex is part of the pattern. For those activities unlikely to be pleasurable, the child is more likely to be categorized as a recipient. Such activities include infliction of pain, murder/maiming, and medical/surgical sex. The implication is that the role of the child is governed to some degree by the portrayed utility of the child for the pleasure of others. The responsibility imputed to children seems to be: "Ask not only what to do for others, but also what they will enjoy doing to you."

CRIME AND VIOLENCE CARTOONS

The principal findings of the analysis of the portrayal of (adults in) cartoons in conjunction with crime and violence can be presented under four headings: a) attributes of visual display, b) depiction of principal figure (victim), c) depiction of secondary offender figure (offender), and d) activities. Note: For a review of activities see the last sections of the Data Book III.

IT IS TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE DATA BOOK INCLUDES TOTAL NUMBERS OF ONLY THE 5/12 SAMPLE OF PLAYBOY AND PENTHOUSE AND THE SLIGHTLY LESS THAN 5/12 SAMPLE OF HUSTLER OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE CARTOONS AND VISUALS. THE APPROPRIATE ESTIMATES FOR THE PLAYBOY AND PENTHOUSE UNIVERSE WOULD BE 2.4 TIMES THE TOTAL FIGURES FOR EACH FEATURE. THE APPROPRIATE ESTIMATE FOR HUSTLER WOULD BE 2.5 TIMES THE TOTAL FIGURES FOR EACH FEATURE.

Overview

The Data Book presents crime and violence data only as reflected by 5/12 of the magazine sample. In order to assist the reader in placing child appearances and activities into context, this discussion will review the Basic Facts for both the cartoon and visual crime and violence units. Table I identifies crime and violence cartoon data, Table II crime and violence visual data, and Table III estimates both cartoons and visuals to the three magazine universe. It is within both a graphic sexual format and within the crime and violence context that the coded 6,004 child images were presented.

TABLE I

CRIME AND VIOLENCE DATA[*]

	CARTOONS	VISUALS	TOTAL C&V	AVERAGE PER ISSUE
PLAYBOY (N=373)	3,216	4,793	8,009	21
PENTHOUSE (N=184)	1,049	1,805	2,854	16
HUSTLER (N=126)	1,073	2,918	3,991	32
POOLED (N=683)	5,338	9,516	14,854	22

Of the three magazines, Hustler averages the highest number of crime and violence depictions per magazine (32), followed by Playboy (21) and lastly Penthouse (16).

The above totals of crime and violence indicate that across all three magazines, crime and violence is portrayed more frequently in visuals than in cartoons. One explanation for the higher crime and violence frequency in visuals may be that the number of visuals is higher per magazine than the number of cartoons per magazine. Another explanation would suggest that violence lends itself to photographic treatment more effectively or with a greater variety of opportunities than do cartoons.

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[*] Playboy/Penthouse frequencies have been multiplied by 2.4 and Hustler by 2.5 for the estimated universe as seen above.

TABLE II:

CRIME AND VIOLENCE CARTOON DATA

	Cartoon total	Avg # Cartoons per issue	Avg 5/12 Cartoons	Estimated 12/12 Universe
PLAYBOY (N=154)	1,340	9	44	3,216
PENTHOUSE (N= 75)	437	6	29	1,049
HUSTLER (N= 50)	429	9	43	1,073
POOLED (N=279)	2,206	8	39	5,338

TABLE 3 (A-22) in the Data Book should be re-drafted to read as above. The Hustler 5/12 sample should have been 53 (versus 50). Thus, the reader should multiply Hustler frequencies by 2.5 while the Playboy and Penthouse- universe can be estimated at 2.4 times their given frequencies. (TABLE 3 (A-22) in the Data Book should read per 5 months sample).

The Three Magazines Pooled

The data can also be examined with three magazines pooled and for the magazines separately; the former represents the universe of the three publications, the latter differences among them. Due to time limitations these issues will be quite briefly addressed.

Attributes of display:

The total number of cartoons without child figures in which crime or violence occurred in a random sampling of five per annum for each publication was 2,206. This leads to an estimated total of 5,294 at 2.4 times the sample an more accurately 5,338 calculating Hustler at 2.5 times. Slightly more than half were in color. About three-fifths occupied between one- fourth and less than half a page. About two-fifths occupied a full page. A remaining few occupied between a half and less than a full page.

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Depiction of principal figure:

The principal figure was defined as that most significant or prominent in the cartoon. In most but not all cases it was a victim; secondary characters in most but not all cases were perpetrators of crime or violence. In about a fourth of the cases, sex was not distinguishable; in approximately one-fourth the principal figure was female; and in about a third, it was male. Caucasians were overwhelmingly predominant, although in more than a fourth of cases, ethnicity could not be determined. About a third were young adult (ages 18-39), and about a fifth were of middle age (ages 40-60), about 40 percent, age could not be determined. In about a third of the cases, the principal character was identified as animal, science fiction, supernatural, monster or otherwise unspecified; while nearly 58 percent were normal humans.

In about 14 percent of the cases the principal or victim figure appeared in some form of nudity or sexualized/fetish clothing with 6 percent involving actual or implied genital depiction and another five percent either frontal or waist-up nudity. (Again, until gender is determined, "waist-up," while a potentially sexual signal, may not be female nudity). Actual genital close-ups occurred too infrequently for inclusion (10 cases). In fact, cartooned genital close-up (which would include "internal" imagery) may be seen as the only cell in which all magazines did not have at least one reference. Only Hustler cartooned the close-up child genitalia.

Generally, the victims' role requires additional cross tabulations to fully explicate, although it was evident that in roughly 600, or eleven percent of the scenes had victims who were kin to the apparent perpetrator. In approximately 5 percent of the cases the victim received some form of defense, while more than one fourth of the victims were unprotected--despite the presence of nearly 1,100 others who could have helped.

Depiction of secondary figure:

There were slightly more secondary than primary characters in the crime and violence cartoons. Where sex could be determined, more than half of the secondary figures--perpetrators--were male, eighteen percent were female, nearly 28 percent were both male and female. It is

interesting to note that one and a half times the number of offending females were accompanying an offending male rather than offending independently. Most visible perpetrators were Caucasian, more than one-half were young adults (18-39), over one-fourth were middle age (40-60), and the elderly were seen as perpetrators about 6 percent of the time. Over ninety percent of the visible offenders were classed as normal humans, with the next ranking character seen as an animal.

Surprisingly, nearly twice the number of offenders as compared to principal figures--or victims--appeared in a nude form or in sexually fetish clothing (about 30 percent vs 14 percent). In rank order of known offender relationships, most were family or other kin; representatives of government and law; those conducting illegal sex businesses; representatives of the helping professions, such as teachers, doctors and the like. Government/ military apparently acted in a protective role in roughly percent of coded scenarios, while self-defense was present in nearly 2 percent of cartoon scenarios.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE VISUALS

The principal findings of the analysis of the portrayal of (adults in) visuals in conjunction with crime and violence can be presented under four headings: a) attributes of visual display, b) depiction of principal figure (victim), c) depiction of secondary offender figure (offender), and d) activities. Note: For a review of activities see the last sections of the Data Book III.

IT IS TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE DATA BOOK INCLUDES TOTAL NUMBERS OF ONLY THE 5/12 SAMPLE OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE CARTOONS AND VISUALS. THE APPROPRIATE PLAYBOY AND PENTHOUSE ESTIMATES WOULD BE 2.4 TIMES THE TOTAL FIGURES FOR EACH FEATURE AND 2.5 TIMES THE TOTAL FOR HUSTLER NOTE THAT DUE TO THE LOW HUSTLER FIGURES, ALL CRIME AND VIOLENCE POOLED DATA ARE SOMEWHAT DEFLATED.

TABLE III:
CRIME AND VIOLENCE VISUAL DATA

	Visual total	Avg # Visuals per issue	Avg 5/12 Visuals	Estimated 12/12 Universe
PLAYBOY (N=154)	1,997	13	78	4,793
PENTHOUSE (N= 75)	752	10	50	1,805
HUSTLER (N= 50)	1,167	23	115	2,918
POOLED (N=279)	3,916	14	70	9,516

TABLE 5 (c-5) "Average" in the Data Book should be redrafted as above. Again note that the reader should multiply the 5/12 sample frequencies by 2.4 for Playboy and Penthouse and 2.5 for Hustler.

The Data Book identifies 349 crime and violence cartoon cases of "killing" and 521 visual cases. At a minimum (2.4 x), the 870 combined cases identified represent 2,088 cases of crime and violence "killing" in the Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler magazine crime and violence population. Similarly, the wearing or displaying of violent props or symbols, presented as depicted in 2,917 visuals, represent 5,273 cases of such violent stimuli "worn" or displayed, while 209 cartoon and 532 visual cases of actual violent sexual activity represent a mimimum of 1,788 such cases. Estimated to the 12/12 universe, drug activity equals 487 cases, anal/genital and anal/oral sex/acts equal 518 cases and other illegal sexual behavior, 2,038 cases and so on.

Again, in estimates to the 12/12 universe, Satanic/occult themes, equaled 643 cases (contaminated by some few scatological/morbid) while in 830 scenarios, violent props were used specifically for sexual purposes, with over half of these described as chains and ropes--instrument of restraint. All of the crime and violence data need to be read with this caveat in mind, that the given numbers represent less than half of the actual crime and violence portrayals estimated in the three periodicals studied.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE VISUALS

The data can also be examined with three magazines pooled and for the magazines separately; the former represents the universe of the three publications, the latter differences among them. Due to time limitations these issues will be quite briefly addressed.

Attributes of display:

The total number of visuals without child figures in which crime or violence occurred in a random sampling of five per annum for each publication was 3,916. This leads to an estimated total of 9,398. Slightly under three-fourths were color, nearly one half between 1.5 inches to one-fourth page, 13 percent a full page and somewhat less over one page or a fold out of two or more pages. About 34 percent were illustrations with the remainder seen as photographs and more than half, part of a photographic essay, series, or movie scenes.

Depiction of principal figure:

The principal figure was defined as most significant or prominent in the visual who, in most but not all cases, was a victim. Secondary characters, in most but not all cases were perpetrators of crime or violence. In about 4 percent of the cases sex was not distinguishable; in most other cases sex was evenly divided. Caucasians were again predominant with ethnicity undetermined in 4 percent of cases. About three-quarters were young adult (19-39); and about 10 percent were middle age (ages 40-60); in somewhat more than eight percent, this age could not be specified. In about 24 percent of the cases, the principal character was identified as animal, an adult body part, science fiction, supernatural, monster or other; while more than 75 percent were normal human beings.

Almost fifty percent of the visuals' roughly 8,600 victims appeared in some form of nudity or sexualized fetish clothing with over 50 percent of that total involving some genital depiction (implied or clear) and a similar number involving either full frontal or waist up nudity. Actual close up genital and/or anal display appeared in 5 percent, or roughly 400 of the 8,600 cases.

Depiction of secondary figure:

Discounting approximately 400 violent symbols as a category (e.g.: guns, blood splattered walls, bloody knives, etc.), the secondary figure (offender) appeared in roughly 5,600 visuals, compared to 8,600 principal (victim) figures. Moreover, these two characters were sexually dimorphic. Whereas the principal figure, generally a victim, was equally divided by sex (in the aggregate), offenders were a ratio of more than 2:1 male to female with roughly 5 percent of the offenders both male and female - similar to the roles played in cartoons. Caucasians were overwhelmingly predominant, although in about 8 percent ethnicity could not be determined. Where age could be determined the majority of secondary characters were young adults (ages 18-39), while about 8 percent were of middle age (ages 40-60). Where there was a secondary character, the majority were human, while almost 8 percent appeared as animals, and 13 percent as body fragments.

In more than 33 percent or about 2,000 cases the secondary or offender figure appeared in some form of nudity or sexualized/fetish clothing with over 50 percent of these involving some implied or revealed genital depiction, including full frontal nudity. Eight percent of these, or about 160 cases, depicted actual close up genital and/or anal display.

In rank order of known offender relationships, most were government/military figures, followed by romantic figures (e.g., boyfriend, spouse) and entertainers/sports figures. Few protectors were about identified as assisting an apparent victim although there were 450 cases of others present but not helping. Self-defense was the largest "protector" category identified while government/military provided the next largest protector category of 38 cases (at 2.4 x overall).

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VI: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Common opinion may be said to hold that children do not exist in the pages of mainstream erotica/pornography in the United States. If depictions of children in erotic/pornographic circumstances do occur, it is generally felt, they are found only in covert publications serving a relatively small population. Moreover, as noted several times, _Playboy_ exhibited a strong commitment to the view that children were _not_ described sexually in their magazines. The intensity of the denial suggests the importance of the discovery.

The primary purpose of this project therefore was to test these assumptions, and to ascertain whether and to what extent representations of children exist in erotica/pornography published for the U.S. mass market and to what extent children may have been described sexually over time.

To this end, the project chose to analyze three magazines: _Playboy_, _Penthouse_ and _Hustler_ (PPH). Magazines were chosen over other forms of mass media because they provide the most complete long-term record. Furthermore, themes linking children with sex or sexual violence are more likely to occur first in erotica/pornography and later migrate to other media forms such as R-rated films and advertising. And, until the advent of home-based pornography display receptors, periodicals were the main source of juvenile "informal" sex education.

Playboy, _Penthouse_ and _Hustler_ specifically were chosen to represent mainstream erotica/pornography because they are the three top-selling sex magazines, and frequently are found for sale in newsstands, hotel lobbies, bookstores, college stores and airports around the country.

The project analyzed almost the entire universe of PPH magazines. Only one issue of _Playboy_ and six of _Hustler_ remained elusive to the end. The remaining 683 issues, from the inception of each magazine through December 1984, were examined using content-analysis techniques.

That translated into 373 _Playboy_ over a period of 31 years, 184 _Penthouse_ over 15.3 years, and 126 _Hustler_ over 10.5 years. An average of 10 coders spent five months applying instruments (sets of questions) to every PPH

cartoon and visual (photograph or illustration) that involved children.

To qualify as a "child cartoon" or a "child visual," the picture had to either depict a child or, in the case of the cartoon, refer to the child in its caption. The child could be a main character, part of a crowd scene, or, in the instance of the cartoon, be "offstage" and only referred to in the caption. The child visual was allowed one other category--the "pseudo-child," or adult depicted as a child-- who will be analyzed as a separate character in this summary.

Advertisements depicting children were included in the study, and accounted for 24 percent of all child cartoons and visuals. These were included because they contribute to the overall impression of children in the magazines. Some 560 of these advertisements included sales of sexual devices and, such while only 28 alcohol or tobacco ads featured children.

The child had to be in human form. There were only two exceptions to this rule: a) when the character was the offspring of a human parent, as when a woman gave birth to an object; and b) when an object or text was used as a stand-in, reference, or substitute for a child, as when a piece of child's clothing was substituted for the child (e.g. images were coded when they assumed the clear form of a child, such as angels, cupids, and the like).

The following sections summarize the project's findings and address what are anticipated will be the most frequently posed questions.

FREQUENCY OF CHILDREN IN PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER

This section discusses the number of child cartoons and visuals in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler (PPH) not the number of children found in each scenario. To count every child in each PPH scenario was discovered to be impractical because the children in some pictures were virtually uncountable. Generally this meant that the multiple tiny characters found in some pictures were so numerous and obscure that no two coders would agree on the total count. Moreover, the focus of the research was not miniscule but conceptual. We were examining the meaning and the nature of the child's presence in erotica/pornography. Therefore,

this study reports the frequency of children in terms of the number of cartoon and visual contexts in which children were found.

The coders identified 2,016 child cartoons and 3,988 child visuals (of which 681 were pseudo-children) in the 683 issues of PPH. Of these, Playboy accounted for 3,045 cartoons and visuals, Penthouse for 1,180, and Hustler for 1,779, for a total of 6,004 child-linked images.

The total count of 6,004 child-linked images means that children or surrogate children were involved pictorially an average of eight times per Playboy issue, six times per Penthouse issue, and 14 times per Hustler issue.

The 2,016 child cartoons comprised roughly 10 percent of all cartoons and the 3,988 child visual comprise roughly five percent of all visuals published in the three magazines (see p. 94). However, these were not evenly distributed, by magazine or over time. As shown below, Playboy published the highest number of child cartoons by far, which is not surprising considering both its many years of publication and its use of extensive cartooning. Hustler, claimed the highest percentage of total cartoons involving child-linked images. Hustler also topped the list for its average number of child cartoons by year and by issue. Penthouse, relying least of the three magazines on cartoons in general, had the least child images of all:

Child Cartoons: Totals, Percentages, and Averages

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler
Total # of child cartoons:	1,196	265	555
Estimated Percentage of all cartoons:	9.2%	7.0%	19.1%
Average # child cartoons/year:	38.58	17.28	52.85
Average # child cartoons/issue:	3.21	1.44	4.40

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Over time, the number of child cartoons has risen and fallen. Following is an abbreviated list of cartoons per year. (For the complete table, see the Data Book Time Lines):

Child Cartoons Over Time

	Playboy		Penthouse		Hustler	
1954:	12		n/a		n/a	
1959:	8		n/a		n/a	
1964:	47		n/a		n/a	
1969:	84		n/a		n/a	
1974:	57		11		n/a	
1979:	28		36		51	
1984:	19		12		76	
First full year:	12	(1954)	8	(1970)	26	(1975)
Lowest year:	8	(1959)	6	(1973)	26	(1975)
Highest year:	90	(1971)	36	(1979)	76	(1984)

This estimate is based on a sample size described in the Limitations. Note that both Playboy and Penthouse published a much reduced number of child cartoons in 1984, in each instance halving their output of 1983. There are indications that the number of child cartoons in these magazines continued to decline in 1985. However, children associated in sexual scenarios have begun to surface again as of the December, 1986 issue.

The percentage of the 3,988 child visuals over all PPH visuals has been estimated by counting each "page visual" or, any image on a page as a visual. It can be stated, moreover, that a child visual were estimated at an average of 2.5 percent of all Playboy pages, 2.8 percent of all Penthouse pages, and 7.5 percent of all Hustler pages. Furthermore, the total number of child visuals per magazine, their averages per year and issue and percent of total visuals follow:

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Child Visuals: Totals and Averages

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler
Total # of child visuals:	1,849	915	1,224
Estimated Percentage of all visuals:*	3.4%	3.3%	9.7%
Average # child visuals per year:	59.6	59.8	116.6
Average # child visuals per issue:	4.9	4.9	9.7

Like the child cartoons, the child visuals climbed and fell unevenly through the years. Below is an abbreviated list by year. (For the complete table, see the Data Book time lines).

Child Visuals Over Time

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler
1954:	4	n/a	n/a
1959:	23	n/a	n/a
1964:	61	n/a	n/a
1969:	40	n/a	n/a
1974:	48	28	n/a
1979:	131	60	115
1984:	109	74	122
First full year:	4 (1954)	71 (1970)	54 (1975)
Lowest year:	4 (1954)	33 (1975)	54 (1975)
Highest year:	31 (1979)	121 (1972)	144 (1982)

Note that, unlike the cartoons, PPH child visuals did not decline significantly during 1984. Indications are, however, that 1985 data record a sudden drop in the photographs and illustrations of children in all three magazines. At the time of this final writing, children in the Playboy centerfold "Biography" are no longer pre-adolescent, and few are visibly under eighteen years of age. Implicitly, this is a major shift in editorial policy. However, the December, 1986 issue again sexualized a 15-year-old in the Playboy centerfold biography.

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*   See Limitations for Explanations of Calculations for total cartoon and visual estimates.

Child Cartoons and Visuals Highest Years

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler
Highest Year for Children	1971	1972	1978
N = During Year	187	131	282
N = Per Issue	16	11	24

By examining the highest years for child cartoons and visuals, an interesting pattern seems to emerge which may suggest that the first full year of Penthouse publication, (1970) caused an acceleration of both the quantity and the quality of Playboy's use of child visuals and cartoons. This year, 1971, may be said to have included some of the more blatantly cartoon and photo child-adult sex imagery carried by the latter publication during its publishing history. Indeed, it would appear that Penthouse responded quickly to the competitive imagery with its strongest and largest number of child images, both magazines decelerating their depictions after 1972.

Playboy launched its competitive Penthouse publication, Oui magazine, in September 1972. Oui publicity advertisements allege that the magazine was aimed at a younger male college market, offering both a European flair, and suggesting more explicit imagery than its father publication. A preliminary analysis of Oui indicated that the magazine offered explicit child sex as well as explicit violent imagery. Oui was sold in 1981. It would appear that much of the "heaviest" sexual freight of the Playboy publication was carried by its side publications, such as Oui.

Age of the Children in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler

Contrary to intuition, most of the children in PPH did not belong to the high school age group. The coders found that nearly half of the Principal Children--51 percent depicted in cartoons and 46 percent depicted in visuals-- were between the ages of 3 and 11 years old.

At this point, it is necessary to explain the concept of the Principal Child, because much of the remaining data

depends on understanding the central role of this character.
The cartoons and visuals were analyzed according to who were
the Principal Child, the Other Character, and the Tertiary
Character. This structure was chosen to focus on the child
and analyze the rest of the picture in terms of the child.
It also was discovered to be the best way to analyze a
picture's activities, especially those found in cartoons
with multiple plots.

There were 2,016 child cartoons and 2,016 Principal
Children. However, this does not mean there were only 2,016
children in PPH. For instance, there might have been more
than one Principal Child, as when a unit of children were
playing essentially the same role. Or, the Other Character
and Tertiary Character could have been children as well. In
actual fact, however, most of the Other Characters and
Tertiary Characters were adult males. Therefore, it can be
assumed fairly safely that data describing how the Principal
Children were depicted also describes how children in
general were depicted.

As stated, approximately 51 percent of the Principal
Children from all PPH cartoons were in the 3 - 11 year age
bracket. The percentages for each age group and each
magazine are as follows:

Ages of the Principal Children (PC's) in Child Cartoons

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler	PPH
fetuses (in utero and aborted):	4%	7%	8%	5%
newborn - 2 years:	16%	16%	14%	15%
3 - 11 age group:	45%	56%	60%	51%
12 - 17 age group:	36%	20%	18%	29%

There were 3,988 child visuals and 3,988 Principal
Children in PPH. Of these, 681 were pseudo-children to be
discussed later in this summary. Of the actual Principal
Children, 46 percent belonged to the 3 - 11 age group. The
percentages for each age group and magazine are as follows:

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Ages of the Principal Children (PC's) in Child Visuals*

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler	PPH
fetuses:	2%	3%	13%	5%
newborn – 2 years:	17%	14%	14%	15%
3 – 11 age group:	52%	43%	38%	46%
12 – 17 age group:	30%	40%	35%	34%

Note that although 3 - 11 was the predominant age bracket for both the child cartoon and the child visual, their patterns were reversed. In the cartoons, Hustler was the most apt to portray the Principal Child as between 3 and 11 years of age, and Playboy was the least likely to do so. In the visuals, however, the positions were reversed. Playboy became the most apt to portray a 3 to 11 year old as the Principal Child, and Hustler the least likely to present a child of that age in a photograph or illustration.

Sex of the Children in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler

The coders found that over half, (51 percent) of the Principal Children in all the 6,004 cartoons and visuals were girls, about 35 percent were boys, and roughly 14 percent were children of unspecified gender.

When the cartoons and visuals were analyzed separately, however, dramatic differences between the sexes emerged. Boys were clearly the predominant sex in child cartoons (49 percent male, 36 percent female, 15 percent unspecified). A principal factor in this predominance was their heavy presence in cartoons where characters discuss topics of a general or sexual nature, rather than to act them out. Girls, dominated child visuals (29 percent male, 59 percent female, and about 12 percent unspecified). Advertisements were thought to be the key contributing factor for this predominance, since they accounted for one-third of all visuals and were twice as likely to depict girls as boys. However, when ads were dropped from the calculation, girls still accounted for the same proportion of child visuals. The cause for the preponderance of girls in visuals, therefore, may lie on some characteristic of the photograph and illustration media themselves.

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* Pseudo-children are not included in these figures

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Moreover, while boys were placed in the sexual scene in 1954, both soliciting and receiving sexual suggestions from adults, girls were not placed in the sexual scenario until the mid-60s, generally as fairy tale heroines accosted by the seven dwarfs or the tin man, etc. In addition, the tendency of the mainstream magazine has been to include images of the child juxtaposed with her nude "big and little" grown-up body. Children were coded as containing 666 sexualized, 143 violent, 71 sexual and violent, and 58 terms which included sex, satanism and/or violence to label or describe the child. In addition, the apparent adult models have also been displayed nude, yet posed with the same facial expressions, hand and/or body arrangement as in the "me-as-a-child" photo insert.

Caption's Describing Children in Child Visuals

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler	
Sexual Terms:	13%	18%	21%	
Violent Terms:	3%	2%	6%	
Sexual and Violent:	0.4%	3%	3%	
Satanic/Sexual/Violent:	0.4%	2%	0.7%	
Other Illegal Terms:	1%	0.3%	0.3%	
TOTAL SEX/VIOL TERMS:	18%	25%	31%	26%

As identified above, a large proportion of child visuals did clearly include text descriptions which associated the child with sex, violence or both, as well as satanism--alone or in connection with sex and violence.

How the Children were Depicted

Most of the children were of Caucasian race/ethnicity. Also, most of the children were fully clothed, natural children who looked their age. However, there were other children who were not fully clothed, who were depicted as physically unnatural, or who were given trappings that made them appear older than their physical years.

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Race/Ethnicity:

Overall, 85 percent of the Principal Children were Caucasian, 3 percent Black, 8 percent were of unspecified and, the balance Jewish, Asian, or Hispanic.

With one exception, these percentages remained the same for both the child cartoons and the child visuals. The exception was the category of Jewish children, who accounted for 3 percent of all cartoon children. It should be noted that being able to specifically identify children as Jewish suggests an element of ethnic stereotyping in the cartoons' story lines. Few of these references to children as Jewish may have occurred within the Christ story depicting Christmas.

Penthouse and Hustler accounted for most of the minority depictions. Penthouse's cartoon children were 7 percent Jewish, and its visual children were 5 percent Black. Hustler's cartoon children were 5 percent Jewish and 7 percent Black, and its visual children were 3 percent Black. Playboy's cartoons rarely presented minority children, although Black children accounted for 3 percent of its visual children.

Physical depiction:

Data for this question was gathered from the child cartoon alone, since physical exaggerations and flights of fancy were not common elements of the child visual. This is not true of pseudo-children, however, to be discussed later.

The Principal Children in PPH cartoons were physically depicted as natural, alive, human children 67 percent of the time. The rest of the time they were characterized in a range of ways, chiefly as unnatural offspring of human parents (7 percent), children with exaggerated sexual parts (6 percent), and as deformed, dismembered, or dead human children (4 percent).

Each magazine had its physical depiction profile. By gender, Playboy was the most likely of the three to depict both sexes as physically natural, although 20 percent of the girls were drawn with exaggerated sexual parts. Those girls tended to be between 6 and 17 years old.

Penthouse tended to depict both sexes, but especially boys, as unnatural offspring of human parents (e.g., as

semihuman newborn). <u>Penthouse</u> depicted all age groups as unnatural offspring, but especially those 11 years and under.

Hustler was the most apt to show children, especially boys, as deformed, dismembered, or dead. <u>Hustler's</u> deformed, dismembered, and dead children were largely from the ages of fetus through two years with abortion accounting for the majority of cases.

Age cues:

Most of the Principal Children (over 70 percent) were depicted as their natural age. That is to say, the age cues surrounding the children--their hair, clothes, props, etc.-- were in accord with the age suggested by their physical development.

Sixteen percent of the children in cartoons and 7 percent in the visuals, however, were made to look older than their physical years through the use of age cues. For all three magazines, the age group most often given the suggestion of being older was the 3 to 11 age bracket.

The most common age cue used to suggest unusual maturity for the child's age was the caption (8 percent of all cartoons and visuals). In the cartoon, the caption was likely to be the child's precocious comment, often of a sexual nature. In the visual, it might have been a label describing the child as sexually experienced or ready for adult experience. The next most common age cues were clothing and hairstyle (7 percent), and age-specific props or settings (5 percent).

Coders recorded that a "mismatch of body parts" was the leading age cue to 2 percent of the Principal Children in visuals. This involved instances in which body parts generally associated with one age group were combined with body parts generally associated with another age group (e.g., an elementary school age child with fully developed breasts).

Dress/Undress:

PPH children can be divided into two groups according to whether or not some degree of sexual exposure was involved. It was found that, after removing the pseudo-children from consideration, 18 percent of the Principal

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Children were presented as either: a) partially nude, with exposed breasts and/or buttocks; or b) with genital and/or full nudity while that figure would increase to 24% were we to include depictions of the pseudo-child.

Children in the visuals even excluding the pseudo-child were more likely (20 percent) than those in the cartoons (14 percent) to be presented with some degree of sexual exposure:

Children's Sexual Exposure in PPH

	Cartoons	Visuals
Partially exposed:	6%	11%
Genital/full nudity:	8%	9%
TOTAL EXPOSURE:	14%	20%

The Viewer's Perception--14% to 26%

In addition to the two categories listed above, if the cartoon Principal Children are examined for child sex "cues," children dressed in sexual clothing/undergarments showing yielded 3% of the these characters, while implied nudity, (generally children in bed with the Big Bad Wolf, or Uncle Bill, etc.) yielded an additional 4% of Principal Children. Conservatively, this would suggest that fully 21% of the Principal Child characters were displayed sexually in some manner. Also, coders were told to identify children dressed in "mature" clothing, beyond their years, clearly suggestive of an child-adult. Such matured Principal Children appeared in 5% of the scenarios. Thus, depending upon the viewers perception, children were most visibly sexual 14% of the time. The addition of implied as sexual/sensual yields 21% while child-as-adult yields a total of 26% of all cartoons displaying a visual overtone of child sexuality/sensuality.

When each magazine's cartoon depictions were analyzed separately , it was discovered that Playboy was the most apt to present a child as partially or fully nude (15 percent), followed by Hustler (13 percent), and Penthouse (9 percent).

Penthouse ranked highest in the percentage of its cartoons depicting clothed children (92 percent). This figure is somewhat misleading, however, since it includes

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depictions in which a child's nudity was suggested or implied, but not revealed. For instance, a child might have been fully clothed, but the clothing was transparent lingerie or another item associated with sexuality. Or, a child's nudity might have been conveyed but not revealed, as when the body was implied to be nude behind a towel or under a blanket. When Penthouse cartoons were analyzed in terms of a child's suggested or implied nudity, 8 percent fell into this category, reducing the magazine's percentage of clothed children from 92 percent to 84 percent.

Playboy also suggested or implied child nudity in 8 percent of its cartoons, while Hustler employed this type of depiction in only 3 percent of its cartoons. (Questions regarding children's implied nudity were asked only of the cartoons.)

Children's Sexual Exposure in Cartoons

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler	PPH
Partially exposed:	7%	3%	4%	6%
Genital/full nudity:	8%	5%	9%	8%
TOTAL EXPOSURE:	15%	8%	13%	14%
Suggested/implied exposure:	8%	8%	3%	7%
TOTAL SEXUALIZATION:	23%	16%	16%	21%

Not surprisingly the majority of child depictions in the three magazines did not sexually expose the child. Overall, 86 percent did not show nudity (no exposure, Playboy 85 percent, Penthouse 92 percent and Hustler 87 percent).

In the visuals, Hustler was the most apt to present a child as partially or fully nude (52 percent of its Principal Children). It also was the most likely to depict the children with genital to full nudity (35 percent). However, it should be especially noted that whereas Playboy (31 years) had distinguished itself as containing a larger number of child cartoon depictions than Penthouse (15 1/2 years) in the visual format, Penthouse carried 33 more child nude or genital displays than did Playboy.

For example, 30% of Penthouse Principal Children were partially or fully nude. Coding along the same criteria,

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13% of <u>Playboy</u> Principal Children were exposed to a similar degree in its visuals. The <u>Playboy</u> claim that its magazine pages never exploited children is disproved by cartoon and visual data. Nevertheless, in all fairness, the data documents clear distinctions in levels and frequencies of graphic exploitation. When gynecological images of the internal genitalia (called "pink" within the sex industry) were analyzed, the distinctions between graphic and subtle exploitation were especially manifest.

<u>Hustler</u> was candidly exploitative of the child's "internal" genitalia, with fully 17% of their models being so exposed and another 17% genitally depicted but without internal close-ups.· <u>Penthouse</u> provided juvenile and adult readers with close-up gynecological displays of models in 3% of their visuals, while another 10% (total 13%) were genitally depicted sans close-ups. On the other hand, <u>Playboy</u> is on record with a sparse presence (0.1%), or two cases of gynecological displays, although another 88 (4%) were genitally exposed but non-gynecological.

Children's Sexual Exposure in Visuals

	Playboy	Penthouse	Hustler
Partially exposed:	9%	17%	17%
Genital/full nudity:	4%	13%	35%
TOTAL EXPOSURE:	13%	30%	52%
AND/OR Gynecological-internal:	0.1%	3%	17%

It is suggested that the above descriptions of three-magazine graphic child sex display may be a form of "mass media child sexual abuse."

The Principal Child visual character described as nude or genitally exposed above, constituted a minimum, non-cross-over total of roughly 30% of all Principal Children. Another group of questions looked at the quality of the sexualization of these child characters.

Dress of Principal Child

Child totally nude:	745 cases	19% total
Adult sexual apparel:	112 cases	3% total
TOTAL NUDE/SEX DRESS:	857 cases	22% total

Similar to the cartoon questions, coders identified treatment of the child character, which could overlap with the discussion of nudity while some would not. At this time the data cannot explicate the precise overlap of dress cues. However, coders did identify Principal Children dressed as Girl Scouts and in school uniforms, with underpants showing suggestively. Pseudo-children were identified dressed and posed provocatively exposed and wearing Mary Jane shoes and other child clothing. Children were sometimes fully covered but dressed in sexualized or mature clothing, lipsticked and rouged, while on the next page the adult model appeared in similar pose and style.

In all cases, viewer perception of the child will be largely dependent upon the context within which she/he views the child. By definition, context includes the scene in which the child appears, the page opposite the scene in which the child appears and the pages which precede and follow the child image. Context includes the graphic sexual display of mature females through photos or drawings, which exist in the same magazine as mature females. While we have little knowledge about the precise quality or quantity of the brain-mind processing of these visual stimuli based upon by the receiver's sex, age, etc., we do know the stimuli are neurochemically processed by receivers.

Recent research in mental imagery and the visual system supports the notion that theories of Association of Stimuli, Conditioning, Misattribution of Emotion, Mislabeling of Arousal and so on, so these highly arousing visual stimuli are applicable. It follows from these accepted bodies of scholarship that inclusion of children or pseudo-children within a body of arousing sexual stimuli and crime and/or violence, facilitate the probability of arousal to children, crime and violence among some vulnerable juvenile and adult readers.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

Common opinion may be said to hold that crime and violence are not prevalent in the most popular of the mainstream erotic/pornographic materials in the United States. If depictions of crime and/or violence do occur, it is generally felt, these are found mainly in covert publications serving a relatively small population. Moreover, as with child sexual abuse depictions, there appears to be a similar body of denial regarding the presence of crime and violence in mainstream materials. As with the depictions of children, the intensity of the denial suggests the importance of the current research discovery.

The primary purpose of this project was to test the hypotheses regarding the presence of children in sexual and nonsexual scenarios in these three magazines, and, to test the hypothesis that these child images did appear in context with images of crime and violence.

To this end, a 5/12 sample or 42 percent (rounded) of the three magazines under study for images of children, were examined as well for images of crime and/or violence. Text was not coded on its own, due to the research commitment to examining visual data. Most importantly, all visual data is decodable by children of the youngest ages.

Child Viewers/Readers

While there is little understanding of the ways in which pictorial material works upon the human brain-mind process, there is even less understanding of the ways in which children-as-a-class may decode images as opposed to the ways in which adults-as-a-class may decode images.

Issues such as a child's sex, race, religion, social class or parental status (divorced, separated, intact) further confuse the analysis of a child's erotic/pornographic "decoding" process. Past sexual experiences, good and/or bad, self-confidence, pictorial cues of identification, sibling behaviors, and so on, all contribute to a child's interpretation of visual data. We are aware of the serious mass exposure of children to the messages delivered by visual (and text) erotica/pornography. However, as yet society has not chosen to deal with the specific social consequences of that wide scale exposure.

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There is manifestly no reliable data available regarding the ways in which children interpret erotic, or pornographic information. It is reasonable to assume that thirty years of increasing exposure of children to erotic/pornographic information has played some affective/effective role in some adult and juvenile sexual attitudes and behavior. As crime and violence have been portrayed in association with sexual acts and displays, it is equally reasonable to assume that thirty years of increasing exposure of children to E/P crime and violence information has also played some affective/effective role in some adult and juvenile criminal and violent attitudes and behavior.

Along this line of concern the final section of this report entertains a notion of "Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma" (see part VIII). Speculating upon one possible consequence society may consider regarding E/P child exposure.

The Crime and Violence Data

A large body of collected crime and violence data remain to be analyzed. Certain statements can be made, however, based upon existing frequencies and the analysis of basic crime and violence facts.

Estimating From the Sample

A primary point to remember when examining the crime and violence data is that the numbers presented in the Data Book represent only 52 percent (rounded) of the total sample. To compare the child data to the crime and violence data, the reader should multiply Playboy and Penthouse by 2.4 and Hustler by 2.5.

The Hustler magazine selection was slightly underrepresented (by three magazines). Since this magazine had unusually high rates of display across specific

criteria, the small discrepancy could have significantly distorted a number of important results. Therefore, any comparisons should include the slight increase for <u>Hustler</u> frequencies. Moreover, since the Data Book does not footnote this reminder, the reader could easily be mislead regarding the deflated totals of characters and activities.

Data Summary

Out of the nearly 15,000 crime and violence depictions, about six thousand, or forty percent were photographic, nearly forty percent were cartoons and the remaining images were illustrations. While there were definite differences between magazines, in no case did one magazine offer <u>no</u> contribution of the material at hand, but rather, each magazine exhibited definitively lower and higher levels of display.

The Victims and The Offenders

Sex

In general, it was surprising to note that the majority of adult victims were males, victimized by other males, with males subjected to more nonsexual crime and violence and females to more sexual crime and violence. Nearly half of the victims were male, more than forty percent female while eleven percent were both male and female or other. Over fifty percent of our offender population was male with not quite one quarter of the offenders female and twenty-four percent both sexes and other.

Age

Almost seventy percent of our identifiable victims were, not surprisingly, young adults between 18 and 39 years, with only fifteen percent middle aged and the smallest victim group being the elderly with three percent victimized. Similarly, almost sixty percent of our identifiable offenders were young adults while slightly more middle aged characters appeared as offenders than victims. Again, three percent of elderly appeared as offenders while over twenty percent of the offending population were of unclear age.

Race

Racially, these magazines appear to maintain a strong Caucasian character, despite their extensive non-white male readership. The Caucasian character is further revealed in the review of female centerfolds and displays and in the child analyses. In this case, over eighty percent of identifiable victim and offender populations were Caucasian with two percent of offenders and victims Black. The remainder of victims and offenders were fairly evenly distributed among non-white characters, while two percent of the victims and offenders were Asian and/or Hispanic.

Activities

It may be significant that while actual "violent sex acts" were estimated at 1,779 cases or twelve percent, roughly thirty percent of the scenarios presented the victim in some form of nude display within the context of the crime and/or violence. It should be emphasized that these data need to be fully explored by sex and by act of violence. However, at this time we can say that sex, nudity, and sexual display did appear across all magazines as part of the humor or part of the arousal, part of the "excitement" of the crime and/or the violence described.

With fourteen percent of the material estimated as including some form of murder and fourteen percent estimated as assault and battery these sexually graphic magazines are documentably employing violent themes in the context of graphic sexual arousal/stimuli. Until further data analyses are conducted, we are unable to identify what percent of each activity group crosses over. That is, some portion of the assault and battery victims were also victims of murder. Thus, these precise relationships await future discussion. A distinct category tended to be that of "white collar crime" also registering a fourteen percent presence. This category included the institutional representatives of government, judiciary, law enforcement or business who engaged in the acceptance of bribery or who attempted to bribe or otherwise cheat or steal.

As noted, violent sex acts were identified at twelve percent, while fifty-six percent of all visuals (5,273) used violent props and another 1,733 visuals dealt humorously with sex dealing/prostitution.

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Protector/Defender

As with children's depictions, the adult crime and violence scenarios included a dearth of individuals protecting or defending a victim, particularly for altruistic reasons. Only two percent of all victims were seen to be aided in some manner by a person in the scene while one percent of the victims practiced some form of self-defense. Beyond this, of visuals alone, sixteen percent of 5,273 violent props were used for sexual purposes, the most prominent of which was "Chain(s) rope; instruments of restraint" (Adult Visual Coding Instrument, Question 48; #7).

The Highest Years

In looking at the highest and lowest years for the depictions of the socially taboo subjects under discussion, the intuitive appears to be relevant. The first full year of existence, each magazine appears to have tested the reader tolerance or market for children, crime and violence. Notably then, the first full year of production yields the least of these taboo subjects, even when accounting for magazine size.

Beyond this, crime and violence appears at its all time high in 1976 (Playboy), 1980 (Penthouse), and 1984 (Hustler). When examining the highest years for child depictions, each magazine peaked on children several years prior to peaking on crime and violence. As noted in the final comments on children's depictions, it is the fusion of these themes, sex, child, crime and violence which is of serious social concern, meriting large scale debate, dialogue and research. At any rate, child high years were 1971, 1972, and 1978.

Highest Years for Depictions

Children

Playboy	1971	187 cases	16 per issue
Penthouse	1972	131 cases	11 per issue
Hustler	1978	228 cases	19 per issue

Crime and Violence

Playboy	1976	490 cases	41 per issue
Penthouse	1980	271 cases	23 per issue
Hustler	1984	568 cases	47 per issue

SUMMARY

The present study tested the hypotheses that both children as well as crime and violence would be found in the three most popular sexually explicit magazines for three decades. Had the null hypothesis been verified, we would have found no children, crime or violence in these adult sexually explicit magazines. Verification of the null hypothesis would have meant that children did not exist within a sexual context.

A second hypothesis tested, suggested that children would be found in sexual activities and in violent activities, and, that children would be found as recipients, initiators and observers of both peer and adult sexual interactions. Had the null hypothesis been verified children would not be seen as sexually acting out peers, nor would they be acting as recipients, initiators or observers of sexual activity with adults. Were these materials acting only as messengers of children's naive and innocent sexual behavior, the research might not have found adult/child sex, but only peer sex. This latter was not the case, few children were engaged in sex play with same age peers and out of 580 cases of children associated in a sexual encounter with an older person, only 10 percent (60) were older juveniles while 90 percent were adults.

The use of the cartoon format to socialize heretofore unacceptable social behaviors was found to be confirmed by the data. The early theory of such a media socialization pattern via the fairy tale was supported by the sexual relations between children and adults, accounted for by sex. Boys were found to be displayed as sexually associated with older women, even family members, within the cartoon format as early as May 1954, while little girls did not enter scenarios as adult sexual targets until one decade later, in the fairy tale cartoon. Subsequent use of the female child appeared also in pseudo-child photography; children in "Sex in Cinema" out-cuts which were banned or cut from the originally distributed film; in "artistic" renderings; by use of underage foreign models and finally; by use of underage children identified as adults (e.g., Tracy Lords, 15 1/2 year-old, _Penthouse_ Pet, September, 1984).

This research did not attempt to examine the possibility of subliminal inbeds or other types of sophisticated photographic artistry, we cannot address the possibility of the magazine's use of these tactics to maintain reader interest. All of the magazines are

documented as providing child stimuli to their readers. It seems reasonable to assume that means will be found to continue providing this stimuli.

The data provide objective evidence of child sexual abuse in these magazines. A question for public debate is the degree to which child sexual exploitation in mass media materials put children, and thus the nation, at risk.

The problems for discussion and research include:

1. The role of these magazines and other such media, in making children more acceptable as objects of abuse, neglect and mistreatment, especially sexual exploitation.

2. The role of these images of children in reducing taboos and inhibitions restraining abusive, neglectful or exploitative behavior toward children.

3. The role of these images in the possible trivialization of child maltreatment in the minds of readers.

4. The consequences of presenting child images, particularly sexual and or violent images of children in materials which call attention to sexual and/or violent activity.

The increasing availability - in the aggregate - of images of children associated with crime, violence (nudity and sexual activity), may be seen in the following graph. The documented growth of 2,600 percent in child depictions and 650 percent of crime and violence need to be considered in future public dialogue on the impact of the sexually explicit genre on children, crime and violence and the overall society.

Based upon the above concerns, an immediate moratorium is urged upon the use of child or pseudo-child images in any sexual and/or violent media until verifiable research can be conducted on the harm factor. Such an action on the part of the sex industry would be viewed as an act of responsibility, based on concern for the welfare of children rather than an admission of responsibility for harm.

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THREE TOPSELLING E/P* PUBLICATIONS
NEWSSTAND AGGREGATE

Number (Thousands)

*Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate
Year

▥ CHILD DEPICTIONS ▦ ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE DEPICTIONS

THREE TOPSELLING E/P* PUBLICATIONS
NEWSSTAND AGGREGATE
PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1954-1984

2,800% Increase

650% Increase

16 DEPICTIONS   412 DEPICTIONS   170 DEPICTIONS   1102 DEPICTIONS

*Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate

▥ CHILD DEPICTIONS ▦ ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE DEPICTIONS

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VII: PRELIMINARY STUDIES

In addition to thorough analyses of children, crime and violence in _Playboy_, _Penthouse_ and _Hustler_, the Principal Investigator of the present project conducted seven preliminary studies: 1) child magnets, 2) children in alcohol and tobacco advertisements, 3) body depiction, 4) the body validation instrument, 5) comparative and control studies, 6) trends in reported crimes, and 7) child interest levels. These seven studies suggest the need for in-depth examinations of the features over time, requiring additional elaboration, refinement, and replication (see VIII: Recommendations for Future Research and Application of Present Findings).

Child Magnets

The research yielded an additional category which the project was unable to fully explicate, titled, "Child Magnets." The term denotes images in cartoons and photographs which would normally be found in children's publications. That is child magnets would be deemed particularly attractive to children, and thus would draw their attention were they to peruse the magazines (see Methodology, Volume II). These "Child Magnets" included pop-up pictures, three-dimensional cut outs, Santa Claus, cowboys and Indians, and the like. While child cartoons and child visuals, by definition, referred to a child, child magnets did _not_, by definition, include children, but were seen to be uniquely attractive to children.

This preliminary study was limited to a frequency count of the qualifying child magnet images. The basic data for the cartoon and illustrated child magnets are compared to total numbers of magazine cartoons since the bulk of the magnets were found in cartoons. Only pop-ups and three-dimensionals were the other main magnet source. A full time series study of this phenomenon is urged.

TABLE IV:

CHILD MAGNETS

	Child Cartoons Totals	Child Magnets Totals	All Cartoons Totals	Percent Magnets Estimated
Playboy	1,196	2,300	13,055	27%
Penthouse	265	964	3,680	33%
Hustler	555	798	2,898	47%
TOTAL	2,016	4,062	19,633	31%

As children tend to examine images of other children, particularly same-sex children, all child cartoons and child visuals would automatically be "magnets." Again, this study of "Child Magnets" can only be viewed as a preliminary examination. A larger scale investigation of these features in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler is strongly encouraged.

While our coding sheets do identify a detailed breakdown of the child magnets, time constraints prohibited a detailed analysis of these data. The "All Cartoon" frequencies are estimates based on a carefully selected sample across three magazines, over time.

The project was concerned with the information which was reaching both the adult and juvenile reading public. In this respect, the preliminary study of child magnets takes on special significance. Nudity per se would not be coded as a child magnet. A child magnet is here defined as any image that is deemed as especially attractive to a child and commonly found in children's publications. These include three-dimensional pop-ups, Cowboys and Indians, child literature figures, Santa Claus, and so on.

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"Pop-Up" and "Cut-Out" Magnets

As noted, <u>Playboy</u> has used three-dimensional pop-ups, cut-outs and other techniques, to illustrate a wide array of articles on a variety of issues (eg: "Griselda and the Porn-0-Phone" 12/71 p. 222; "Great Moments in Sexual Censorship" 12/77; "So You Want To Tie Me To The Bedposts..." 12/71 p. 130; "Bad Dreams" 3/80 p. 105; "How To Cast A Porno Film and Not Get Too Nervous" 12/74 p. 187; "Notes Of A Fallen Fan" 12/83 p. 110; "Why Drug Enforcement Doesn't Work" 12/85 p. 104; "While Lenin Slept" 1/86 p. 89) or, "Playboy's Do-It-Yourself Rocket Ship" 12/77).

The attraction of these specialized illustrations for children may be seen in a recent $3 billion pop-up published by a major insurance firm: "Advertisers Are Popping Up to Catch Reader's Eye" (The Washington Post, October 17, 1986).

> "When Transamerican Corp. wanted an advertisement to rise above the clutter of competing ads, [they] looked to children's book publishing for its tactics ... For years, children have delighted in books with pop-ups; dimensional paper cut-outs depicting Goldilock's invasion of the Three Bears' home, or Jack's magic bean stalk" (p. C2).

There is no information identifying the impact of the affective and effective arousal stimuli of sex and drug pop-ups and the like on vulnerable youth. Researchers would do well to consider the sex education inherent in the materials observed in E/P three-dimensional formats. Indeed, the sex education received via thousands of magnets perused by children for the last three decades may have been of significant influence for particularly vulnerable and sexually confused youth.

Research data specifically identifying the impact of the affective and effective arousal stimuli of graphic sexual images associated with graphic pop-ups on vulnerable young people is not currently available. That is, while an "uncontrolled" experiment has been widely conducted upon child perception since 1954, controlled research data is not currently available. Nor should it be. However, learning theory supports this investigator's past preliminary work with children. That is, children give the most attention to, remember best, and learn from, the symbols and cues which most reflect their own Culture of Childhood.

Beyond the three-dimensional images it is necessary to examine cartoons with additional child appeal beyond the norm. Two cartoon themes merit particular attention: (a) Santa Claus because of his cultural and affectional importance and because Christmas was found to be the most frequently used special theme, and (b) fairy tale characters because of their cultural and affectional importance and because fairy tales were found to be a frequently used adult-child sexual theme.

Santa Claus:

Due to the significance of Santa Claus as a symbol of Christmas, religion, and benign and benevolent authority, the use of the Santa Claus theme in this genre may be said to require an overall rigorous investigation. Many fathers who have played or identified with the role of Santa at Christmas subsequently view this figure with nostalgia and experience this recollection as an enjoyable, nurturant interaction with children. Moreover, common cultural consensus may be said to interpret Santa as an important figure for children, even sometimes as a religious figure somehow relating to children's happiness and well-being. Reflecting this historical perspective, in 1986 Frances E. Duncombe studied the attitudes toward Santa of 1,500 pupils ranging in age from seven to thirteen. Duncombe believed Santa represented a phenomenon which "intrigued and fascinated [children] most" (Benjamin, 1979, p. 36).

Benjamin et al's study (1977) replicated Duncombe's (1896) study. These researchers found that most child respondents in 1977 as well as in 1896 felt children should believe in Santa Claus because it made them happy. With this in mind, depictions of Santa Claus may be said to be of some importance to both adults and to children. This could be especially relevant at the pre-operational stages (up to seven years) in children's lives when, child development specialists observe, it is quite usual for a child to confuse reality with fantasy.

A preliminary survey of all Santa images, not limited to images of Santa in association with children (advertisements, photos, illustrations and cartoons) from December 1957 to December 1984, found 329 <u>Playboy</u> Santas, 139 <u>Penthouse</u> Santas and 39 <u>Hustler</u> Santas. This project did <u>not code</u> Santa unless he was involved in child cartoons or visuals of crime and violence. However, in the preliminary search for the number of Santas over time, images of Santa emerged in the

following basic themes: sexual,   violent,   drugs,   sexually
violent,   other   illegal,   morbid,   and "standard" Santas   in
liquor and other advertisements.

Benevolent altruism did not seem to be reflected beyond
the   role   of a jolly salesperson for a   particular   product,
generally some brand of liquor.

Indeed,   the   question   is   raised   here   regarding   the
viewing child's responses to the numerous illegal or   illicit
images of Santa as,   for example,   Santa engaged in sex   with
his   reindeer (Playboy: 1/79,   p. 360) or as Santa   having
cannibalized a child (Playboy: 1/77,   p.   221) violently shot
in the head by Santa--using a large rifle--(Penthouse: 12/77)
or   as Santa brutally crucified by a mouse   trap   (Penthouse:
10/76, p. 123).

It   is   noteworthy   that since late   in   1983   very   few
cartoons and almost no photographs in Playboy included images
of   children associated with sex.   Yet,   as of this   writing,
the   December 1986 Playboy issue carried a   sexualized Santa
Child Magnet fold-out, two cartoons associating children with
adult sexuality and a fairy tale associating Goldilocks   with
sex   with an object.   The fold-out magnet is of a   colorfully
displayed nude woman ("Mrs. Claus").   Santa's wife engages in
adultery   with   a   child-man,   trusted   by   Santa,   while   the
characters   in the scenario and the viewers play the role   of
voyeurs.   Mrs.   Santa reclines on a red sled,   surrounded by
wrapped gift boxes,   a teddy bear and nine of Santa's   little
helpers.   One of the little helpers is burrowing into   "Mrs.
Claus'" lower anatomy as the eight other little helpers,   the
teddy bear,   a happy "child's"   moon and the reader,   peer at
the sexual scene.

In   scores   of   scenarios,   children   are   depicted   as
initiating,   receiving or observing sexual or violent activity
with Santa Claus.   The children sitting on Santa's lap   were
initiating one form of sexual or violent comment or act while
they were receiving another form of sexual or violent comment
or   act.   Typically,   the children were presented as   either
con-artists   and   manipulators   of Santa,   or   as   naive   and
silently abused by Santa.   In any case,   the genre's lack of
Santa   humor   with   non-malevolent   overtones   is   intriguing
because 1)   these cartoons would be viewed/read by   children;
and 2) some male readers may effectively identify with Santa
Claus.   Santa is widely viewed as a father substitute or as a
symbol of God, religion or love.

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There are also the often ambiguous or subconscious double messages of affection mixed with sexual exploitation (as in Santa's sexually-affectionate embrace of the juvenile on her bed). The effect of mixing messages of affection with humorous forms of exploitation have been addressed by mental health professionals, mass media scholars and others. A great deal of consideration, it would seem, may be belatedly due to the symbolic and imaginative world within which children grow to adulthood.

This symbolic world, the world of imagination and fantasy would include Santa Claus, fairy tales and nursery rhymes. These intuitive, affective, emotional experiences of childhood often involve mental rehearsal for future life adventures, and are known to nostalgically trigger a suspension of disbelief. Santa can be said to stand apart as an important character in the larger world of fairy stories and nursery tales. His treatment, across all magazines, as an exploitative, violent adulterer and pedophile, may prove to have been nontrivial.

Fairy tales:

When examining the overall demographics of fairy tales, it is noteworthy that fairy tales reverse the sex bias of child cartoons for Playboy only. That is, while there are more boys overall in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler, there are more girls in the Playboy fairy tale scenarios. Moreover, it is via the fairy tale that most of the first male adult-girl child sex scenario emerged (see "Socialization Taboo Ideas," in the next few pages).

Although Bettleheim (1977) was not discussing mass-consumed erotica/pornographic fairy tale illustrations, it would seem his arguments on the meaning and importance of fairy tales are nonetheless applicable to the erotic/pornographic form of fairy tale presentation. We have no evidence, to date, that distinguishes between fairy tales read in a book and those read in a magazine, although certain differences do empirically exist. That is, fairy tales which exist within the close proximity of female genital display, graphic visual violence to child and adult, and extensively text sexuality would be of a different arousal quality than fairy stories set within their traditional book context. However, this unique sex magazine mix would seem worthy, then, of study particularly in light of the scholarly literature on illustration as an aid to learning (e.g., Enlander & Harate, 1979; Waldner, 1978; Willows, 1980).

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As in child cartoons in general, 1971 was a major year for the inclusion of children in the fairy tale illustration (See Table I). An examination of the cartoons coded as fairy tales, nursery rhymes and myths established the female child as an adult sexual target mainly in fairy tales, prior to this treatment of female children in standard cartoons, and certainly prior to photographic female child sexual abuse. (Remember, boys were associated sexually with adult females as early as May, 1954, fully one decade prior to introduction with girl targets.)

The Playboy (August 1964, p. 124) cartoon was the first clear, traditional fairy tale which identified a black and white fully clothed juvenile Cinderella coded as non-sexual non-violent. One year later (September 1965), the Big Bad Wolf was shown in bed planning an attack on Red Riding Hood. However, it is not clear whether the activity would be sexual, violent, or both (Playboy, p. 165). In 1967 Snow White appears in Playboy, full-page, full-color, page right. In the cartoon, Cinderella's breasts are barely covered. The suggestion is that she has just been raped: "... And then suddenly there were these seven little men and their seven little beds..." (February 1967, p. 183). In March 1970, a second Snow White illustration was produced, page right, black and white. At this time, Snow White was drawn with nipples and having just had sexual intercourse with a dwarf. Nude from the hipline up, she sits in her bed as the dwarf puts on his socks and she says, "I certainly don't see what you have to be grumpy about" (p. 235). Other Playboy fairy tale heroines continued to be shown in sex scenarios with dwarfs and other surrogate male protectors.

In December 1977, Penthouse illustrated Snow White's forthcoming gang-rape by the seven dwarfs. The cartoonist, Mal, drew Snow White asleep in black and white, while one smiling dwarf said to the group of men, "All those in favor of a gang bang say 'HI HO'" (p. 214). Interestingly enough, Mal returned to Playboy in December, 1986 at the time of this writing, with a depiction of Goldilocks and the Three Bears. Here, Goldilocks is seen in bed grinning widely while Mama Bear holds a phallus and asks, "Who's been using my vibrator?" (p. 218). The disappearance of the child from sex scenes in Playboy from late 1983 seems to have tapered off as the sexualized child appears again in the 1986 Christmas issue. A five-year-old girl asks Santa for "a little pimp-and-hooker set;" (p.225) and a "transexual doll" with cool aplomb while a pre-school child finds her mama sexually associated with Santa Claus (p. 153).

The Socialization of Taboo Ideas

This change in portrayal of sex with fairy tale figures continued, becoming more prominent through the years, and incorporating other characters such as the Wizard of Oz. The theory of the "Socialization of Taboo Ideas" is noted in an original flow chart dated 1976 (appendix J). The theory would suggest that nearly all taboo ideas presented in these mainstream magazines were found in cartoon form prior to photographic display. And, that fairy tales or other "fantasy" scenarios function as a technique for the socialization of taboo ideas. That is, fairy tale cartoons using a child in a sexual scene would circumvent reader resistance to seeing female children as sexual and thus as seekers of sex. Once the readers resistance was circumvented, she/he could adjust to the idea of little girls giving and receiving sex from adult men. It is interesting that the return to fairy tales in 1985-86 displays Goldilocks sexually interacting with an adult penis substitute. That is, Goldilocks is seen to have enjoyed the use of a dildo vibrator-rather than to interact sexually with a "real" adult male (12/86).

The following table is the "Key for Child Magnet Symbols and Explanations" used in the present research:

Key for Child Magnet Symbols and Explanations

SC =   Santa Claus
 A =   Animal(s) if color and of "child" appeal
 C =   Costume(s) if color and of "child" appeal
 H =   Hero/Heroine, Cowboy(s), Indian(s)
 T =   Toy(s), Doll(s), Sport, Child Activity, Game(s)
 M =   Mythology, Monster(s), Fantasy (color)
 F =   Fairy Tale Scene
 P =   Child Party Symbols
 S =   School Symbols, Desks, Blackboards, Pendants
 R =   Religious Person or Symbol, Holiday (Halloween,
        Christmas, Easter, Valentine's Day; color)
 L =   Literary Allusion to Child History/Literature (Knights, Pirates)
 Q =   Hi-tech, Space, Science Fiction (color)
 Y =   Comic Strip
YY =   Child in Comic Strip
 * =   Parents and Adult Children
N/A =   Not a Child Magnet

Modifiers

N =   Nudity
X =   Sex
V =   Violence
B =   Blood
G =   Guns, knives, other Violent Symbols

Children in Alcohol and Tobacco Advertisements:

A coder analysis, which provided relief from the primary investigation, was the examination of alcohol and tobacco advertisements. Here, the second group of coders became acquainted with the overall magazine via identification of non-threatening images of alcohol and tobacco. These ads were viewed as controls in that the use of children in an adult sexual context is generally seen as taboo as are children in alcohol or tobacco scenarios.

The question was: Did the inclusion of children in a sexually explicit magazine (something of a taboo) and in a sexual and/or violent scenario (something of a taboo) extend

to the inclusion in said magazine of children in alcohol or
tobacco advertisements (something of a taboo)? It would be
reasonable to depict children in these advertisement
scenarios as a means of attracting future consumers and/or as
a means of suggesting the normalcy, desirability and
harmlessness of the products (See Tables I & II). One would
anticipate their inclusion to be similar to their inclusion
in erotica/pornography.

TABLE I:
EXCLUSION OF CHILD IMAGERY FROM ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO ADVERTISEMENTS

ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO ADVERTISEMENTS			
FEATURE	PLAYBOY	PENTHOUSE	HUSTLER	POOLED
ALCOHOL ADS	5,283	1,816	25	7,124
ALCOHOL ADS W/ CHILDREN	3	2	0	5
TOBACCO ADS	2,222	1,611	17	3,850
TOBACCO ADS W/ CHILDREN	15	8	0	23
TOTAL # ADS	7,505	3,427	42	10,974

TOTAL NUMBER OF ADVERTISEMENTS WITH CHILDREN = 28 (0.25%)

The above table is based upon a preliminary analysis of all magazines from 1956-1984.

As Krippendorff noted: "...any content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data (1980, pp. 23). Within the above analysis we are viewing the alcohol and tobacco context as a "taboo context for children." This term refers to both legal and social sanctions restricting child access to otherwise legal products. In this same way, alcohol and tobacco, while legal products for adults, constitute a taboo context for children. And, while there do not appear to be laws forbidding child imagery in alcohol and tobacco ads, and despite the need to recruit potential youthful consumers, the alcohol and tobacco industries have evidently instituted a self-imposed code of standards on child imagery. This code of standards remains constant in the context of erotic/pornographic magazines.

Data analysis of advertisements also elicited the following: In "family oriented advertisements" (nonalcohol and nontobacco), 795 child images were identified. In

advertisements for sexual products, services or devices, 560 child images were identified. In summary, omission of child images is not an artifact of advertisements in general. Child imagery is inclusive in advertisements selling commodities of both a sexual and nonsexual nature. Thus, it appears that advertisers selling alcohol and tobacco are unique in the exclusion of child images.

TABLE II:

CHILD IMAGERY OVER TIME: A COMPARISON ESTIMATE OF
EROTICA/PORNOGRAPHY CARTOONS/VISUALS VERSUS ALCOHOL/TOBACCO ADS

MAGAZINE	CARTOONS/VISUALS			ALCOHOL/TOBACCO ADS		
	CHILDREN	TOTAL (*)	PERCENT CHILD IMAGERY	CHILDREN	TOTAL (*)	PERCENT CHILD IMAGERY
PLAYBOY (N=373)	3,045	66,394	4.5%	18	7,505	0.03%
PENTHOUSE (N=184)	1,180	30,728	3.8%	10	3,427	0.06%
HUSTLER** (N=126)	1,779	15,498	11.5%	0	42	---
POOLED (N=683)	6,004	112,620	5.3%	28	10,974	0.25%

* The estimated cumulative totals of cartoons and visuals in these three magazines over time were calculated by multiplying the mean per magazine derived from the sample (see Table I) p. 93, by the magazine aggregate examined (373, 184, 126).

** Note that while Hustler had no children in alcohol and tobacco advertisements, few of these products advertise in the magazine.

The preceding table identifies the presence of child imagery in two "taboo contexts," both within the same erotic/pornographic genre: in alcohol/tobacco advertisements (also see Table III), and in cartoons and visuals. Within Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler over time, an estimated 4.5%, 3.8%, and 11.5% (respectively) of the cartoons and visuals include child imagery. This can be compared to 0.03%, 0.06%, and no percent (respectively) of child imagery in alcohol and tobacco advertisements within the same magazines.

While the erotic/pornographic magazines under examination clearly permit children in advertisements for sexual and nonsexual products and in cartoons and visuals, the alcohol and tobacco industries appear to have instituted a self-imposed code of standards, omitting child imagery from 99.75% of their advertisements in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. These facts infer an exploitation of the taboo use of children by the magazine publishers in their cartoons, visuals, and sexual advertisements, versus a policy of nonexploitation by E/P alcohol and tobacco advertisers.

Body Depictions

During down time (while new instruments were being prepared and tested, etc.), available coders recorded the various body displays presented in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines over time. A count was made for each magazine. Years that contain missing issues have estimated totals calculated from averages of same-year closest-month issues.

Coders reviewed each page of each magazine, tallying body images, body part substitutes and several activities. While coders often observed and tallied various body parts presented in human form, they also observed instances of body images depicted in isolation from a body; for example, a pile of breasts. These images were categorized and recorded regardless of placement or context. Coders did distinguish between photographs and illustrated cartoon depictions, to observe any changes over time, and it appears that all sexual parts were first depicted in cartoons, with the exception of one photographed flaccid penis in Playboy which preceded cartoons (very few).

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* The number of years analyzed were as follows: Playboy, 26 years; Penthouse, 12 years; Hustler, 8 years.

By the 1970s, all sexual body parts (breast, genitalia), began to appear as photographs (see data book). <u>Hustler</u>, for example, first introduced the penis photographically, although the phallus had originally appeared in cartoon form in <u>Playboy</u> following its one flaccid photo.

The body depiction was conducted as preliminary research, and several methodological weaknesses became evident. They are problems which could be corrected to ensure greater accuracy and, therefore, will be briefly discussed.

Since this project was tangential and used as a coding "break," one problem encountered was lack of sufficient training for the coders. Although the coders were familiar with the magazines, specific definitions and descriptions of each body part were not initially sufficient. As questions arose, however, exact instructions were provided.

Another consideration in conducting a body count is the attitude and mental state of the coders. Many of the coders had negative reactions to performing the body count due to the repetition of the task but perhaps more due to the sense of depersonalization they felt this involved.

The results of the preliminary study for body depiction were as follows:

TABLE III:

TOTALS: BODY DEPICTION 1956-1982

	BREASTS	GENITAL/PUBIC	GYNECOLOGICAL
PLAYBOY	17,127	3,303	26
PENTHOUSE	8,840	2,765	352
HUSTLER	9,717	3,294	2,919
TOTAL	35,684	9,362	3,297

Due to the general task ambivalence felt by the coders, the findings must be viewed with special caution. One normally conscientious and reliable coder was found to have missed numerous images.

The nonsexual, emotional responses of coders may be seen as an unanticipated research discovery. Coders were less anxious in their analysis of children, crime and violence than in the analysis of nudity and sexual display. It is possible that this type of research can never be fully accurate due to each individuals own emotional sensibilities. A great deal of information regarding the ways in which males and females deal with the nude and sexualized body was gained and is available in diary and letter form, given to the Principal Investigator. While this data is not appropriate within the format of this report, it is nonetheless illuminating and will be presented in the near future.

Accuracy could possibly be improved under better conditions. While we felt that the trends discovered are fairly reliable, additional work needs to be done in individual areas. The following suggestions should increase

accuracy in future research and reduce discomfort experience by coders:

1. Train coders thoroughly, establishing consensus in definitions to enhance intra- and inter-rater reliability;

2. Reduce time spent per day on body count to no more than two or three hours per day, and/or give short breaks after one or two magazines are coded;

3. Emphasize accuracy over speed of production. Try to reduce an assembly line atmosphere. Music and art reproductions on the walls and carrels were considered helpful;

4. Have "feedback" sessions for coders to work out difficulties with the task and with their responses;

5. Develop a weighted scale, which would reflect size of images. For example, a shadowy genital image in a corner should not be given equal weight to a full-page graphic close-up.

While it was viewed by most coders as an unpleasant task, the body count is valuable for providing frequencies of explicit exposure in the magazines. Clearly, the editorial policy of the magazines dictates the nature and amount of exposure and activities. For these reasons, focusing on the body count could provide much objective data on exactly who and what is being displayed in these magazines and it could identify significant changes in display over time.

The Body Validation Instrument

A preliminary review of various models suggests that these magazines may have combined (air brushed) adult and juvenile body parts into centerfold composite photos for certain photo essays and pictorials. A careful investigation of the process of composite photography or "photo montage", especially composites which combine child body-parts, with adult body-parts is in order. The Body Validation Instrument could also create techniques to identify other misleading photographic images. Policy or legal implications regarding "truth in advertising may also be implied." The possible psychological implications for viewers of such composite

imagery-especially as it links the child's and adult's body-suggests an urgent need for such a research effort to validate the truthfulness of these models. Preliminary studies by the Principal Investigator suggest that the centerfold "product" is not truthfully advertised that "vital statistics" are commonly misrepresented and that these deceptions may have both short and long term consequences.

Comparative and Control Studies

The present magazines entailed the examination of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler which sell primarily to a white, male audience, but which are also read by a large number of juvenile and adult white females and Black males and females. It would be of interest to conduct identical CA research on magazines: a) whose readership is predominantly Black, such as Players, b) whose readership is allegedly female, such as Playgirl, and c) whose readership may cross racial and gender boundaries, and which ostensibly are non-erotic/pornographic, such as Time or Esquire.

As Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler have a sizeable Black male readership, and as these materials undeniably suggest a "perfect" or "ideal" beauty (white, generally blonde, young), it is reasonable to speculate about the ramifications on Black wives and girlfriends of Black men and boys reading such magazines or viewing similar films and videos. Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler may be seen to be essentially advertising the white female as both the ideal beauty and as the ultimate object of sexual/genital arousal and gratification. The impact of such pictorial stimuli on Black adults and juvenile male and female perspectives of beauty and desirability is a crucial area of needed speculations and research. Alice Walker's essays on erotica/pornography in, You Can't Keep a Good Woman Down (1981) are recommended for an insightful introduction to at least some Black men and women's attitudes toward this material. Current concerns raised by the Black community regarding the disintegrating heterosexual harmony and the vanishing Black family, focuses upon a crisis in personal identity. Certainly there is a need for research in this area.

Trends in Reported Crimes

There is a continuing debate as to whether or not an increase in crime in general, and in sexual and physical crimes against children in particular, reflects an actual increase in such crime or merely an increase in reporting said crimes. Some resolution may lay in the employment of uniform data collection techniques which compare these media "crime" displays to similar crimes in the real world over time.

Examples of incidence reports that require media-to-event tracking similar to the Phillips research (see literature review), are: violence to children; child sexual abuse; rape and assault; sibling sexual assault and juvenile assault/offender reports via citations of trends in The New York Times Index and other such indices:

> Using The New York Times Index and the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature ... [we] have been charting the number of times crimes were committed against children in terms of sexual assault, their use in pornography and their exploitation as sexual objects. ... [We] started charting in 1945 to get a real feel for the reports before the coming of Playboy. . . . '[P]ornography' wasn't even . . . a subject heading until 1973; ... until then citations were listed under 'sex crimes'. . . . [A]bout 1972, the subject heading 'child molesters' began to appear under 'sex crimes' as a 'see also.' By 1975 the use of the heading 'sex crimes' was dropped altogether and replaced by 'child molesters' and 'rape;' by 1977 the main subject headings ... became 'incest,' 'rape,' 'child abuse' and 'child molesters'. . . . [T]he instances of reports of sexual crimes committed against children skyrocketed starting in 1977--a really sharp and dramatic increase (Gross-Hill, 1985).

Tables I and II identify the preliminary research by an information specialist regarding actual reports of child sexual abuse and pornography in the press since 1950. As can be seen by the two time lines attached and by the comparative child depiction time line relating to increases in depictions of children in sexual activities with adults, there would appear to be some purpose in continuing such research. The researcher explicates the following two tables or "Time Frame Graphs":

These two simple Time Frame Graphs made from the
Reader's Guide data will provide at a glance the
evolution of subject headings concerning child
pornography and assault, as well as patterns of
interest as reflected in the citations. The Time
Frame Graph on citations covers the years 1945-1985,
and identifies 0-70 actual citations that refer to
children. From 1945-1952 there appeared on the
average of one article a year that pertained to child
sexual assault. During this period it was necessary
to create subject headings to deal with the numerous
accounts and problems related to child molestation.
'Child Abuse' appeared for the first time as sexual
assault with 7 citations, and 5 out of 11 citations
under the heading 'pornography' dealt with child
pornography. Then 1979-1985 were peak years for
incest and child molesters with a record breaking
number of 51 citations under 'child molester' in
1984-85 (Gross-Hill, 1985).

A review of our time lines on children in sexual encounters
with adults and all time lines linking children with abusive
scenarios, identify a significantly earlier "report" occurrence
in erotica/pornography than press reports in 1979. Reiterating,
the highest presence of children in Playboy was 1971, Penthouse
1972 and Hustler 1978.

Four years after Playboy peaked in its portrayals of
children in sexual and violent scenes, and three years after
Penthouse peaked in it's portrayals of children in sexual and
violent scenes, the Reader's Guide found it necessary to include
a new subject heading. In 1975 "child molestors" became part of
the Reader's Guide subject index.

TABLE I:

READER'S GUIDE TIME LINE SUBJECT HEADINGS

1977
"incest"
& "child abuse'
appear

1973
"pornography"
appears as major
subject heading

1970
"child molester"
appears

1965-1969
all accounts indexed
under
"sex crimes"
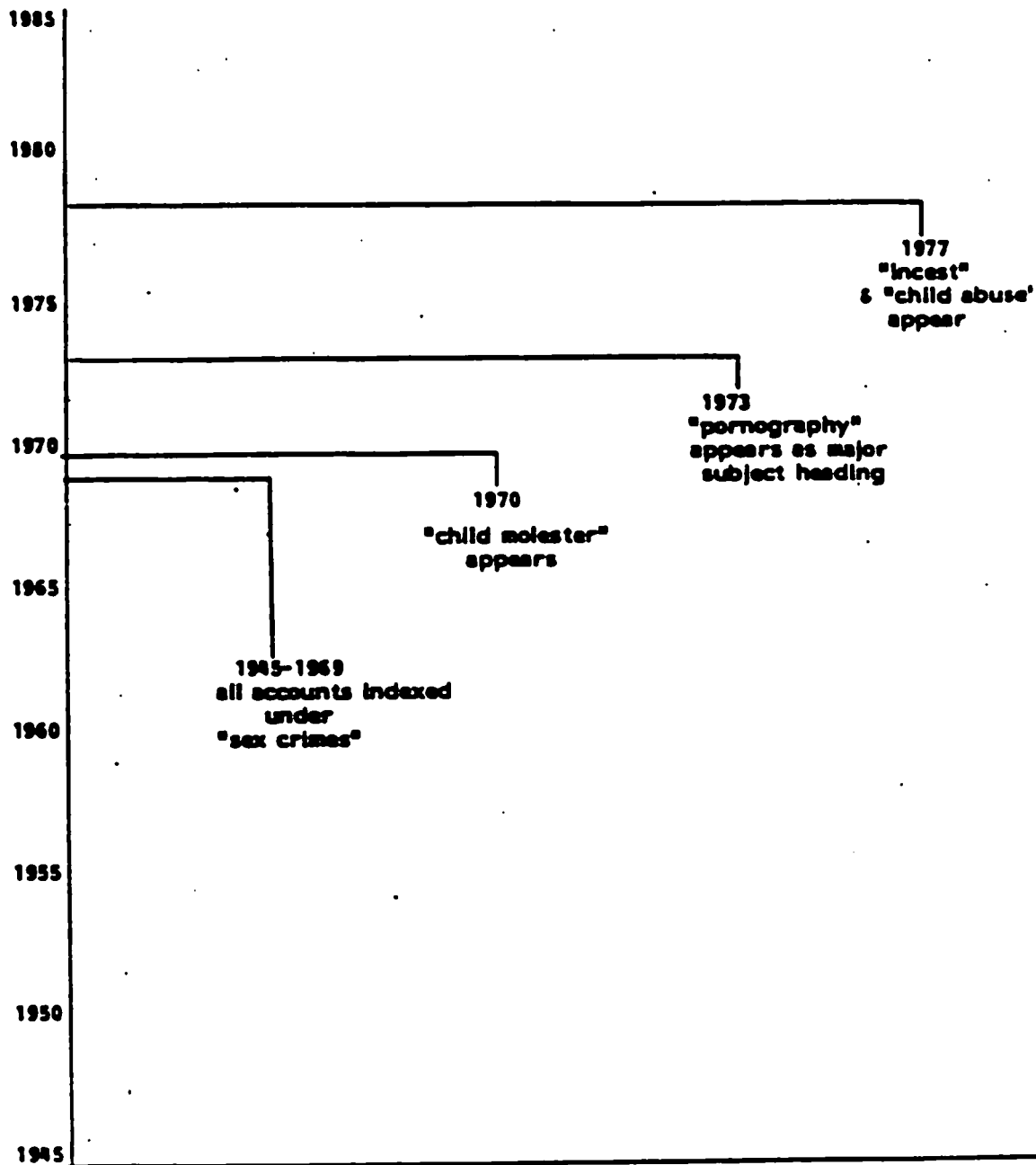
AN EXAMINATION OF THE CITATION LITERATURE AS A REFLECTION OF
THE RISE IN REPORTED CASES OF CHILD SEXUAL ASSAULT

TABLE II:

READER'S GUIDE TIME LINE CITATIONS
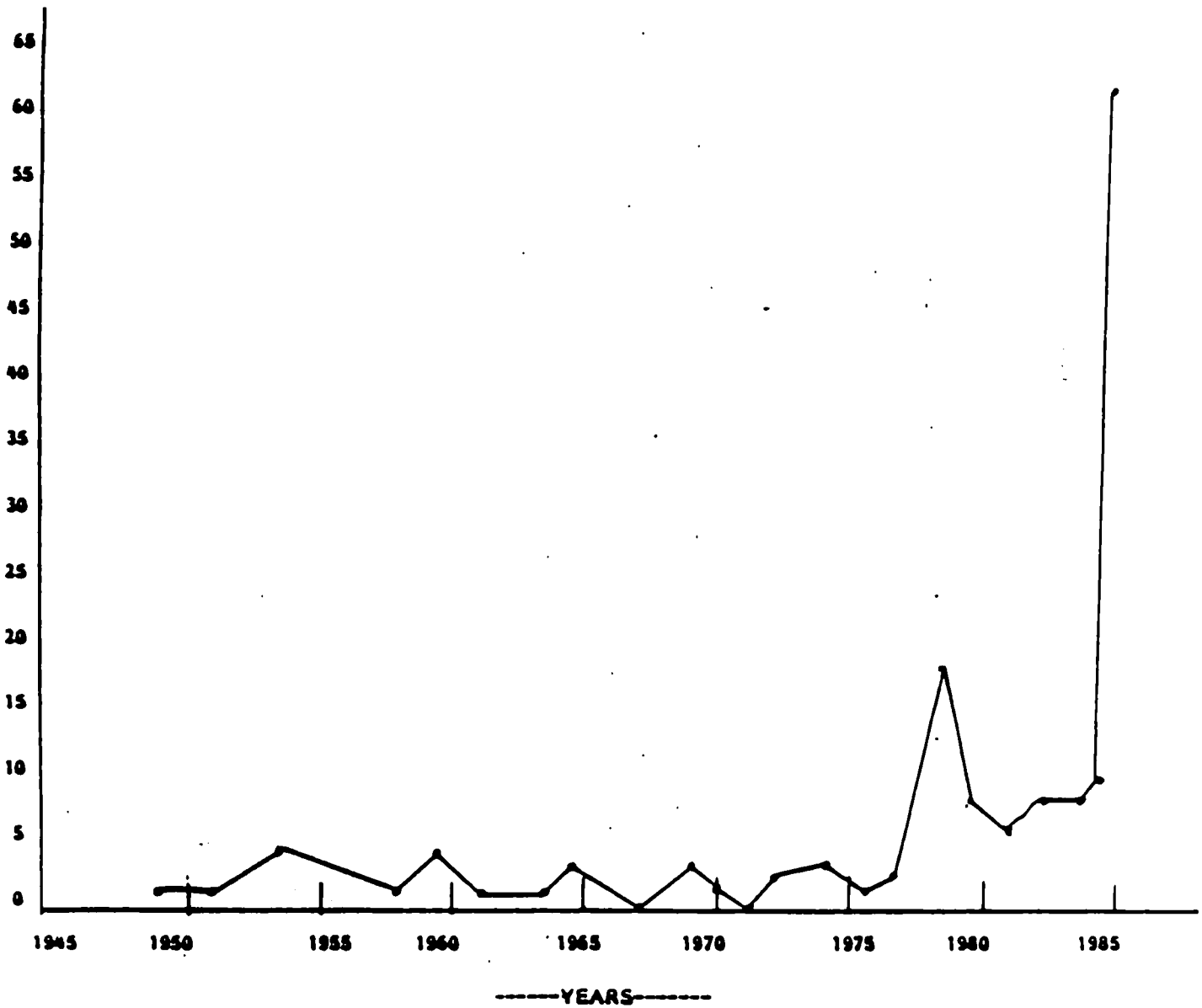
TABLE III:

PRESENT RESEARCH TIME LINE CITATIONS

CHILDREN IN SEXUAL AND/OR VIOLENT SCENES IN E/P

CHILD CARTOONS
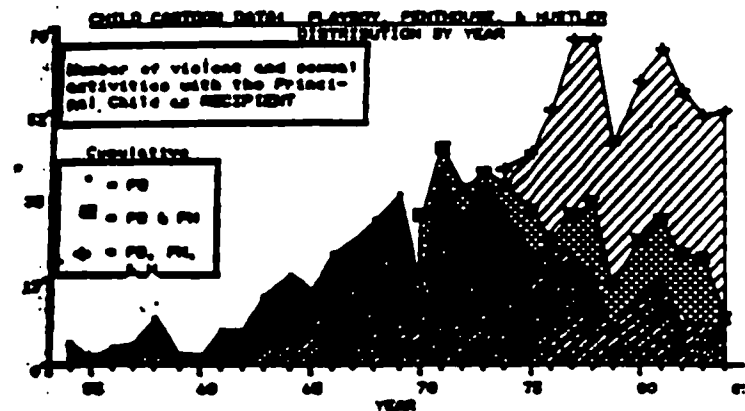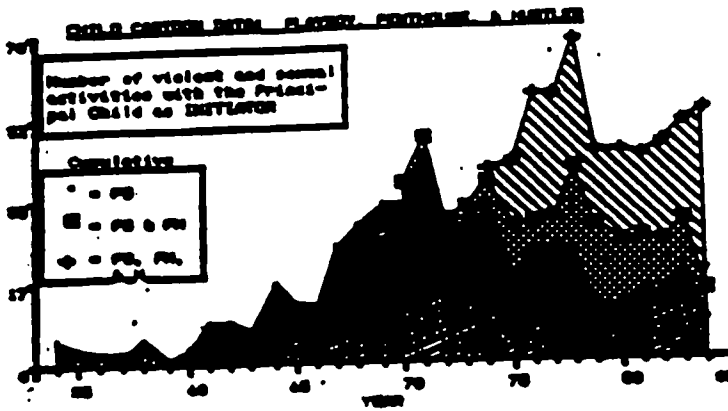
CHILD VISUALS
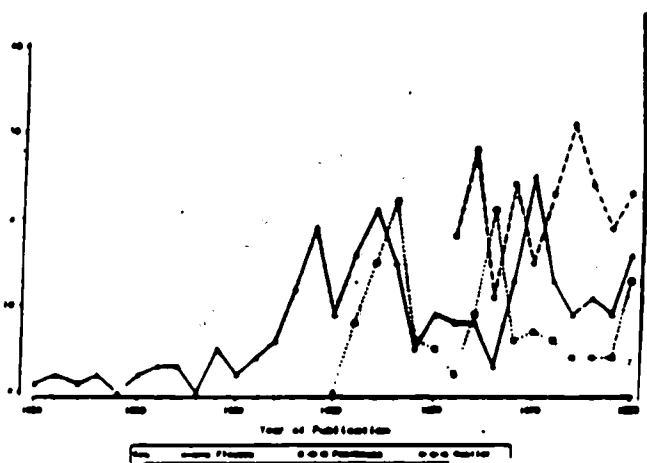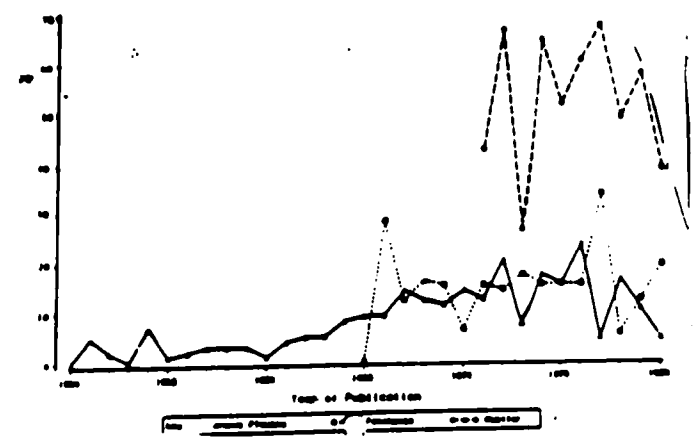
Sexual Activity   Violent Activity

(See Data Book, Volume III)

Child Interest Levels

The Child Magnet data lend some insight into the amount of material in each magazine which even the smallest child may find of interest; three dimensional imagery, Santa Claus cartoons and other Culture of Childhood cues. It is recommended that carefully designed research be carried out which would explore children's responses to nonsexual and nonviolent visual stimuli in an attempt to understand children's responses to such stimuli in a sexual and/or violent context.

The area of import is the level of interest and learning that children may actually experience in viewing the kinds of cartoons and visuals examined in this study. It could be quite useful to obtain age grade data from children on the development of attraction interest and comprehension of cartoon and visual stimuli with nonsexual or nonviolent related content. Based upon the existing literature on children's sexually dimorphic response to cartoons and jokes, it may be speculated that even very young boys would be attracted to certain types of sexualized violence-especially in cartoons. We can only wonder, at this time, about the importance of such imagery and its possibly intrusive nature upon children's imaginations.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH
AND
APPLICATION OF PRESENT FINDINGS

In addition to providing previously unavailable information to the professional, private and volunteer sectors, the present findings provide directions for future research. Future research should examine the role and presence of erotica/pornography in child abuse. The present findings could both encourage and facilitate such efforts.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Stemming from the present study, future research should, at minimum, include a) replication of the present study, b) elaboration and replication of the preliminary studies, c) experimental research on coders as subjects, d) extensive literature reviews, and e) the delphi technique.

Replication of Present Research

The ability of other researchers to replicate the findings after implementing the original methodology is insurance of the validity of the data. Selective replication of this original research is encouraged not only to further determine the usefulness of the present findings, but also to contribute additional insight and expertise to the subject under study. As was previously discussed, Cournand (1981) termed such second stage researchers "verifiers consolidators":

> Recognition by other scientists of the validity of a new paradigm comes but slowly: It is achieved through the results of observations or experiments performed by the investigator discoverer and the verifier consolidator and pursued within the framework of the new paradigm that substituted itself for what went before (pp. 78).

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Elaboration and Replication of Preliminary Studies

According to Cournand, progress in science occurs when the "revolutionary," the "investigator discoverer" and the "verifier-consolidator" work together. It is hoped that this research will stimulate continued and sophisticated efforts to replicate the present research. In addition, the elaboration, replication and refinement of the preliminary studies conducted in the present project are urged (see VII: Preliminary Studies):

1) Child Magnets
2) Children in Alcohol and Tobacco Advertisements
3) Body Depiction
4) The Body Validation Instrument
5) Comparative and Control Studies
6) Trends in Reported Crimes
7) Child Interest Levels

These seven studies suggest the need for in-depth examinations of the features over time.

Coders as Subjects

The present research by-passed the opportunity to use coders as subjects. An experimental design would have been required in order to obtain data on the various effects of continuous exposure to erotica/pornography. However, coders were explicitly exempted from being subjects of scientific scrutiny except in regard to the reliable performance of coding tasks. They were informed that they were to perform solely as professionals. This agreement was scrupulously honored by the Principal Investigator during the entire research activity. However, the design of the present study provides an extraordinarily valuable paradigm for obtaining knowledge about the effects of such exposure. For good or ill, the coding process exposed people (over 21) to communication stimuli that they might otherwise avoid or ignore. The rationale avoided contaminating coding the magazines by coder suspicion that she/he was being studied experimentally. Thus, replications of portions of the present study could profitably be combined with an experimental study of these materials on the beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of male and female subjects, both addicted and sporatic users, as well as non-users of this material. Comparisons of responses over time within and across groups could yield useful data regarding the desensitization or addiction process.

Extensive Reviews of the Literature

Additional literature reviews on topics related to the issue would broaden the present understanding of erotica/pornography. Four suggested topics are presented briefly below:

Historical overview of the definitions of "obscenity," "erotica," and "pornography":

In lieu of the continuous attempt to answer the question "But what is pornography?" it seems a necessary step to analyze and synthesize the various legal and social definitions over time for these three often confounding terms. Much of this work has been provided by the recent Attorney General's Report on Pornography. In addition, it would be an opportune context in which to attempt a new, potentially non judgemental definition for "pornography," perhaps integrating theories such as excitation transfer theory, labeling theory and such with current knowledge of picture-versus-text-processing (hemispheric stratification) and "risk theory" as seen by sociobiology (Shepher & Reisman, 1985).

Historical/Crosscultural evaluation of modern erotica/ pornography:

Preliminary evidence suggests that western erotica/pornography may have undergone heightened development in Germany during the Weimar Republic, when a sophisticated print, magazine and film sex industry emerged. The radical sex educator Wilheim Reich warned that mass consumption of erotica/pornography would stimulate sexually violent behavior among German youth. An investigation of this period in Germany and German youths' attitudes and behavior, as well as an investigation into the dissolution of the highly developed German sex industry, could yield useful information relative to the present topic. There have been some allegations that German sex industrialists relocated to Sweden during World War II spawning a Post World War II Swedish sex industry. These geographical patterns, including shifts to Denmark, the Netherlands and England could yield useful historical data.

Historical overview of humor theory:

There is a vast amount of literature on the topic of humor, past and present. Numerous theorists such as

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Aristotle, Chesterfield, Darwin, Freud, Hobbs, Marx, Plato, and Bergson have philosophized on the meaning and psychology of humor. More recently, humor has been the subject of empirical psychological research (see Literature Review). A reasonable task would be the integration of the speculative, empirical and experimental literature into the analysis of contemporary erotic/pornographic cartoon humor. In particular, the disparagement theory of humor has been examined primarily in regard to racist humor (e.g., Blacks and orientals) and ethnocentric humor (e.g., religious factions and ethnic jokes). It would be timely to examine the disparagement theory of humor within the context of erotic/pornographic cartoon humor.

Nonverbal behavior and proximity:

Images are non-verbal. A review of the literature on nonverbal behavior and on proximity would provide crucial keys to understanding the messages delivered via photographic images in mainstream erotica/pornography.

A literature review on nonverbal behavior would require a synthesis of the pertinent information on facial expression and emotion, facial coloration, eye contact, body posture, and other such cues. A literature review on proxemics would entail an examination of public versus private space, crosscultural sexual display, primate and other animal sexual displays, private sexual display and nurturant display and behavior. Such reviews would enable researchers to better understand the various nonverbal messages being delivered via photographic images in mainstream erotica/pornography.

The Delphi Technique

It is recommended that a series of the images examined in this project be submitted in a systematic way to a broad spectrum of persons representing diverse expertise and interests. The attached commentary by Drs. Wamboldt, Negley and Smith exemplify the valuable opinion on the subject under study that could be assembled by such means. The systematic codifying of feedback from both professionals and lay persons would broaden and clarify trends in current public thought and knowledge. Several "rounds" of such reiterative discussion and evaluation could result in some form of consensus, and the use of several separate panels could aggregate such opinion from distinct sectors such as

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medicine, law, law enforcement, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, publishing, photography, and art. The output could be extremely useful for determining policy in addition to creating new awareness regarding erotica/pornography. The technique recommended is the Delphi method developed by the Rand Corporation.

APPLICATION OF PRESENT FINDINGS

Application of the present findings are possible via their use in education and in policy decisions. Formal educational programs should be integrated within training seminars for the professional, private and volunteer sectors of society. Policy implications, then, would likely be seen as an outgrowth of the democratic process evolving out of the education mode.

Formal Education:
The Professional Sector

The research of Hass (1979), Cole (1985), and Abelson, Cohen, Heaton and Suder (1970), (see Literature Review), suggests that adolescents frequently receive their informal sex education from voluntary and involuntary exposure to erotica/pornography. It therefore seems logical to integrate non-arousing factual information regarding these materials into the formal school curriculum following the approach of other products and activities deemed toxic or potentially toxic by society (e.g.: licit and illicit drugs, early sexual activity, etc.) Since a large body of research in desensitization and addiction strongly suggests the addictive properties of these materials (the need to escalate from the mildest to the more brutal), and since the addicted individual has blunted judgement concerning his or her habit and the means to support that habit, such education at the juvenile level seems highly appropriate. In addition, the rising problem of pornography in connection with juvenile autorotic fatalities and of increasing reports of juvenile sex offenders suggests that juveniles may often be exposed to stimuli of a sexual nature which is beyond their control.

The intention is not to provide students with erotic/pornographic magazines in the classroom. Rather, the

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intention is to develop booklets with graphs, charts and data from this report to a) discuss the role and impact of erotica/pornography in the students' daily and past lives, and b) to explore the myths versus realities of human behavior and sexuality as transmitted by this informal sex education. If these materials are (as the research suggests) a primary sex education source, it is not entirely unreasonable to re-educate by explicating the source. These data and findings can help in that effort. The unrealistic portrayal of the benefits of instant gratification and the neglect of potential consequences of early sexual activity (e.g.: genital, oral, anal venereal disease, pregnancy and psychological penalties) could act as a catalyst for open discussions on the proliferation of teenage pregnancy, adult/child sex, and venereal disease. As this medium regularly reaches millions of children, it seems plausible to use information extracted from these materials to further facilitate educated dialogue among today's youth.

It seems logical to implement the present research findings in the training of professionals involved in child abuse.

The present research identified the role of child abuse in mainstream erotica/pornography. It is now up to a variety of professionals to examine the role of mainstream erotica/pornography in child abuse. This progression will require special training of professionals who intervene on at least four levels or stages, which often overlap in child abuse cases.

    1.   Police/child protection teams;
    2.   Physicians/nurses;
    3.   Clinicians/counselors;
    4.   Lawyers, judges.

First contact professionals--
Police and/or child protection teams:

In their investigation of allegations of child abuse, these professionals need to be sensitized to the possible role of erotica/pornography or other pornography at the scene of an alleged crime or in the history of the alleged offender.

First contact professionals should note the accessibility of erotica/pornography to children and whether

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specific pages or film, television or video images identify acts alleged by the child. Such a data collection is imperative in cases of adult sex offenses against children and childrens sex offenses against younger children. Training would include an overview of the project findings and available data on the presence of mainstream erotica/pornography located at crime sites. Emphasis would be placed on the need for professional involvement in gaining answers and information regarding the child's voluntary or involuntary exposure. Attitudes of both child and suspect should be identified and a standard question protocol devised. First contract professionals and later stage contact professionals: medical, therapeutic and judiciary also need to be made aware of the character of mainstream erotica/pornography. (*)

Second contact professionals--
Physicians and nurses:

In their investigation of allegations of child abuse, and in follow up visits, physicians and nurses need to be sensitized to the possible role of <u>any</u> erotica/pornography in the crime, while conducting both the child's physical and emotional examinations. Such professional sensitization is necessary in order to identify the cause of the trauma itself as well as to help identify any other potential victims (e.g., younger siblings).

Third contact professionals--
Clinicians/counselors:

In their investigation of allegations of child abuse and in follow up visits, clinicians (psychologists, social workers, counselors) need to be sensitized to the possible use of erotica/pornography in victimizing siblings or friends. They, as all contact professionals and parents should be trained to deal effectively with any possible shame, fear, curiosity, anger, lust, or other emotion-laden responses to the erotic/pornographic image experience. (*)

Fourth contact professionals--
Lawyers and judges:

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* The private and volunteer sectors should be similarly educated and trained in this area of inquiry.

Until recent years, even the smallest child was seldom Believed in court if she/he claimed to have been sexually abused by an adult. Current thinking may be said to suggest that the child never lies and cannot construct sexual scenarios she/he has not directly seen and experienced. However, the present research suggests that the current accessibility of pornography may be radically changing the exposure of children to the primal scene and thus tainting the "innocence" of children, including their nonexperiential knowledge of very specific sexual scenarios. The viewing of such scenes may be significantly traumatic and educative as to cause some children to see and feel them as real, or to need to project them onto real persons. It is conceivable that some small number of the current sexual molestation cases, including cases of incestuous abuse, may reflect "Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma" or stimuli-associated memories for some children, rather than an actual hands-on event. (*)

Development of a Theoretical and Conceptual Model: Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma (EPCT)

The constitutionality of closed-circuit television and video tape use in child sexual abuse trials is being hotly debated nationwide (e.g., Harshbarger, 1986). Several recent legislative rulings have granted these revolutionary courtroom procedures, erring in favor of the alleged child victim's special needs versus the rights of the defendant to directly cross examine his accuser. This is clearly an outcome of serious social consequence. Thus, any hypotheses which may shed light on the etiology of this dilemma requires close consideration.

Today it is understood that a small girl or boy who has no idea at all of the mechanics of intercourse is not cognitively mature enough to create fantasies which relay detailed physiological information of what has occurred sexually between the adult and small child. Small children's sphere of knowledge is contingent upon experiential involvement. A pre-adolescent child who has not experienced the mechanics of sexual activity, from fondling to oral, anal activity or coitus--will not have the capacity to relate the details, whether verbally or through

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* The private and volunteer sectors should be similarly educated and trained in this area of inquiry.

the use of anatomical dolls or drawings, to psychologist, police person, doctor or other interviewer. On the other hand, the introduction of pornographic magazines, videos or other visually sexual media into children's lives do provide the child with a different type of experiential involvement--observation of such activities. This reality is fraught with numerous social complications and ramifications such as the violation of the pristine status of children's innocence as well as the pristine status of children's testimony in cases of sexual abuse.

It is in this light that the concept of "Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma" (EPCT) is presented. The hypothesis begins with a question. Is it out of the realm of possibility that some children may experience levels of fear, shame, or confusion to certain types of erotic/pornographic images? And, if this is possible, could a state of confused, emotional arousal trigger intense stimuli recall by the child--recall under circumstances so intense that the child might find himself or herself unable to differentiate felt emotions resulting from "real" sexual stimuli, versus felt emotions resulting from "media" sexual stimuli.

Could Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma be a variation of the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) identified by Burgess and Holmstrom (1985, pp. 49-53), a disorder generally recognized as afflicting rape and other victims? The Burgess/Holmstrom Model identified the following four cardinal criteria of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder:

1. Stressor of Significant Magnitude
2. Intrusive Imagery
3. Numbing
4. Symptoms

A detailed examination of the above criteria and definitions for the model suggests that it is reasonable to question whether some sensitive or perhaps "minimally molested" children may possibly be especially vulnerable to certain types of erotic/pornographic stimuli. It is reasonable to expect that the professional sector working in the area of child protection be sensitized and trained to a) ask appropriate questions relative to any media stimuli, and b) recognize signs of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in child clients, and c) offer child clients a safe environment in which to distinguish what may be confusion between media-induced trauma and actual hands-on trauma (EPCT).

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Exposure to such stimuli may arguably, in and of itself, constitute actual "harm" to a child. Children never exposed to such imagery, films, videos, or stories or dial-a-porn information, should have a valid claim to "innocence" of direct knowledge of sexual scenarios, and thus be incapable of inventing sexual experience.

At this point in time, EPCT is merely a theoretical and conceptual model. Thus, until research has been conducted to test the EPCT model, there is no basis to rely on it to discredit an alleged child victim. It is vital that the presence of erotica/pornography be established and that if such stimuli has intruded upon the child's imagination, then society should begin to share responsibility for a new view of media "harm" to children.

Training Programs

Training programs should be developed for each of the concerned professions. Training would include use of mixed media: manuals, workshops, video, slide-tape tutorials, and other related materials. Trainee awareness of depictions of children in erotica/pornography should encourage accurate recording of data on the presence of erotica/pornography in crimes involving juveniles.

Despite persistent depictions of children as viable targets for adult sex and violence in erotica/pornography, there is no uniform procedure for recording the presence or absence of such data at crime sites involving juveniles. Thus, most opinion about the involvement of such stimuli rests on anecdote.

OJJDP training programs / educational packages for specialized groups.

OJJDP training programs could be specifically packaged in order to inform discreet publics of knowledge about erotica/pornography involving children, crime and violence. Some specialized publics would be:

1. Law enforcement professionals: vice sex crime units, child abuse units, domestic violence units, etc.

2. Schools: teacher training in education, health, sociology, psychology, hygiene, etc.

3. Adult and juvenile sex offender treatment centers: inpatient and outpatient programs.

4. Professional organizations: medical, legal, welfare, etc.

5. Policymakers: federal, state and local legislatures; legal and judicial bodies, etc.

6. Community service organizations: Parent Teacher Associations, churches, civic groups, etc.

7. Victims service organizations: rape counseling, battered women's shelters, child abuse centers, etc.

Each of the seven programs would be designed to fulfill specific population requirements. Thus, while delivery of these major findings would remain similar across all populations, the special needs and sensitivities of each unique unit would be taken into consideration. Such research and training programs are vital if grant expenditures are to be adequately interpreted within the delinquency prevention sphere, delinquency to and by juveniles. It is imperative that data be gathered from relevant sources in order to confirm or refute what would appear to be a relationship between the past decades of widespread distribution of erotica/pornography and subsequent copycat and "pornographic" acts of sexual and nonsexual violence by vulnerable persons.

The National Institute of Justice program, "Taking A

Bite Out of Crime: The Impact of a Mass Media Crime Prevention Campaign," could be adapted as a prototype for much of the trainee programming aimed at public education. This 1984 program has already established the Justice Department's view of the influence of mass media information upon human attitudes and behavior. As this program has outlined the role of an existing and successful Justice Department media campaign to curb criminality, it seems reasonable to embark on a similar media program which might help to curb sexual abuse by and to juveniles.

The project examined certain information delivered by Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler. These three magazines were chosen because they dominate the field of mainstream erotica/pornography. Erotica/pornography was defined as:

> Visual content representing nude or semi-nude female or male humans of any age; some of whom engage in engage in genital display (biologically classifiable as solicitous of copulation, as in estrus-posturing or presenting/mating displays), or cues or symbols linking such sexual imagery and scatalogical and/or violent imagery.

The focus was the presentation of children in sexual and violent contexts. This focus derives from the present national concern over the abuse, neglect, and mistreatment of children, the phenomenon of missing children and the sexual abuse and exploitation of children.

The principal subjects examined were the child cartoon and the child visual. To qualify, a picture--cartoon, ;tration, or photograph, including those in rtisements--either depicted a child or, in the case of a oon, referred to a child in the caption. The child .d be a main character, part of a crowd scene, or, in the ꜧ of a cartoon, offstage and referred to only in the tion.

Children have been presented in the cartoons and ;uals of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler since their early ars of publication; only slightly more than 10 percent of e presentations of children in child cartoons were :counted for by the caption in the absence of some visual resence.

Children have been presented in sexual contexts, ;ncounters, or scenarios with adults since the early years ɔf publication of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler.

The total frequency of the presentation of children in cartoons and visuals, and in sexual contexts, encounters, or scenarios with adults, disseminated by the three publications as a group has increased over time, with oscillations from year to year. However, the three publications cannot, in this or many other respects, be considered interchangeable. The presentation of children in

cartoons and visuals, and in sexual contexts, encounters, or scenarios with adults, reached its peak in Playboy in the early 1970s. The increase in such presentations of children in recent years is attributable to the entry into the marketplace of the newer publications, Penthouse and Hustler, and in particular, Hustler.

The leading carrier of child cartoons per issue was Hustler, with averages of 4.4 per issue and 53 per year. It was followed by Playboy, with averages of 3.2 per issue and 39 per year, and Penthouse, with averages of 1.4 per issue and 17 per year.

The most frequent age range of the child figure identified as the principal among any children presented was three to eleven in both child cartoons and child visuals in all three publications.

Altogether, 2,016 child cartoons were identified (Playboy, 1,196; Hustler, 555; Penthouse, 265). The principal figure in 44 percent of the instances was male; in 32 percent, female; and in 24 percent, not unambiguously specifiable as one or the other. About three-fourths of activities recorded as occurring in these cartoons were sexual or violent when the child was categorized as an initiator or a recipient of some kind of activity; the figure was only slightly less when the child was categorized as an observor.

Altogether, 3,307 child visuals were identified; the majority were photographs. There were an additional 681 with adults posed as children, which were, for the purposes of this research, categorized as "psuedo-children." In 14 percent of child cartoons and 20 percent of child visuals, the principal child figure was nude (defined as partial, genital, or full exposure).

Added up, children and psuedo-children were presented in a total of 6,004 cartoons and visuals, with an average per issue of 8.2 for Playboy, of 6.4 for Penthouse, and of 14.1 for Hustler.

Approximately 27% of Playboy, 33% of Penthouse and 47% of Hustler images were "child magnets."

Because of an interest in the context of the presentation of children beyond that of the cartoon or visual itself, the treatment of non-children in cartoons and

visuals in regard to crime and violence was analyzed, employing a random sample of five issues per magazine per year. The total number of cartoons determined to contain crime and violence for all three publications over their history was 5,294; total visuals, 9,398. Therefore, a total number of 14,854 cartoons and visuals in all three publications were determined to contain crime and violence over the magazines' history.

The patterns of much of the data led to the concept of child utility as a governing factor in the presentation of children. As initiators of activity, children were more lkikely to be providing pleasure than unpleasantness. As receivers of activity, children were as likely to be the objects of unpleasantness. The pattern is exemplified by the data on sexual display and affection, where the child is typically the provider of pleasure, and on murder/maiming, where the child is typically the recipient of pain. The portrayal of children as appropriate figures a) to stimulate pleasure and b) to receive aggression in effect, is c) a utilitarian definition of the child.

The present findings raise serious questions regarding the possible role played by the stimuli examined in the growing epidemic of child abuse in our society.

Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler readers frequently cite information as a motive for their attending to these magazines. their erotica/pornography addresses questions of behavior not widely, regularly, or similarly addressed by other media or other social institutios. The questions:

(a) the role of such material in making children more acceptable as objects of abuse, neglect, and mistreatment, and particularly of sexual abuse and exploitation;

(b) the possibility that such stimuli reduce taboos and inhibitions restraining abusive, neglectful, or exploitive behavior toward children;

(c) the possible trivialization of the maltreatment of children in the minds of readers, and;

(d) the consequences upon thought and behavior of presenting children in the context of sexual and violent behavior within cartoons and visuals in publications whose overall context involves extensive

attention to sex, violence or both.

In short, there is no question regarding the use of children as sexual and violent targets within the context of these three magazines. This has been a three-decade pattern. Now, the question for future researchers is, precisely what role could these portrayals have played in the past and current condition of women and children at risk?

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APPENDICES

A. Cartoon/Visual Portfolio Sample Exhibit

B. Magazine Size; removed from September 2, 1986 draft

C. Pilot Study Inter-Rater Reliability Data;
   August 1984

D. Aggregate Activities

E. Testimony to the Attorney General's Commission on
   Pornography, NYC; January 1986 (see Bibliography)

F. Monograph by Dr's Wambolt and Negley; attachment to
   Miami testimony to the Attorney General's Commission
   on Pornography. (see Bibliography)

G. Monograph by psychiatrist Dr. Linnea Smith: (see
   Bibliography)

H. Critique by statistician Emanuel Lundau (see
   Acknowledgements)

I. Article on Health Professional Cartoons in Playboy

J. Original 1976 theory of "The Socialization of Taboo
   Ideas".

K. Age Evaluation (AEG) and Emotional Expression (EEG)
   Guides. Full discussion in Volume II, Methodology.

I. Child Cartoon Activities List

Children in *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*

study to determine how pornography and violence in the media affect the incidence of sexual abuse/exploitation, family violence and juvenile delinquency was recently completed at American University in Washington, DC. The project was funded through the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), U.S. Department of Justice.

Dr. Judith Reisman, principal investigator for the study entitled "Children, Crime and Violence in the Pictorial Imagery of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*" testified on the f... ngs before the United States Attorney General's Commission on ...ornography on November 21, 1985. ...ial images of children in sexual a... ...iolent contexts were analyzed in 683 issues of the three adult

magazines beginning with *Playboy*'s initial December 1953 issue through *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* issues of December 1984. Researchers counted children in cartoons or photographs, and references to children in cartoon/photograph captions.

Each cartoon or photograph was ...nined for characteristics of the child or adult depicted, the activities which the child was involved, the ... ...e of the activity, and the state of ... or undress of the child. Pseudochildren (adults dressed and posed as children) and any discrepant body features, such as oversized breasts

on a small child's frame, were also noted.

The study identified three basic themes: nonsexual, nonviolent activities such as simple memories; violent activities such as murder, maiming or surgical procedures; and sexual activities such as intercourse or a child appearing nude.

A total of 6,004 photographs, illustrations and cartoons depicting children appeared in the 683 magazines. *Hustler* depicted children most often, an average of 14.1 times per issue, followed by *Playboy* (8.2 times per issue) and *Penthouse* (6.4 times per issue).

Findings included the following:

- 1,675 child images were associated with nudity.
- 1,225 child images were associated with genital activity.
- 989 child images were associated sexually with adults.
- 792 adults were portrayed as pseudochildren.
- 592 child images were associated with force.
- 267 child images were associated with sex with animals or objects.
- 51% of the child cartoons and 46% of the child photographs showed children ages 3-11.

- More girls than boys were associated with sexual assault.
- More boys than girls were associated with violent assault.
- Almost all depictions of child sexual abuse portrayed the child as unharmed or benefited by the activity

From 1954 to 1984, these 6,004 images of children were interspersed with 15,000 images of crime and violence, 35,000 female breasts and 9,000 female genitalia.

Playboy, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* were chosen for the study because they are the three top-selling erotic/pornographic magazines.

Approximately 25% of the professional adult male population reads at least one of these three magazines. In addition, *Playboy* and *Penthouse* are accessible to juveniles since they are available at newsstands, hotel lobbies, airports, college bookstores and in the home.

Playboy reaches 15,584,000 people per issue. *Penthouse* 7,673,000 and *Hustler* 4,303,000. This compares to *Psychology Today* with 4,704,000 readers, *Sports Illustrated* with 13,034,000 and *Ms.* with 1,635,000.

Conclusions and Recommendations:

The study attempted to draw conclusions about the effects of the images on juvenile and adult readers, and explore the possible role of the magazines as sources of sex education.

Several issues were raised for future study:

1. The role of these magazines in making children more acceptable as objects of abuse, neglect and mistreatment, especially sexual abuse and exploitation.

2. The possibility that these images of children reduce taboos and inhibitions restraining abusive, neglectful or exploitative behavior toward children.

3. The possible trivialization of child maltreatment in the minds of readers; and,

4. The consequences of presenting sexual and violent images of children in magazines that call attention to sexual and/or violent activity.

Dr. Reisman recommended the National Institute of Mental Health, the Department of Justice and child welfare agencies cooperate to address the problem of pornography in our society through the use of task forces and research efforts.

She further recommended a voluntary moratorium on child or pseudochild images until verifiable research can be conducted on the harm factor. Such action by sex-industry representatives could be seen as an act of responsibility based on concern for the welfare of children, rather than an admission of guilt.

For more information contact Judith A. Reisman, PhD, President, The Institute for Media Education, P.O. Box 7404, Arlington, VA 22207, (703) 237-5455.

> " . . . *these magazines gave me something to go by . . . on where things are, how they're done, and how it feels . . . (they) interest me and I enjoy reading and learning new things about sex . . .* "

APPENDIX A

CARTOON AND PHOTO

SAMPLES

OF

IMAGES OF CHILDREN, CRIME

AND VIOLENCE

IN

PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER

Due to its unique place in the general society,

due to the more subtle nature of its imagery

and since this document may be viewed by juveniles,

the majority of the following child, crime and violence samples

are drawn from Playboy magazine, 1954-1984.

Depiction of children as seeking sex
from adults and adult-child sex as
harmless began in May, 1954.

"Hey, Scout, I said: 'It can't do us any
good dressed today.'"

The Pro

"...e a.u. matter to stick around. I may
need your help later"

"Joey ain't interested — He's got a sister."

24

PLAYBOY

WASHINGTONIAN

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO CHILDHOOD?

This magazine started a revolution.

This magazine starts another.

PLAYBOY:
CHILD/ADULT SEX

"Goddamn stupid, antiquated sex laws of this
state should be repealed."

Playboy June '71

"For a minute there, I thought that bastard was going to give us a ticket *anyway!*"

9/69

"I'll trade you two guys on a gal for your gal doing it with a pony."

8/73
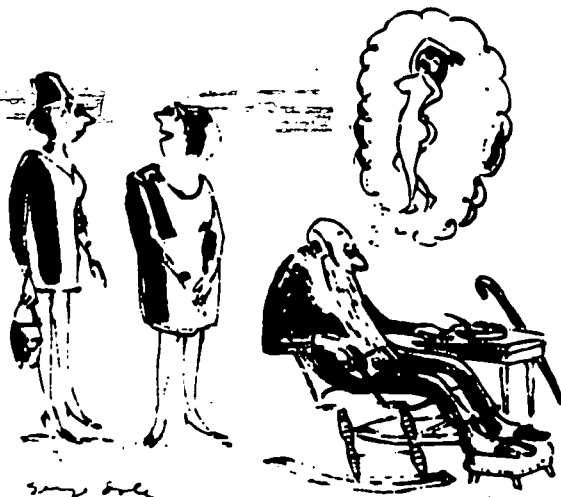
"His only pleasures are visits from his grandchildren."

"Would you like to know what I really want?"

PLAYBOY 2-68

Fairy Tales sexualize the child

PENTHOUSE

11

You better watch out, You better not cry,
Better not pout,
I'm telling you why: Santa Claus is comin'...

"SANTA CLAUS IS COMIN' TO TOWN"

PENTHOUSE 12/74

...cycle and a compound and a new dress and

VAL

1/8   PENTHOUSE
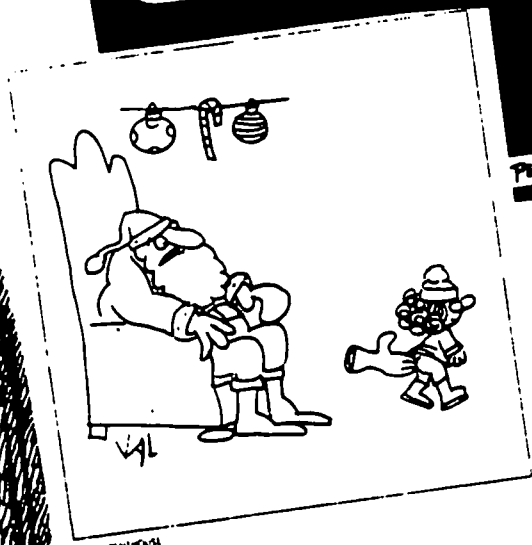
"The lady at the employment office said the
only prerequisite was the ability to fly."

PLAYBOY Jan. 1979

COCHRAN
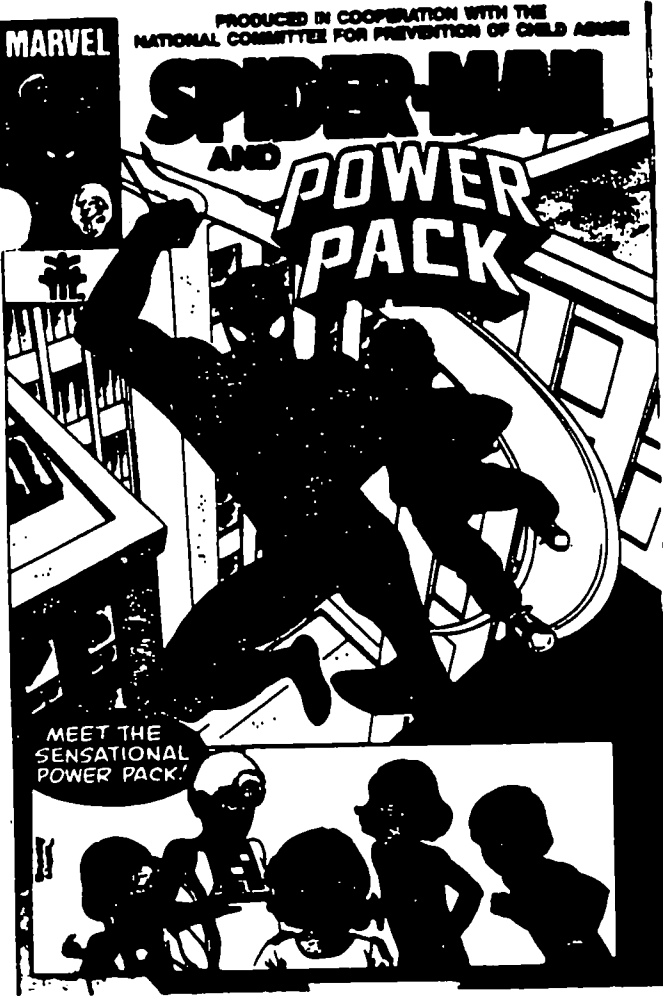
the child

On the one hand, the cartoon technique is used to educate children on sexual abuse

On the other hand, the cartoon technique is used to educate children in National Lampoon, October 1986.
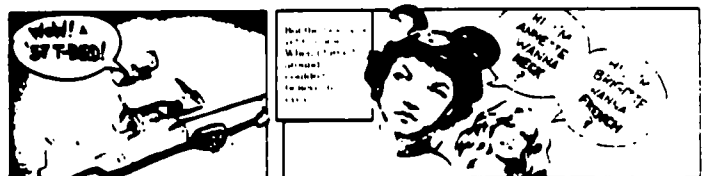
November 1986 - Boy in bed with adult woman/whip; imitates real life model, graphically exposed.

FATHER KNOWS BEST
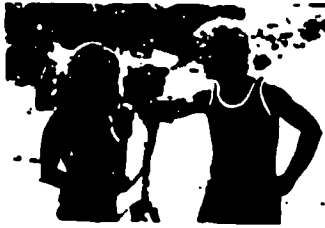
BABY DOLL. *It's easy to feel paternalistic toward the cuddly type alone. Naturally, she digs forceful father figures, so come on strong, Big Daddy.*

PLAYBOY
Nov. '76

PENTHOUSE 8/78

Photographic child/adult sex and/or violence.

MAGAZINE SIZE

	PLAYBOY (56-84)	PENTHOUSE (70-84)	HUSTLER (75-84)
TOTAL ISSUES	360	172	110
TOTAL PAGES	76,749	30,826	14,441
AVERAGE PGS PER ISSUE	213	179	131
MISSING ISSUES/ESTIMATES	9	8	10

The above analysis of Magazine Size by page numbers was centered upon trends and involved estimations for missing data. Thus, the time series identifies the peaks and valeys of overall magazine size as a baseline for comparison of child, crime and violence data. A full exploration of Magazine Size relative to a broad spectrum of variables is urged.

TOTAL E/P PAGES PER YEAR
NEWSSTAND ACCESSIBLE

APPENDIX B

MAGAZINE SIZE

	PLAYBOY (56-84)	PENTHOUSE (70-84)	HUSTLER (75-84)
TOTAL ISSUES	360	172	110
TOTAL PAGES	76,749	30,826	14,421
AVERAGE PGS PER ISSUE	213	179	151
MISSING ISSUES/ESTIMATES	9	8	10

The above analysis of Magazine Size by page numbers was centered upon trends and involved estimations for missing data. Thus, the time series identifies the peaks and valeys of overall magazine size as a baseline for comparison of child, crime and violence data. A full exploration of Magazine Size relative to a broad spectrum of variables is urged.

TOTAL E/P PAGES PER YEAR
NEWSSTAND ACCESSIBLE
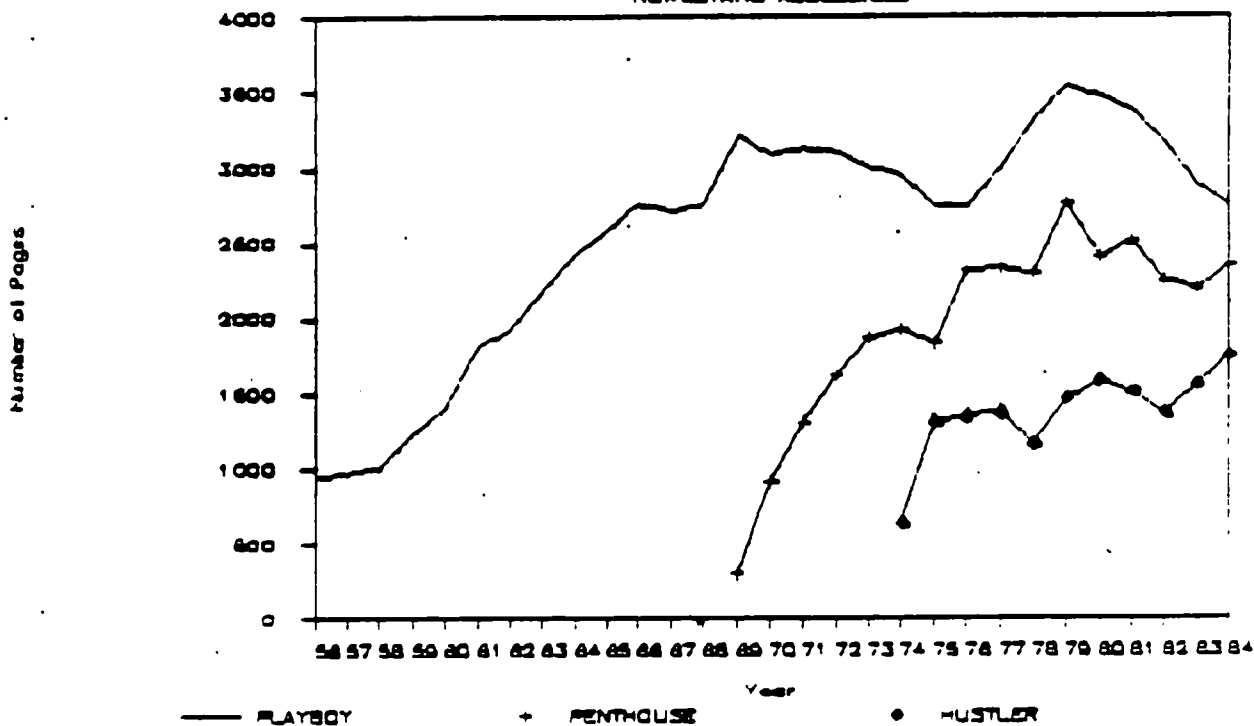
APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C

Preliminary Coding Instrument and
Inter-rater Reliability Review

Playboy Magazine
119 Child Cartoon Images

August 1984

REPORT ON THE PLAYBOY CARTOON PILOT STUDY
COMPUTATION OF INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

I.   Conceptual Description

A pilot study was conducted using version eight of the
Cartoon Content Analysis Coding Instrument (CCACI), wherein
40 cartoons were each coded by two individual coders.
Following completion of the coding process, Inter-coder
Reliability (IRR) was determined in order to provide a
quantitative check on the overall level of agreement
between the responses of individual coders in this
cartoon coding process. Specifically, IRR was
operationalized as the total number of cases where the
responses of the two coders agreed (for a given question
pertaining to a given cartoon) divided by the total number
of required responses. The score obtained was 0.87 (See
Figure A).

The major objective in determining IRR was to identify
problems with coder bias, the coder training process, and/or
the CCACI. Such an analysis was necessary, since the
primary purpose of the pilot study was to serve as a
learning tool rather than as a definitive test of the
current version of the CCACI.

II. Operational Description

Forty Playboy child cartoons examined within the context of
each total magazine, were each coded independently by two
separate coders, resulting in 80 completed data sheets.
(Four coders participated in the IRR test for the pilot
study; each participated in a training process during the
summer of 1984.) The four coders followed the CCACI, which
called for 37 responses for each cartoon. For the IRR
check, nine coded magazines were randomly chosen from odd-
year, 1971-1979, Playboy magazines.

After completion of the coding process, the data sheets
for each cartoon were paired. Two people not involved in
the coding process cross-checked the 37 responses for each
pair of data sheets. The number of discrepancies per cartoon
was counted and logged on a form together with the following
information: the month/year of the magazine, the page
number of the cartoon, the question number of each
discrepant answer, and each coder's individual response.
Each pair of data sheets was checked by both the monitors to
guarantee accuracy. The number of discrepancies per magazine
was then counted and logged on a similar form together with
the following information: the month/year of the magazine,
the number of coded cartoons, the page number of each
cartoon, and the number of discrepant answers per cartoon.
Once these data were collected, recorded, and checked, the IRR

was computed (See Figures A and B).

III. <u>Discussion</u>

In computing the IRR score of 0.87, agreement for each response pair was measured on an "all or nothing" basis; that is, a response pair was considered a match only if the two coder responses were exactly identical. In many instances, however, a less restrictive method of judging the level of agreement between the coders may have been valid. To illustrate:

o   In numerous cases the coders choices were close though not identical. For example, both coders would record the depiction of violence, but the precise nature of the violence was different (e.g., beating and hitting versus mutilation); or both coders would record the presence of a child, but the precise age of the child was different (e.g.; preschool age versus elementary school age). In such cases, some level of agreement between the coders could have been formally acknowledged.

o   In other cases, a single discrepant answer resulted in a chain of discrepancies. For example, where the coders disagreed on the selection of a "peripheral character", this single disagreement could result in as many as six to eleven addditional discrepant answers (e.g., whether the peripheral character was an authority figure). In such a situation it may have been appropriate to count only the initial discrepancy, and to discount the related responses.

o   In yet other situations, a coder intentionally circled more than one answer. Unless both coders were in full agreement on all answers, the question was recorded as a discrepancy. Here too, partial credit could have been reasonably justified.

Despite the fact that all of these considerations tended to lower the determination of the IRR, it was decided to operationalize IRR in such a way that every non-identical response pair was counted as a completely discrepant answer. This provided a conservative measure of IRR that tended to err in favor of a lower score; yet, an IRR of 0.87 was achieved.

The determination of IRR served as an educative tool, helping to highlight the need for a number of refinements that have been and will be implemented in the upcoming Cartoon Content Analysis Coding Instrument. It is expected that the IRR will continue to increase as the coding instrument evolves into its final form.

FIGURE A

PLAYBOY PILOT STUDY ANALYSIS

COMPUTATION OF INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Total Number of Required Answers

    40   cartoons
    37   required answers each

 1,480

Total Number of Paired Answers in Agreement

 1,480   total number of required answers
   190   total number of discrepancies in paired answers

 1,290

INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

$$\frac{1,290 \text{ agreements}}{1,480 \text{ TOTAL}} = 0.87$$

FIGURE 8

PLAYBOY PILOT STUDY ANALYSIS

MAGAZINE ISSUE		# DISCREPANCIES	# CARTOONS x REQUIRED ANSWERS
March	1971	16	185
June	1971	23	259
January	1973	24	148
February	1973	16	148
April	1973	24	148
September	1973	38	222
October	1973	16	74
March	1975	12	111
September	1979	21	185
		190	**1,480**

Ages of cartoon subjects are defined as follows

1. Infant
2. Pre-school
3. Puberty - Elementary school
4. Early puberty - Junior high school
5. Late puberty - High school
6. High School/College - Ambivalent

Principal child age group
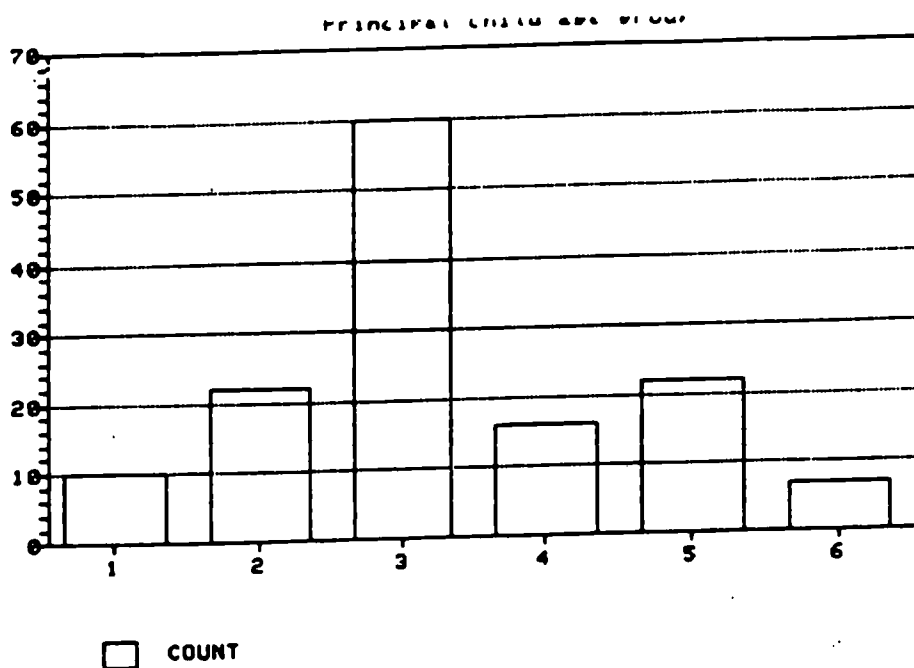
☐ COUNT

Principal child age group
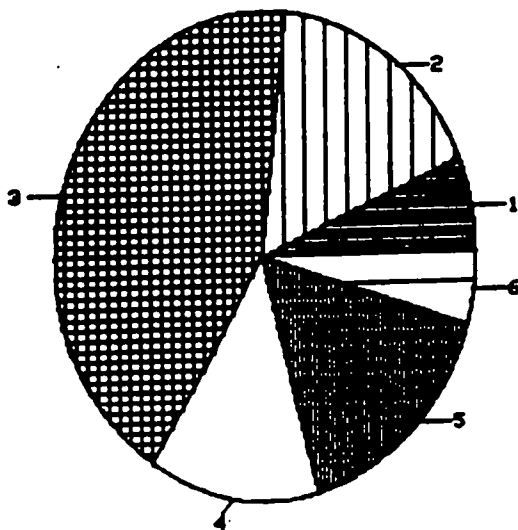
COUNT	1	2	3	4	5	6
	7.2	16.8	43.7	11.6	16.8	5.1

PERCENT

SCENE THEME - Percent   24-JUL-84
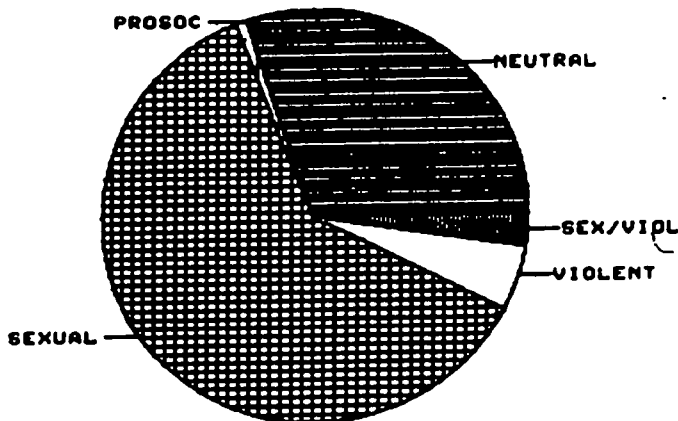
PERCENT	NEUTRAL	PROSOC	SEXUAL	VIOLENT	SEX/VIOL
	29.4	0.8	61.3	5.8	2.5

24-JUL-84

Prin Child - % by race
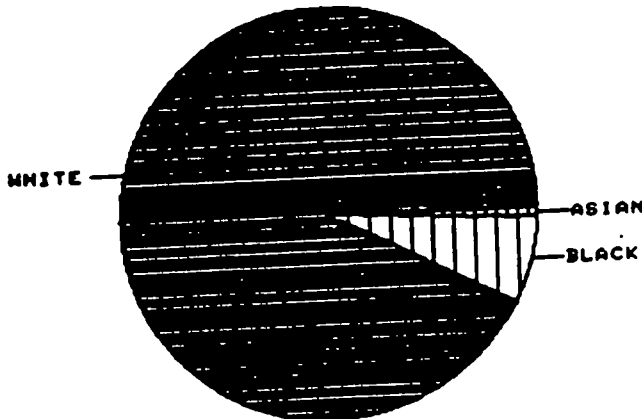
PERCENT	WHITE	BLACK	ASIAN	AMERIND	OTHER
	91.4	7.7	0.7	0.0	0.0

APPENDIX D

AGGREGATE ACTIVITIES AND LIMITATIONS II

CORRECTIONS OF LIMITATIONS FOR VOLUMES I & II

        With the exception of the editorial slant inserted into
volumes I & II by the American University project writer,*
the Methodology and Data books still reflect project efforts
and results.   The attached American University material on
"Limitations" is taken from Volume II pp. 97-110.   The
corrected section on Research Parameters and Limitations,
written by the Principal Investigator is attached and should
replace these inaccurate "Limitations".   A corrected
Aggregate Activists list preceeds the American university
materials in this appendix. Thus, there are two copies of
this document. One copy is included in Volume I and the
other is to replace the faulty version in Volume II.

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*   The "IV Limitations of the Study" is a project analysis
and evaluation written by an anonymous editor at The American
University.   Since the Principal Investigator was never
contacted for the statements contained therein, the errors in
this material required significant discussion and
clarification.   This American University document was
delivered to the Peer Advisory Board, and was delivered
September 2, 1986 to The Office of Justice and Delinquency
Prevention without correction and validation.

TABLE 1

AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS*

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE	
			CARTOONS	VISUALS
VIOLENT ACTIVITIES				
Murder/Maiming	X	X	X	X
Inflicting Pain	X	X	X	X
Force or Planned Force	X	X	X	X
Violent Message	X	NA	X	X
Violent Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Violent Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Other Violent Activity	X	X	X	X
Excretory Activity	X	X	X	X
Scatological or Morbid Presentation	X	X	X	X
Killing	X	X	X	X
Assault/Battery	X	X	X	X
Violent Sexual Activity	X	X	X	X
Suicide	NA	NA	X	X
Wearing/Displaying Violent Prop	X	X	X	X
SEXUAL ACTIVITIES				
Genital or Anal Sex	X	X	X	X
Sexual Foreplay	X	X	X	X
Being Nude	X	X	X	X
Invasion of Privacy	X	X	X	X
Sexual Arousal	X	X	X	X
Sexual Message	X	X	X	X
Sexual Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Sexual Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Venereal Disease	X	X	X	X
Medical/Surgical Sex Activity	X	X	X	X
Other Sexual Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Sexual Foreplay/Sexual Arousal	X	X	X	X
Sex Dealing	X	X	X	X
Other Illegal Sexual Behavior	NA	NA	X	X
Anal-Genital, Oral-, Object-	X	X	X	X
Homosexual/Lesbian Activity	X	X	NA	X

*NOTE: The above nomenclature can signify comparable features presented in various sections across all four instruments. [See Exhibit VIII-5 (1-2).]

TABLE 2
AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS (continued)

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE CARTOONS	VISUALS
NONVIOLENT/NONSEXUAL ACTIVITY				
Affection	X	X	X	X
General Discussion	X	X	NA	NA
Nonviolent/Nonsexual Fantasy/ Memory	X	X	NA	NA
Other Nonviolent/Nonsexual Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Trickery	X	NA	NA	NA
General Activity	X	X	NA	NA
ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES				
Theft	X	X	X	X
Drug-related Activity	X	X	X	X
White Collar Crime	NA	NA	X	X
Crime Against the Public	NA	NA	X	X
Accident	NA	NA	X	X

NOTE: Definitions for all of the "activities" in this aggregate table should be thoroughly reviewed by the reader prior to interpretation. The manuals generally carry descriptions of each feature. For example, in crime and violence, scatalogical or morbid activities were not coded alone but as a "modifier" of other acts. The term "modifier" was used to warn coders that the coding task entailed only illegal or clearly violent acts. Thus, some scatalogical or morbid acts were not coded were they of a nonviolent and non-criminal nature. The features however are comparable although the findings may be deflated.

Differences in nomenclature describing what are comparable events, reflect subtle differences in scenario modalities. That is, terms were developed which afforded coders the highest degree of concentration for the particular style investigated. Thus, cartoons focused more on the contextual suggestions of nudity and future or past events while visuals focused more on levels of explicit body display. The specific terms aided coder concentration and orientation to unique forms of artistic schema. For example, "Being Nude or Taking off/Putting on Clothes" (question 49, for all three cartoon characters, Appendix A.1) represents a comparable act to "Sexual Display" (e.g., being nude or partially nude; taking off or putting on clothes, etc.; question 56 for both visual characters A and B, Appendix E). These two descriptions are comparable acts and coders distinguished clearly between taking off hats and coats (clothes) and taking off clothing in preparation for a nude or sexual encounter. The context of the imagery was considered and the nature of the nude display was the coder's concern.

EXHIBIT II-I (1)

AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME AND VIOLEN CARTOONS	VISUALS
VIOLENT ACTIVITIES				
Murder/Maiming	X	X	NA	NA
Inflicting Pain	X	X	NA	NA
Force or Planned Force	X	X	NA	NA
Violent Message	X	NA	NA	NA
Violent Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Violent Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Other Violent Activity	X	X	X	X (3)
Excretory Activity	X	NA	NA	NA
Scatological or Morbid Presentation	NA	X	NA (4)	NA (4)
Killing	NA	NA	X	X
Assault/Battery	NA	NA	X	X
Violent Sexual Activity	NA	NA	X	X
uicide	NA	NA	X	X
earing/Displaying Violent Prop	NA	NA	NA	X
SEXUAL ACTIVITIES				
Genital or Anal Sex	X	X	NA	NA
Sexual Foreplay	X	NA	NA	NA
Being Nude	X (1)	X(2)	NA	NA
Invasion of Privacy	X	X	X	X
Sexual Arousal	X	NA	NA	NA
Sexual Message	X	NA	NA	NA
Sexual Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Sexual Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Venereal Disease	X	NA	NA	NA
Medical/Surgical Sex Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Other Sexual Activity	X	X	NA	NA
Sexual Foreplay/Sexual Arousal	X	X	NA	NA
Sex Dealing	NA	NA	X	X
Other Illegal Sexual Behavior	NA	NA	X	X
Anal-Genital, -Oral, -Object Activity	NA	NA	X	X
Homosexual/Lesbian Activity	NA	NA	NA	X
NONVIOLENT/NONSEXUAL ACTIVITY				
ffection	X	X	NA	NA
eneral Discussion	X	NA	NA	NA
Nonviolent/Nonsexual Fantasy/Memory	X	NA	NA	NA
Other Nonviolent/Nonsexual Activity	X	NA	NA	NA
Trickery	X	NA	NA	NA
General Activity	NA	X	NA	NA

EXHIBIT VIII-5 (

AGGREGATION OF ACTIVITIES FOR ANALYSIS (continued)

ACTIVITY	CHILD CARTOONS	CHILD VISUALS	ADULT CRIME AND VIOLE CARTOONS	VISUALS
ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES				
Theft	NA	NA	X	X
Drug-Related Activity	NA	NA	X	X
White Collar Crime	NA	NA	X	X
Crime Against the Public	NA	NA	X	X
Accident	NA	NA	X	X

NOTE: The above activities were interpreted and defined
        differently in the three instruments.

(1)   Defined as "being nude or taking off/putting on clothes."
(2)   Entitled "Sexual Display."
(3)   Nonsexual violent activity
(4)   Used as a modifier of other activities.

APPENDIX E

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, AND HUSTLER MAGAZINES
WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE PORTRAYAL OF
CHILDREN, CRIME, AND VIOLENCE

Supplementary Testimony Given to
The United States Attorney General's
Commission on Pornography

New York, New York
January 1986

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator

Role of Pornography and Media Violence in
Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and
Juvenile Delinquency

The Institute for Media Education
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TESTIMONY

Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, my name is Judith Reisman. My Ph.D. is in Communication from Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. I am appearing before the Commission in my official capacity as Principal Investigator for the research project, [See Slides 1A & 1B] The Role of Pornography and Media Violence in Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and Juvenile Delinquency, supported by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), which was mandated in its Amended Public Law 93-415, December 8, 1980 to investigate the "... role of family violence, sexual abuse or exploitation and media violence in delinquency..." (section 243, p. 25). Conceptualization for the research began in March 1984. The data were collected between January 1985 and August 1985, and I presented my interim final report to The American University on November 30, 1985. The study was carried out at The American University, Washington, D.C. under OJJDP Cooperative Agreement #84-JN-AX-K007. When the university completes its technical editing activity, it will supply the Commission with the final product.

The investigation focused on certain information presented by Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler, the three magazines that dominate mass circulation erotica/pornography. Erotica/pornography is defined for the purpose of this study as visual content representing nude or semi-nude female or male humans of any age, some of whom engage in genital display (biologically classifiable as solicitous of copulation, as in estrus-posturing or presenting/mating displays) or cues or symbols linking such genital imagery with scatological and/or violent imagery.

The focus of the study was the depiction of children in sexual and violent contexts. However, because the visual environment in which depictions appear is generally recognized by scholars to affect the interpretation given them by readers, the portrayal of crime and violence in the depiction of adults was also assessed. Thus, four kinds of data were collected on depictions:

1. Children in cartoons

2. Children in visuals

3. Adult cartoons in the context of crime and violence

4. Adult visuals in the context of crime and violence

The three magazines were selected for study because: [See Slides 2A & 2B]

1. Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler are the three top-selling erotic/pornographic sociosexual magazines in the United States today, according to Folio (1984), a magazine market research firm.

2.   In 1984 _Folio_ reported that _Playboy_ and _Penthouse_ rank among
the top thirteen U.S. magazines in sales revenue; _Hustler_ ranks
among the top-selling thirteen magazines in U.S. newsstand sales.

3.   Market research data documents these materials as reaching
audiences of up-scale well-educated adults, commonly recognized as
influential members of society with approximately one-quarter of
the professional adult male population having consumed various
amounts and types of the genre (Axiom Market Research Bureau,
Inc., Target Group Index, 1976, M-1, p. 11).

4.   Comparative Readership Statistics, Mediamark Research, Inc.,
Magazine Audiences-2, Place of Reading / Total Audience; Pairs
Audience / Total Audience (Mediamark Research, Inc., Spring 1984,
M-2, pp. 125 & 93):

	Playboy:	15,903,000
	Penthouse:	8,877,000
★	Hustler:	4,303,000
	Sports Illustrated:	15,977,000
	Vogue:	8,034,000
	Psychology Today:	5,004,000
	Ms:	2,404,000
	Playboy and Penthouse pair audience	4,273,000
★★	Playboy and Hustler pair audience	2,450,000
★★	Penthouse and Hustler pair audience	1,771,000

5.   In addition to being available to adult readers, _Playboy_ and
Penthouse are accessible to vast numbers of juveniles, [Slides 3A
& 3B] many of whom find the material in their homes. In 1975, the
adult in-home readership of _Playboy_ reached 11.1 million and
Penthouse reached 5.9 million. According to Axiom Market Research
Bureau, over 6 million and 3 million, respectively, of these in-
home readers had one child or more under the age of 18 residing in
their domiciles (Target Group Index, M-2: pp. XV, 99).

6.   Due to their mass distribution and consumption, these
magazines have been found onsite and associated with a broad
spectrum of sexual assaults nationwide.   These assaults include
the entrapment of children into child pornography, child
prostitution and adult-child sex, including incestuous assault by
older siblings.   Indeed the magazines have published letters to
the editor by juveniles.

7.   Moreover, _Playboy_ magazine has been purchased for library use
at taxpayers' expense at least since 1970 when the braille _Playboy_
edition was approved for production and narrative. It is estimated
that the American taxpayer has invested about $1.5 million for the
braille edition, and at least that sum for subscriptions paid by
----
★ Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1980, M-1, pp. 0002-3. Latest
Mediamark statistics are unavailable for _Hustler_.
★★ Thus, the Pairs Audience / Total Audience for _Hustler_ are from
Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1980, M-4, pp. 0018 and 0025.

those libraries which subscribe to <u>Playboy</u>, of the approximately 13,785 public, academic, plus prison library facilities.

Experts who have studied the use of erotica/pornography by young people have concluded that it serves an educational function. The educative role of these magazines is acknowledged by such publishers as Hugh Hefner of <u>Playboy</u> and is exemplified by the comments by boys and girls in Hass' study, <u>Teenage Sexuality</u>, (1979, pp. 153-160):

> I used to just look at the pictures. Now I like to read the articles to see what other people are doing sexually - so I know if I'm right ... Also, the articles about what girls enjoy from guys helps me ...

> ... these magazines gave me something to go by ... on where things are, how they're done, and how it feels ... (they) interest me and I enjoy reading and learning new things about sex.... I also got in the mood where I felt like doing something I wouldn't normally do ...

Prior to this project, no longitudinal study of the pictorial and cartoon content of mainstream erotica/pornography had been conducted. Moreover, no other research had considered the portrayal of children in either these or any other erotic/pornographic materials. Hass claims that "Many adolescents turn to movies, pictures and articles to find out exactly <u>how</u> to have sexual relations" (p. 155).

Since our task was to analyze the magazines' visual material, the presentation today will be visual. Let me identify precisely what I intend to do in the next thirty minutes. First, I will describe the project coding process. Second, I will review some of the issues examined in regard to the depictions of children in cartoons and visuals. Third, I will briefly review major findings. In addition to the slides, further examples are available in visual data books here for your perusal.

METHODOLOGY

Our study employed quantitative content analysis in accord with standard scientific practices and procedures. During each of two thirteen-week sessions approximately ten coders analyzed each of 683 magazines from <u>Playboy</u>'s initial December 1953 issue to <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> issues of December 1984.

Every child and pseudo-child visual was analyzed by one member of the coding team. In the visual analysis, over 9,000 females were initially identified by the coders as appearing to be younger than 18 years of age. Following the development of a narrow set of parameters identifying specific child properties of appearance, language, dress, and display, the total number of persons under 18 years was narrowed to 3,988 - as on the cover of this <u>Playboy</u> issue being read by the little boy. The adult with

ponytails, frilly little girl clothes, Mary Jane shoes, teddy bears, and animals would be called a pseudo-child.

For those unfamiliar with content analysis techniques, let me explain that coders were trained extensively in the analysis process [See Slides 4A & 4B]. In order to objectify the activity as much as possible and to indicate to the coders that they were engaged in a standard and serious analysis of depictions, part of the training included slide presentations in which the present analysis was placed in the context of art interpretation. Great works of art, such as Adrian van de Velde's Landscape with Sleeping Shepherdess (1663) were presented. We examined van de Velde's depiction of specific components: [See Slides 5A & 5B] the child - her age, clothing, role; the horse, the man in the background, identifying both discrete parts and the overall information delivered by the total scene [See Slides 6A & 6B]. Each magazine scenario was similarly analyzed by a coder in her/his carrel. The carrel contained the coders' manuals, specially designed guides to the Culture of Childhood, Emotional Expression and Age Evaluation, their coding instruments and coding sheets. Each coding instrument sheet that you see before you was specially designed for its task. Coding encompassed 114 variables for child cartoons; for child visuals, 75 variables; for adult cartoons, 63 variables; and, for adult visuals, 49 variables.

Coders checked each magazine page, identifying a child offstage or onstage. They then coded that scenario for child and adult demographics, for the activities in which the child was involved, and the specific nature of those activities. The dress, or undress, of the child was identified, as was the presence of a pseudo-child - an adult dressed and posed as a child. Any discrepant body features, such as, oversized breasts on a small child's frame, were coded.

Our Age Evaluation Guide [See Slides 7A & 7B] was taken from the child development literature. This 37-page guide helped coders identify appropriate age categorizations from the embryonic stage to late adolescence. These realistic illustrations helped avoid age confusion precipitated by the precocious, or absurd, activity in which the child might be involved - for example, a small child with a wise and adult expression, engaged in an extremely sexual activity with an older man. Without training, coders were found to code such a six-or eight-year-old as an 11-or 12-year-old. Moreover, an important issue was whether or not children appear in these magazines. Thus, we developed a Culture of Childhood guide which provided developmentally valid age illustrations of children engaged in age appropriate activity.

This guide was relied upon by coders as a gauge by which they could more objectively assess the physical ages of the children in the scenarios. Similar guides were relied upon to narrow the 9,000 females in visuals identified by coders as potentially under 18 years of age, to a codeable set of 3,988 children or pseudo-children.

EXAMPLES

Let me now outline some examples of what we have found within the 6,004 child associated scenarios: [See Slides 8A & 8B]

1.   Since the May 1954 issue of _Playboy_, in which a boy scout troop solicits sex from adult women, children have appeared in sexual contexts with adults; soliciting, observing, or receiving sexual contacts [See Slides 9A & 9B].   By November 1954 _Playboy_ had a toddler of about one or two years offering money to a woman - perhaps his mother - for sex.   Fully 75% of all cartoons in which a child was initiating some activity identified that activity to have some sexual or violent component.

2.   The frequency and intensity of child depictions increased with the entry of new magazines into the market: [See Slides 10A & 10B]   first, _Penthouse_ in 1969 and later, _Hustler_ et al. Following the 1984-85 initiation of this study, _Playboy_ child depictions decreased radically.

3.   Child depictions in the pioneer among these magazines, _Playboy_ have risen and declined, suggesting that the marketplace has somewhat changed the particular audiences of these magazines.   It is important to note however, that much of _Playboy's_ most volatile child-adult sexual and violent imagery appears to have been absorbed by its upscale youth oriented magazine, _Oui_, which _Playboy_ originally published.   Child depictions in _Hustler_ have continued to increase.

Coders identified three basic themes non-judgmentally: [See Slides 11A & 11B]

1.   _Non-sexual, non-violent activities_: including simple memories and general discussions - here in a _Playboy_ depiction of Little Boy Blue and Bo Peep hugging [See Slides 12A & 12B].

2.   _Violent activities_: including murder, maiming, and medical/ surgical activities - here is a _Penthouse_ (May 1984) boy about to murder. [See Slides 13A & 13B].

3.   _Sexual activities_: including intercourse or the child as nude; as the nude little girl seen here in _Playboy_ (March 1964) bunny tail and ears [See Slides 14A & 14B].

This _Playboy_ (September 1973) cartoon depicts a child of 8 to 10 years as nude and in bed with her mother and an overweight producer, both also nude. A total of 989 images associated a child sexually with an adult.   These 520 cartoon scenarios were identified with a child in some kind of sexual encounter with an adult, versus 60 scenarios with a child sexually associated with an older child.   Additionally, glamorization of juvenile sexual promiscuity was balanced by only 10 cartoons referring to venereal disease, thereby enhancing the impression that sexual activities between children or children and adults are harmless [See Slides 15A & 15B].

From the psychosexual perspective of associated images, it was notable that coders identified over 4,000 references to sexual and/or violent pictures adjacent to a child cartoon or visual or both; as in this Playboy illustration of a half nude woman being tortured [See Slides 16A & 16B]. Moreover, over 1,000 child visuals served to illustrate an informational topic, such as child sexuality, child-adult sex and the like.

Cartoon and visual themes were examined. These included fairy tales, Christmas and birth in cartoons and in visuals.

Both the fairy tale cartoon theme and the genre's increase in perverse violence and sexuality may best be seen by noting the one decade change in the Dorothy character. In Playboy (November 1968) Dorothy was a flat-chested youngster in a small black and white implied sex scene with the scarecrow [See Slides 17A & 17B] in March 1978, one decade later in this Folkes cartoon, Dorothy was in a full page, color, gang-rape scene as a full-breasted child-woman.

At this time it is appropriate to note that the three magazines researched have all published extensive criticisms of this research project. In the following quote from the December 1985 Playboy magazine, a reader asked about our research on "child pornography cartoons". This quote is presented here due to the data which identifies Playboy as portraying adult-child sexual interactions, including statuatory and forcible rape:

> If other magazines are publishing cartoons of "gang
> rapes of children, fathers sexually abusing daughters,
> benevolent or father figures raping or murdering young
> girls," Playboy never has, never will. Our readers know
> that. And lying with statistics is still lying.

By November 1982, only four years after Playboy's cartoon gang rape; [See Slides 18A & 18B] Dorothy was seen as a Hustler pseudo-child soliciting bestiality and orgy activities from her three friends [See Slides 19A & 19B].

In the event that the imagery just presented was too distracting, let me repeat; the material progressed in ten years from 1968, [See Slides 17A & 17B] when Playboy implied sex with Dorothy [See Slides 18A & 18B] to 1978, when that publication depicted her as just having been gang-raped; in four more years, to 1982 when Hustler described her photographically as seeking these acts [See Slides 19A & 19B].

Other issues examined: [See Slides 20A & 20B]

-General holiday themes such as Valentine's Day were found. Here, Playboy (February 1972) features two pages of illustrations depicting sexualized children. Set in a Marquis de Sade framework, these sadomasochistic themes inclusive of whips also portrayed a cariacture of a juvenile President Carter engaged in subtle autoerotic activity [See Slides 21A & 21B].

-The use of fairy tales for breaking strong social taboos.

-Exaggerated sexual parts in child cartoons. These were found 115 times, with 86 of these in _Playboy_. For example, this _Playboy_ (August 1971) Red Riding Hood cartoon showed the young heroine with exaggerated breasts engaging in bestiality with the wolf. This was one of the 267 images of children sexually associated with animals or objects. This exaggerated breast depiction was often associated with the Culture of Childhood fairy tale heroine [See Slides 22A & 22B] as were violence and deviance. Here, Chester the Molester is about to strike and kidnap a flat chested Red Riding Hood in _Hustler_ (April 1977).

The child was associated with 513 instances of killing and maiming, 209 of these in cartoons and 304 in visuals. The data identify Santa Claus as unusually malevolent in these magazines. This _Playboy_ (January 1977) Santa cannibalizes an offstage child. Santa shows pointed, bloody teeth, saying to the small elf standing nearby, "Bring in another!" That same year, in December, the _Penthouse_ Santa murdered a boy -- onstage. The boy's head was blown away by Santa's shotgun while the _Penthouse_ Santa said "That'll teach you to be a good boy".

Reiterating, "the power of associated states" identified by Charles Darwin nearly 150 years ago and reaffirmed by current research, child readers who were reached by this violent Santa stimuli, were likely to integrate these images with the female genital and breast displays also in these issues. It is disturbing that of 330 advertisements, cartoons, photos and illustrations of Santa from 1957 to 1985 in these three magazines, 324 identified the aged, benevolent figure in sexual or violent, drugs or alcohol scenarios. The Christmas message in these three magazines - reaching adult and juvenile viewers - was of hundreds of exploitive or vindictive Santas carrying out their activities within a framework of serious articles by prominent leaders, thousands of female genital and breast displays and 14,000 crime and violence scenarios. Such a combination of arousal states, as they potentiate the process of "excitation transfer" identified by Dr. Dolf Zillmann, are of serious concern [See Slides 23A & 23B].

Sex of child by themes such as Christmas, birth, marriage, and graduation, was identified. When sexual activity involved girls, the Other Character was generally an adult male. This _Penthouse_ (December 1974) cartoon by Jack Medoff, shows a broadly grinning Santa having an orgasm, with a small, terrified girl. It is captioned, "You better watch out, you better not cry, you better not pout, I'm telling you why: Santa Claus is comin'...." Again, this _Playboy_ (January 1975) Santa is about to bed a pseudo-child, in her frilly adolescent bedroom. She is wearing a see-through nitie, is wide eyed and blonde, sleeping with her doll. Santa is hugging her as he says "Foolish child, of course you're not too old to believe in Santa Claus." [See Slides 24A & 24B] The December 1976 _Penthouse_ had a very small child whose hand was in Santa's pants. His eyes are dazed as she

apparently fondles his genitals and says, "and then I want a new bicycle and a dollhouse and a new dress and ...." In Playboy (June 1980). John Demsey's pseudo-child is sexually assaulted by a hypocritical preacher [See Slides 25A & 25B].

The role of authority figures was examined. For example, government officials were found to have guiltless sex with children in the November 1982 Penthouse issue, which carried an interview with a United States Senator. One cartoon in that issue presented a boy orally sodomized by a man: "My parents sent me to Washington to SERVE my country. It appears that I'm the main course." In the second political cartoon a young girl, undressed, is in bed with a man, also apparently nude. She is talking on the phone: "Hello mommy, I met this nice political leader from the Moral Majority on Capitol Hill." Both cartoons are by Bill Lee, one of the more prolific "child pornography" artists for Penthouse [See Slides 26A & 26B]. The majority of Other Characters were parental figures.

Birth-in-wedlock and out-of-wedlock as in these two Playboy cartoons, were identified. Most cartoons describe birth as out-of-wedlock, while most visuals were coded as in-wedlock [See Slides 27A & 27B].

The images of birth which were identified included fetus in utero and abortion Hustler (February 1971; January 1977) [See Slides 28A & 28B] which yielded 25 instances, mainly in Hustler [See Slides 29A & 29B] and birth to deformed or murdered babies, as in this Playboy (November 1974) neonate tongue, and in this extreme child murder in Hustler [See Slides 30A & 30B].

Infants were identified for normal body parts. Age - appropriate capacities and discrepancies were noted. Here, Playboy (December 1974) displays a disproportionate infant, masturbating through his diaper in "Getting Off". Hustler (September, 1977) has a neonate plunge his impossibly oversized sex organ into the mouth of a shocked nurse while a father looks on saying, "That's my boy!" [See Slides 31A & 31B].

Natural and distorted images of children were identified, with children generally physically normal, but appearing as deformed or distorted, as in both this Playboy headless boy joke, and this Penthouse (January 1978) armless girl joke [See Slides 32A & 32B].

The role of the child as either a recipient, observer, or initiator of an adult sexual encounter was observed in all three magazines overtime. This was coded with some concern regarding the diffusion of ideas in erotica/pornography to other general, widely read material - such as National Lampoon. Here, in both cartoons, a man lies under a playground slide, red tongue protruding from his mouth, awaiting a little girl as she slides down to the offender. The earlier cartoon was from Hustler's "Chester the Molester". This same idea, a man ensconsed under the child's slide drawn in black and white but with red tongue

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protruding, appeared subsequently in this popular National Lampoon
[See Slides 33A & 33B].

While the two slide cartoons would have been coded as a child
RECEIVING a sexual encounter from an adult, children as initiators
of sex were also coded.   For example, a Playboy (October 1971)
Interlandi cartoon portrays a youngster who appears to have been
coolly and harmlessly assaulted by a male neighbor "You call that
being molested?".   In this Playboy (June 1971) Folkes cartoon the
child casually prepares for voluntary prostitution as she asks the
madam how to spell bordello [See Slides 34A & 34B].

More cartoon children were males than females.   More visual
children were females and a small percentage of child scenarios
included both sexes.   Here, both Playboy (June 1973) foster
parents are depicted actively sexually assaulting their dependent
children, a boy and girl, ten to thirteen years of age.   The
Playboy "joke" seems to be the ineffectual response of the social
workers to the sex acts between the foster parents and the
children. Unfortunately, as in most of these cartoons, the humour
refers to a real social problem of child abuse in foster homes.
However, there seems to be no suggestion in this visual
communication that the siblings are harmed, or that society
should protect its children from sexual exploitation in these
vulnerable situations. Moreover, this Marty Murphy cartoon needs
to be viewed in the overall context of Playboy's information
delivery about child-adult sexual acts.   Cartoonist Murphy, a
major contributor to Playboy, may be said to have a pattern of
artistically trivializing adult sex with children [See Slides 35A
& 35B].

Most cartoon and visual children were between 6 to 11 years of
age, often acting in a manner a reader might assess as 5 years
older than the age depicted.   In this Penthouse (November 1976)
cartoon, a small child of about 5 or 6 years tells her little
friends about how she got a candy cane, "Yeh, he gives you one of
these just for straight sex, no deviations." Although analysis of
this cartoon is not feasible here, suffice it to say, one reader
interpretation of this happy child could be that not only was she
unharmed by the sex for a candy cane, but that adult sex with a
child is not a deviation unless it involves oral or anal activity
and the like. ·It is also noteable that just as the major age of
depiction was 6 to 11, "Protecting Children", (an American Humane
Publication, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 1 & 3), stated, "One
out of four sexual abuse victims is under five years of age ...."
[and re: overall maltreatment] "... and the average age of the
involved children was 7.1 years old..." Such a report on
1,007,658 children, underscores the need to document sexual or
violent treatment of children by mass media forms [See Slides 36A
& 36B].

Kidnapping was identified; the kinds of props used were
coded. Most direct child kidnapping scenarios involved Hustler's
monthly "Chester the Molester." Here, (October 1977; January
1977) "Chester" kidnaps several little girls, ties them up nude,

and sits next to them with implements of torture; sexual and otherwise. Again, the reader is not shown harm in the communication. Indeed, when coding altruistic protectors of children in the visuals and cartoons, "Chester" was identified as one of the rare characters also seen as protective. This supports the "pedophile" message that adult child sexual abusers act out of genuine affection for children.

Gang rape, when it was overt, was confined to fairy tale heroines as in Folkes Playboy (March 1978) Oz story where Dorothy is raped by her three trusted friends [See Slides 37A & 37B].

However, three months prior to Playboy's full page color gang rape of the Dorothy character, Penthouse (December 1977) presents a sleeping Snow White by artist Mal; a "pseudo-child" according to the Culture of Childhood. Her trusted seven friends stand in a line alongside her bed in a half-page black and white line draw-ing. The senior dwarf looks at the other dwarfs and says while holding up his hand, "All those in favor of a gang bang say, hi ho!".

From a contextual point of view, this Penthouse cartoon of Snow White appeared in the same issue as that of the full-page color Santa who shot the good little boy. This Christmas issue also included the article "Incest the Last Taboo" where various writers and sexologists contributed their views. During this discussion of "positive incest" versus negative incest, the outmoded nature of the prevalent incest taboo was suggested. This same issue also contained a sexually graphic short story of a young woman's sexual adventures with her father, which included her bearing his child. That same month, Playboy offered a "Ribald Tale" about a father who sexually satisfied his three daughters.

The idea of "fantasy" as justifying adult-child sex in fairytales seems to carry over to other child abuse scenarios. A cartoon of a semi-nude child involved in group sex orgy was offered by Playboy artist (June 1971) John Dempsey. Again, the child's small physical body size and her facial structure, based upon the Age Evaluation Guide, would code her as much younger than the developed breast cues would suggest [See Slides 38A & 38B].

Setting - parks and beach - the many places of a child's play world were coded for adult-child interactions, including invasion of privacy. Two Hustler, "Chester the Molester" cartoons by Dwaine Tinsley require comment. In the first cartoon, an adolescent girl is sexually assaulted in a park commode. Such an actual incident was reported to me in 1985 by a law enforcement officer. In a public campground, park rangers were called to remove a man from the interior of the "women's" toilet cistern.

The second cartoon is also "Chester the Molester". This cartoon was the subject of a dispute at a May 7, 1984 Senate Oversight Hearing, which investigated the usefulness of this grant. At that time a Senator examined this cartoon and asked: "I see a man moving toward her. How does that show how a man may

molest a child?" I will answer the Senator's question more fully. This is a monthly cartoon titled "Chester the Molester". "Molester" is a nationally recognized label for a person often associated with the crime of child molestation. The cartoon does "show how a man may molest a child," by using goggles and approaching children's genital area underwater. A colleague examining these cartoons informed me of an event in the Silver Spring public pools in which a man similarly adopted goggles for the purpose of underwater child molestation [Slides 39A & 39B].

Age of child and associated sex solicitation acts were coded. Here we have two Penthouse cartoons. First, the same Christmas issue which offered Penthouse (December 1974) readers Medoff's Santa singing "Santa is commin'..." also presented this cartoon of a child apparently orally "assaulted" by a jack-in-the-box which has exited through her vagina, (or has she herself assaulted her jack-in-the-box)? The idea that it is normal for a child to solicit bizarre sex is a repeated theme in Penthouse. Here, a Penthouse little girl solicits oral sex via a carrot on a snowman. Indeed, little children have been documented in real life as engaging in such behavior; however, such acts are generally a warning for parent or child welfare workers that the child has been similarly sexually exploited. This indication to readers, warning of the child's emotional trauma, is not inherent in the snowman joke [See Slides 40A & 40B].

Here, Playboy (October 1975) depicts an adult male flasher cartoon, a precursor to Hustler's regular "Chester the Molester" feature. However, contrary to this casual depiction, child welfare workers, parents and teachers commonly identify children who have been mildly to severely distressed by the adult male flashing his sexual organ. It is also analytically important that while this and other similar flasher jokes suggest the harmlessness of male exhibitionism for children, Playboy does not reveal the phallus to its own readership. That is, there is a dearth of men with phallus - erect or flaccid - cartooned, illustrated, or displayed photographically in Playboy. Some critics would ask, if phallus flashing is really humorous, why does Playboy avoid displaying the phallus to its readers?

This Penthouse (1975) cartoon is one of the few found to suggest peer sex play. Cartoonist Murphy is suggesting that the little girl seeks a rather advanced or precocious sexual relation with the other child. It is the language of the adult male cartoonist which strongly suggests the precociously erotic capacity of the little girl [See Slides 41A & 41B] as she archly says, "I think my mother is getting suspicious of these afternoon naps, Eddie..."

It bears repeating that as reports of juvenile sex offenses against children have increased dramatically over the last decade. we were examining these images for the role of children, crime and violence, seen by two reading publics, children and adults. We were identifying what types of sex, crime and violence information was delivered to both of these groups. The Washingtonian

(April 1975) cover portrayed Playboy perused by a boy of about
six, while his little sister looks over his shoulders at what he
is seeing. She is dressed as "mommy" in makeup and hat. He is
apparently in daddy's chair playing "daddy". The caption reads
"Whatever Happened to Childhood?" A second reasonable question
could be, what else may these children do, like mommy and daddy,
after little brother finishes reading daddy's Playboy? Children
have always played house, though little girls sometimes had to
cajole their male relatives and friends into play.

With respect to child development, a review of this cover and
content of the Playboy (April 1975) issue clearly indicates what
"mommy" could do; how "mommies" might pose and display. How much
direct imitation takes place solely due to normal child patterns
of modeling from relevant images? As stated earlier, incestuous
assault of younger siblings is increasingly documented, and
offenders' use of these magazines for direction and legitimization
is part of victims' testimony-even before this Commission. While
anecdotal data, case studies, and documentation of the imitive use
of such materials is now on record, it is haphazardly collected
and recorded. Yet, how one could acquire data on child imitation
without risking harm to the child herself is, at best, a
problematical issue.

An examination of the Playboy cover chosen for the
Washingtonian cover is in order. This portrayed a pseudo-child
pouting up at camera/reader, with little girl hair clips and big
innocent eyes. Playboy presented photographer Susie Randall's
virgin-like child-woman in her white rocking chair, with bedroom
pink and blue wallpaper, white fluffy petticoat, white tights and
black Mary Jane shoes. Tossed about on the floor are cuddly,
soft, crushable dolls and stuffed animals, while the Playboy bunny
is clutched to the full pink woman-bosom. An analysis of this
pseudo-child and possibly composite photo is appendexed in Drs.
Wambolt and Negley's report [See Slides 42A & 42B].

In our careful examination of the major art works on the
nude, we sought visual cues of nude females sucking thumbs and
fingers, posing knock-kneed, and/or shoulders hunched. These
types of poses were non-existant in the said art works.
Apparently, child sex symbols have not been part of this nation's
past visual heritage and experience. Therefore, it might be
argued that the last 30 years have seen an unprecedented and
unmonitored experimental treatment of child-sex-and-violence
associated cues among billions of juvenile and adult
erotica/pornography consumers. If the accepted communication
theory, of information repetition facilitating acceptance of new
ideas and behavior is at all correct, we should be seeing major
changes in sociosexual values and behavior nationally.

There were 1,675 child images associated with nudity, 1,225
associated with genital activity, and 989 where children were
sexually associated with adults. A change is visible from the
original Playboy adult female "over 21" images to the juvenile,
"Our most ravishing 12-year old sex symbol to date" Penthouse

(January 1976) [See Slides 43A & 43B] and <u>Hustler</u>'s (August 1983) Cynthia "Baby Face", blonde and pink colored.

A change is also visible from the original non-genital exposure to full graphic display across all three magazines. [See Slides 44A & 44B] This blonde young person here in a <u>Penthouse</u> visual (January 1981) was identified by a group of Georgetown pediatricians as appearing to be about 6 years of age. This was a 14 page genitally graphic sequence which exploited sex, violence and crime. The "child" seemed a composite of several female bodies which yielded this "Incredible Shrinking Lady". The composite cut-and-paste body is a process often used in the industry. This technique can contribute to the viewer's confusion between an adult's and child's body [See Slides 45A & 45B].

There is indication of an attempt to titillate the reader's desire for children as sex stimuli [See Slides 46A & 46B]. Especially disturbing is the use of blurred adult and child body cues mixed here with violence cues [See Slides 47A & 47B].

Posing a child-like adult as a child was coded, such as "Baby Breeze" here in <u>Penthouse</u> (January 1976). Several months of "readers" letters were published, guessing the age of "Baby Breeze." While she was finally alleged to be 21 years old, there is also no evidence that some of these alleged child-like adult models were not indeed children versus the 1950's and 1960's non-genital adult. <u>Hustler</u> publicly advertised for pictures of girls of any age, with space provided in the advertisement for parent or guardian signature. Apparently, foreign children, although underage, were available for graphic portrayal. Brooke Shields was shown nude in film clips in <u>Playboy</u>, as were other underage girls in film sequences and the like [See Slides 48A & 48B, 49A & 49B]. <u>Hustler</u>'s (February 1975) "Adolescent Fantasy" presented the shaved or hairless genitalia of a youngster together with text on the appropriateness of sex with adults. [See Slides 50A & 50B]. <u>Hustler</u> provided a large number of graphic child genitalia, such as its Lolita series shown here [See Slides 51A & 51B].

Other artistic and photographic techniques coded were those that blur the distinctions between child and adult. Oversized high-heeled shoes on a knock-kneed model, <u>Playboy</u>'s (July 1985) "young girl's...rubber ducky...." are techniques which introduce the idea of the child as a sexual object. While sexual depictions of children in <u>Playboy</u> cartoons decreased since the inception of this grant, newer and more elaborate photographic techniques to sexualize the child have been initiated during this time.

Shaved genitalia emerged as a new key phenomenon [See Slides 52A & 52B].
The overlap between images of violence and genitalia in the magazines is pervasive. The larger concern of the overlap between violent, genital and <u>child</u> images may be seen in <u>Penthouse</u>'s (March 1985) advertisement for their newest magazine <u>Newlook</u>. Here we find the clearly designed two-page overlap of child sex and violence. The straight-edged razor is lit in a black gloved

hand. Across the page the "child's" shaved genitalia and woman's breasts peep out from under a pure white lace apron, and the body is photographically "decapitated" and limbless. Such "sexual" decapitation is not unusual in reality. Penthouse is more glamorous in its child-oriented shaved genitalia display. The pink image here of a woman using a straight- edged razor to remove her pubic hair is part of a long and elegant photo essay.

Larry Flynt, the publisher of Hustler, testified on September 20, 1977 to the House Subcommittee on Crime. He revealed that readers expressed their desire for children via requests for shaved genitalia. This fact corroborates other empirical and common sense observations and may be viewed as viable professional information from the sex industry. Said Flynt:

> Pornography is my business. And I have over 10 million readers of my magazine, it is a combined readership, over 50 million. The majority of the letters that come into my magazine are from people that would like to see photographs of shaved genitalia. What they are really asking for is photographs of children, but they can't come out and say it. There are millions of those dirty old men out there, and legislation is not going to help it, it is going to make it worse.

> Gentlemen, in all due respect, I submit that there are millions, not a handful, millions of people out there that are turned on by children and want to see them sexually exploited (p. 262).

Playboy's (October 1979) article on the multiple sex murderer, Gary Gilmore, identifies the child lure of the shaved female genitalia. Norman Mailer described Gilmore's tragic life, including his sexual history, pedophiliac activities, and his preference for hairless genitalia:

> Gary asked Nicole to shave her pubic hair ... she knew it had something to do with being a six-year old pussy once more...Gary was fooling with minors...(p. 25).

[See Slides 53A & 53B] Photographs of adult models whose pubic hair has been both radically thinned and partially removed are now common across all three magazines. Such "sparse" adult growth may be seen as a subtle or blatant adolescent arousal cue and may reasonably be viewed as similarly understood by adult and juvenile male and female readers [See slides 54A &54B].

Hustler (February, 1978), portrayed a twelve-page photo essay linking shaved genitalia and execution. This sequence shows a young woman arrested, shaved, enjoying sex with her jailor and then electrocuted. Hustler presented the nude woman in shadow, except for a full frontally lit depiction of her shaved genitalia. "Poof!" was inscribed on the opposite page [See Slides 55A & 55B].

Other child cues were coded--thumb-sucking, fetal positions, and the like [See Slides 56A & 56B].

Pigtails, props such as oversized chairs and beds, child-like eyes of vulnerability looking up, are used to render adult women child-like [See Slides 57A & 57B] or children more child-like. This is Brooke Shields whose 9 year old bath tub nude scenes were apparently sold to "Sugar and Spice", allegedly a Playboy publication [See Slides 58A & 58B].

The titillation of incest was looked at. The role of the mother was studied, since she is often the last line of sexual defense for the child from an offending adult. The mixed messages in this recent Penthouse (March 1985) sequence called "Mother and Daughter", shows them posing nude in each other's arms and sharing sexy black and virginal white lingerie. For family members this type of depiction can be seen as problematic at best. This is especially so, as we find increasing reports of mothers as incest offenders and girl babysitters as child sexual abusers [See Slides 59A & 59B]. (The implication of normalcy in this suggestive lesbian incestuous photo essay is also repeated in Playboy "sister" photo essays.)

Adolescents have been the primary target of sexual abuse, but there is a recent sharp increase in oral veneral disease among children under five years of age, who have been infected by their fathers, older brothers, or boyfriends of the mother (UCLA Monthly Alumni Magazine, May/June 1977). [See Slides 60A & 60B].

In Penthouse Forum (1977), a young nude woman is seen handcuffed. Under her photo "Incest" is identified as only one of many sexual variations. Playboy (August 1975) offers a dramatic incest suggestion linked with violence; "How one family solved its discipline problem". Here, Playboy presents a "sensual" or sulky, naked adolescent in black stockings chained to a bed post. This descriptive incest, child rape visual, was a Playboy advertisement to solicit readers for Oui, at one time its spin-off magazine for the younger male reader [See Slides 61A & 61B].

In February 1979, the coders identified a photo story called "Father Knows Best" in Playboy. A nude toddler was photographed by her father who continued to photograph his daughter as she became a young woman. [See Slides 62A & 62B]. A genitally graphic sequence was coded as sexually associating the photographer father and daughter. Leather leggings are buckled on the daughter's nude body by father. The coders identified the child, in a black and white photo inset, juxtaposed with herself as an adult as she simulated masturbation for this photo. While father has taken some photos, another photographer photographs father and daughter, placing them both sexually in the scene [See Slides 63A & 63B].

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This _Playboy_ (August 1976) Lolita sequence involves fashion photographer Helmut Newton's "fantasy" of seducing a high school girl, locking her in a motel room, and having sex with her. He ends with the line, "Yes, she's old enough to be your daughter". The issue of fantasy as a precondition for behavior cannot be addressed here. Some of the formal literature addressing "fantasy" argues its role as a necessary and/or sufficient rehearsal activity for potentiating behavior [See Slides 64A & 64B].

A nude child lies asleep in this _Playboy_ (November 1971) incest photograph. Photographic props included: nursery rhyme sheets, a Raggedy Ann doll, white ankle socks, pigtails and hairbows. These props were all coded and the text was identified as suggesting that the reader consider forceful incest. Indeed, 592 child images were associated with force:

> _Baby Doll_. It's easy to feel paternalistic toward the cuddly type above. Naturally, she digs forceful father figures, so come on strong, Big Daddy (November, 1971).

Of course, this may be a composite photo. It appears to be an adult head on a smaller posterior [See Slides 65A & 65B].

Images such as this infant imp scene in _Playboy_ (September 1984) were coded as child substitutes or surrogate children. The attendant text described the model in an "erotic" act with the infant "imp" statue [See Slides 66A & 66B].

Due to the fact that our research was mandated to examine only visuals, this _Playboy_ text was one of the few child sexuality texts identified, Over 1,000 text references to children were identified as being adjacent to the child related visuals being coded. If the text is also to be coded in future research efforts, one of the questions raised would be how children have been defined in print overtime, as compared to their depiction in visuals.

> ... the big news is that there is a lot more direct eroticism flowing through a small child's body than most adults are willing to acknowledge ("Kid Stuff", October, 1976). [See Slides 67A & 67B].

Incest cartoons were coded, for example, in _Playboy_ (May 1974). A nude child is in bed with Uncle William in a sexual encounter. In _Hustler_ (April 1977) an adolescent is sexually assaulted from behind by her father. The child coolly tells him his act is not only illegal, but being done badly. The HIGH SCHOOL pennant over her bed confirms that she is a teenager, and the textual implication is that she is sufficiently sexually experienced to compare his performance to other males. [See Slides 68A & 68B]. Again, _Hustler_ (May 1984) clearly presents a

father assaulting his juvenile daughter; while Playboy (March 1972) portrays a much younger child, with exaggerated breasts, sexually soliciting what could be an uncle, father, or other close relation [See Slides 69A & 69B]. While there were cartoons in which children were actually engaged in sex, there were also cartoons which depict the child observing familial sex. This Hustler (February 1978) cartoon involves the child in the sexual scenario to varying degrees, and the erect little penis indicates that this little boy was primed for this Hustler (January 1976) photo session with his nude "mother" [See Slides 70A & 70B].

Moreover, the adult female/mother/guardian relationship seen in these two Playboy cartoons, was identified in a cartoon prior to the incestuous lesbian guardian/parent child in photography [See Slides 71A & 71B]. In a Playboy (November 1973) cartoon by Smilby, a mother/guardian urges a reluctant child of about 10 or 12 (with exaggerated breasts) to undress for an overweight gentleman, "I know, Charlene darling - why don't we slip off the dress and show nice Mr. Wolfschnitz the titties?". A Folkes cartoon in Playboy (November 1972) presents a school child with hairbows and braids, perhaps 12 or 13 years of age, with a large woman. Both are nude and in bed. The woman has her arm around the child's shoulder as she smilingly reassures the uniformed woman scowling from the open door, "Really, Matron. It's perfectly usual for a girl to have a crush on the games mistress".

One behavioral - cause-effect - aspect of children identified as desirable may be seen in the actual advertisement and sale of child fetish/doll objects for specific sexual use in Hustler and other magazines of that genre.

CHILDREN'S SEXUAL EXPOSURE

[See Slides 72A & 72B] After removing the pseudo-children from consideration, 18 percent of the Principal Children in cartoons and visuals were presented either (a) partially nude, with exposed breasts and/or buttocks, or (b) with genitals showing and/or fully nude.

In the visuals, Hustler was the most apt to present a child as partially or fully nude (37 percent of its Principal Children). It also was the most likely to depict the children with genital or full nudity (21 percent). However, Penthouse also was likely to present a sexually exposed child (27 percent of its Principal Children), and Playboy was coded with 10 percent of its Principal Children as sexually exposed to some degree in its photographs and illustrations.

ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE

[See Slides 73A & 73B, 74A & 74B] A key to the dangers of integrating even neutral child imagery into these magazines, is the volatile sexual/violence magazine format itself. Time does not permit more than the observation that while child stimuli appeared in some form 6,004 times, violence and crime appeared approximately 14,700* times in 5,295 cartoons, and 9,400 visuals with 838 cartoons and 1,250 visuals indicating some associated violence approaching actual killing [See Slides 75A & 75B]. Moreover, nude, adulterous, and coital scenarios are the surrounding context within which these child and violence stimuli are located and experienced [See Slides 76A & 76B]. Thus, child stimuli is inevitably linked or associated with tens of thousands of genital/sexual cartoon and visual stimuli, as well as with 14,692 crime and violence stimuli.

NUMBERS OF CARTOONS AND VISUALS

As noted, the coders identified 6,004 images, 2,016 child cartoons and 3,988 child visuals (of which 681 were pseudo-children) in the 683 issues of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. Of these, Playboy accounted for 3,045 cartoons and visuals, Penthouse for 1,180, and Hustler: 1,779; a total of 6,004 child-linked images.

The total count of 6,004 child-linked images means that children or surrogate children were involved pictorially on an average of 8.2 times per Playboy issue, 6.4 times per Penthouse issue, and 14.1 times per Hustler issue. Again, from an arousal point of view, these images were overlapped with approximately **47,000 female genital and breast cues and 14,692 crime and violence cues.

The 2,016 child cartoons comprised approximately 12.14 percent of all cartoons published in the three magazines.

AGE AND SEX OF THE CHILDREN

Contrary to intuition, most of the children in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler did not belong to the high school age group. The coders found that nearly half of the Principal Children -- 51 percent depicted in cartoons and 46 percent depicted in visuals -- were between 3 and 11 years of age.

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Based on a random sample of five issues per magazine, per annum.

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Preliminary estimates were based on a pilot study to identify body depictions in the three magazines. A full study is suggested for future research.

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The coders found that slightly over half (51 percent) of the Principal Children in all the 6,004 cartoons and visuals were girls, about one-third (35 percent) were boys, and 14 percent were children of unspecified gender. When the cartoons and visuals were analyzed separately, however, dramatic differences between the sexes emerged. Boys were the predominant sex in child cartoons (49 percent male, 36 percent female, 15 percent unspecified). The principal reason was their heavy presence in cartoons where characters discuss topics of a general or sexual nature, rather than to act them out.

Girls, on the other hand, dominated child visuals (29 percent male, 59 percent female, and 12 percent unspecified). Advertisements appear to be one reason, since they accounted for one-third of all visuals and were twice as likely to depict girls as boys. However, when advertisements were dropped from the calculation, girls still accounted for the same proportion of child visuals. The reason lies in the differing functions of the two kinds of visual depiction [See Slides 77A & 77B].

Remember, for some years the Playboy biography has presented three child photos of the nude centerfold at the "Center" of each magazine. These photos were coded and the text describing the child's photo was identified as sexual or non sexual.

As cartoons are generally thought of as humorous, the artist is able to use this mechanism to deliver taboo information and ideas to readers; through visuals they present images which attract and hold the attention of viewers. Our final report will address more fully the issue of cartoon humor.

The Principal Children in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler cartoons were physically depicted as natural, alive, human children, two-thirds of the time. One-third of the 2,006 cartoons were characterized in a range of ways, chiefly as unnatural offspring of human parents (7 percent), children with exaggerated sexual parts (6 percent), and as deformed, dismembered, or dead human children (4 percent). Twenty percent of the Playboy cartoon girls were drawn with exaggerated sexual parts.

Sixteen percent of the children in cartoons, and 7 percent in the visuals were made to look older than their physical years through the use of age cues. For all three magazines, the age group most often given the suggestion of being older was the 3 through 11 age bracket [See Slides 78A & 78B].

CHILDREN AND THE MALE IMAGE

For some thirty-two years, males in erotica/pornography have been described in text and interviews as powerful politicians, entertainers, [See Slides 79A & 79B], artists, scholars, correspondents and the like [See Slides 80A & 80B]. It may be of some import that a change in the "up-scale" male image is documented; the change from the trusted, benevolent, protective male images portrayed by Norman Rockwell, to males cartooned as untrustworthy, exploitive, and sexually aroused by all females of any age.

Males are cartooned as aroused sexually at any age and in any state, by a female of any age [See Slides 81A & 81B]. Moreover, they are cartooned as behaving sexually and violently toward both women and children. Some psychologists have argued that this genre fosters negative self-esteem, impotence, and pedophelia by repeatedly suggesting that a real man can copulate with any age female, at any time, anywhere. Despite this expectation, male sexuality is visually described in four primary states: impotent, too small, castrated, or, with the phallus hidden [See Slides 82 through 87, A & B].

There is much argument in the scholarly community regarding the subconscious learning process. While it is uncertain that all learning is , as some claim, subconscious, certainly some of these data do enter into the reader's subconscious, deep structure - even though the ideas may be wholly unsolicited by the viewer [See Slides 88A & 88B].

The alternative to impotent, castrated, too small imagery is the portrayal of supposedly sexually virile males whose penis is consistently hidden by a plant, flower or back to the reader [See Slides 89A & 89B]. Classification and analysis of images of marriage reveal that when men marry, wives are defined in singularly uncomplimentary ways. Most of the bestiality cartoons in Playboy center around wives who have sex with various animals, often the family dog [See Slides 90A & 90B].

Wives are also seen as sexually utilitarian, and as surrogate centerfolds [See Slides 91A & 91B]. Again, our concern here is manifold. Such depictions are regular features. These "wife" sterotypes. are viewed in the same context as child imagery and [See Slides 92A & 92B] sex mixed with violence. This mix may be seen as volatile for some percentage of this mass juvenile and adult viewership [See Slides 93-95, A & B]. Moreover, these images mix with those in which the treatment of elderly women involve both ridicule and violence, [See Slides 96A & 96B] torture and child sex, [See Slides 97A & 97B]. Necrophilia in both Penthouse [See Slides 98A & 98B] and in Playboy, must also be seen as part of the overlapping of arousal states, or, as Zillmann points out, part of the "excitation transfer" experience [See Slides 99A & 99B]. This crime scene photo of an autoerotic fatality documents Playboy centerfolds as this individual victim's stimuli [See Slides 100A & 100B].

From an educative point of view it is disturbing that much of the visual data in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler is not only available to children, but often marketed to children. We coded approximately 4,000 additional cartoons as "Child Magnets;" images of special appeal to the child; space ships, cowboys and Indians, dolls, brides, Mickey Mouse figures and the like. When viewed from this child's perspective, approximatley 30% of Playboy, 40% of Penthouse and 50% of Hustler cartoons had unique appeal for the child.

For example, Playboy (January 1963) published "The Playboy Coloring Book," a 14 page book to be crayoned. This is one page from the book, colored by a child of perhaps 7 years of age, who followed the coloring instructions in the text. It reads in part:

These are extra playmates. Every playboy should have several to spare. That is because variety is the spice of life... Make one of the girls a redhead. It does not matter which is which. The girls' hair colors are interchangeable. So are the girls [See Slides 101A & 101B].

DISCUSSION

Surveys on readership establish the cartoon as the favored feature in Playboy and Penthouse, generally more valued than even photo essays. Looking at the cartoon as a sex educative device, the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse employed the "Spiderman" cartoon recently to educate children across the nation on why and how to protect themselves from sexual abuse.

Conceptually, the comics and cartoons in these three magazines are also nationally received sex education, reaching and educating millions of children and adults each month since December 1953.

Moreover, our colleagues in marketing tell us that the "up-scale" males, the group which the market industry defines as the innovators; the shapers of society, have been the consumers of this genre since the 1950's. Kotler's watershed marketing work, Marketing Management (1953, 1957, 1963), addressed the acceptance of new products, new ideas, new behavior. That is, when small, up-scale change agents adopt a new value and behavior, these eventually filter down until much of society adopts similar values and behavior. This would apply, theoretically, not only to soap, cars, drugs and alcohol, but even to sexual mores. And indeed, [See Slides 102A & 102B] in 1984 & 1985, advertisements in Seventeen pictured teenagers modeling Playmate bikini underwear for vulnerable 13 to 17 year old readers. Playmate pants and Playmate tatoo bathing suits were also advertised in Seventeen. The diffusion of the Playboy image and its attendant values into the juvenile and general society may be seen as a reality, and the marketing theories of diffusion of innovation may be seen as

validated.

These challenging messages about male sexuality, expectations, impotence and inadequacy, when mixed with child, violence, and female genital stimuli, may trigger any number of confusing emotions: such as joy and expectation, or fear, shame, humiliation, or hate. The consumer's cognitive effort to label such mixed states of emotion by one single emotion called "sexual" may hold a key to "what is pornography?" Thus, from 1954-1984, approximately 14,700 images of crime and violence were mixed in the same magazines with 6,004 child stimuli. These child and crime and violence stimuli were also interspersed with an estimated 35,000 female breasts, 9,000 female genital and 3,000 gynecological images, as well as thousands of images of adultery, non-violent and violent female homosexuality and a broad spectrum of other confusing and arousing adult and juvenile sexual stimuli.

What is the effect of such mixed forms of stimuli upon readers; juvenile and adult?

In response, let me quote from a commentary offered by two child development specialists, Dr. Wamboldt, a child psychiatrist, and Dr. Negley, a child psychologist, who analyzed a sample of 17 images from Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler for this project:

It is a natural response for sexual feelings to come and go at most any time and in most any situations. Mothers will occasionally notice an attraction to their sons' broadening shoulders, fathers will notice how appealing their daughters are as they develop. We have great prohibitions against these feelings if they are incestual or otherwise inappropriate, however, so we keep the feelings at bay. One factor in enabling natural parents to suppress or sublimate sexual feelings they have toward their children is the fact that they have a long-standing history of nurturing and protecting that child. Parents who diaper and soothe a baby, deal with a tempestuous toddler and teach a youngster to ride a bicycle have established a parental relationship with that child, and this activates instinctual, biological drives and unconscious archetypes of parenting. These drives also proscribe sexual relationships with children and reinforce taboos against incest.

One possible dangerous effect of these pictures is that they disinhibit the prohibition, making less secure people more aware of inappropriate sexual feelings and more confused about what to do about them. Repeated exposure to sexual scenes with adolescent (or younger) girls could stimulate hidden sexual feelings towards young girls which the man had been keeping at bay.

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There is also an inherent permission given to indulge in this kind of sexual behavior when viewed in the media. Of particular concern is the relationship of step-parent to step-child, particularly stepfathers and stepdaughters. These pairs do not share a long history of nurturance; often a stepfather first meets his prospective stepdaughter as she is entering puberty. In fact, the literary story of Lolita describes a situation where the stepfather married the mother because of his attraction to her daughter. Without a history to help suppress sexual feelings, these pairs often must consciously do so. To have media present scenes of child seduction may make it more difficult for men to consciously suppress these feelings.

The magazine editors will surely say they are only interested in stimulating fantasy, not illegal acts. But to a person who has difficulty separating fantasy from reality, the magazine gives tremendously confusing messages...

The complete statement of Drs. Marianne Wamboldt and Janet Negley is attached.

Such mixed messages of sex, violence, and child imagery lead to confused states of arousal. Some therapists and others argue that sexually confused, anxiety ridden women and men are increasingly a danger to themselves and others. I agree with this assessment [See Slides 103A & 103B].

One additional observation may be useful for this Commission. Our research team also examined the presence of child fantasies in other contexts within these three magazines. We found 795 child visuals in appropriate, family oriented advertising contexts, and 740 children in advertisements for sexual products, services, or devices. We found a total of 28 children in 10,974 liquor and cigarette (LC) advertisement contexts; 10 children appeared in 7,505 Playboy LC advertisements, 18 children appeared in 3,427 Penthouse LC advertisements, and no children appeared in Hustler's 42 LC advertisements.

It is reasonable to question why a publisher would pose the child in the taboo sexual and violent fantasies of cartoons, visuals, and advertisements, yet, not in the taboo fantasies of liquor and cigarette advertisements. To date, there appear to be no direct laws which prohibit the inclusion of children in liquor and cigarette advertisements.

It seems that the policy makers within the liquor and cigarette industry observe a type of self-policing within their advertising content which recognizes the inappropriateness of child imagery associated with liquor and cigarette consumption.

This lack of presence of child imagery in these advertisements, contrasts starkly with the 6,004 images of children in _Playboy_, _Penthouse_, and _Hustler_ [See Slides 104A & 104B].

Looking to a past popular art form and a once well-known American artist, perhaps Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms exemplify our current dilemma. Rockwell described the four freedoms: freedom of worship; freedom from want; [See Slides 105A & 105B] freedom of speech; and the fourth freedom -- seldom discussed but one without which freedom of speech may be viewed as a mere cliche -- freedom from fear. By reasonable standards of measurement, if erotica/pornography facilitates increased states of fear among some segments of our population, erotica/pornography could be subverting freedom of speech among such groups and individuals.

Based upon my research and the knowledge I have of this field, I strongly urge that the energies and expertise of our major institutions, The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), the Departments of Justice, and Child Welfare Agencies, be brought to bear to find a solution to the problem of pornography in our society. This Commission is a first step in that direction, but other public and professional task force and research efforts are also urgently needed.

I also wish to go on record as encouraging all sex industry representatives to immediately enact a voluntary moratorium on child or pseudo-child depictions -- similar to that self-imposed by the liquor and cigarette advertisers -- until verifiable answers are obtained regarding the harm factor. Such a moratorium would not be an admission of responsibility but rather an act of responsibility, based upon reasonable concerns for the welfare of our children.

Thank you.

Please Use The Following Mailing Address:

P.O. Box 289
Poolesville, MD 20837

November 12, 1985

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.
The American University
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Suite 306
Washington, DC 20016

Dear Dr. Reisman:

I hope that this review reaches you before your deadline. If not, at
least know that your project is better known by several child psychiatrists
and psychologists. Your exhibits were shown to several, all of whom expressed
concern and one of whom volunteered to review them with me. Thus, this review
was written by Janet Negley and myself. I hope it is useful to you. Good luck
with your project.

Best regards,

Marianne Z. Wamboldt, M.D.
Section on Comparative Studies
  of Brain and Behavior
Laboratory of Clinical Science

APPENDIX F

Pornography Evaluation

Janet Negley, PhD

Marianne Wamboldt, M.D.

General Comments

The eighteen examples offered for evaluation seemed to be representative of several themes in current pornography: the association of sex with violence, the depiction of adult grown women as children and the association of childhood symbols and fantasies with sexual acts.

Since women are frequently portrayed as young girls in sexually explicit poses, it would seem this particular pornographic theme has wide appeal. In visual Number 1, the woman on the rocking chair with breast exposed and looking quite young (facially about 12) with little girl Mary Jane shoes and clutching a stuffed rabbit is on the cover of a Playboy (1976). It is absolutely certain that Playboy, apart from its avowed purpose of disseminating the "Playboy philosophy", is a money-making venture and as such, would only produce covers which will sell well. Unfortunately, this kind of cover must be in that category.

It is also interesting to note that in none of the visuals and comics are men portrayed as boys--so it is important that while the men remain men, the women are reduced to children. This could possibly be a backlash from the gaining importance, place and power of women in the "men's world." Some men are threatened by the encroachment of women upon their space and they do what they can to put women back in their place, ie., below the stature of the men. One way of doing this is to portray the woman as stupid or silly (seemingly popular in the comedy of the 50's.) This is more difficult to do in these decades, however, as women enter more intellectually challenging fields. Another way to put women below men would be to portray them as children, or without the capabilities and power of an adult women. A man who feels his manhood only when he is "on top" could be particularly vulnerable to making women into girls so

that he can maintain a position of superiority. In this position, he can be the boss, he can be the father, he can "teach" the "girl".

Another aspect of women looking like young girls in sexually explicit scenes is that it gives the illusion of innocence. Culturally, the innocent woman has been desirable from time immemorial. Young girls are presumably innocent and it would help feed this fantasy if a grown woman could look young. Of course, the men are supposed to be "not innocent", or worldly. In some contexts, then, the men can be the teachers about the world of sex. In another, the men can make the conquest of capturing an innocent. This paradigm in male-female relationships has permeated our culture, although there are some signs of change. Young men, or teen-agers, have been encouraged by their peers, the media, even their fathers to become experienced while young girls have been told they better not or they won't be desirable. The pornographic depictions have taken this aspect of our culture and carried it to the extreme for the purposes of being sexually stimulating for men.

A popular psychological concept related to all this is the whore/Madonna complex. Some men who have difficulty in their relations with women have an unconscious tendency to split their women into those who are whores (sexual) and those who are pure (untouchable). They revere some women, their mother's often, women they could marry, but are sexual with others. Once they are sexual with a woman, she cannot ever be in the Madonna class, however, and is seen as a whore. For someone who is viewing reality in this way, the pictures are incredibly intriguing. Here is a woman who is both innocent and pure and a whore. These pictures, depicting women as innocent little girls, therefore, can serve the purpose of resolving, though not too adaptively, the Madonna/whore polarity.

In addition to those pictures where women are dressed as girls, I would like to make a few comments on those comics and visuals in which childhood fantasies and heroes are used. As in the series of increasingly more explicit pictures

using Wizard of Oz characters, it seems that pornography is seeking to be more and more outrageous. If every aspect of sex and sexual anatomy has been already explored, then, in order to keep pornography fresh and naughtily alarming, pornographers would have to find new avenues of expression. If sexy pictures are no longer shocking, the pornographers will find something that will still stimulate. So, we see priests, Santa Claus and the Tin Man in sexual postures. Although not in this packet, surely, there have been cartoons and fantasies of Jesus, Little Red Riding Hood, and Aunt Jemima--all images in which the juxtaposition of the pure, down-home-like-Mother qualities with sexual crudeness adds the unexpected alarming attitude, and "humor." The real difficulty with these images is that they carry messages beyond "isn't this funny--it's so naughty" which are only seen clearly if one gets beyond the initial response or if one is sensitized to the greater issues at play. For instance, in picture Number 11, if one only looks at Santa Claus as a nasty old man and is humored by this discrepancy of images, one misses the terror on the child's face. The child's point of view of the experience is lost--in fact, her image is only being used in the service of creating a scene for Santa Claus to be nasty (if one looks only at the Santa Claus as the message of the cartoon.) But from the girl's point of view, the scene is sadistic and hurtful. One must ask which point of view is the reader to consider. Most scary is the possiblity that the reader subliminally receives the sadistic portion of the cartoon without consciously processing that this is a terrible thing happening to this little girl.

The increasing explicitness of the pornographic images is reminiscent of an addiction. More and more is needed to create the same effect. Since the sexual images are more explicit in even the "more socially acceptable" Playboy, one must wonder if our (male) culture as a whole isn't addicted. Of course, we are all desensitized to displays of sexuality through exposure in the mass media.

But with the number one complaint in sexual therapy being "a lack of desire", one must wonder just what it takes to get stimulated these days. A possibility is that we are all affected by the amount of sexual input and respond by shutting down. Whereas an exposed knee, at one time, sent young boys away in embarassment, we are now barely stopped in our tracks by total nudity.

As mental health professionals, we can postulate that pornography has deleterious effects on some individuals. First of all, some men may have difficulty separating the use of women as sex objects from their everyday dealings with women in their lives. This comment pertains to pornography in general. The use of childhood heroes and fantasies adds even more complexity to the problem.

It is a natural response for sexual feelings to come and go at most any time and in most any situations. Mothers will occasionally notice an attraction to their sons broadening shoulders, fathers will notice how appealing their daughters are as they develop. We have great prohibitions against these feelings if they are incestual or otherwise inappropriate, however, so we keep the feelings at bay. One factor in enabling natural parents to suppress or sublimate sexual feelings they have toward their children is the fact that they have a long-standing history of nurturing and protecting that child. Parents who diaper and sooth a baby, deal with a tempestuous toddler and teach a youngster to ride a bicycle have established a parental relationship with that child and this activates instinctual, biological drives and unconscious archetypes of parenting. These drives also proscribe sexual relationships with children and reinforce taboos against incest.

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sexual scenes with adolescent (or younger) girls could stimulate hidden sexual feelings towards young girls which the man had been keeping at bay.

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The magazine editors will surely say they are only interested in stimulating fantasy, not illegal acts. But to a person who has difficulty separating fantasy from reality, the magazine gives tremendously confusing messages; for instance, some men may use the presence of these scenes as support for the notion that "women must like this or they wouldn't have posed for it."

Another way to describe this process uses the psychological concept of behavioral classical conditioning. This is a kind of learning in which stimuli which evoke a certain response are paired with new novel stimuli and presented repeatedly together. After some number of trials, the new novel stimuli will evoke the original response. So, a loud noise paired with a red color will eventually create a situation in which an infant will startle when presented with a red color. The original, or unconditioned stimulus, the loud noise, results in the infant startling and after repeated pairings with a red color, the conditioned stimulus, the red color alone will cause the infant to startle.

It is possible that this same process could occur with sexual stimuli, particularly troublesome being those stimuli associated with children. Sexual responses fall within the classical conditioning paradigm, in fact, individuals with fetish behavior can be behaviorally de-conditioned by repeated exposure to the object and a noxious stimuli. Children's objects appear in the pornographic magazines in the context of sexual arousal leading to a potentially confusing situation in which children's objects alone could arouse sexual responses. This obviously has significant ramifications.

Developmentally, sexual exploration is normal for adolescents. Adolescence is also a time when future parenting skills can be modelled and practiced; eg., by babysitting, coaching a younger child's sports team, or playing with younger siblings. Many adolescents do not feel free to learn about sexuality from their parents, and use peer discussion and media to teach themselves. If these adolescents view confusing pictures of "sexualized children" or cartoons about adult men, often fantasy heroes (especially Darth Vader) sexually using children, their dual developmental drives of becoming sexual as well as nurturant adults may blend, blur and be confused.

This may or may not have long term consequences on their parenting skills, but can certainly have short term negative consequences. One of the authors has seen three young adolescent boys in therapy after they had sexually molested preschoolers they were babysitting. All three of these boys had read popular pornography magazines prior to each episode. Although clearly anecdotal data, it is suggestive that adding visual portrayal of child sexual abuse may indeed trigger actual acting out, particularly in younger teens who have not developed good impulse control over their new and overwhelming sexual feelings.

Evaluation of Visuals

Number 2. This woman facially looks like she could be five years old. The troublesome aspect of this picture is that she is clearly undressed (though not explicitly sexually depicted) and she appears in a magazine which has the context of sexual arousal. There are no body parts to indicate she is a woman and so she appears to be a child who is the object of sexual attention. We think this association is dangerous for men who are insecure in their ability to monitor and inhibit their sexual fantasies towards children. The description and quote on the previous page is personally repugnant in that I don't think what she represents is "every thing a man looks for in a woman." This reinforces old stereotypes that men are greater than women, the teachers, the fathers of women and have few needs of their own to be "little", taken care of and taught. She makes herself young in the service of making her man feel more manly.

Number 4. In this picture, the "female" looks to be a young teen-ager, with all the trappings of childhood. In particular, she is not showing any female body parts, ie., breasts, to show that she is a fully developed woman dressed like a child and so presents us with a very confusing erotic stimulus. It's possible this picture could feed fantasies of sex with children and give permission for such acts to the vulnerable man. It would be particularly confusing picture for a teen-age boy.

Number 5. This picture is particularly repulsive: the combination of the graphic display of genitals, the tongue hanging out and the "childhood" theme. It seems that Hustler has more disgusting pictures that Playboy and I wonder if anyone has studied the difference in men who prefer one magazine to the other.

Number 8. This cartoon exemplifies the difficulties that were described in the "general comments": that is, when the context of the "joke" involves incongrous characters without giving credence to the whole picture. It seems that what is supposed to be funny is that no one would expect the three walking away to be to

the the characters of a gang rape. It is not funny, however, that Dorothy is disheveled on the ground--but we are not supposed to pay attention to that aspect of the story. It is once again humor at the expense of a female.

Number 9. In addition to the disgusting visual aspects of this picture, it occurs to us that this is a reverse of the position of power in the story of the Wizard of Oz. In the the true story, Dorothy possesses an ability to help the three characters find what they are missing; here, she gives as well, but in a different context. Here, the men-figures are in control and Dorothy is on her knees in their presence.

Number 11. One visual aspect of this picture which is interesting is how much bigger Santa Claus's mouth is than the little girl's. Of course, he is a bigger figure, but clearly his pleasure is the message of the picture and her terror is not.Again, the unexpected occurs and the "hallowed" tradition of Christmas becomes degraded: adults being as outrageous as they can. The spirit of that endeavor is very much in keeping with adolescence.

Number 12. Here is an interesting situation: the man who is sexually approaching the young girl, the "innocent" girl, finds that she has turned the tables on him and he is not in power. She clearly has control of the situation and his reddened face tells of his embarassment and fury. The difficulty of the cartoon is that we are all so familiar with the situation that we think it's funny that she has gained the upper hand rather than being upset that she has become a prostitute.

Number 15. The explanation in the script is actually psychologically appropriate; but, it is being used to stimulate fantasies rather than to illuminate the problems. The pictures are totally disturbing; any reference to

rape is disturbing but this even more so in that the theme involves "justice": the rape is "justified" and future rapes are condoned in the act of raping "justice" (which is obviously in the way of free reign of any man to any sexual act any time he wants). It's analogous to killing a policeman. The Darth Vader image could be particularly impactful to young boys since so many identify with his strength.

Number 18. As in contrast to the other pictures, this one strikes us as fairly benign; a dirty picture for whomever but without the obvious degradation of some of the other pictures.

Number 16. The only objection to this ad is that it is in Seventeen magazine which has a large appeal to the pre-teen set. In another magazine, we have no difficulty with the message; but as a message to a twelve-year old, it is gives too much permission for sexual play, and indeed, may pressure young girls to become sexual before they are ready.

staff of a major U.S. museum.

MEMORANDUM TO DR. JUDITH RIESMAN

FROM:

DATE: November 15, 1985

SUBJECT: Initial responses to a series of color reproductions
from the pages of Playboy and other magazines.

Playboy cover, April, 1976 - an appeal to the little cuddly girl
from a mature model. Gives the idea immediately of sex with
someone who is underage.

Penthouse, Jan, 81 - Another mature model masquerading in a very
suggestive come-hither pose. The wet lower lip and the eyes are
very appealing to the viewer in a sexual sort of way and could
mean to some that it might be appealing to have sex with a
juvenile.

Playboy, Aug, 75 - The bondage/cruelty issue exploited with the
suggestion that we will be turned-on by viewing a "hot" set of
Jane and a group of similar poses.

Playboy, Nov, 71 - Again this is the pandering to the issue of
sex with a juvenile, as if it was going to be a big new different
kind of excitement. Obviously the model is a mature woman, but
the idea is still there.

Hustler, Oct, 79 - The little girl image as a sex object again,
this time no suggestion intended, but a more forceful invitation
to sex.

Playboy, Nov, 71 - This bad photograph is offensive but not at
all sexually suggestive.

Playboy, Nov, 68 - Again a child as an explicit sex object/target.

Playboy, Mar, 70 - Gang rape connected with children through the
image and one of the most popular juvenile tales.

Hustler, NOv, 82 - This is the raunchiest sort of exploitation of
the Oz-theme again. Disgusting.

Playboy, Nov. 54 - Making a joke of the relation of a juvenile with
a prostitute.

Penthouse, Dec. 76 - Not funny - sexual molestation using again
childhood myths.

Playboy, March, 72 - Again the cult of childhood and children's
fantasys tied to sex.

Hustler, Jan,77 - A disgusting and ineptly-drawn cartoon that tries to make fun of a serious societal problem.

Hustler, Oct, 78 - Violence but this has no meaning for me sexually, probably because it is so badly conceived.

Hustler, 10/78 - Is it possible that Hustler is trying to make a moral point with this terribly-drawn piece?

Seventeen, 8/84 - Possibly a double-entendre but not really sexually explicit.

Seventeen and Glamour, Sept, 1985 - Meaningless to me and not really sexually explicit.

Playboy, Oct, 79 - Inviting sexual exploitation but not raunchy.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR MEN

APRIL 1976 • $1.25

PLAYBOY

Defy the IRS!
A Revolutionary
Movement Takes
Root in America

The Gripping
<u>New</u> Sherlock
Holmes Novel

Andress Undressed!
The Triumphant
Return of Ursula

A Startling
Interview with
The Enigmatic
Young Governor
Of California,
Jerry Brown

Music '76:
Poll Winners
And News Maker

How Adam Lost
His Virginity

PLAY

CHILD VICTIMIZATION AND SEXUALLY EXPLICIT
MAINSTREAM MASS MEDIA

BY
LINNEA SMITH, M.D.

MICHIGAN SENATE JUVENILE JUSTICE
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Lansing, Michigan
October 6, 1986

AP.PENDIX G

CHILD VICTIMIZATION AND SEXUALLY EXPLICIT MAINSTREAM MASS MEDIA

I commend this public body for its comprehensive efforts in addressing the critical issue of juvenile crime and substance abuse, and its willingness to include the difficult and controversial area of sexual imagery in mass media.

In this "permissive age" marked by social change on a massive scale, society is also experiencing high-powered media becoming more available to greater numbers of the population and playing a more substantial role in information delivery as well as entertainment. We cannot ignore the media environment, its increasing sexualization and its role in affecting young peoples' attitudes and behaviors.

My educational efforts have been fairly focused within the collegiate athletic community regarding a specific mainstream, sexually-explicit mass media publication. Although it's extremely difficult to sort out the effect of one media form from the other influences in a child's life, we cannot ignore its potential influence. I am concerned about multiple media forms which include major network as well as cable TV, music video and segments of the music industry, the rapidly expanding videotape industry, and telephone communications, but it is not within the scope of my presentation to cover mass media in general.

Recently, Health and Human Services Secretary, Dr. Otis Bowen, issued a plea to become involved in the urgently needed and imperative struggle to reclaim what could become a "lost generation."

Currently, we are experiencing record rates of suicide and homicide among youth. Of the 400,000 suicide attempts,. 5,000 adolescents commit suicide each year -- that is 14 teenagers a day. A history of substance abuse is involved in 55-71% of these cases.

In 1984, violent crimes involved 1.7 million teenagers. It is estimated three quarters of violent crime is in some way related to drug

or alcohol abuse.

Each year approximately 1 million youth drop out of school and greater than 1 million run away from home -- many because of a history of physical and/or sexual abuse.

Up to 15% of 16-19 year olds can be considered what Dr. Bowen termed "disconnected youth who may never make a go of it as productive adults."

There has been an enormous increase in sexual crimes of all kinds. There are dramatic increases in the actual incidence and the number of reported cases of sexual victimization of children who subsequently are at higher risk of becoming offenders and perpetuating and expanding the cycle of victimization. Child sexual abuse is always a profound abuse of power on the part of the adult, and a profound abuse trust on the part of the child. The consequences of child sexual abuse are severe and long lasting. Female victims have increased difficulty with sexual development and with intimacy and trust in heterosexual relationships. According to Florence Rush 80% of female drug addicts and 70% of prostitutes have a history of severe sexual abuse as children.

75% of males who abuse children were victims of sexual abuse during childhood. Becoming a sex offender is not simply a function of being abused as a child, however, because we do not see this with the female victims. Gender socialization issues among other factors may play a rule. If men are brought up to believe that success in sex depends on domination and conquest of a submissive partner, or that sexuality is linked with power over another, this contributes to an unhealthy climate. Children may become viewed as preferred sexual partners because of their dependency or helplessness which stimulates feelings of power in insecure adults.

Over one-half of the rape victims are under 18 years old. The average age of rapists is decreasing. Although sexual assaults by

adolescents are grossly under reported, the numbers of juvenile sex offenders who frequently victimize even younger children is increasing and constitutes a pervasive problem.

Some treatment centers report greater than half of their offender population are under 18 years old. Offenders are often exposed at an earlier age to pornography and involved with it to a greater extent. Deviant sexual behaviors frequently begin during preadolescence and adolescence. Detection and intervention at an early age is critical before the behavior becomes ingrained and resistant to treatment.

According to Women Against Pornography, greater than 1 million children are annually exploited in commercial sex. This is in addition to victims of incest and children sexually abused apart from commercial sex.

Law enforcement personnel and those actually in the front lines were repeatedly finding pornography at crime sites or in the possession of the perpetrators. The Michigan State Police completed a 20-year study and one of the most comprehensive documentations of the association of sexual crimes and pornography. In 41% of all sexual crimes pornography was involved during or immediately preceeding the commission of these crimes.

I would be interested in hearing what the percentages for the more recent years were. A study out of Harvard revealed that 75-90% of the pornographic material available in 1985 -- especially the violent and more deviant material -- was not available in 1970. The Michigan study average figure over this extended time span may have been diluted by lower figures years ago, when this material was not as readily accessible. The quantity and quality of pornography within the last 20 years has been dramatically changing.

Law enforcement documentation of the use of pornography has been an impetus for increasing public awareness and for expanding systematic research and I recommend continued efforts in this direction.

There appears to be much more public consensus about child pornography and even violent pornography. When one addresses the issue of adult pornography, it becomes a very emotionally laden controversial debate among the general public, as well as within academic and professional circles.

A recent focus has been an appeal to collegiate athletic programs to divest themselves of PLAYBOY magazine and its self-glamorized lifestyle of recreational drugs and sexuality.

Collegiate football and basketball players and coaches annually appear in the magazine as members of the preseason All-America teams. College and professional coaches and athletes frequently are interviewed for the magazine's articles. The for-profit publication, I believe, is exploiting college athletics to enhance its circulation and legitimize its magazine. A spokesperson for PLAYBOY enterprises has described the preseason college football and basketball stories as ranking among the best read articles.

One can debate priorities but athletes are heroes and powerful role models, especially to our youth, and juveniles are very vulnerable to the information and misinformation presented in the magazine. Readers assume those whom they admire have judged the magazine fundamentally sound and worthy of their approval by association. It is important to increase the awareness of the context in which athletes, as well as entertainers or political figures, appear when they are pictured in PLAYBOY or similar publications.

A common response I have encountered has been: Why PLAYBOY? It is not pornographic; it is accepted coffee-table top literature. It is mild and tasteful compared to the plethora of hardcore material available. This is not a priority issue. Until recently, perhaps like many of you, I was among the large number of people who accepted the publication uncritically as merely an intellectually adventurous magazine which also portrays pretty young women in the nude. In this era of "sexual liberation," as it is presented in the pervasive

commercial media, I may have been influenced to not risk being labelled prudish or repressed. Reassessment in light of recent research has revealed a more complex sociosexual agenda for PLAYBOY and similar publications.

The Attorney General's Commission defined pornography as sexually explicit material designed to arouse. PLAYBOY falls well within that category. Soft and hard core distinctions can be misleading. Because this magazine has the largest circulation of mens' sexually explicit periodicals and because it is mainstream and perceived by so many as being legitimate, it is more insidious and the potential for negative impact may be greater. We do not have our defenses as alerted against accepting the information conveyed uncritically. I also focused on PLAYBOY because that is the publication in which the college athletes regularly appear.

If one divides adolescence into early, middle, and late categories, many undergraduate students are chronologically and developmentally in the late adolescence category or an earlier developmental level. This is an "adult" magazine in which juveniles or non-autonomous young adults regularly appear as athletes, as well as female models.

Another important consideration for those in the athletic community should be the possible individual effects on the players who do and do not participate in PLAYBOY's sports coverage. What kind of message is given to adolescents when they are sent with the apparent institutions' and adult leaders' approval to participate in a commercial enterprise that promotes recreational sexuality and drugs? How much are they influenced by the weekend experience or the PLAYBOY philosophy? How undermined are the efforts to encourage drug-free youth and responsible sexuality? (Both Len Bias and Don Rogers participated as members of PLAYBOY's All-America team. Issues in which they each appeared contained positive cocaine references.)

How are the players affected who choose not to participate in the photographic session and entertainment weekend? They are omitted, not allowed All-America status as according to this publication, and

perhaps placed in a situation of being an outsider or deviant.
PLAYBOY promotional tactics consistently are to devalue and stigmatize
any who disagree with the PLAYBOY philosophy.

Currently college athletes are caught in the middle. Some All-
American candidates, although uncomfortable with an association with the
magazine, experience pressure by the institutions or the sports in-
formation departments to accept the position because of the perceived
valid national exposure. Others are told any recognition is important
in the extremely competitive market for professional sports contracts.
It seems unfair to the athletes to be placed in this difficult position
without any institutional guidelines.

Nearly every PLAYBOY publication has carried some article, inter-
view, review, or reference to sports. Sports heroes are popular, highly
visible and glamorous, especially to juvenile male readers. How can youth
question the publication and its information delivery system when such
important and powerful role models lend their social sanction by appear-
ing in the magazine regularly?

While PLAYBOY uses sports figures as a powerful vehicle to popularize
its magazine and recruit juvenile readership, at the same time, it depicts
athletes (and all males) in a very dehumanizing manner. They are re-
peatedly depicted in cartoons and pictorials as hypersexualized, drug-
crazed, and indiscriminately promiscuous. Out of the context of any
significant relationship and any sense of responsibility they are in
relentless pursuit of sexual gratification in any and every way possible.
All men are polarized into two categories -- either they are macho-
performing bulls at every opportunity or they are castrated wimps, the
opposite of the virile playboy.

At the same time society is questioning the maturity of
adolescents under twenty-one to decide to consume alcohol, it seems
appropriate to question the maturity of young models to decide to exhibit
themselves as commercial sexual objects. Institutions, without guide-
lines, permit promotional camera crews to recruit coeds

with the false promise of national recognition and "stardom", behind the facade of freedom of expression and sexual liberation.

Although euphemistically termed "adult entertainment", publications such as PLAYBOY victimize children by targeting a youthful audience. According to Dr. Judith Reisman's studies, 30% of the magazine's material can be classified as child magnets or content that holds particular appeal to juveniles, such as childhood symbols and fantasies, fairytale themes, Santa Claus and Christmas, boy scouts, comic strips, fold-out charts, pop-ups, and other variations.

An important adolescent task is dealing with issues of sexuality and ones sexual identity. Most youth are concerned with questions of: Am I normal? How do I compare with others? This is occurring at the same time value systems are not well established and adolescents are experiencing a need to rebel against traditional or parental authority.

PLAYBOY markets itself with an image of being a bold, adventurous, but tasteful protest against prudishness or sexual inhibition. It takes advantage of the not yet consolidated identity of the youthful consumer, perhaps giving more simplistic answers to complex developmental tasks to attain "manhood". It educates its readers that one can buy maturity and masculinity by purchasing, first of all, its magazine, as well as consuming sophisticated products such as sports cars, fancy stereo systems, stylish clothes, "recreational" drugs -- both licit and illicit -- and, of course, the pretty girl next door, and the one down the street, and her sister, her best friend, the one in the class-room, the stranger visiting, the younger cousin and so on. Objects of consumption for sexual servicing are interchangeable; however, they provide the consumer more status the more physically attractive and sexually desireable they are.

If this publication is an important educational and entertainment resource for progressive older adolescents, it is not unreasonable to assume its appeal to younger adolescents and pre-adolescents anxious to be more grown up.

Although there is more public agreement that exposing children to this material is undesirable, children are exposed to pornography -- we know that; it is just difficult to establish accurate statistics. According to Henry Boatwright, Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Board for Social Concerns, 70% of the pornographic magazines (the kinds sold in neighborhood convenience and drug stores) end up in the hands of minors. A member of the recent Attorney General's Commission on Pornography has stated the chief consumers of even hard-core pornography are males 15-19 years old.

Last year, USA TODAY alleged that the Playboy Advisor, a regular feature, sex-advice column in the magazine, is this country's most widely read men's sex education resource. This feature openly acknowlwedges minor readership and dispenses information to them which is viewed by many as consistently encouraging precocious and indiscrimate sexuality.

In a society bombarded by a profoundly increasing sexualization of mainstream media, adolescents perceive pressure to be sexually active, and our children repeatedly and appropriately respond that they do not know what adults' values are.

Early onset, high frequency, multiple partner sexual behavior is not without serious medical, social and psychological conse- quences. All of us are alarmed and outraged at current statistics involving sexually-transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy.

Park Dietz, M.D., a child psychiatrist and member of the Attorney General's Commission, includes as one of the eight distinct categories where pornography is a serious medical and public health problem in that it "teaches false, misleading, and often dangerous information about human sexuality."[1] (1986, p.42) At a minimum it teaches sex is public and sex is commercial.

I want to emphasize the medical and public health problem. The Attorney General's Commission identified pornography as a medical and public health problem. The Surgeon General, Everett Koop, recently

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1. U.S. States Department of Justice. (1986, July) Attorney General's Commission On Pornography Final Report. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

described pornography as posing a danger to American public health. Apart from any religious or moral considerations, pornography is a concern for all citizens, whether conservative, liberal, or in between.

One document alone indicates that the pornography industry is paying one public relations group $75,000/month to discredit anti-pornography organizations and the Attorney General's Commission. They primarily do this by promoting the myth that concern about pornography is exclusively an ultraconservative, religious-fanatic issue, in violation of First Amendment freedom.

Adolescents in particular believe they are immune to the laws of the universe. Publications which glamorize recreational sexuality without education about responsible sexual behavior and adverse health consequences play significantly into the denial system of juveniles, as well as the lack of accurate information.

Dr. Dietz goes on to say that "pornography is a medical and public health problem because it regularly falls into the hands of children who must be assumed vulnerable to adverse mental health consequences unless and until proved otherwise."[2] It is extremely difficult for social science to design studies to examine the effect of exposure to pornography on children's attitudes and behavior. The vast majority of research has been with adults. There exists considerable anecdotal data, but this tends to be dismissed by the pornography industry and some social scientists.

It is imperative to work to minimize the risk of precocious exposure, while continuing to collect data on the effect of exposure on the juvenile population. According to Dietz, "the most straight-forward remedy would be to provide factually accurage information on human sexuality to people before they are exposed to pornography. If only we could agree on what that information is, on who should provide it to the many children whose parents are incapable of doing so, and on effective and acceptable means by which to ensure that exposure not precede education."[3] This constitutes a formidable task!

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2. Ibid. pp.47-48.

3. Ibid. p.44.

PLAYBOY and similar publications victimize children because they have a long history of sexualizing children and explicitly depicting them as appropriate sexual partners for adults. Dr. Reisman's research is the most detailed documentation of this and she will be presenting more on this issue. We will both be presenting a number of depictions taken directly from the three most widely read men's magazines. PLAYBOY has the largest circulation, followed by PENTHOUSE and HUSTLER. The 200 million copies of these magazines sold annually are what Dr. Reisman calls an "informal source of sex education in our society." PLAYBOY and PENTHOUSE have a wider circulation than TIME and NEWSWEEK, and we need to know what kind of education our young boys, girls and adults are getting. These slides are not appropriate to be viewed by minors. Many of you will find these depictions offensive and we vulnerable to the criticism of showing pornographic depictions, the viewing of which has been found to have harmful effects by many social scientists. Research conducted by Neil Malamuch, Ph.d. and others, however, indicates that presentation of this information is far less effective if discussed only in the abstract. It is very difficult to comprehend what this material is conveying without actually viewing it.

A popular feature, PLAYBOY's centerfolds, using sophisticated photographic technology, expensive settings and props, are dramatic graphic depictions, especially to the young viewer, designed to evoke sexual arousal. The attractive, young models are seductively posed with exaggerated and vulnerable posturing, most frequently for full genital display, inviting penetration and passively waiting to physically service all viewers. The models frequently are photographed with vacuous or semi-conscious and open-mouthed facial expressions, thus, further reducing human characteristics. They have no dimension other than being attractively packaged sexual body parts valued only for their desirability and accessability. This systematic and pervasive objectification of young women can play an important role in

attitudes regarding female sexuality and value. A climate in which
an attitude is facilitated of unconditional male entitlement to have
sexual access to any and all female bodies may be related to a
reality today of epidemic sexual violence. Objectification generalizes
to all women and is a precondition of violence against any group of
people.

At a minimum, exposure, especially repetitive exposure, appears
to contribute to beliefs about sexual behavior that are not conducive
to respect for the opposite (or same) sex. The greater the capacity
for hostility in response to the rejecting female, which represents
a frustrating and withholding object, unlike her pornographic
representation, research has shown, perpetuates in man callousness and
and acceptance of the use of force against women.

PLAYBOY victimizes children in addition to explicitly depicting
them as objects of sexual gratification unharmed by this activity.
Since 1976 or 1977, the Playmate centerfold has been accompanied by a
simplistic biography or data sheet, always listing her body measurements,
and emphasizing the sexual aspects of the model as though that were the
only data required to succeed in society. The biography concludes with
a panel of three photos of the model as a younger child -- most
frequently an infant or toddler, latency or prepubescent child, and
an adolescent. Very frequently the quotes or captions accompanying
the child photos include explicit or implicit sexualized remarks.

One must question, at a minimum, the appropriateness of children
presented within the context of sexually explicit material intended to
arouse. The child panel immediately juxtaposed to the Playmate
centerfold is a pairing of stimuli. The classical conditioning of the
sexual arousal response from the unconditioned stimulus, Playmate, can
generalize to the paired stimulus, child, presented on a repetitive
basis. Greater than 60% of PLAYBOY's readers are subscribers, so the
learning for the majority is on a cumulative basis. The conditioned
stimulus, the child, can after exposure evoke independently the

sexual arousal response.

It is hard to understand why this technique could not play a substantial role in the sexualization of children -- an important precursor of child sexual abuse. When a reader masturbates to orgasm while viewing this material, that further reinforces a sexualized response to these depictions.

In 1986 PLAYBOY introduced a new centerfold design, and in recent months has been gradually increasing the age of the playmate-as-a-child photos in the biography. This policy change may be in response to widespread criticism, and recognition of the problematic nature of associating small children with nude young adults. Most frequently used recent depictions include pre-adolescents and adolescents to young adults. Associating any minors with commercial sexual display is inappropriate and it is imperative that PLAYBOY remove all under-age photos.

Currently facing us is the most pervasive poly drug epidemic of any industrialized society in history. Again, our youth are the most vulnerable and heavily drug consuming segment of our population.

A key social issue with PLAYBOY and similar publications has been the glamorization of illicit and licit drug intoxication as part of the "PLAYBOY" lifestyle. Until PLAYBOY, no reputable publication brought positive drug information within easy reach of juvenile (or adult) consumers. There has been minimal research conducted on drug content analysis, let along the role of mainstream mass media on the drug education of juveniles. Since 1970, PLAYBOY has been glamorizing intoxication as a mind-expanding, sexually enhancing experience. It is difficult to conclude these magazines have not played a major role in popularizing "recreational" drug consumption and the myth of its being fun, risk-free, and even sexy.

In repeated interviews, Hugh Hefner continues to espouse the benefits of illegal drugs in "enhancing love-making". Including drugs within a sexual context becomes a powerful reinforcer for drug-taking behavior.

The Playboy Foundation formally underwrote the formation of NORML (National Organization for the Repeal of Marijuana Laws,

subsequently changed to the...Reform of Marijuana Laws.) Playboy Enterprises has continued to be one of NORML's foremost supporters financially and editorially. According to the Washington Monthly Magazine, training programs for lawyers in techniques on how to defend cocaine and other illicit drug smugglers and distributors now produce about one-third of NORML's budget. Mr. Hefner has been a long term member of NORML's Board of Advisors. Multiple testimonies before the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography by former employees of Playboy Enterprises repeatedly described the promotion of illegal drug consumption within the organization.

Many recreational drug references in the magazine were located in letters to the editor, advice columns, news updates and reports of drug legislation, interviews, jokes, and cartoons or pictorials. Recurrent special articles on illicit drug use included colorful graphs and charts and educated readers on drug effects and methodology.

I would like to conclude my remarks by making some specific recommendations. The final report, recently published by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, describes measures for individual and collective activism. It includes a section on legislative fine tuning for pornography regulation, and law enforcement. I encourage you to read it.

Education, especially for our youth, is a priority issue. We, as adults, should first know what our children are reading, watching, and listening to and give them feedback, guidelines, and limits.

Ed Donnerstein, a media researcher and co-editor of the recently published text Pornography and Sexual Aggression, emphasizes the development of what he calls critical viewing skills to recognize unrealistic portrayal of sexuality and awareness of the potential harmful effects of exposure, especially aggressive pornography or sexualized violence. It is important to essentially de-brief exposed juveniles to critically examine the impact of the material.

Continued documentation is essential. I would urge continuing educational programs and encouragement for all law enforcement personnel to look for, and ask about, pornography at violent and sexual crime sites or in the possession of the suspected perpetrators, and to use it as evidence and to document its presence. The possession of child pornography in cases in which the offender was accused of child abuse and/or incest was present in 100% of cases by one North Carolina prosecuting attorney. Confronting the accused offenders with confiscated materials frequently faciliated confessions.

An important skill for clinicians and health professionals is to learn to ask clients about their preferences in reading material, as well as other mass media forms. Professionals should have sufficient knowledge of popular media to be able to interpret the responses. Inquiring about the role of pornography with standardized questions should be a routine part of each client's history, especially any client with a complaint or history of sexual dysfunction and all victims and perpetrators of sexual and violent crimes.

During the course of assessment, few clients spontaneously or even upon inquiry, elaborate on sexual fantasies, especially deviant or sadistic fantasies. Inquiry about media preferences may be an important route through which to explore the fantasy lives of clients.

Finally, you may want to encourage your favorite college coach and athletic director to divest college athletics of PLAYBOY and similar publications, or to realign with more responsible non-sports media. This issue is currently before the National Association of Collegiate Athletics as well as professional coaching organizations. You may do this individually or collectively as a legislative body. I know and respect Coach Jud Heathcote of Michigan State University in Lansing, Michigan, from his work on the Board of Directors of the National Association of Basketball Coaches, and I always enjoy his sense of humor. He has heard a similar presentation, and was the only one to name the first basketball coach who appeared on PLAYBOY's All-America team. I am sure he would appreciate hearing from you.

EMANUEL LANDAU

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Statistical Association's Committee on Statistics and Environment
and is currently the Consulting Epidemiologist for The American
Public Health Association in Washington, DC.   He has an extensive
academic background in multi-variate analysis as well as
considerable experience in working on large, complex research
projects.

Volume I of the report, which represents an overview of the project, presents the necessary background material which the reader should have to understand the relevance of this project to the broader issue. The Introduction states that "The overall objective of the study was to ascertain whether and to what extend representations of children exist in <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, and <u>Hustler</u> magazines. The particular focus of the study was the depiction of 'children' in sexual and violent contexts." This project, representing a content analysis of the three mentioned journals, constituted an attempt to deal with the broader issue of "The Role of Pornography and Media Violence in Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and Juvenile Delinquency."

The study was designed as a longitudinal study. The report says "Most importantly, the study provides an exhaustive analysis of the roles played by children in <u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u> and <u>Hustler</u> Magazines over time."

While I read the review of the literature primarily as background information since the field of pornography is almost wholly foreign to me, I thought the organization of the chapter appropriate. The available literature on the relationship between pornography and its possibly adverse consequences was

apparently evaluated objectively. The possible role of
erotica/pornography among children and adolescents is also
noted cautionsly. These two sections presented the possible
relationship between the proposed study and its implications
for anti-social action.

The Summary of Methods and Procedures is discussed more
thoroughly in Volume II which I have addressed previously.
The chapter contains a statement of the necessary cautions
which must be kept in mind when analyzing the data collected.
The problem of inference is addressed directly and the
inability to extrapolate from the specific tabulations is
stated explicitly.

The findings of the research project are presented in
Chapter IV after the necessary cautionary statements. The
difficulty of comparing the three journals for coded entries
given the highly unequal time frames if properly noted. The
presentation of the section on frequency of child cartoons and
child visuals is straightforward. The uneven pattern of growth
till 1984 is cited for <u>Playboy</u> and <u>Penthouse</u> when there was a
sharp reduction continuing on into 1985. <u>Hustler</u> has a signi-
ficantly different pattern. The text points out that the
child visuals climbed unevenly like the child cartoons. While
there was no decline during 1984 in child visuals for all three
journals, 1985 is stated to have recorded a drop. Perhaps,

the sentence "Note that, <u>un</u>like the cartoons, PPH child visuals did not decline during 1984" (Page 33) might be changed to indicate that <u>Hustler</u> did not record a decline in 1984 (See Page 82). Half of the Principal Children, as defined, unexcept- edly, were between ages 3 and 11 for child cartoons, 60% of the child visuals were girls. The extent of the child's sexual exposure in the cartoons combined was less than in the visuals, although it varied by magazine. The discussion of "child magnets" i.e.. the presence of Santa Claus and fairy tale characters is believed to be new and of interest. The depiction of children as initiating, receiving or observing sexual or violent activity with Santa Claus may be of consequence as is also the appearance of children as adult sexual partners in the fairy tale illustrations. The discussion of the adult cartoons is essentially limited to numbers and sex, race and age. Why is there no discussion of adult visuals? In this context, Tables 1-5, (C-1 - C-5) would appear appropriate for this section of the report.

Since I am unaware of the bibliography in the field, I cannot comment on the completeness of the references.

To recapitulate, the primary purpose of the study is stated to be that of testing the assumption that representations of children in erotic circumstances are not found in the main- stream journals (<u>Playboy</u>, <u>Penthouse</u>, and <u>Hustler</u>). However,

the study did find a pattern of rising and falling child cartoons over the years with a sharp reduction in 1984 for the first two journals listed, which was expected to continue in 1985. Child visuals in all three magazines climbed unevenly over time but did not decline markedly til 1985. The data on age, sex, sexual experience etc. have been noted above.

It is my judgement that this content analysis did adequately test the hypothesis of the study regarding representation of children in the three magazines with special reference to sexual and violent contexts. The findings are clearly of interest but the possible adverse effects from such presentation cannot therefore be inferred.

In summary, Volume I also demonstrates a carefully conducted study of the content of the three journals constituting the mainstream of erotic/pornographic publications. The limitations of the analysis for generalization and inference are inherent in the study. Other research efforts will be required to relate the findings in this study to the broader issue of the role of media pornography and violence to anti-social behavior.

I have reviewed Volumes II and III of the study entitled "A Content Analysis of _Playboy_, _Penthouse_, and _Hustler_ Magazines with Special Attention to the Portrayal of Children, Crime, and Violence" with considerable care. The review consisted of several examinations to ensure that I could find no significant error of commission or omission which could bias the result regardless of the overall quality of the conduct of the study. In this area of highly charged emotions, I have avoided reading any of the news magazines accounts of the reports and my personal exposure to _Playboy_ has been minimal with no exposure at all to the other two magazines.

It is important to note that this review represents solely an examination of the work done by American University in its analysis of the subject matter of the three periodicals. It does not and cannot discuss the relationship, if any, between the findings of this content analysis and the "Role of pornography and media violence in family violence, sexual abuse and exploitation, and juvenile delinquency." This caveat regarding the possible extrapolation of the study findings to testing the above stated hypothesis should be kept in mind to supplement the limitations of the study discussed at length in the report.

Having participated in several large-scale studies involving the preparation of complex coding manuals and training of coders, I appreciated the care with which this operation was conducted. The project clearly demonstrated the

awareness of the professional staff to the necessaity for pilot or pre-testing and the comparability of the coders entries. This concern for the form of the questions and with its interpretation is needed in any study, but especially in this one where objectivity is so difficult to maintain in the coding group. Many of the questions raised in this review process were also perceived by the Principal Investigator and are discussed in the section on "Limitations of the Study." I can appreciate the concern with the scientific character of the study and its intended use. I agree with its caution to the reader that "the data should be used only with an awareness of these limitations, including all the factors described above that relate to conceptualization, implementation, analysis, and generalizability."

The discussion of the project organization and of the personnel, both professional and coding, notes the use of two sets of content analysis coders for 13-week periods because of University policy. The requirements for these coders appear to be set at a higher level than for survey work. Experience in survey research or content analysis (how strongly adhered to?) plus some college education would appear to represent a sound basis for careful study although the desirability of having only one set of coders for the entire period would appear evident. Mention is made of the unequal number of coders--14 women and 8 men. While the tests of inter-rater reliability (IRR) yielded high congruence proportions, one wonders if an

effort was made to determine the effect, if any, of the
difference in sex composition of the coders.

The meticulous care with which the project attempted to
deal with the "overall objective of the study [which] was to
ascertain whether and to what extent representations of
children exist in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines.
To describe the environments in which the depictions ocurred,
the portrayal of crime and violence without children was also
studied."

There were three coding instruments developed for the four
types of material namely, child cartoons, child visuals, adult
cartoons related to crime and violence and adult visuals
related to crime and violence. The first, child cartoons was
the first developed and was the most detailed containing 114
items in its final version. It was accompained by a lengthy
manual with complete definitions and directions. Note that the
development was "an iterative process, involving frequent
revisions to incorporate new concepts or interpretations as
experience was gained in reviewing and analyzing the
materials." This raises the question as to the extent to which
selected questionnaire items were recoded as revisions were
made. Reference is made to changes and additions made by hand
in the questionnaires and manuals. These involved "coder
conventions" and were said not to involve actual changes in the
entries. In this context, however, the influence of coders
conventions has to be assessed and such data are presented in

Appendix I of this volume. Incidentally, my copy of Appendix I was barely legible.

The Child Visuals Coding Instrument was a shorter document containing only 75 items and a memo that clarified only the new or more difficult questions. The Cartoon portion of the Adult Crime and Violence Coding Instrument consisted of 35 questions and no memo whereas the Visual portion had 49 questons plus an accompanying memorandum.

The definition of "child" was broadened significantly in the child cartoon coding instrument from the conventional perception of a human being under 18 years of age. Children were given preference in coding so that all cartoons containing children (as defined in the purposes of the study) were analyzed in the child cartoon portion of the study. Similarly, all visuals containing photographs or illustrations with children in them were analyzed in the child visual portion of the study.

The role of Principal Child also represents an expanded definition from common usage of the main child or unit of children in the cartoon. "If the child was a small and uninvolved figure in the background, but the only child in the cartoon, he or she became the Principal Child. Also included were children in cartoons in which they might be hidden or offstage." This extension, of course, would tend to maximize the number of children found in the journal.

Other sources of extension of usual practice in child

cartoons were types of activities. Initally, only those
activities central to the point of the cartoon were included.
Ultimately, a list of activities was developed each requiring a
yes or no answer. Searching would tend to increase the number
of entries. The discussion also states that the method of
coding and analyzing each of the four types of activities
varied. In addition, the method of coding and classifying
activities with regard to the level of involvement of
characters varied among the instruments.

It is noted that the use of the Coders First Version of the
Child Cartoon began on January 22, 1985 and was discontinued on
February 25, 1985. The number of items had been expanded from
76 to 114. The use of an expanded questionnaire and its manual
only one month later normally would be a source of concern for
quality control. However, the text documents the process of
use of the questionnaire and of the refinement of it and the
manual. The final version, therefore, clearly repfesents an
improvement. Improvements were also made in the
characterization of activities from the coders first version.
The differences were stated to be slight and inter-rating
reliability was originally low.

To assist in attaining comparability among the coders,
guides were also furnished to the coders. One was an 'Age
Evaluation Guide'. Another was the 'Culture of Childhood'
protfolio. An 'Emotional Expression Guide' was also provided.

The Chapter notes that the coding instrument intends to

show "who was doing what to or with whom, and who was watching." This was not accomplished for the Child Cartoon Study but a suitable matrix was developed and used for the Child Visual instrument.

A key difference was established for the qestion dealing with the same eye span as "text or caption dealing with children" in the Child Visual study as compared with the Child Cartoon study. For the child cartoon, the coders were instructed to record any word reference to a child if this occurred during a casual skimming of the entire article whereas for child visuals, they had to be juxtaposed to substantial references to children.

The development of the Adult Crime and Violence Coding Instrument may have posed problems. Page 59 presents the following statement:

"As with the child cartoon and visual instruments, the development of the Adult Crime and Violence Coding Instrument involved an iterative process of application by the coders and subsequent refinement and revision. At the time the instrument was developed, the first group of coders had finished coding the cartoon portion of the study. A new group of coders was hired and trained for the adult crime and violence study. The experience of the veteran coders was of use, not only in the training of the new coders, but in suggesting modifications to the instrument based on their experience with the child cartoon

instrument."

What effect did this have on the study?

Training was intended to enable coders to assess with objectivity the presence of crime in the cartoons and visuals. Only illegal sexual activities were listed and not the purely sexual activities as in the child questionnaires.

The training of the coders involved a meticulous procedure of training and practice on the Child Cartoon Coding Instrument. Inter-rater reliability was assessed at the conclusion of coding and coders were debriefed to document their unique approaches to the content analysis. For the second coding session, as noted, 5 new coders were hired and trained and the remaining 7 experienced coders were retrained for the formal child visual coding data followed by the training and coding for the cartoon part of the Adult Crime and Violence and, lastly, training and coding for thevisual part of the Adult Crime and Violence Study. The pattern of training for specific questionnaires followed by actual coding respresents, in my judgment, an excellent way to maximize efficiency and minimize errors. The text notes that a guide to sexual drug-related slang terms was developed for the child visual and adult crime portions.

Noticeable throughout the report is the emphasis on quality control. It is clear that quality control was rigidly enforced from the initial assignment of magazines to the completed coding. The magazines were randomly distributed so that each

coder received different months of the different journals in different years. Two coding sheets per coder per week were rechecked by the staff to insure accurate coding.

Tests of inter-rater reliability (IRR) were conducted to determine if each coder would code the same image in the same way. As the text states, the assumption of comparability or uniformity among coders in the application of the content analysis instruments is essential to the validity of the data. The overall IRR estimate for 8 child cartoons was .85; for child visual coding of 35 images, it was .83; for the cartoon part of the adult crime and violence study, based on 21 cartoons, the IRR was .81; and finally, for the visual part of the adult crime and violence study, the IRR for 28 images was .85. This is a consistent and reassuring level of uniformity. However, the range of differences and the areas of disagreement should have been furnished in addition to the congruence proportions.

Despite these reassuring signs of uniformity, the coders tended to develop unique responses as ways of categorizing things that faciliatated their coding. The effect, if any, of such non-uniform treatment deserves treatment.

The care attached to coding applied also to the data handling in order to minimize the likelihood of error. Thus far, simple frequencies and cross-tabulations have been carried out. There are a large numnber of additional unpublished tabulations available from the project files.

The Appendices are properly supplied to allow the reader to review the questionnaire and manuals and accompanying guides for completeness, accuracy and clarity. Earlier versions of the questionnaire are provided to enable the reviewer to follow the development of the finished product.

The report discusses the limitations of the study at some length (Pages 97-110). I shall note some of these and their possible consequences for the study results after a brief review of Volume III: The Data Book.

The Introduction to Volume III again notes the unique definitions used in this report. Obviously, these must be noted if the tabulations are to be most meaningful. The use of different time periods and therefore issues of the magazines makes analysis more difficult for the reviewer. Perhaps two levels of cross-tabulation should have been considered to allow more direct comparisons of the magazines, if that were important. This point is noted especially for pooled data where, for example, the child cartoon data begin with 1953 for Playboy, 1970 for Penthouse and 1974 for Hustler. Of course, the analysis by magazine gets around this difficulty as do selected graphs. Compare, for example, Tables 2 and 3, on Pages A-210 and A-211.

The graphs clearly provide indications of the different focuses of the three journals. Those labelled "cumulative" allow a direct comparison though it took a while for me to realize that "additive" was closer to the meaning; these data

were not cumulative over time. Cumulative represented one time period only.

A superficial examination of the distribution of the entries for the child cartoon part of the "theme and activity" analysis indicated activities presented in the cartoon involved with violence as defined, either explicity or implied, for possibly 10 to 15 percent of the population of child cartoons. There appear to be a substantial number of items with "yes" entries which may have some relevance to the hypothesis to be tested though the relationship between magazine content and undersirable or illegal action is less than straightforward. In this context, the magazines differ appreciably. Compare, for example, the distribution of activities by magazine in Table 4 or 6, Page A-212 or A-214. The contrast by magazine is also graphically illustrated in Table I, D-1. The wisdom of examining child cartoons and child visuals separately is seen in the comparsion presented on Pages III-1 to III-22.

The examination of adult cartoons, crime and violence, indicates the sex, race, and age distribution of the primary and secondary characters. While it represents good use of the data, its usefulness may be questionable. This judgment would appear to apply also to adult visuals, crime and violence.

The section on limitations of the study noted the primacy of this study in the detailed and meticulous examination of images of children, crime, and violence in mainstream erotica/pornography over time. Since the focus was on

frequency of occurrence, the effort was made to obtain the widest coverage thus maximizing the number of children but possibly also overstating the presence of children. While the comment of the author regarding the almost total lack of relationship between the presence of children and the activity pattern of interest (except for sexual involvement with adult) may be disappointing for its intended use, the question at issue here is whether the ascertainment process of identifying and coding "children" and "activity" was scrupulously followed. It was, coders conventions notwithstanding.

I have commented previously on the problem of varying time periods for the periodicals. I myself found in my review that a frame of reference would have been desirable and on one of the tables I raised the question of percent of all cartoons (or some other denominator). The ambiguity of the concepts has been noted previously. The definition of "child" and "activities" and "Principal Child" etc. have special meaning in this study and are not the same as in ordinary usage. The cautionary note about use of the data or category labels is indeed well taken.

The discussion of the coder conventions is instructive and I have commented on this phenomenon previously. Coders wrote up their notes at the conclusion of the child cartoon study and in one session after the completion of the other three questionnaires. Although there is no way to revise the existing data base using the information presented in Appendix

I, the extent of needed revision appears to be quite small. Coder Staff Turnover and Inter-Rater Reliability have been commented on previously. The phenomenon of coder fatigue and desensitization may have been particularly present in the coding of the final questionnaire, Visual Adult Crime and Violence. Its assessment would be desirable.

Changes in the Cartoon Adult Crime and Violence questionnaire were made after coding had begun. Here, too, an assessment would be desirable.

The sampling issue raised in this list of limiations is technically desirable. However, it is unlikely that "a uniform sampling strategy (every nth month) or sampling alternate years" would have added measurably to the findings of the study.

The lack of comparability betwen questionnaires and across magazines is discussed in some detail. While these are consequential, the issue of impact is believed to have been understated in this content analysis. As noted, it would require something more complex than frequency tabulations.

I was particularly pleased to see the analytical tables (Tables 1 to 5) as illustrative of the insight which could be obtained from this content analysis approach.

In summary, the statement of limitations notes in detail the shortcomings of this study. However, in my judgment, the authors have tended to overstate the imperfect qualities of this content analysis study. It is a sound study providing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in

a scientifically acceptable fashion.

Sexual Medicine, Volume 4
HAROLD I. LIEF, M.D., SERIES EDITOR

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF PATIENTS BY HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Edited by

Ann W. Burgess, R.N., D.N.Sc., and
Carol R. Hartman, R.N., D.N.Sc.

APPENDIX 1

PRAEGER

association. Because professional organizations i----ence training, lic
ing, and regulating of professionals, it is imperati   at their resistance
investigating sexual abuse be detailed and addressed. It is then possibl
develop procedures that can support fairly the investigation of sexua
ploitation.

PART 4

The Social Context

In the fourth part of our exploration of sexual abuse of patients by health
professionals, we broaden our view of this problem by examining it in a
social context. The three chapters in this part reveal how different facets of
our social structure—law enforcement, professional associations and
regulatory boards, and print media (in this case, a sexually explicit
magazine)—react to patient sexual abuse. Because of these institutions' in-
fluential positions in our society, their reactions play an important part in
determining how we all look at patient-health professional sexual interac-
tion.

In Chapter 11, titled "When the Pediatrician Is a Pedophile," Carolyn
Moore Newberger and Eli H. Newberger examine the moral conflicts of the
responding institutions in a case of child sexual abuse by a pediatrician. The
authors' step-by-step "moral analysis" of the case illustrates how police
and medical registration board responses served their own interests while
failing to address those of the community at large. The chapter also defines
intervention goals for the constituencies involved and suggests options for
meeting those goals.

The normalization through cartoons of sexual abuse by health profes-
sionals is examined in Chapter 12 by Judith A. Reisman, Deborah F.
Reisman, and Barry S. Elman. The authors studied nearly 200 cartoons of
health professionals that appeared in a popular, sexually explicit magazine
and found that sexual activity was illustrated in two-thirds of them. Their
research highlights a dominant male attitude toward females (adults or
children), an attitude that condones abuse and exploitation.

An effort to explore intraprofessionally the possible tacit condoning of
professional sexual exploitation is discussed by Nanette K. Gartrell, Silvia
Olarte, and Judith L. Herman in "Institutional Resistance to Self-Study: A
Case Report." The authors outline the resistance that met their efforts to

Sexual Exploitation by Healtl
Professionals in Cartoons o
a Popular Magazine

Judith A. Reisman, Deborah F. Reisman, and Barry S. Elma

Popular sexually explicit magazines reach millions of readers each mont
and transcend virtually all socioeconomic boundaries. Although some suc
magazines are known for their sexual content, others are diverse publica
tions carrying articles, commentaries, advise columns, letters, illustration:
cartoons, and special features on many contemporary subjects.

Our research focused on the exploitation of patients by health profe:
sionals as a popular cartoon theme in a prominent, sexually explicit public;
tion. The purpose of our research was to analyze such depictions of e:
ploitation using a formal content analysis instrument.

BACKGROUND

Why study sexually explicit magazines? The more prominent among thei
rank high in magazine sales revenues and reach millions of readers. Much o
this readership can be classified as relatively well educated. Cartoons are a
important component of many of these magazines, and adult readers con
monly rate cartoons as favored features (Stauffer and Frost 1976). Accor
ing to Harrison (1981), these cartoons are chosen with great care. In som
cases, 200,000 cartoon ideas may be examined each year with only a fe
hundred chosen for publication.

Why study cartoons? The cartoon has its own artistic and historic;
tradition. Similar to other art forms, the cartoon demonstrates a view o
life, of an issue, of an event, or of a people. By its very nature, the cartoo
has a way of overstating, stereotyping, and exaggerating its case. Moreove
due to its single-frame concept, the use of deceptively simple lines, and i
generally few characters, the cartoon seems honest, truthful, and "of th
people." With it seeming lack of class pretension, the cartoon often appea

as light and guileless humor. But it most certainly is a sociopolitical art form, communicating concepts that describe people and events in short and visually dynamic language.

The cartoon has served and continues to serve as a powerful editorialist, educator, and seller of ideas. It has been used by great European artists such as Goya, Daumier, and Philipon to articulate and advocate the rights of the downtrodden and oppressed. It has also been used effectively, however, to disparage, debase, demean, humiliate, belittle, or otherwise victimize the subject of the "joke" (e.g., Bogardus 1945; Zillmann, 1983; Zillmann, Bryant, and Cantor 1974; Zillmann and Cantor 1972). During World War II, for example, the Allies circulated thousands of propaganda cartoons mocking and ridiculing our Axis enemies, while at the same time, Germany, Japan, and Italy circulated thousands of propaganda cartoons mocking and ridiculing the Allies. The general and scholarly literatures are replete with cross-cultural examples of nationalistic, racist, and sexist cartoon humor.

Scholarly investigations of the cartoon as a powerful and influential form of expression and mass persuasion can be traced at least to the 1930s with the works of Schaffer (1930) and Johnson (1937). Scores of scholars have since entered this field of study, each contributing to the literature from a range of disciplinary perspectives (e.g., Bogardus 1945; Bryant, Gula, and Zillmann 1980; Gombrich 1980; Harrison 1981; Ryan and Schwartz 1956; Saenger 1955).

A great deal of recent scholarly attention and public concern has centered on the possible effect that cartoons and other forms of mass media communication may have on human attitudes and behavior. While there is considerable debate regarding the precise nature and degree of different mass media effects on receiving publics (e.g., Austin and Myers 1984; Cantor and Sparks 1984; Singer, Singer, and Rapaczynski, 1984), few would contend that mass media does not have *some* effect on the human mind (e.g., Comstock et al. 1978; Eysenck and Nias 1978; Gerbner et al. 1978; Runco and Pezdek 1984).

In light of the cartoon's historical role as a tool of propaganda and mass persuasion and of the growing real-life problem of patient sexual exploitation by health professionals, it seems meaningful and appropriate to examine any continued, widescale circulation of cartoon messages about the health professional-patient relationship. For this reason, our research characterizes the quantity and quality of cartoons depicting exploitation by health professionals in a leading sexually explicit magazine.

METHODS

To carry out the investigation, content analysis was used. As a research methodology, content analysis has a long and distinguished history.

Standard practice in scholarly content analysis has been to ___ estigate media materials that command the largest circulation and respect within a given genre as well as those materials that have similarities in audience, purpose, and content.

In this investigation 141 issues of a sexually explicit magazine, dating from January 1973 through December 1984, were analyzed for their health professional cartoon content. Three magazine issues from this time period were unavailable and, therefore, not included in the analysis. Any cartoon depicting or referring directly to one of the following health professionals was selected for examinations: general physicians, nurses, psychiatrists/psychologists, marriage counselors, sexologists, gynecologists/obstetricians, dentists, sex therapists, social workers, and others (e.g., surgeons, pharmacists, dermatologists). A total of 187 cartoons were analyzed.

Following the Reisman Model for Child Cartoon Analysis (1984), a preliminary cartoon content analysis coding instrument (CCACI) and standard coding sheet were designed to classify and record information contained in the health professional cartoons. The final version of the CCACI consisted of a set of 28 questions regarding the activities, setting, and individual characters depicted in the health professional cartoons. Although we minimized the need for subjective judgment on the part of the trained coders, no analysis technique currently available can guarantee complete objectivity in any examination of effective material.

RESULTS

Cartoons portraying health professions were a prevalent feature in the magazine during the 12-year study period, with the regular reader encountering 187 such cartoons. Although a few of the cartoons contained complex imagery, most cartoon imagery was simple and direct. Hence, most cartoons readily lent themselves to the classification and codification of the textual and visual activities, setting, and characters.

Activities

The majority (87 percent) of health professional cartoons during the period of study involved activity that was illegal, unethical, sexual, morbid, or violent in nature (see Figure 12.1). Such activity was explicit in approximately 93 percent of the cartoon cases in which it occurred.

Illegal or Unethical Activity

More than 55 percent of the 187 cartoons portrayed some form of illegal or unethical activity (see Figure 12.2). In nearly 100 cases, this involved

FIGURE 12.1.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

FIGURE 12.2.
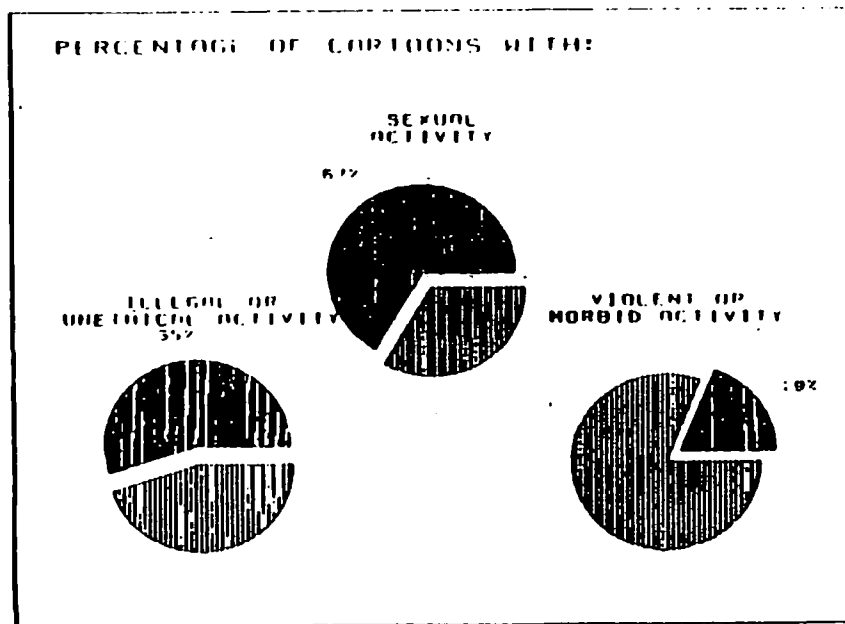
Source: Compiled by the authors.

misconduct on the part of the health professional. The health professional in 25 of these misconduct cases employed some type of trickery or deception. The illicit use of drugs was the subject of two cartoons, extortion was the subject of one cartoon, and exhibitionism was the subject of one cartoon. There were two cases of blatant sexual assault: a male gynecologist publicly raped a female, and a female patient sexually assaulted a male physician. There were also two cases of child sexual abuse.

Sexual Activity

Approximately two-thirds of the health professional cartoons involved an activity or interaction that was sexual in nature (see Figure 12.3). More than 55 cartoons related to sexual intercourse. Nearly 50 additional cartoons contained nudity, a sexual overture, or some sexual activity or interaction short of intercourse. Another 16 cases involved masturbation, venereal disease, or some other sexual motif.
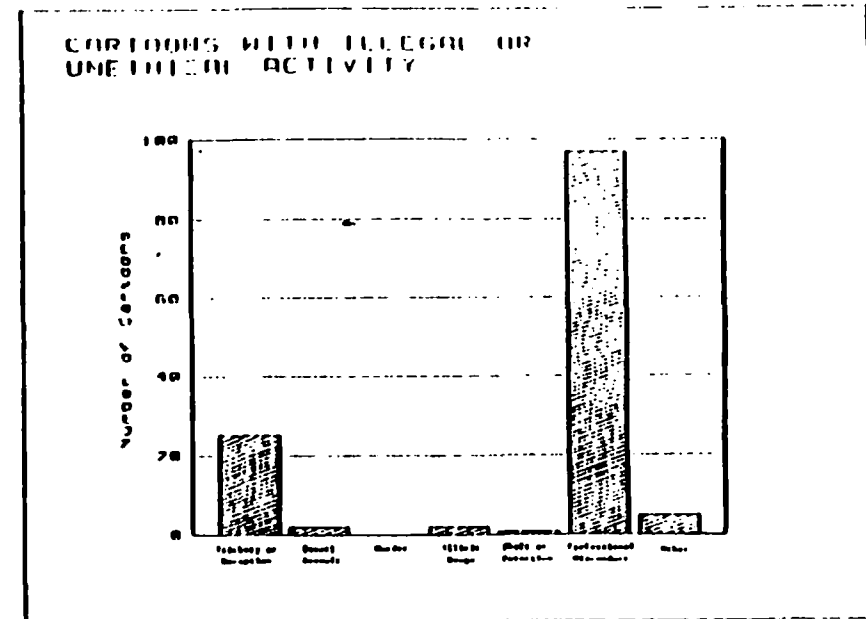
Of the sexual cartoons that could be classified, 87 percent involved heterosexuality. In addition, 5 percent involved homosexuality, 4 percent involved bestiality, and 4 percent involved group sex activity.

Nudity (partial or complete) was depicted in more than one-third of the health professional cartoons. While the provision of drape cloths, gowns, or smocks is common practice in the medical environment, in very few cases was a patient provided with any covering. While nudity would be regarded as a normal, nonsexual phenomenon in the real medical environment, it was regarded as inherently sexual in the context of the health professional cartoons.

Violent or Morbid Activity

Traditional forms of violence occurred in only a small number of health professional cartoons. Identified were two cases of hitting, kicking, or grabbing; two cases of ripped or pulled clothes; five cases of whippings or bonding; one case of decapitation; and one case involving the consumption of human flesh. No case of shooting or stabbing was found. Quite common,

FIGURE ...3.

PERCENTAGE OF SEXUAL CARTOONS
BY TYPE OF SEXUAL ACTIVITY

Source: Compiled by the authors.

FIGURE 12.4.

PERCENTAGE OF CARTOONS WITH
VIOLENT OR MORBID ACTIVITY

CARTOONS WITH VIOLENCE   CARTOONS WITH MORBIDITY
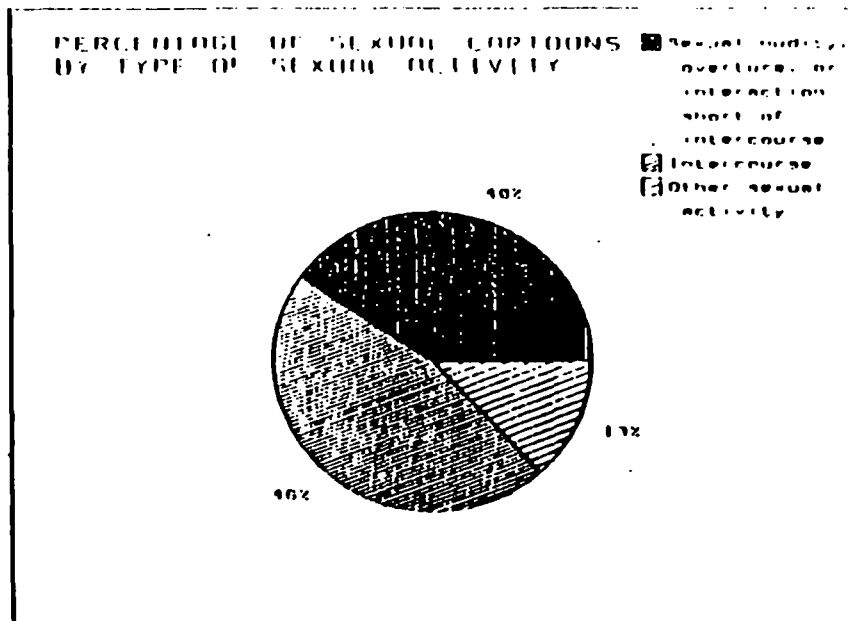
Source: Compiled by the authors.

however, were cartoons that were morbid in nature. During the period under study 26 such cartoons were published (see Figure 12.4).

Setting

Nearly all of the cartoon activity occurred within the conventional health care environment (see Figure 12.5). In 152 of the 187 cartoon cases, the setting was either a hospital, doctor's office, or therapy room. Most of the remaining cases occurred in the waiting room of a health professional's office, a medical studio or lab, or another institutional setting. Fewer than 10 percent of the cartoons occurred in a nonmedical environment.

Characters

The number of characters in most of the cartoons was small: one or two health professionals and either one or two patients, depending on the specific health profession depicted. The specialty of the health professional was easily discernable. If the profession was not evident by means of explicit cues (e.g., couch and notebook, dentist chair, gynecological stirrups),
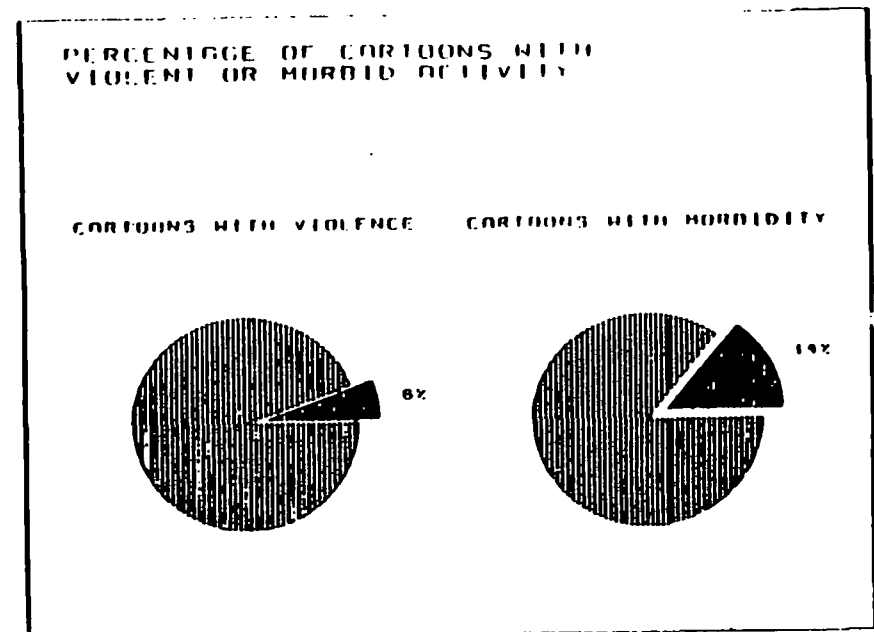
then this information was provided directly by the display of diplomas, door signs, or reference to the specific profession in the cartoon's caption.

Health Professionals

A spectrum of health professionals was represented in cartoons (see Figure 12.6). Most commonly depicted (37 percent of the cartoons) was the general physician (i.e., no noted specialty). Also found, however, were nurses (16 percent), psychiatrists/psychologists (14 percent), marriage counselors (10 percent), sexologists (10 percent), gynecologists/obstetricians (5 percent), dentists (3 percent), sex therapists (2 percent), social workers (0.5 percent), and other health professionals (12 percent). The "other" category included surgeons, pharmacists, coroners, dermatologists, and proctologists. The sum exceeds 100 percent because occasionally a single cartoon depicted members of more than one health profession.

The 255 health care professionals identified and coded in the 187 cartoons have one general characteristic in common—they are white. There are no clearly depicted racial minority group members cast as health professionals.

FIGURE 12.5.

SETTING OF CARTOONS
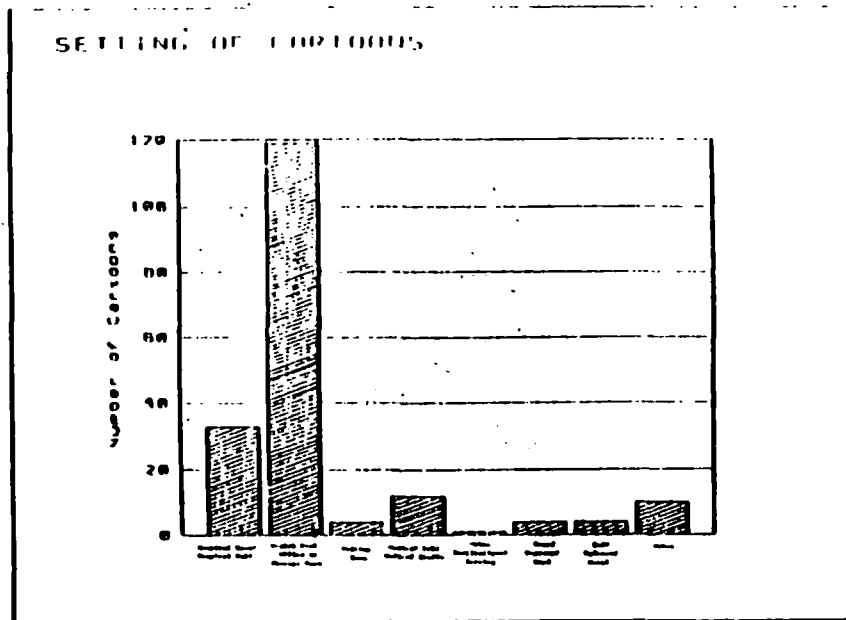
Source: Compiled by the authors.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (1982), races other than white constituted 14 percent of the total population of practicing physicians in 1981. Similarly, nonwhite dentists, pharmacists, therapists, and other health professionals constituted a substantial portion of their respective fields. In the same year, more than 14 percent of all registered and practical nurses were nonwhite. Yet, minority racial group health professionals were not represented in the cartoons.

Women are both stereotyped and statistically underrepresented in the health professional cartoons. Of the 255 identified health professionals, 52 were women; of these female health professionals, 35 were nurses and 14 were sexologists or assistants to sexologists. In only three instances was a female health professional portrayed as anything other than a nurse or sexologist: one was a social worker, one was a health researcher/administrator, and one was a physician. In this last case, the female doctor was the subject of acute sexual harrassment.

According to statistics published by the American Medical Association (1983), the percentage of female licensed physicians in the United States increased from 7.7 percent in 1970 to 12.8 percent in 1982. Nevertheless, females constituted less than 1 percent of all medical doctors depicted in the cartoons.

FIGURE 12.6.

CARTOON HEALTH PROFESSIONS DEPICTED
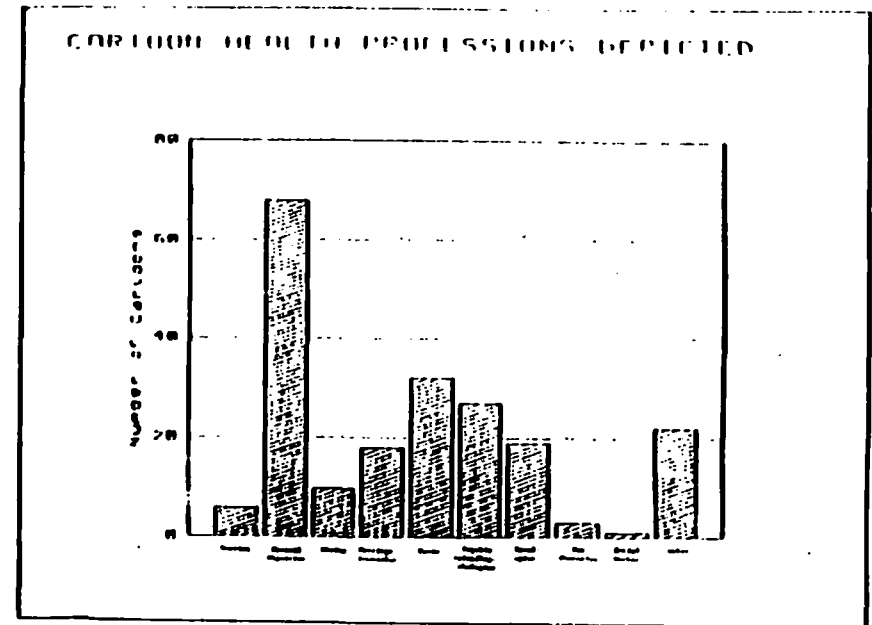
Source: Compiled by the authors.

Clients and Other Characters

In cases in which the sole or principal patient was female, about 80 percent of the cartoons were sexual in nature. Female patients were two and one-half times more likely than male patients to be depicted as partially or completely naked. Of the cartoons with female patients, two-thirds involved some form of misconduct by the (nearly always male) health professional. Almost 40 percent of the time this entailed some form of trickery or deception.

Male patients are somewhat less likely to be cast in a sexual scenario. Less than half of the cases in which the sole or principal patient was male involved activity that was classified as sexual. Of the cartoons with male patients, 40 percent involved some form of misconduct by the (usually male) health professional. Only one-tenth of the time did the misconduct entail trickery or deception. Morbidity was a common motif, appearing in approximately one-fifth of the cartoons involving male patients.

Minorities rarely appeared in any situation in the health professional cartoons. Although in 1980 minorities accounted for 11.1 percent of the

total visits to physicians in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1982, p. 110), in no case was a cartoon patient identifiably portrayed as nonwhite. In the two instances where minority members *were* clearly depicted in a cartoon, they were background characters within a group of ten or more people. In one cartoon, two racial minority group members were included in a group sex scenario involving white children.

Minor-age children and adolescents appeared in 9-11 percent of the cartoons. Included were two infants, 12 children, five adolescents, and four young characters of ambiguous age. Girls and boys were both represented.

Where boys were represented, they were generally the subject of nonsexual humor. With the exception of one case in which two boys witnessed a rape, the only boys found in a sexual setting were in the company of girls.

Where girls were represented, the cartoons were uniformly sexual in nature. The specific themes involved child pregnancy, sexual intercourse, group sex, and child sexual abuse by foster parents. One case involved the devouring of little girls by a wolf.

In nine instances, animals were portrayed as characters. The animals were anthropomorphized in eight cases, and in four of these cases they were the recipients of sexual attention from a human female.

Cartoon Scenarios by Specific Health Profession

Clear stereotypes were manifest in the cartoon scenarios pertaining to each individual health profession. Some of the common stereotypes are described below.

General physicians. The general physician (nearly always male) was normally depicted with a single patient. Male and female patients were represented with approximately the same frequency. Male patients commonly suffered from venereal disease or some other negative consequence of sexual activity. The general physician was frequently cast in a demeaning or derrogatory light in cartoons involving male patients.

In nearly every cartoon involving a female patient, the patient was young, white, attractive, and the subject of some sexual activity, behavior, or innuendo. Over half of these patients were completely or partially naked. The female patient was directly engaged—willingly or unwillingly—in a sexual interaction with her personal physician in roughly half the cartoons. The nature of these interactions ranged from a sexual overture on the part of the female patient to sexual assault by the physician.

Nurses. The nurse was typically portrayed as an initiator or recipient of sexual involvement with patients and/or physicians, as a passive or helpless bystander, or as a negligent caretaker.

Psychiatrists/Psychologists. The psychiatrist/psychologist (always male) was depicted with both male and female patients in approximately equal numbers. About half the cartoons with male patients were sexual. In some of these, homosexuality or a sex change was discussed during therapy. Another common motif involved the verbal disparagement of a patient by a psychiatrist/psychologist.

Almost all cartoons with female patients were sexual. Frequently the psychiatrist/psychologist was the recipient of a direct sexual overture from the patient. In other cases, he was engaged in a reciprocal sexual relationship with the female patient, or he derived sexual gratification from personal confessions of the patient during the course of therapy.

Marriage counselors. The marriage counselor (always male) often became sexually involved in a female spouse—commonly in the presence of her husband.

Sexologist. The sexologist cartoons were mainly a comic-strip series. Typically in these cartoons, either sex histories were collected via interviews or sexual experimentation was conducted on human subjects. (In two cases, a male sexologist was personally involved as part of the sexual experimentation.)

Gynecologists/obstetricians. The gynecologist/obstetrician (always male) generally accosted, seduced, or otherwise engaged in sexual activity with his female patients.

Dentists. The dentist (always male) typically abused local anesthesia or some other pharmaceutical agent to exploit his female clients.

DISCUSSION

The results of this investigation suggest that there is a clear and consistent sociopolitical commentary contained in the sexually explicit magazine's health professional cartoons. The 187 cartoons analyzed communicate several notions regarding health professionals and their patients:

1. Male health professionals are untrustworthy and sexually exploitive.
2. Female patients are often openly responsive to or solicitous of sexual relations with male health professionals.
3. Patients, especially female, are legitimate sexual targets.
4. Women have little place in high-status health professions.
5. Racial minorities are not represented as either health professionals or patients.

Health professionals assume enormous responsibilities. The execution of these responsibilities requires the exercise of wisdom and well-considered

judgment. The health professional must be free from influence of stereotyped views or sexual interest. Moreover, the safe and effective delivery of health care services demands the patient's full confidence in the proficiency and commitment of the health professional.

While the debate continues over the nature and extent of the link between mass media imagery and human attitudes and behavior, recent research suggests at least some cause for concern. The specific question here is whether or not the repetition of sexually and racially stereotyped ideas may in some measure help to subvert the effective delivery of health care treatment or the essential trust between patient and health professional.

Within only a 12-year period, millions of people have encountered nearly 200 cartoons that depicted health professionals as self-serving, incompetent, and unreliable sensualists. It is important for those in the health professions to be aware of the exploitative manner in which their roles have been repeatedly defined.

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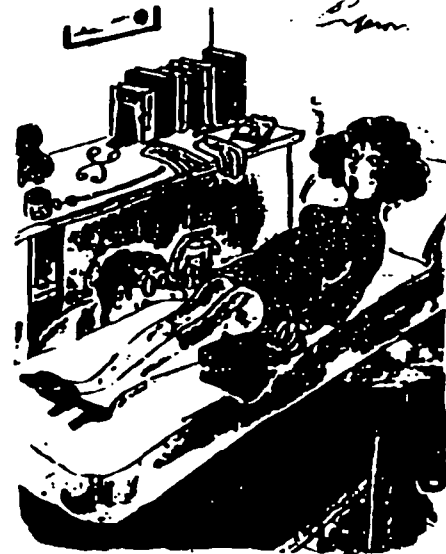
"That's very nice of you, ... but I'd rather have the forceps"

CARTOONS SOCIALIZE TABOO IDEAS

JUNE, 1976*

FROM: COSMETIZED NUDITY
TO : COSMETIZED INCEST, SADISM...

CARTOONS AS PRECONDITIONING TO: PHOTO AND EDITORIAL COPY

(TIME LAG: CARTOONS
PRECEDE IMITABLE
PHOTO RESPONSE)

1950's

- Negative wife/marriage imagery
- Male as a sexual predator imagery
- Neutral child/family life imagery
- Marginally explicit imagery

1950's

- Simulated* "38-D"--adult females
- Conservative tone--re: sexual behavior
- Opinion leader "INTERVIEWS"
- Minimum explicitness

1960's

- Increased negative wife/marriage imagery
- Increased male predator imagery
- Neutral child/family life mixed with image of child/teen sex object fantasy in fairy tales
- Younger female cartoon images
- Increased anal, oral symbology

1960's

- Younger, simulated females
- Liberal re: sex, drugs
- Opinion leader "interviews"
- Increased explicitness

1970's

- "Bad" wife--sexual fidelity, versus "Good" wife--sexually tolerant
- All males sexually exploitive of: teen/child as sex object, incest, fairy tale, fantasy mixed with real world imagery
- Sadism (S&M), bestiality, simulated adult/teen/child lesbianism
- Totally explicit: Sacred Prostitution

1970's

- Mix of adult/teen/child to simulate "model" females
- Simulated lesbian adult/teen/child sex & "legalization" of incest
- Abandonment of 50's-60's "fidelity"
- Opinion leaders included (Carter)
- Shaved, anal, oral fetish

*Simulated refers to artificially rendered dream images (holograms) by air-brush techniques, etc.

APPENDIX J

*Judith A. Reisman,
Case Western Univ.

APPENDIX K

AGE EVALUATION GUIDE (AEG)

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION GUIDE (EEG)

See the full explanation
for these guides in the complete
Methodology Book, Volume II.

APPENDIX K

AGE EVALUATION GUIDE (AEG)

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION GUIDE (EEG)

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for these guides in the complete
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<u>THE CULTURE OF CHILDHOOD</u>

AGE EVALUATION GUIDE

THE FOLLOWING ARE ILLUSTRATIONS* OF TYPICALLY NORMAL

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGE APPROPRIATE ACTIVITES

AND SYMBOLS. THESE ILLUSTRATIONS ARE TO SERVE AS

BENCH MARKS FOR ASSESSING DEPICTIONS OF CHILDREN,

CHILD CUES AND SYMBOLS IN EROTICA/PORNOGRAPHY
—-

TYPICAL CHILD CUES/SYMBOLS
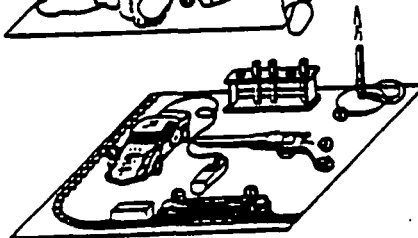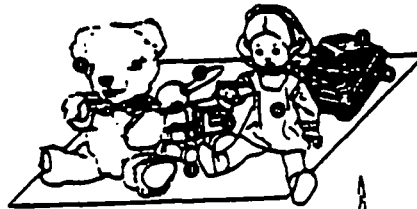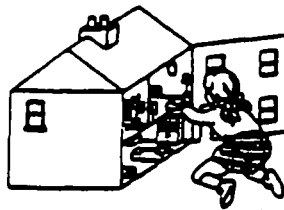
* Illustrations taken from: <u>Child's Body, A Parent's</u>
<u>Manual</u> by the Diagram Group, Paddington Press, 1978.

For Internal Use Only: Not for Distribution

APPENDIX K

AGE EVALUATION GUIDE (AEG)

See Methods Book for full AEG

Fetal Development

Newborn

Nine Months
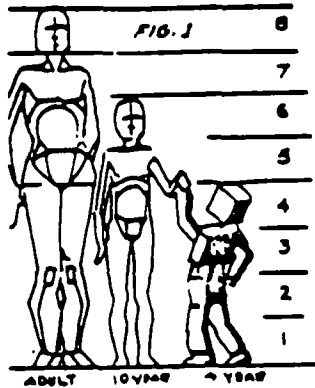
GIRL

BOY

One Year

GIRL

BOY

CHILDREN

BLOCK FORMS AND PLANES

PROPORTION AND CONSTRUCTION

FIG. 1

FORMS AND PLANES

BLOCK FORMS

HEAD OF A BABY

A BOY OF 6
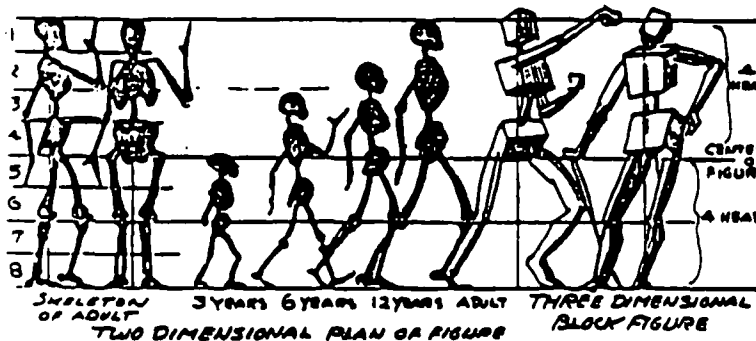
ADULT   10 YEAR   4 YEAR

THE HEAD OF A CHILD IN PROPORTION TO ITS FIGURE IS LARGER THAN THE ADULT HEAD IS IN PROPORTION TO ITS FIGURE - SEE FIG. 1

BABY HANDS

PROPORTION AND CONSTRUCTION

SKELETON OF ADULT   3 YEARS 6 YEARS 12 YEARS ADULT   THREE DIMENSIONAL BLOCK FIGURE

TWO DIMENSIONAL PLAN OF FIGURE

THE HEAD OF A CHILD IN PROPORTION TO ITS FIGURE IS LARGER THAN THE ADULT HEAD IS IN PROPORTION TO A FIGURE - SEE FIG. 1

BABY HANDS

Two Years
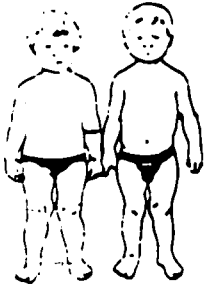
GIRL

BOY

EIGHTEEN MONTHS: DEVELOPMENT
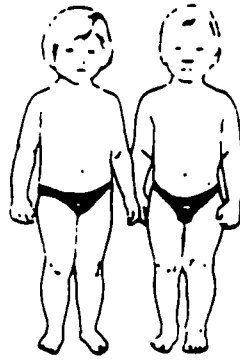
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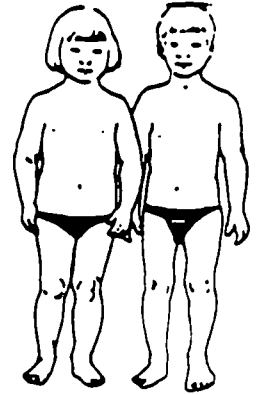
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BOY
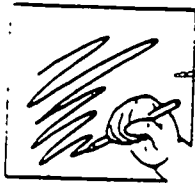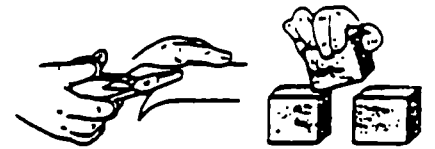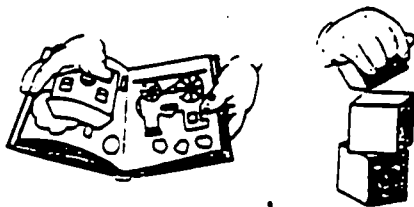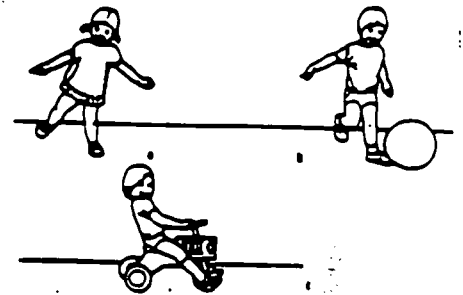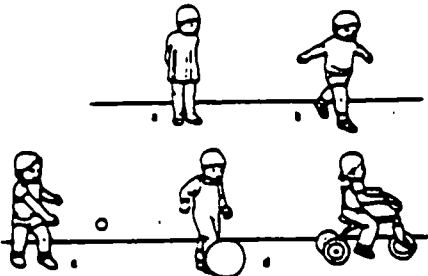
Four Years

Five Years

GIRL

BOY

GIRL

BOY

ACHLOTUVX
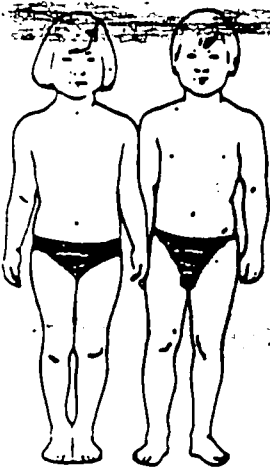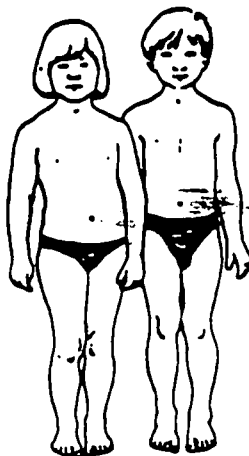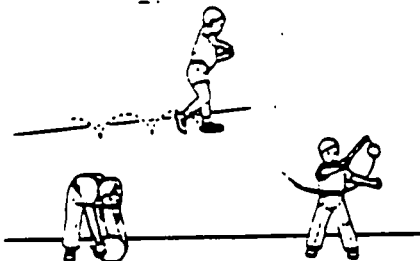
Six Years
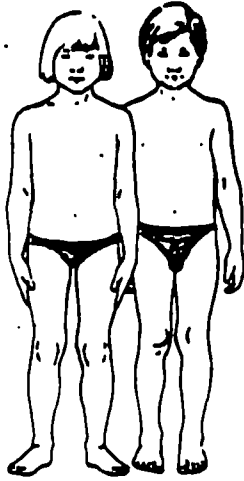
Seven Years
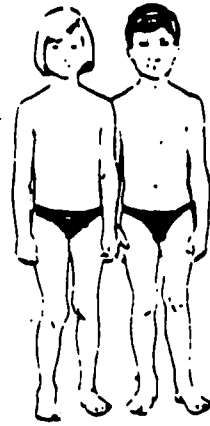
GIRL

BOY

-Seven Years

ABCDEFG
HIJKLMN
OPQRSTUV
WXYZ
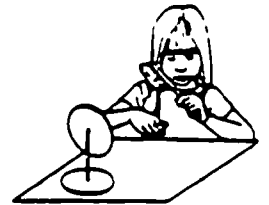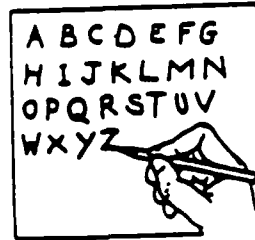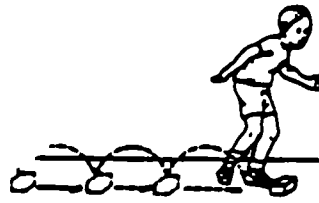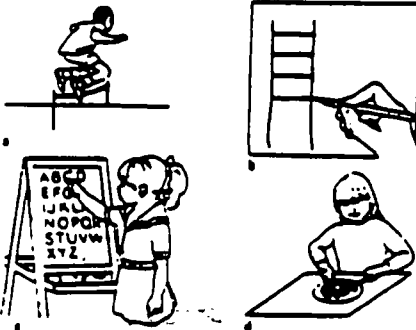
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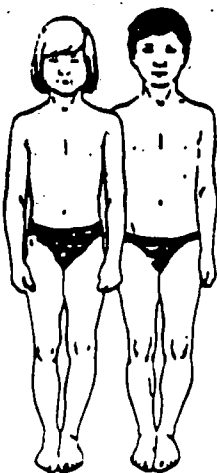
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BOY
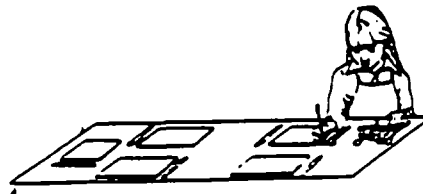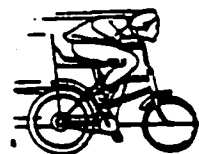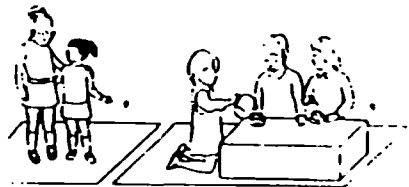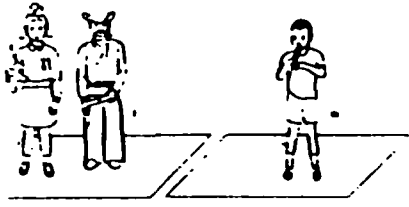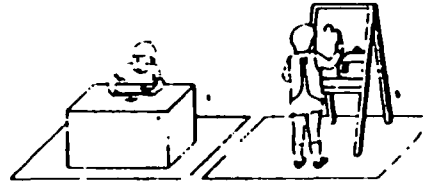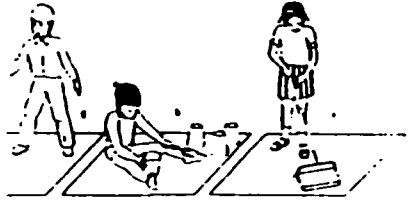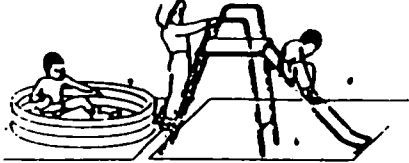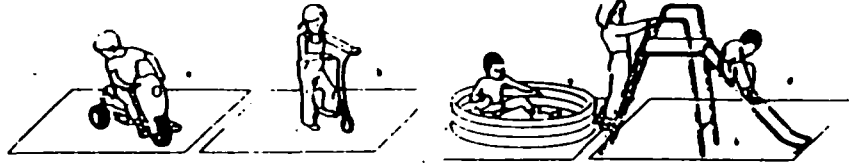
Two to Five Years
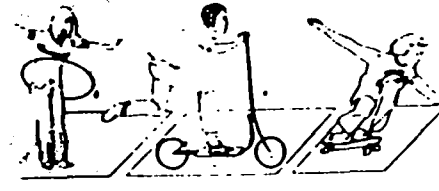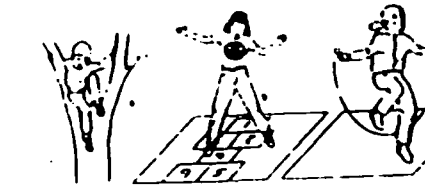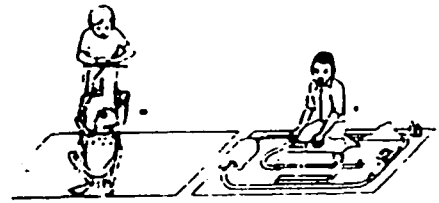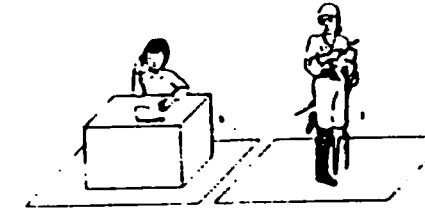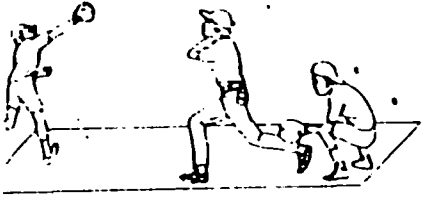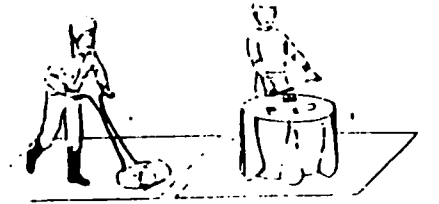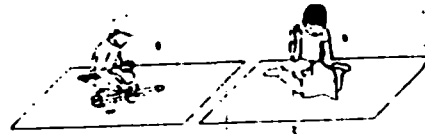
# PHYSICAL CHANGES AT PUBERTY
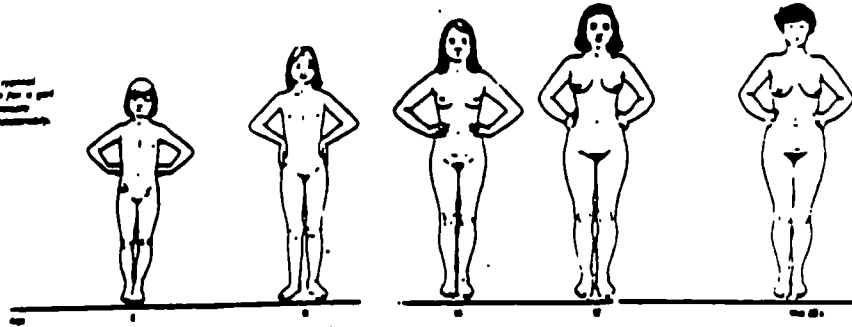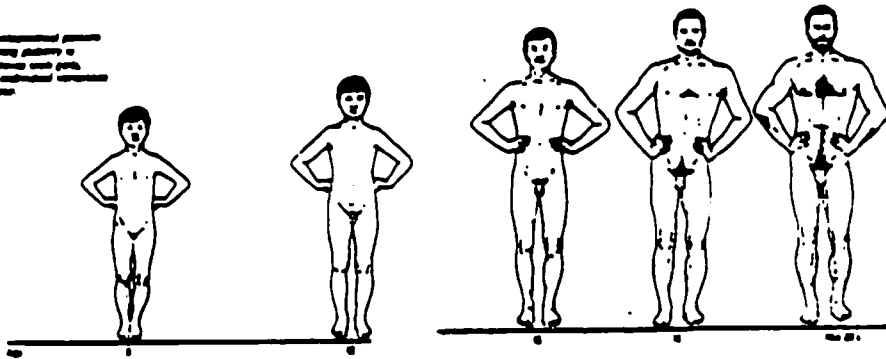
ADOLESCENCE
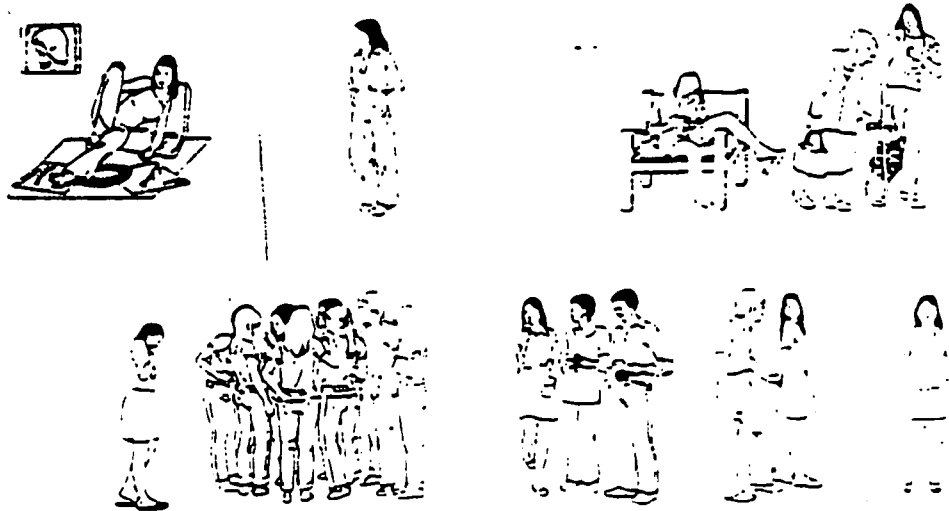
FEAR*

- The brows are raised and drawn together

- The wrinkles in the forehead are in the center, not across the entire forehead

- The upper eyelid is raised, exposing sclera, the lower eyelid is tensed and drawn up

- The mouth is open and the lips are either tensed slightly and drawn back or stretched and drawn back

SURPRISE

- The brow is raised, curved and high

- The skin below the brow is stretched

- Horizontal wrinkles go across the forehead

- Eyelids are opened; upper lid raised and lower lid drawn down, white of eye (sclera) shows above the iris and often below as well

- The jaw drops open; lips and teeth are parted, but no tension or stretching of mouth takes place
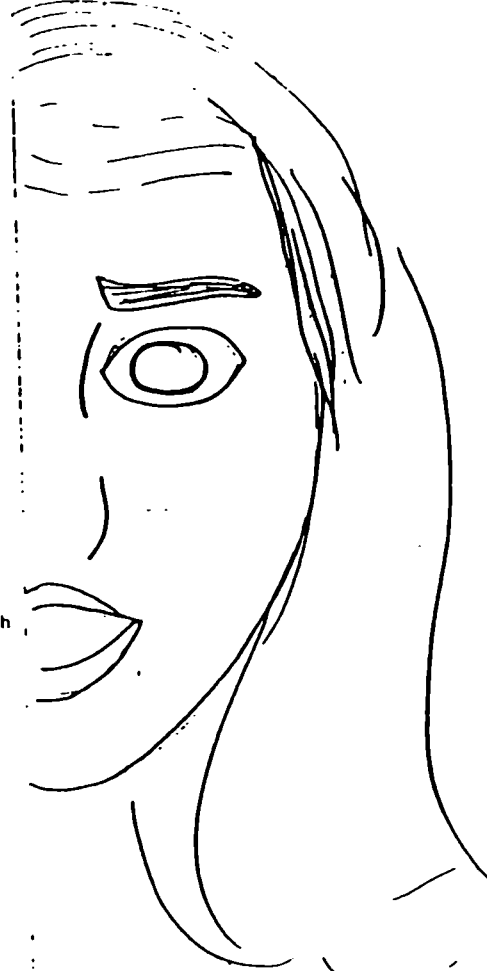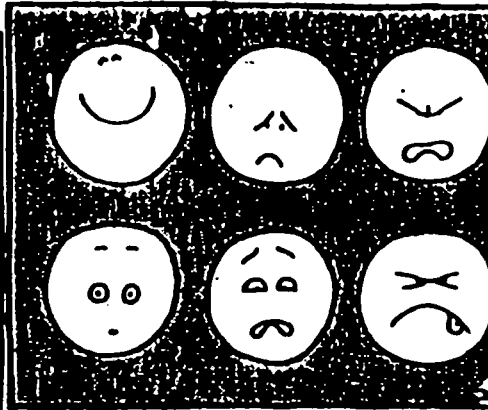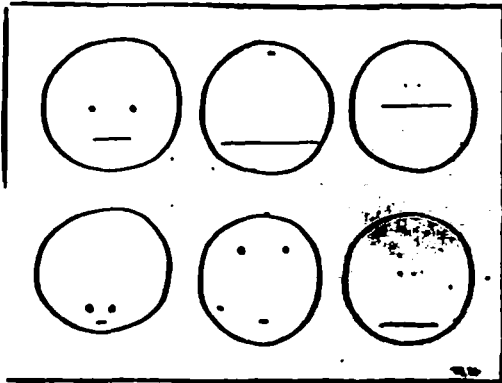
APPENDIX Kb

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION GUIDE (EEG)

K - 7

* All definitions are taken from Paul Ekman & Wallace Friesen, Unmasking The Face, New Jersey. 1

See Methods Book for full EEG

K 8

Practice faces for evaluation of
Emotional Expression were used
in on-going sessions for coders.
Child and adult faces were used
in cartoon and photographic form.

INFANT FACIAL ARCHETYPES

Joy
Mouth forms smile, cheeks lifted, twinkle in eyes.

Anger
Brows drawn together and downward, eyes fixed, mouth squarish.

Interest
Brows raised or knit, mouth softly rounded, lips pursed

Disgust
Nose wrinkled, upper lip raised, tongue pushed outward.

Surprise
Brows raised, eyes widened, mouth rounded in oval shape

Distress
Eyes tightly closed, mouth, as inner squared and angular

Sadness
Brows' inner corners raised, drawn out and down

Fear
Brows level, drawn in and up, eyelids blink, mouth retracted

Facial Expressions

Profile — Frontal

Profile	Frontal	
face hidden		
blank expression		
happy/ joyous		
sad		
anger		
interest, curiosity		
surprise, shock		
fear		
distressed		
disgust		
anger/ happy		
sad/happy		
fear/happy		

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

VIOLENT ACTIVITIES

MURDEROUS/MAIMING:
(e.g., consumption of human flesh, decapitation, dismemberment, bludgeoning, smashing, shooting, stabbing, mutilation of other, choking, strangling, hanging, gagging, self-mutilation, burning, etc.)

INFLICTING PAIN:
(e.g., violent hitting, punching, kicking, pounding, whipping, or inserting or attaching items into body that cause pain)

FORCE/PLANNED FORCE:
(e.g., restraint, coercion, clothing ripped or pulled, lurking in wait to assault, slapping, spanking, paddling)

VIOLENT MESSAGE:
(e.g., violent or aggressive gesture, verbal threat, verbal coercion)

VIOLENT DISCUSSION:
(e.g., presenting violently educative information, telling violent story, making violent statement or observation)

VIOLENT FANTASY/MEMORY:

OTHER VIOLENT:

EXCRETORY ACTIVITY:
(e.g., defecation, urination, regurgitation)

MEDICAL/SURGICAL:
(e.g., abortion, hysterectomy, vasectomy, artificial insemination)

SEXUAL ACTIVITIES

GENITAL/ANAL SEX:
(e.g., coitus, anal/genital, anal/oral or oral/genital contact; inserting items into vagina or anus)

VENEREAL DISEASE:
(e.g., discussed or described)

SEXUAL FOREPLAY:
(e.g., fondling genitals, breasts or buttocks; being in bed together)

BEING NUDE/TAKING OFF/PUTTING ON CLOTHES:

SEXUAL INVASION OF PRIVACY:
(e.g., flashing, exhibiting, peeping, voluntary or involuntary voyeurism, obscene phone call)

SEXUAL AROUSAL:
(e.g., masturbation, autoeroticism, having an erection)

SEXUAL MESSAGE:
(e.g., sexual gestures, including beckoning, licking lips, verbal sexual overture)

SEXUAL DISCUSSION:
(e.g., presentation of sexually educative information, telling sexual story, making a sexual statement or observation)

SEXUAL FANTASY OR MEMORY:

OTHER SEXUAL ACTIVITY:
(including unspecified or unclear sexual activity)

NONVIOLENT/NONSEXUAL ACTIVITIES

NONSEXUAL/NONVIOLENT FANTASY OR MEMORY:

OTHER NONSEXUAL/NONVIOLENT ACTIVITY:
(including unspecified or unclear nonsexual, nonviolent activity)

TRICKERY:

AFFECTIONATE ACTIVITY:
(e.g., non-sexual gestures, such as shaking hands, holding hands, arm-in-arm, arm around waist or shoulder; a verbal endearment, gazing into each other's eyes)

GENERAL DISCUSSION:
(e.g., presentation of general educative information, telling non-sexual and non-violent story, making non-sexual and non-violent statement)