

Analysis of *All* Pornography as Toxic “Threats to Survival” Based on the NIDA Distributed Time Magazine Report, “How We Get Addicted”¹

DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY

By
Judith A. Reisman, PhD.²

[Like the highly physiologically addicting psycho stimulant cocaine] all drugs and behaviors that are addictive appear to involve the nucleus accumbens septi, so that dopaminergic projection from the ventral tegmental area to the nucleus accumbens, appears to be one of the central players in determining whether or not a drug is physiologically addicting.”³⁻⁴

In the July 6, 2007 *Science* magazine, National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) Director, Dr. Nora Volkow pointed out that NIDA “should encompass addictions such as pornography, gambling, and food.”⁵ She is also quoted in the *Time* essay below saying “because it involves these basic brain functions, everyone will become an addict if sufficiently exposed to drugs or alcohol.” That is, Dr. Volkow identifies the brain’s “soft wiring” as sufficiently plastic as to be molded by salient environmental stimuli. So, if sex/pornography impacts basic brain functions, than the NIDA Director would suspect that even women and children, can “become an addict if sufficiently exposed to” pornography.



On point, before discussing the *Time* report, consider the October 26 *Science* article on impulsivity. New research finds that increased dopamine and/or deep brain stimulation (DBS) increased “[p]athological gambling and hypersexuality.” Media stimuli (i.e., a word, “Correct” associated with a “character” flashed on a screen) increased impulsivity. The researchers found that DBS “interferes with patients’ normal tendency to hesitate when faced with a difficult decision, whereas dopamine drugs interfere with the ability to learn from bad experiences.” (see www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/abstract/1146157).⁶

¹ Michael D. Lemonick, 7/5/07, distributed by NIDA, Neuroscience 2007 conference, San Diego, Calif., 11/6-10/07.

² The Institute for Media Education and California Protective Parents Association.

³ Jeanette Norden, PhD., neuroscientist, Professor of Cell and Development Biology...Vanderbilt University in “Understanding the Brain, The Teaching Company, 2007. “Unfortunately, the brain doesn’t like this...” Citing just a few myriad chemicals of change.

⁴ See also “Secretion of the stress hormone epinephrine from the adrenal glands following an arousing event contributes to memory processes by potentiating norepinephrine release in brain structures that encode the affective and contextual components of an experience .S King II & C. Williams, “The Contribution of Noradrenergic Systems on Fear Conditioned Learning,” *University of Virginia*, Poster # 529.11, neuroscience 2007 Conference, November 6, 2007—one of hundreds of “fear” memory studies.

⁵ Constance Holden, “More addictions, less stigma,” *SCIENCE* VOL 317, "<http://www.sciencemag.org>" \nwww.sciencemag.org; Nearly six in 10 children in Britain, some as young as nine, are being exposed to pornography mostly as a result of viewing explicit websites accidentally, an expert warned today, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/02/06/nchild106.xml>.

⁶ “Two Therapies Release Different Brakes on Impulsive Behavior” www.sciencemag.org, *SCIENCE* VOL 318 10/26/07, p. 553.

These findings on impulsivity are of a piece with my following rewrite of the *Time* magazine report distributed by the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) Washington, DC. at the November Neuroscience 2007 conference in San Diego. I have expunged some of the author's introduction and redrafted the NIDA approved report to focus on how "we get addicted" to mainstream pornography in magazines, film, television and on the Internet.

In his letter dated February 18, 1986 to Chapel Hill, North Carolina psychiatrist, Dr. Linea Smith, Robert O. Heck, former Chief: US DoJ OJJDP, of "The Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children and National Missing/Abducted Children and Serial Murder Tracking and Prevention Program" wrote:

If I were to try to make a concise declarative statement on the subject, it would have to be this: Without any significant exception pornography is the background stimuli for molesters, rapists and serial killers. Our thresh-hold of allowable violence has been increased by our visual exposure to violence, and the sexual exploitation depicted in pornography. There are hundreds of interviews and studies of convicted molesters, rapists and serial killers that will attest to the fact that pornography was a pervasive instrument of exciting and fuelling their desires and activities.⁷

Michael D. Lemonick, opens the discussion of "The Science of Addiction"⁸ by noting that in 1950 alcoholism was finally accepted as "a disease rather than a moral failing" by the American Medical Association (AMA). However, like sex and pornography addiction today, alcohol addiction too had been viewed as "voluntary." Early alcoholism therapy was largely talk, vitamins and "usually a strong recommendation to join Alcoholics Anonymous" for group support.

In the brains of addicts, there is reduced activity in the prefrontal cortex, where rational thought can override impulsive behavior

Lemonick provides an "addiction timeline" from wine to tobacco, marijuana, alcohol, drugs, cocaine and crack cocaine to show that addiction styles change. Environment is seen as a major factor in all addiction. Dr. Volkow is quoted in *Time* saying that "the use of drugs has been recorded since the beginning of civilization. Humans in my view will always want to experiment with things to make them feel good."



In fact, the following 9 forms of addiction statistics come from the cameo *Time* images and data on "**What Hooks Us: Addictions in America change over time. Here's a look at what we're battling now: "Substance and behavioral addictions."** Note that the final two addictions cited are "Sex" and "Internet."

1. **Alcohol:** about 18.7 million people, roughly 7.7% of the population dependent on or abusive of alcohol.
2. **Drugs:** 3.6 drug dependent people are cited with about 8,000 daily trying drugs. About half of "first-time users are female and younger than 18."
3. **Tobacco:** a 71.5 million addiction with over 44% of young adults 18 to 25 using.
4. **Coffee:** ingested by 80% to 90% of Americans.
5. **Food** addiction; claims roughly 15% of the population.

⁷ In the author's archives.

⁸ The author begins by revealing his struggle to recover from his own alcohol addiction, "since 1981." For the purposes of expediency the biography is expunged.

6. **Gambling:** Two million Americans are said to be “compulsive and 4 million to 8 million problem gamblers.”
7. **Shopping;** 1 in 20 Americans are said to be compulsive shoppers.
8. **Sex:** About **16 million** Americans suffer from compulsive sexual behavior, the least understood of all addictions. A third are women; about 60% of all sex addicts were abused in childhood. An addict is dependent on the neurochemical changes that take place during sex and is consumed by sexual thoughts.
9. **Internet;** Like compulsive gambling, Internet addiction is thought to be an impulse-control disorder that can disrupt social relationships. There is disagreement as to whether it should be formally considered a disorder. Though substance abusers strive for abstinence, an Internet addict’s goal is often to attain moderation.

<p>Sex</p> 	<p>About 16 million Americans suffer from compulsive sexual behavior, the least understood of all addictions. A third are women; about 60% of all sex addicts were abused in childhood. An addict is dependent on the neurochemical changes that take place during sex and is consumed by sexual thoughts.</p>
<p>Internet</p> 	<p>Like compulsive gambling, Internet addiction is thought to be an impulse-control disorder that can disrupt social relationships. There is disagreement as to whether it should be formally considered a disorder. Though substance abusers strive for abstinence, an Internet addict’s goal is often to attain moderation.</p>
<p><small>PHOTOS, FROM TOP: JUPITERIMAGES (3); ISTOCKPHOTO (2); JUPITERIMAGES (2); ISTOCKPHOTO (2)</small></p>	

As in other addictions, sex/pornography addicts today also receive “talk therapy” and are increasingly urged to join support groups, in this case, Sex Addicts anonymous groups. Like Alcoholics Anonymous — “founded in 1935 by an ex-drunk and an active drinker” – the Sex

In the brains of addicts, there is reduced activity in the prefrontal cortex, where rational thought can override impulsive behavior

Addiction field was also created by recovering (sex) addicts. My recent interviews with The **Society for the Advancement of Sexual Health (SASH)** therapists and others treating sex addiction, suggests that a sizeable percentage of male professional sex addiction therapists are themselves recovering sex addicts.

AA cites its success at getting millions of people off alcohol via “group support and a program of accumulated folk wisdom.”⁹ Unfortunately, the sex addiction field has been less able to employ “folk wisdom” since the Kinsey-based human sexuality field has vilified such wisdom as “sex negative” and “inhibiting” for roughly 60 years. Addiction specialists note:

⁹ Although many pornography addicts are also sex offenders, this paper does not examine that failed cure process.

“Addiction is not just about substances. Addiction is about disrupting the processing of pleasure; the balance point is shifted so you keep creating more and more urges and you keep wanting more and more.”¹⁰

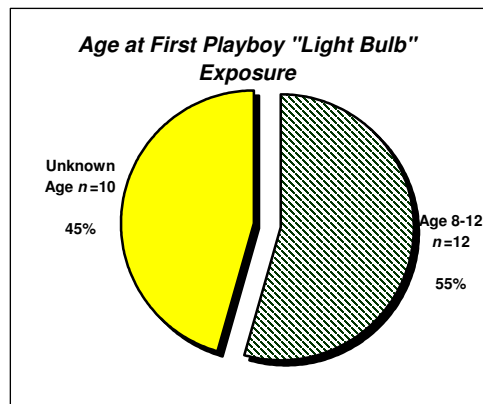
This defines the sex addict whose fear-and-shame-linked-libido is “disrupting the processing of pleasure.” Repeated swift orgasms to pornographic stimuli shifts the “balance point” creating more and more urges, requiring “more and more” erototoxic, pornographic stimuli to enable repetition of orgasmic rewards.

McLean Hospital neuroscientist Scott Lukas states, “Addiction is a chronic and relapsing brain disease characterized by uncontrollable drug-seeking behavior and use. It persists even with the knowledge of negative health and social consequences.” Adds Joseph Frascella, NIDA Director, Clinical Neuroscience, “Addictions occur when behaviors start to become excessive. They are driven by our systems that stand up, shake us and say, “The brain is saying this is good; we should do it again.”

The behaviors Lukas and Frascella describe are of a “fit” with pornographic entrapment. Despite exposure to multiple STDs, unwanted pregnancies, sexual violence, emotional trauma, divorce and family chaos, this lonely, masturbatory reward system wants to “do it again.”

We need to document which “neurotransmitting chemicals are out of balance and what regions of the brain are affected” by sexually explicit media. We now have over 900 pornography studies listed in PubMed in which pornography or sexually graphic imagery has been employed. Those brain scan data need to be collected into one meta brain analysis to generalize to most or all erototoxins. Meanwhile, this *Time*/NIDA report confirms that studies of addictions like pornography hijack “memory-making processes” and exploit emotions.

The memories of sex/pornography addicts appear to have been commonly hijacked in youth. Extensive data confirm that most younger adults were first exposed to pornography in childhood.¹¹ So that first pornographic “hit,” triggered a poly drug flood of excitatory neurotransmitters, endogenous opioids, testosterone, oxytocin, dopamine, etc. On the evidence, the first pornographic image one sees remains imbedded, literally engraved in both short and long-term memory. Moreover, researchers recently found that even *invisible naked images are processed by the human brain*—hence what subliminal techniques are being used to sexually addict the public remains unknown.¹²



Moreover, the emotions associated with ones first libidinous display are often indelibly married to the activating image. So hijacked emotions--commonly of shame, curiosity, fear and

¹⁰ Dr. Martin Paulus, Professor of psychiatry UCSD, in this *Time* essay.

¹¹ See Reisman, *Images of Children, Crime & Violence in Playboy*, Penthouse and Hustler, 1989, US Dpt of Justice, Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Grant No. 84-JN-AX-K007, chapter on pornography exposure, <http://www.liebertonline.com/doi/abs/10.1089/cpb.2005.8.473?journalCode=cpb>; <http://www.protectkids.com/effects/harms.htm>, etc.

¹² Steven Most, et. al., “The naked truth: Positive, arousing distractors impair rapid target perception,” *Cognition & Emotion*, August-2007.

the arousal of the reproductive drive--initially triggered by the mating, primal image, short-circuit prefrontal cortical activity. Impulse overrides rational thought. Beggan and Allison defend *Playboy* in "What sort of man reads *Playboy*?"¹³ They report 55% of their subjects recall seeing their first *Playboy* image between 8-and 12-years of age (see attachment A). These early sex pictures were commonly "found" hidden in parental or family closets, drawers, under mattresses and were inevitably married to the boy's shame and fear of discovery.

For some men, the first exposure to *Playboy* creates a "flashbulb" memory ...*a strong, easily retrieved memory for the details associated with finding out about a surprising, emotionally arousing event.*[like] the World Trade Center attack on September 11, 2001. Participants revealed strong, positive feelings about the first time they encountered *Playboy*.¹⁴

Even the most dedicated pornography abstainer relives the media-triggered primal drive in myriad daily ways. As NIDAs Frascella says addictions, "are repetitive behaviors in the face of negative consequences, the desire to continue something you know is bad for you." Without question, sex addicts and pornography users (non addicts) engage in "repetitive behaviors in the face of negative consequences, the desire to continue something you know is bad for you."

Despite the efforts to normalize pornography, its erototoxic properties, as "bad for you," are regularly demonstrated. Since shame and fear would become a reasonable part of the brain's architecture following childhood sex exposure, it is not surprising that adult "eros" users continue to experience shame and fear associated with sexual or reproductive arousal.

In the brains of addicts, there is reduced activity in the prefrontal cortex, where rational thought can override impulsive behavior

This fear and shame association with pornography is empirically established by the fact that even now few sexually promiscuous men or women peruse pornography or "girlie" pictures in public venues (airplane, restaurant, train).¹⁵ Some years ago *Playboy* confirmed the shame factor in their own study, finding that men do not look at *Playboy* when in public.¹⁶ Yet

pornography is repetitively used although it has a myriad of negative consequences (especially today, escalating thousands into the illegal world of "child pornography"). The desire to continue using pornography is the desire to use "something you know is bad for you," hence its role as an endogenous drug addiction.

The hypothesis: All Pornography Threatens Women and Children's Survival

Because they "co-opt the very brain functions that allowed our distant ancestors to survive in a hostile world," all exogenous and endogenous drugs of abuse--the researchers agree--

¹³ The following study by Scott Allison and James Beggan, "What sort of man reads *Playboy*?" The self-reported influence of *Playboy* on the construction of masculinity," *The Journal of Men's Studies*, January 1, 2003, at 1.

¹⁴ Allison and Beggan, *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Michael Judge, *assistant features editor of The Wall Street Journal*, wrote on perusing *Playboy* in public in the *WSJ*, "Frankly, I'm embarrassed for...guy-dom. At least there was a modicum of truth to the old line, "I buy *Playboy* for the writing." But these new mags are all about.... "hot babes" and enhance sexual performance....As Martin Amis, a man who knows what darkness lurks in men's hearts, recently opined on the Charlie Rose show, it's as if a whole generation sees sex as sport, devoid of romance, something you train for, like one might train for an episode of "American Gladiators." *December 5, 2003.*

¹⁶ Retrieve date and article.

-threaten human survival. Therefore, if it is established that pornography is “a drug of abuse” than on its face, pornography “threatens human survival.”

On the evidence, pornography is not only a drug of abuse, but one that is more socially debilitating than others. The pornographic high substitutes masturbation, adultery, paper dolls and even rape and other forms of violence for the normal homeostatic balance of sexual intimacy with ones wife within a marriage, the creation of families and the building of community.

Time cites data finding that humans are programmed to heed salience, events with special relevance such as “threats” food and sex—critical for survival. Sex, felt as a “threat” would be overwhelmingly salient. Using drugs, “our memory systems, reward circuits, decision-making skills and conditioning kick in--salience in overdrive--to create an all consuming pattern of uncontrollable craving.”

As noted earlier in this paper, NIDA Director, Nora Volkow observed that some “people have a genetic predisposition to addiction....But because it involves these basic brain functions, *everyone will become an addict if sufficiently exposed...*” logically including pornography.

Time adds, “[t]hat can go for nonchemical addictions as well. Behaviors, from gambling to shopping to sex, may start out as habits but slide into addictions.” Volkow's team found that almost “anything deeply enjoyable can turn into an addiction” if not controlled by our more analytical regions that “evaluate consequences and override mere pleasure seeking.”

Those “less adept at using analytical areas of the brain” show reduced levels of activation in the prefrontal cortex (but it isn't clear which came first the drugs or the cognitive impairments). This is especially disturbing since we know the human brain does not develop frontally until ones mid 20s. Impaired analytical—and moral-- functions are evident when one reads or listens to pornography addicts defend their “right” to enjoy pornography despite its impact on those dear to them. In fact, the verbal and physical aggressivity common to many pornography users confirms the inherent danger, the “threat” to the survival of the women and children who might be seen as interfering with their pornography use.

There are indeed several reports of murders of women linked to their resistance to spousal pornography use as well as attacks on co-eds who hung male pin-ups as a response to Joe College's dormitory centerfold displays. Moreover, the legal recognition of the “hostile workplace” is a direct confirmation of pornography as a threat to women's safety, hence to her survival.¹⁷ Such media create a “hostile homeplace” as well as workplace.

The brain's reward system is “powered largely by the neurotransmitter dopamine,” that heightens the drug induced euphoric high. As discussed in the first page of this paper, in “Two Therapies Release Different Brakes on Impulsive Behavior,” NIDA's Vocci says that “[chemically] blocking D3 [dopamine 3] interrupts an awful lot of the drugs' effects.”

¹⁷ These need citations for a final paper.

GABAs (gamma-aminobutyric acid) natural damping circuit seems to be too weak to chemically inhibit excitatory drug messages. The “brain never appreciates that it's been satiated.” These statements continue to also define a pornographic addiction.

Both animal and human studies confirm that stress can trigger drug cravings. We know that stress changes the human brain “particularly the way it contemplates the consequences of actions.” Especially when alarmed we focus on the threat. This would explain both the need to “use” pornography (fear as a focusing agent) as well as the alarm among women exposed to pornography. Anxiety triggers flight, fight or sex. It seems also that in many women the excitement of the threat causes “freezing,” the inability to resist the threat and/or appeasement, both common animal and human survival strategies. Says Vocci, deliberate cognition shuts down in stress, setting addicts up to even more impulsivity.

Sex hormones are mentioned for their addictive properties only briefly. Research finds women become alcoholics faster than men, apparently due women’s alcohol metabolism properties. Just as body water, stomach enzymes and estrogen are identified as creating a greater “hit with each drink” for women, pornography’s “hit” would be stronger for men, sex-based intoxication. In 1985 Volkow recorded:

...blood flow, dopamine levels and glucose metabolism--a measure of how much energy is being used and where....After the subjects had been abstinent a year, Volkow rescanned their brains and found that they had begun to return to their predrug state.

Since the “changes induced by addiction do not just involve one system,” some changes, especially in learning, persist says Volkow. This would be why appeals to rational thinking are often lost on pornography and other drug addicts. Says Vocci. “We are trying to get [addicts] to change cognition and behavior at a time when they are least able to do so.”

Researchers at Yale University have documented what they call the sleeper effect--a gradual re-engaging of proper decision making and analytical functions in the brain's prefrontal cortex--after an addict has abstained for at least 90 days.

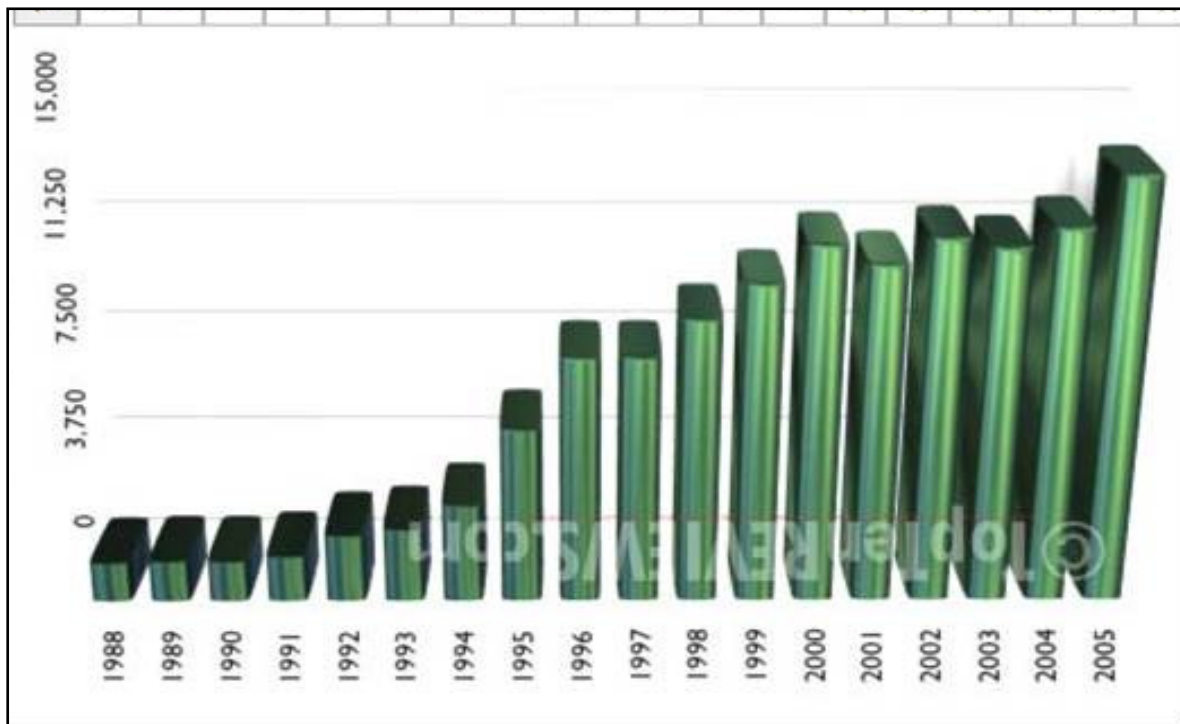
Unfortunately since pornography unlike exogenous drugs can not be detoxified from the brain, even new “time based” therapeutic modalities may not help the pornography addict.

The idea is to find some way to offset the impact of the amygdala, the region that primes “the dopamine-reward system” for pleasure-arousing cues “from the sight of white powder that looks like cocaine” to seeing your drinking buddies. In pornography, turning on the television, walking down the street or shopping for groceries primes up the sexual reward system. The research confirms that these sex cues are a modern variant of Pavlov’s “conditioned reflex.”

Lemonick notes that “hearing the clink of glasses and bottles, seeing others imbibe and smelling the aroma of wine or beer” would start his alcohol craving. Sober for decades now, Lemonick was scanned for his favorite beer smells.

Scientists say extinguishing urges is not a matter of getting the feelings to fade but of helping the addict learn a new form of conditioning, one that allows the brain's cognitive power to shout down the amygdala and other lower regions. "What has to happen for that cue to extinguish is not for the amygdala to become weaker but for the frontal cortex to become stronger," says Vocci.

POST 1988 US Hardcore Pornography Titles Released PICTORIAL EVIDENCE OF EROTOXIC ADDICTION¹⁸



Pornography's damage to the insula, to the ability to perceive danger and to anticipate threats is serious damage. "With so many of the brain's systems entangled with one another, it could prove impossible to adjust just one without throwing the others into imbalance."

Chemical, medical cures may be found but "the brain functions that addiction commandeers may simply be so complex that sufferers" may never be made completely whole. The author says his brain was clear but he intends to never test his sobriety by drinking even one

¹⁸ Sources: http://www.familysafemedia.com/pornography_statistics.html Statistics are compiled from the credible sources mentioned. In reality, statistics are hard to ascertain and may be estimated by local and regional worldwide sources. ABC, Associated Press, AsiaMedia, AVN, BBC, CATW, U.S. Census, Central Intelligence Agency, China Daily, Chosen.com, Comscore Media Metrix, Crimes Against Children, Eros, Forbes, Frankfurt Stock Exchange, Free Speech Coalition, Google, Harris Interactive, Hitwise, Hoover's, Japan Inc., Japan Review, Juniper Research, Kagan Research, ICMEC, Jan LaRue, The Miami Herald, MSN, Nielsen/NetRatings, The New York Times, Nordic Institute, PhysOrg.com, PornStudies, Pravda, Sarmatian Review, SEC filings, Secure Computing Corp., SMH, TopTenREVIEWS, Trellian, WICAT, Yahoo!, XBIZ ©2003 – 2007 TopTenREVIEWS, Inc.

beer. “[T]he last thing I intend to do is put it to the test. I've seen too many others try it--with horrifying results.”

Yet, on the evidence, all addictions to the abnormal sexual imagery that now flood the global society cause incalculable individual and social damage. All pornography, all erototoxins, need to be documented as actual ‘trickle down’ threats to the survival of women and children.

APPENDIX A

“What sort of man reads *Playboy*? The self-reported influence of *Playboy* on the construction of masculinity”

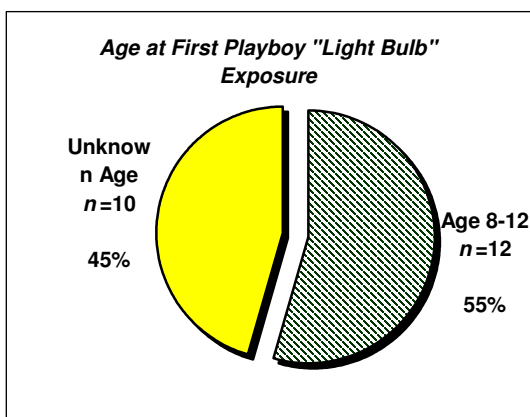
Analysis by
J.A. Reisman, Ph.D.¹⁹

Because *Playboy*...triggers in first-time readers a state of nascent sexual arousal...[t]he possibility that this arousal may be responsible for the strong, flashbulb memories connected with a first exposure to *Playboy* should be considered as a future research topic on *Playboy*, sexually explicit material in general, and the construction of masculinity.²⁰

The following study by Scott Allison and James Beggan, "What sort of man reads *Playboy*? The self-reported influence of *Playboy* on the construction of masculinity," was published in *The Journal of Men's Studies*, January 1, 2003. These data, along with the other two studies by Beggan et al, that I analyze elsewhere, should be very helpful in litigation.

At least one of these studies, if not both (I have to verify both) have been touted by *Playboy* in their magazine. The authors thank the *Playboy* staff for its help in publishing their queries. Publication of these papers in peer reviewed journals lends them further credibility. Moreover, in any litigation against *Playboy*, it is possible that these studies and their authors would be relied upon by the Defendants. The following is merely a preliminary draft of a review of the data presented. I am also analyzing Beggan's *Playboy* Advisor study at this time.

Allison and Beggan's *Playboy* research (Beggan & Allison, 2001a, 2001b; Beggan, Gagne, & Allison, 2000), has content analyzed centerfold biographies and "The *Playboy*



Advisor," concluding that *Playboy* directly aided in teaching and changing its readers attitudes and behaviors--in a positive direction. In the current study, Allison and Beggan examined "men's self-reports regarding how they felt *Playboy* had affected them." Beggan et al., anticipated that "Playboy played a significant role in defining for them the nature of masculinity, especially in ways that countered existing stereotypes about men. We also expected to find evidence that reading *Playboy* [healthfully] shaped how men thought about women."

METHODOLOGY

¹⁹ This study was supported by the Lighted Candle Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 3, 2007. Emphasis is added throughout:

²⁰ Scott Allison and James Beggan, "What sort of man reads *Playboy*? *The Journal of Men's Studies*, January 1, 2003.

Before identifying the authors' methodology, note that this investigator codified at least 55% of the known and/or implied ages provided by Allison and Beggan as under age 12 for the "first" *Playboy* experience (see pie chart above). Although the data find for 12 respondents reporting child exposure--Miles (9); Shane (10); Nathan (10); Simon (8); Ray (~10-12); Pat (10), Donny (~12); Bobby (~12); Wayne (~12); Ivan (~12) and Rick (~12)--based on their comments, this researcher would estimate well over 80% of the 22 respondents actually began exposure as minors. The authors published the advertisement below in the *Playboy* January 2001 "Forum Reader Response" section soliciting data. The September 2001 *Playboy* gave a positive review of their earlier 'Playboy Advisor' study. This was to be a follow-up to that effort (pp. 74-75):

THAT PLAYBOY MOMENT

One question raised by "The Advisor Hypothesis" (The *Playboy* Forum, September), your summary of our research into The *Playboy* Advisor, was how PLAYBOY influences its readers. That's the starting point of my next study. I'd like to hear from PLAYBOY readers about the first time they saw the magazine and what they remember about the experience. I'd like to know how they think reading PLAYBOY has affected them in terms of their identity, their relationships with the opposite sex, career choices or attitudes toward sex--in any way, really.

Despite their promise of "confidentiality," the researchers allege they received only 22 *Playboy* reader responses (Table 1). If the authors received any negative or troublesome replies to their interview solicitations, they did not admit to that fact in their report. All were anonymous so there is no way to validate the data. All but two respondents were "White" males ranging in age from 26-76, half in their 40s, including "lawyers, artists, college professors, dentists, among others." Most of their respondents agreed with "the importance of the editorial content of *Playboy*" for providing "information and perspectives at variance with more traditional media."

PLAYBOY INFLUENCED ME

Paul wrote, "Over the years I have found that *Playboy* has often filled a void [in what] the mainstream media....deem[s] newsworthy for their readership."

Gary wrote, "*Playboy's* editorials certainly broadened my appreciation for civil liberties *I know that Playboy has influenced my political views.*"

Shane said, "In terms of my identity, I would say that *Playboy* reinforced the experience of the late '60s and the '70s--*which was to question authority*, and form my own opinion of who I was and what I was. I would say it was a positive, rebellious influence." [*Shane is unaware that Playboy became his new authority.*]

Gary explicitly recognized *Playboy's* strategy of combining editorial content with a sexual side dish. He said, "I subscribed to the magazine for the naked women, but I used to read the magazine cover to cover. And I find *presenting your personal views in juxtaposition to hot naked women to be a very*

effective rhetorical technique.’” [Gary doesn’t realize that his acceptance of Playboy rhetoric is grounded in non-cognitive, anti-cognitive, sexual arousal]

Ivan said, "I also appreciated the fiction and the interviews, the "lifestyle" articles, and cartoons but I doubt I would have bought *Playboy* solely for these." [Moreover, *the research identifies ‘cartoons’ as the most valued feature of Playboy*]

Tom wrote, "I think it's almost part of the American spirit."

Rick said, "*What a thrill to come home from a hard day at the office and find it in the mailbox--the day just improved 100%.*" [Rick, 47, seems to be unmarried, talks about these fantasy women as his “girlfriend of the month.”]

Fred said, "*Playboy* is a great advisor."

Bobby said, “In retrospect, I look upon *Playboy* magazine as *my guidebook into the adult world*. At least those parts of the adult world that looked like fun. I was drawn into it, at first by the beautiful pictures of naked women. But along the way, I actually read some of those articles and learned something about society.

Relevant to the plaintiff, the words “drawn into it” as a youth, his “guide into the adult world. Note also that *Playboy* has identified cartoons as the most favored feature according to its consumers. This is documented in my study. Note also below the new child protection laws in place (the House voted 409 to 2), that finally admit the impact of cartoons on behavior.

December 5, 2007... The U.S. House of Representatives on Wednesday overwhelmingly approved a bill saying that anyone offering an open Wi-Fi connection to the public must report illegal images including "obscene" cartoons and drawings--or face fines of up to \$300,000. That broad definition would cover individuals, coffee shops, libraries, hotels, and even some government agencies that provide Wi-Fi. It also sweeps in social-networking sites, domain name registrars, Internet service providers, and e-mail service providers such as Hotmail and Gmail... The definition of which images qualify as illegal is expansive. It includes obvious child pornography, meaning photographs and videos of children being molested. But it also includes photographs of fully clothed minors in overly "lascivious" poses, and certain obscene visual depictions including a "drawing, cartoon, sculpture, or painting." (Yes, that covers the subset of anime called hentai).¹

“MY PLAYBOY "FIRST TIME"” (quoted below)

For some men, the first exposure to *Playboy* creates a "flashbulb" memory (Brown & Kulik, 1977), i.e., *a strong, easily retrieved memory for the details associated with finding out about a surprising, emotionally arousing event.*

Classic flashbulb memory events are hearing about the assassination of John Kennedy, the death of Princess Diana, and, most recently, the World Trade Center attack on September 11, 2001. Participants revealed strong, positive feelings about the first time they encountered *Playboy*. They also showed a high level of attention to detail for a memory that might have been more than three decades old. In this manner, then, respondents' reminiscences about *Playboy* had flashbulb memory qualities.

Participants' memories for their *Playboy* moment seemed to involve three interconnected elements: discovering *Playboy* in the company of a same-sexed friend, i.e., the experience of the fraternal bond; recognizing the transgressive nature of *Playboy*; and experiencing sexual interest and arousal.

Ray said, a friend stole a *Playboy* from his father and brought it into the woods for us all to view." Leon said, "I had a pal in the 7th and 8th grade he hid it in his Mom's fancy artbooks and his private library of Roman Empire stuff." [circa 12]

The Transgressive Nature of *Playboy* and Covert Operations. Another aspect of the first *Playboy* moment is the transgressive nature of the act, partly because the pursuit of sexual matters was something hidden from parents and partly because of **age** restrictions with regard to legally purchasing *Playboy*. The secretive nature of viewing *Playboy* seems to also contribute to fraternal bonding. Because of *Playboy's* risqué status, acquiring a copy of *Playboy* could become an exciting act of daring in its own right. Some respondents obtained their first *Playboy* in an illegal manner. Leon recalled a friend who had copies. He said, "his dad was a captain in the CT State Police, so he had to carefully smuggle [i.e., steal] smut from the newsstand in town."

The most fundamental barrier to overcome was parental monitoring.

Bobby wrote, The first *Playboy* magazine that I could call my own was the September 1969 issue with Playmate Shay Knuth on the cover, pulling up her T-shirt. And, in the centerfold, sans T-shirt I had literally run to the local bookstore when my parents were away for the evening, and my heart was pounding from more than just the run as I approached the counter with my magazine. [12]

Pat indicated that he first saw *Playboy* when **he was 10 and** was, "nosing in our garage when we found my stepdad's hiding place were in hog heaven did we get it when we got caught taking Dad's books."

Although parents were sometimes obstacles, they sometimes provided unintentional access to the sacred *Playboy* grail. Donny indicated that his first encounter with *Playboy* was **when he was 12**. He found the issue in his parents' home office. Like a number of other respondents, he recalled the month of the issue (August 1980) and the name of the Playmate (Victoria Cooke).

In some instances, parents were indifferent or actively conspiratorial.

Ivan said, My parents luckily were fairly liberal on the subject so when I **turned 16** they allowed me to buy *Playboy* every month. I haven't missed an issue since." Fred said, The first time I found a *Playboy* was in my father's shirt drawer underneath his clothes. [~age **12**] He had hinted that if I ever looked in his drawers, **to not tell my mother** what was in there. So I waited about half a day and when they were at work, I found a copy of a current 1989 *Playboy* magazine. I later found out that my mother had given him a subscription, but asked **him not to tell me until I turned 16.**

Another *Playboy* source was parents of friends.

Wayne said, that he first saw *Playboy* in the bedroom of my dad's close friend." Wayne said that his friend's father "had a stack of them next to a night stand I had about 10 minutes of frantic browsing, just imagining my dad or his friend to walk in. Nothing happened, and I was hooked from then on. Can't remember how young I was then." [~age **12**]

Rick said "Avid reader of *Playboy* since 7th grade. [~age **12**] First experience would have been seeing the magazine at the next door neighbor's house--the Dad thought he had it hid. I was thrilled."

"Sexual Stirrings. Respondents indicated that their first experiences with *Playboy* triggered sexual arousal."

Bobby said I can vaguely recall my best friend sneaking me into his attic to show me a *Playboy* magazine he had found there. The flashlight we used, burned the images of naked women into my memory. That was in the mid '60s, and was probably **12** years old."

Ray reported, I had never seen a woman naked before, hadn't had any talks with my parents about birds or bees, and all I remember is first my pants got tight, and then they got sticky wet. All I know is I spent as much time as possible with that friend hoping to get a glimpse of more of those *Playboy* magazines his dad owned!!" [~age **10-12**]

Donny reported, "It effected (sic) me at the time because I had never seen a woman nude before. I think it also kicked in the hormones and girls all of a sudden didn't have cooties and it would be fun to be around girls." [~age **12**]

Pat indicated that he learned to masturbate after finding his stepfather's *Playboys*. Respondents mentioned the images of women that they recalled from the first *Playboy* they saw. [age **10**]

Ivan said, I first discovered *Playboy* around the same time I discovered James Bond--late 1964, early 1965. I distinctly remember thumbing through the July

1965 issue that featured a pictorial of Ursula Andress. By the time I was fully into puberty, I did everything I could to get my hands on *Playboy*. [~age 12]

David recalled January 1994 as his first issue. He reported, " I remember thinking Anna Marie Goddard was the most beautiful woman I had ever seen remember thinking I wished I didn't have a roommate because I was very excited by the pictures." [? Age]

Simon said, "afforded me my first glimpse at a woman that stirred sexual feelings: Joey Heatherton. I was probably **eight years old** at the time."

INFLUENCE ON OWN MASCULINE IDENTITY

Andersen, Cryanowski, and Espindle (1999) defined men's sexual self-schema as how men view the self with regard to sexuality. They reported evidence that men's sexual self-schemas can be understood in terms of three dimensions: passion-loving, powerful-aggressive, and open-minded-liberal. They further suggested that men's sexual self-schema develops from past sexual experiences, influences current sexual actions, and guides future sexual behavior.

It appears that Playboy can be a source of sexual self-schema development.

Fred said, "it was *Playboy* (and my friend Jason) that taught me how to approach women, and how to talk to "beautiful" women. I was clueless and scared. It was *Playboy* that taught me to be patient, and ask questions, lots of question[s]. I believe it has been one of the strongest influences in my life because it has helped me to be more open about discussing sex, and sexual issues, like STDs.

It is important to note that the sexual self-schema that *Playboy* might inspire was **not necessarily heterosexual**.

Lloyd said, [In southern West Virginia] I began having sex with other boys **around age six**. We usually talked about sex with girls while we experimented. Around age ten, the other boys lost interest in homoerotic activity. I still wanted it, and sexual activity with girls. I learned everything I could about sex. I learned that I was either heterosexual or homosexual. Thus began years of mental anguish: I didn't feel straight or gay, but according to the books, I HAD to be one of the above. **My *Playboy* moment occurred about age 13**. While my parents played cards at a friend's house, I sneaked a look at the friend's *Playboy* in the next room. **I read a *Playboy* Interview with a sexologist I believe was Wardell Pomeroy. As I recall, Pomeroy talked** about bisexuals and how they'd been completely ignored by sex researchers. I was stunned. Suddenly I was not alone in this world. Words can't convey the relief and desire with which I was filled. Now I spend nearly all my time with bi people (or at least bi-friendly people as I've been out to everybody since 1987), I regularly go to bi sex parties. I am happy.

Nathan said, "reading *Playboy* has been helpful in dealing with a few personal issues, and has taught me a few things about keeping sex in a balanced and rational light. I suspect I'm more of a considerate lover than I might have been, and a lot more self examined as a husband."

Miles said, "I particularly remember the influence that the *Playboy* Philosophy column had on my development and attitude toward sexuality."

Simon said, "So how has *Playboy* affected me? I am an adamant atheist, and I'm still aroused by petite women with short blonde hair and sweet faces with a minimum of makeup. *Playboy* has also shown me that nudity and sexuality are beautiful and natural."

“SEX ED 101”

As youths *Playboy* helped shape the consumer's sexual and thus behavioral identity, serving, said the study as “a reference manual for sex-related matters” supported by the “*Playboy* Advisor” articles and interviews.

Miles, who first saw the magazine via an older brother at **age nine**, said, "Since I received virtually no sex education from my parents, the magazine was my main source of information from that age, and I consider it to have been a very valuable and healthy resource."

Shane said, "In terms of attitude toward sex, again I must point out what a key element the rebellious attitude of the late 60s and early 70s was. And, I always saw *Playboy* in those days as part of that revolution." [**~age 10-12**]

Another respondent had a more traumatic story.

Nathan said,
I had just been raped, and was wandering aimlessly, trying to get my head around the situation. This was back in the late sixties, and there was NO counseling for male rape victims (and damn little for females, as I later learned). I saw an issue of *Playboy* on the stands. A demure blonde was tying her shirt shyly. This was at such odds with my own, just hours ago, situation, but this was the first time I'd really been inclined to look at it. Not knowing I was only supposed to look at the pictures, I read all of it. It was comforting. Here was a world where sex was a decision made by consenting adults, a sophisticated process where games could be played but passion, not hate or control, was the goal. Plus, the Advisor had an article about sexual diseases, which prompted me to go to my doctor and a later issue had some suggestions about rape recovery, and the problems therein. [**~age 10**]

ATTITUDES ABOUT WOMEN

Looking Up the Skirt of the Playmate on the Pedestal. In their analysis of ambivalent sexism, Glick and Fiske (1996) differentiated two forms of sexism. Hostile sexism refers to competitive relations between the sexes, includes heterosexual hostility, and encourages masculine dominance. In contrast, benevolent sexism is viewed as a subjectively positive kind of prejudice but one that reinforces traditional representations of femininity.

Respondents' self-reported attitudes toward Playmates lacked evidence of hostile sexism. Contrary to what might have been expected on the basis of radical feminist arguments (e.g., Dworkin, 1988; Russell, 1998), no comment could be viewed as "woman bashing" or the result of misogynistic elements of fraternal bonding. Certainly, respondents did not advocate hostility toward women or even the slightest hint of anger or aggression.

Indeed, comments conveyed a great deal of respect, even awe, for Playmates.

Rick said, "*Playboy* has been a great influence on my life, and I am grateful for each and every issue and female that chooses to share her image with me."

Ivan said, "I know Playmates like some people know baseball players. Why do I know this? I really don't know! Maybe it's because each one of them was my "girlfriend" for a month, if only in my dreams." He added, "You develop a certain emotional attachment to these girls as time goes on, and I felt like I really knew them."

Several statements might be perceived as consistent with benevolent sexism. For example,

Glenn said, "There is a *Playboy* calendar on my wall, right in front of me as I type. The lady is lovely. The lady is exciting, and probably plays to my "purulent (sic) interest." But she is still a lady, and entitled to every consideration appurtenant to that status." He added, "I like to think that *Playboy* magazine has helped me to appreciate that. I believe that there is something intrinsically healthy going on here."

Ray said, Over the years *Playboy* had changed from a form of physical stimulus to a mental stimulus but I still loved looking at the beautiful ladies, and hoping someday I might "meet" a bunny. I did wait until I was 40 to get married for the first time. Part of the reason was I love ladies, and I wasn't sure that one lady could ever satisfy me for long periods of time. So I wanted to experience as many ladies as possible. I love women and treat them with respect. Now I love and respect my wife. I appreciate the opposite sex, but realize I am glad to be male.

“Experiencing the Playmate Paradox: More than Just a Pretty Face”

Beggan and Allison (2002) “argued that the Playmate ...actively worked against the objectification of Playmates and, indirectly, women in general.”

[R]espondents did not consider Playmates or other women who posed for *Playboy* in objectifying terms. Bobby indicated that he corresponds with Playmates and meets them at Glamourcons (i.e., conventions where Playmates meet and provide autographs to fans, typically for a fee). He said that he had become friends with many of the Playmates.

“The Playmates have become real people to me and have shown me that they care about and appreciate their fans. Many people assume that men who read *Playboy* must objectify women and devalue them. I don't think that I have ever felt that way.”

Glenn said,“Let me admit that I did not always go through the magazine for the prose. Fuel for fantasy? Certainly but that these women, beautiful and naked as they were, were real human beings, just like the rest of us in the most fundamental ways. Entitled to respect and consideration. Not toys, not conquests or trophies. Just women who happened to look more than rather nice.”

Wayne commented that Playmates personified sexuality without guilt.

It certainly solidified my vision of what a beautiful woman was, before I was sure of what a woman was. From reading what the Playmates had to say it gave me a more equal view of women in general really just a wide variety of great personalities and styles with the added trait of being capable of posing for *Playboy*. They weren't loose or slutty or something to look down on; they were confident, independent women who could take that extra step (I certainly couldn't) to show off their bodies and stand up to the criticism that might be directed at them for doing it. Free. *I felt I wanted a woman like that. [Admitting what they all were really saying]*

Simon noted the seemingly paradoxical way that a Playmate can epitomize both sexuality and strength (Beggan & Allison, 2002) when he said,

Playboy has also shown me that women can be alluring in their confidence and that a lot of women are not ashamed or prude[s], that the world is not made up of chaste women fighting in a battle against men who view them as sexual targets. Do these attitudes exist? Certainly, but not in my world.

***Playboy* Readers and Commitment.** One recurring criticism of *Playboy* is that its ideology discourages men from forming lasting, meaningful relationships with women (Brod, 1988; Brooks, 1995; Ehrenreich, 1983). Contrary to this assertion, a number of respondents reported being in stable relationships with women. For example, Gary said, "*Playboy* gives me access to lots of beautiful women in a way that does not intrude upon the lives of women that I care about." *In a*

consistent manner, Playboy's own website (<http://www.playboy.com>) provides advertising demographics that indicate about half its readers are married.

"THE SCARLET RABBIT"

Playboy is characterized as part of the architecture of oppression of women (e.g., Brod, 1988; Brooks, 1995; Steinem, 1983)...some self-defined Playboy fans see themselves as stigmatized because of their interest in Playboy and Playmates.

Tom said, whenever I mention to a friend that I was either chatting with a Playmate or talking about an article in *Playboy* magazine, I get more than my share of "disgusted" looks. I have no idea what that's all about. I am assuming that the mass media has built up some sort of all-inclusive "don't go there" thing with the American general public. I have seen this behavior before. I was an Amway distributor once and received much the same door-slamming reaction.

David commented on how reading *Playboy* interferes with his social life. He said,

If anything, I think Playboy has probably affected relationships with women negatively. It sparks a lot of thought, and I learn a lot about social issues, and it gives me different perspectives. All that makes me a more interesting conversationalist. Unfortunately, most of the women I've met in the last six years have not liked the fact that I read it, usually because they find it degrading to women. On the other hand, one of my ex-girlfriends didn't like it because it was too tame. [Also, note "one of" and she's an ex. These admissions suggest we may yet have a crack in the door]

Finally, Wayne commented on the mixed feelings *Playboy* and Playmates promote in our current culture.

Some people laugh, like I'm pathetic for paying money to be at a convention to meet Playmates, others sneer, like it's beneath them to want to associate with Playmates or Hugh. *Playboy* has given me an insight to the typical person's hypocrisy when it comes to being attracted to Playmates but being able to admit it or show it in front of others.

DISCUSSION

It may be that this rejection of *Playboy* was one of the assignments for Beggan et al. Beggan and his associates' research concluded that, "*Playboy's* editorial direction advanced an alternative conceptualization that contradicted conventional definitions of masculinity." Since other analysts²¹ suggest, "*Playboy*...contains an oppressive, patriarchal view of women," Beggan et al sought out "readers' self-reports regarding how the magazine has influenced them."

Beggan et al., admit their 22 consumers obtained from their *Playboy* solicitation, "may have been motivated to present themselves in a positive, rather than necessarily accurate, light,

²¹ Began cites to "Brooks, 1995; Cox, 1965, D'Emilio & Freedman, 1997; Ehrenreich, 1983; May, 1969".

despite our assurances of confidentiality.” They admit also the “evidence (e.g., Nisbett & Wilson, 1977) that people may not always have access to their own decision processes.” Of course the research on such self-delusion is massive, cross disciplinary and historical. Nonetheless these researchers observe that their respondents may have “failed to recognize factors about *Playboy* that did, in fact, shape their beliefs and behaviors.”]

[Still] *Playboy* is seen as a significant influence by at least some readers Discovering a first *Playboy* can be a significant rite of passage...As with the operation of a flashbulb memory (e.g., Brown & Kulik, 1977), respondents had clear recollections of the first time they saw *Playboy*. Some respondents remembered the name of the centerfold Playmate (or at least had been sufficiently motivated over the years to seek it out). They also reported contextual details of their first encounter with *Playboy* that were tinged with positive emotionality.”

Playmates and what they represented can be conceptualized as lures for readers. Although the promise of the Playmate brought them in, once hooked, at least some men actually did read the magazine. As a consequence, in a manner congruent with our text analyses of *Playboy* (e.g., Beggan & Allison, 2001 a), for at least some readers, *Playboy* was a means of defining masculinity. *Playboy* informed respondents' sexual self-schemas (Andersen et al., 1999). In addition, *Playboy's* editorial content, especially for older readers who matured during the social unrest of the late 1960s, also served as a counterpoint to other, more conservative, news media.

The following analysis by Beggan et. al's of *Playboy* as serving the father son bond, as a bond grounded in the familial sharing of women's naked bodies, for the father adulterous lust, as well as sharing the jokes about sex with animals, sadism, illegal drug use, incest and child molestation, etc, is quoted in full.

Our data are consistent with the notion that *Playboy* is a means of creating and strengthening the fraternal bond between boys and between boys and men, especially sons and fathers. One lesson from the extensive and growing literature on men's studies is the lack of adequate socialization of boys (Levant, 1997; Pleck, 1995). It appears that the culture of *Playboy* provides a means of expediting that socialization. **Men and boys can bond over passing the torch of *Playboy* magazine from one generation to the next.** Rather than conceptualize the bonding process as misogynistic, however, the pursuit of *Playboy* appears more geared toward discovering women and experiencing subsequent sexual stirrings, rather than facilitating women's oppression through the inculcation of hegemonic masculinity. **The fact that boys go to great lengths to acquire *Playboy*, sharing risks of discovery in the process, appears to be less about the indoctrination of boys into male patriarchy than it is about sharing a rite of passage.** The danger in this rite exists, not because of the potential for physical harm but because of socially constructed anxieties about sex.”

Because *Playboy* willingly enters into a transgressive discourse on sexuality, in part by printing images of nude women, **it triggers in first-time readers a state of nascent sexual arousal. The possibility that this arousal may be responsible for the strong, flashbulb memories connected with a first exposure to *Playboy* should be considered as a future research topic on *Playboy*, sexually explicit material in general, and the construction of masculinity.**

“[O]ur findings may inspire research on intergenerational effects of exposure to *Playboy*.”

One possible hypothesis about intergenerational effects is that *Playboy's* influence has waned, and will continue to wane, across the generations. One reason for this prediction is that there is much more sexually oriented material available today than there was in past decades. It is informative to go back and examine an issue of *Playboy* from the 1950s or even the 1960s. Page-for-page, there is probably more sexual spice in a Victoria's Secret catalog of recent vintage than in a year's worth of mid-century *Playboys*. In fact, the initial success of Penthouse, *Playboy's* main rival, stemmed from its willingness to directly challenge *Playboy's* status as king of the men's magazines by pushing the envelope of being sexually graphic. Hustler's subsequent success was due to pushing beyond Penthouse's level of explicitness.

Moreover, even in its modern, recent incarnations, the editorial and pictorial content of *Playboy* is rather tame, in comparison to other readily available sources of sexually explicit material. Penthouse and Hustler, both mainstream men's magazines with wide *circulation, regularly show lesbian and heterosexual sex, including, in recent years, shots of oral sex and genital penetration. Playboy appears to have made an editorial decision not to step into such arenas.* It is possible, then, that *Playboy's* success may be its ultimate undoing. [Wrong, all of The Advisor advice today is for these acts, sadism, anal sodomy, “swallowing,” swinging, threesomes, and the like for marrieds and singles alike.]

In earlier decades, as the spearhead for mass media interpretations of sexuality, *Playboy* was a lightning rod for controversy and set the stage for more explicit sexually related images. The barriers *Playboy* broke down allowed more risqué publications to set new standards for explicitness.

Because *Playboy* seems unwilling to follow the new trail being broken by Penthouse, Hustler, and the Internet, it may be left behind. Regardless of *Playboy's* future, its past is clear. The magazine was an important historical development in shaping modern, especially American, ideas about sexuality. At least some readers credit *Playboy* with a significant role in shaping their views of sex and their sexual identities. Moreover, readers see this influence in a very positive light. Our research, with its focus on how *Playboy* shapes, in novel ways, masculinity, recognizes that media can have unexpected positive (i.e., gender stereotype disconfirming) effects on the social construction of identity.

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Table 1

Summary of Respondents' Characteristics		
Name	Age	Individuating Details
Tom	42	Business education, works in engineering
David	--	
Sam	63	Navy officer, married 43 years, four children
Glenn	54	Artist
Miles	47	Dentist
Shane	44	Canadian, works in computer science
Nathan	44	Married, mixed ethnicity (but self-defines as White)
Saul	69	Married 2 times, subscribed over 40 years
Fred	26	Lawyer
Simon	42	Widower, artist
Ray	41	Married, childless, college educated
Lloyd	49	Bisexual, thanks <i>Playboy</i> /Pomeroy
Paul	--	
Pat	46	Marries 3 times, 10 children, disabled, work- accident
Donny	32	Asian
Gary	27	Jewish
Leon		Age not provided, probably about 50
Bobby	47	
Wayne	34	Hispanic
Chet	76	Retired college professor of sociology
Ivan	45	Writer
Rick	47	

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A SIDE NOTE ON THE DRUG ISSUE. I have a letter from Robert DuPont telling me that my theory of poly drug use in the Third World was correct. He just never realized it...

“Marihuana: A Conversation with NIDA's Robert L. DuPont,” Nixon appointee Robert L. DuPont, then director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), publicly recommended liberalizing marihuana laws in announcing NIDA's fifth annual report to the Congress on marihuana research. In his Science interview, DuPont was also asked to discuss a NIDA study on marijuana and sex. DuPont replied, “It is a very complex study....Then it was picked up on the issue of offensiveness to community standards-the whole business of giving pot to college students and showing them pornography. That issue has had a life of its own...the House appropriations bill language [would prohibit] HEW [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare] the right to fund that program this year. But there have been meetings of various scientific groups within HEW and NIDA and we've supported going ahead with the project [unless the law specifically forbids it]. Science Magazine, MAY 14, 1976, p. 192.

ⁱ http://www.news.com/8301-13578_3-9829759-38.html, Dec 5, 2007.