Images of Children, 
Crime and Violence in 
Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler

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May 2013 — A copy of *Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler* is digitized and made freely available at drjudithreisman.com with the following additions:

A. *Taboo or not taboo?* by Lyn Owen, UK Guardian, September 16, 1977


C. Cover page of the Executive Summary of this report, available in full at drjudithreisman.com, including its following page, *Letter from John B. Rabun, Jr., Deputy Director, National Center for Missing & Exploited Children*

D. *Scientific Authority for the Sex Industry Complex (SIC) in the 20th - 21st Century* flowchart by Judith A. Reisman

E. *Common Law vs. Model Penal Code* flowchart and accompanying description *A General Overview of How State Criminal Code Reform Proceeded Largely during the 60s and 70s* by Judith A. Reisman


G. *Playboy Lost to Reisman! — Reisman Child Porn Study Defeats Playboy's Dutch Libel Suit* available at drjudithreisman.com
Project Update
January, 1990
Transmission and Summary Letter
November 1987

The attached is the definitive report on "Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler." This report summarizes an exploratory study on, "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 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). It is submitted to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the Department of Justice (OJJDP) under the terms of the Cooperative Agreement, dated December 22, 1983, between OJJDP, The American University, and Judith Reisman, Ph.D., as Principal Investigator, governing Project No. 84—JN—AX—K007.

With the exception of several key corrections for error committed by The American University editor, Volumes II and III are virtually unchanged from those volumes delivered by the Principal Investigator to The American University on November 5, 1985 and November 30, 1985. Volume I, however, the Project Overview, has been redrafted by the Principal Investigator to reflect more appropriately the research findings and the project relevance. Much of the Overview, deleted by the University in its September 2, 1986 submission, has been restored in this final document, including the additional Literature Review and Future Research and Recommendations presented to the University in November 1985. These materials have been expanded and the magazine page baseline was resurrected as were overall child image timelines. Child data was reviewed and computational errors cleared (rate of error 0.5%), pictorial data were added where appropriate. Other excised sections, appendices and exhibits were included for greater public usefulness.

This report is the first in-depth analysis of images of children, crime and violence in popular "mainstream erotica/pornography." As per the Memorandum of Understanding between OJJDP/AU and Reisman, the criticisms and suggestions of the peers were integrated into this final report.

It is anticipated that these findings will focus serious and lively national debate upon the sex information and education of mainstream erotica/pornography.

Chronology: Delivery of the Reisman Report

• November 5, 1985 (Volume II) and November 30, 1985 (Volume I and II): Principal Investigator draft delivered to The American University (1,600 pages).

• July/August 1986: The altered and expunged American University draft delivered to four members of the Peer Advisory Review Board and an outside statistician for final review. As per standard protocol, confidential criticisms were to be reviewed for corrections and additions.

• September 2, 1986: The American University draft of the Reisman Report is delivered to Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. In an unprecedented move Confidential Peer reviews are affixed rather than integrated into report.
• November 13, 1986: Revised Volume I of report and corrections, additions to Volumes II and III are delivered to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This report was critiqued, clarified, and completed by the Principal Investigator with integrated peer commentary.

November 1987, Final Authenticated Report

• November 1987: Final, authentic Reisman Report delivered to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This Reisman Report, fully reviewed and its methodology approved by all five examining peers, is publicly accessible through the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

• January 1989: The present research was cited in a key child pornography case, Oakes v. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January, 1989, before the United States Supreme Court and is part of a 1990 child pornography case, Osborne v. The State of Ohio. This updated 1989 version is available in book format from Huntington House, Inc., P.O. Box 53788, Lafayette, Louisiana 70505. Telephone 1-800-572-8213.

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NOTE: This Overview and the other two volumes (Volume II, Methods and Procedures; Volume III, The Data Book) require technical editing as agreed to in the Memorandum of Understanding between Dr. Judith A. Reisman, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and The American University (See Appendix).

This work is available from the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse. Those wishing to receive these documents should request the authenticated, November 1987 Report by the Principal Investigator. However, the updated 1989 version in hand is recommended as the definitive Overview (Volume I of Project No. 84—JN—AX—K007, "Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler").
Acknowledgments

In 1983, when the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention entertained this grant proposal, the subject of "soft core" pornography (or erotica/pornography) was seldom discussed in the popular press. Since the announcement of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography and its subsequent report in July 1986, the issue of pornography in general and "soft core" pornography in particular, has emerged as a matter for national debate. It is with sincere gratitude that I acknowledge the early interest and concern by the past Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Mr. Alfred Regnery for his support of our research on "Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler."

Special thanks also go to the past Deputy Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Mr. James Wootton, for his continued and valued support throughout this project.

Additional mention should be made of Mr. Robert O. Heck, police specialist at the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for his unique contributions as a law enforcement specialist to the development of our overview and subsequent focus of analysis.

In the academic sphere, I have had the opportunity to work with a multidisciplinary team of outstanding professionals: Dr. George Comstock, Samuel I. Newhouse Professor of Public Communication at Syracuse University has given unstintingly and well beyond the call of duty to this project from inception to completion. Dr. Comstock has been invaluable, and I am especially grateful to have had the opportunity to work so closely with a scholar of his outstanding caliber.

Dr. Robert Figlio, Associate Professor of Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania (as did each peer) provided step-by-step approval of project methodology throughout his tenure on the Peer Advisory Board. His critique of The American University draft was helpful in the identification of issues and data requiring clarification, addition and correction for this final report.

Similarly, Ms. Jane Huntington, Juvenile Justice Specialist, has been a source of on-going support and project advice. Her critique of the aforementioned draft was also useful in pinpointing the need for specific material which was not included in American University's September 2, 1986 draft.

Ms. Laura Lederer edited the groundbreaking book, Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography (1980). TBTN is perhaps the most oft-cited feminist text on pornography today in scholarly as well as popular articles on the nature of pornography. Ms. Lederer brought not only her understanding and broad feminist perspective to the study at hand, but also contributed an outstanding background on project evaluation based upon her years of grant experience as Program Director at the L.J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation.

Dr. Richard Zakia, of the Rochester Institute of Technology, provided his knowledge both as an expert in educational psychology and as an expert in the area of photographic information delivery. Dr. Zakia's impressive discussion of photography as a form of communication was also excluded from the American University draft. It is gratefully included as part of the final Literature Review.

I am especially grateful for the assistance of Barry Elman, Program Analyst for the United States Environmental Protection Agency, who brought to this research effort a broad body of knowledge and a wide range of experience in the analysis of highly complex data.
Acknowledgments (continued)

Finally, Dr. Emanuel Landau, past chairman of The American Statistical Association Committee on Statistics and Environment was the outside expert selected by The American University to evaluate project methodology. Dr. Landau's isolation of the methodological procedures from the university draft and subsequent evaluation of the scientific rigor of this project effort is especially rewarding.

In addition, a debt of gratitude is due to Drs. Wambolt and Smith (see Appendix E and F) for a detailed psychiatric view of visual information, and to Dr. Negley (see Appendix E) for a psychological perspective of the visual data.

Beyond this, the labor and devotion of the project coders merit special acknowledgment. These analysts undertook a difficult and challenging research task. Without exception, they treated their assignment with responsibility, commitment, and an integrity which did credit to the serious and scholarly nature of this controversial exploratory effort.

Sincere appreciation is due Lee Hubbard for her extraordinary efforts in typesetting this volume for timely presentation to the U.S. Supreme Court as supplemental documentation in "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Douglas L. Oakes" case (No. 87—1651). The Commonwealth having cited the Reisman Report (pp. 22—23) January 17, 1989 [a child pornography case].

Last but not least, I am forever indebted to Ms. Deborah Fink for her outstanding contributions to this report. Ms. Fink has carried out research for The Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Science and The National Institute for Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health. Her background in cross-cultural child abuse and her monograph on "Health Care of Homeless Families and Children" (Institute of Medicine) was especially valuable for our project effort.
I. Content Analysis of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT
Mainstream erotica/pornography is widely believed to portray nonviolent 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. Imagery received both by juvenile and adult readers, newsstand-available child in the context of erotica/pornography increased nearly 2,600 percent (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 to 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 percent 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.

See Appendix A for a 24-page executive summary which includes sample photographs, cartoons, and peer review comments.

*This research was sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Project No. 84 JN—AX—K007, and carried out at The American University, Washington, DC, February 1984 to November 1985. Principal Investigator, Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.; The Institute for Media Education, P.O. Box 7404, Arlington, Virginia 22207
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 in 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;

In this exploratory study, erotica/pornography is viewed nonpejoratively as a subcategory of communication in 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 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 uncharted 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 *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and *Hustler* 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 *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and *Hustler*; 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 nonharmful 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.

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 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 (1970) 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 and 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 and Jozsa, 1980; Cline, 1974; Malamuth and 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), and sex therapists have long used pornography for such education.

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, and 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 and Straus, 1984; Donnerstein, 1980; Donnerstein, Donnerstein, and Evans, 1975; Donnerstein and Hallam, 1978; Donnerstein and Linz, 1984; Donnerstein and Malamuth, 1983; Donnerstein and Penrod, 1983-1984; Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth, Feshbach, and Jaffe, 1977; Malamuth, Heim, and Feshbach, 1980; Zillmann, 1971; Zillmann and 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). Russell (1980) identified an incidence of widespread, unreported rape directly associated with pornography in marriage, co-habitation and other intimate relations.

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, 1985, and Shepher and 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 hostility-evoking stimulus among some male viewers (Shepher and 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, and 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, and Evans, 1975; Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth, Feshbach, and Jaffe, 1977; Meyer, 1962; Tannenbaum and 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 and 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 and 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 and Check, 1981; Malamuth and Donnerstein, 1982; Malamuth, Heim, and Feshbach, 1980) suggest that a normal male nonrapist 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 dismiss casually 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, and 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 to 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.
Research on the Role of Erotica/Pornography Among Children and Adolescents

Due to unethical and illegal implications of investigation on pornography effects on children and adolescents, little formal research exists (e.g., Hass, 1979; O'Brien, 1983; O'Brien, 1985; O'Brien and Bera, 1986; Wilson and 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, and 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 Delinquency 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 Playboy 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. ... interests 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 based upon associated family and personal variables and behaviors providing the following case example 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 *Playboy* 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 infanticide via sexual battery (e.g., *The New York Times*, "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 and 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 and Benward, 1976; James, 1980; James and 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 strongly suggests a need for further investigation on pornography use by juvenile and adult incest offenders.

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 and Hazelwood, 1983; Dietz and Hazelwood, 1982; Hazelwood, Dietz, and 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:

Communication theory considers all 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 and Check, 1981; Phillips and 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 and Nias, 1978; Gerbner, et al., 1978; Runco and 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 and Myers, 1984; Cantor and Sparks, 1984; Singer, Singer, and 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. Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler, 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 and 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.

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, and Ross, 1963; Berkowitz and Rawlings, 1963; Geen and 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, Walder, and Huesmann, 1972; McLeod, Atkin, and 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 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, and Freedman, 1984). Although there remain those who are skeptical about effects outside the laboratory (Cook, Kendzierski, and Thomas, 1983; Eysenck and 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, and 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) posits 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 and Zillmann, 1975; Zillmann, 1971) posits 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, and Hilgard, 1983; Kagan and Haveman, 1980), social psychology (e.g., Aronson, 1980; Jones, Hendrick, and Epstein, 1979; Perlman and Cozby, 1983), and child development (e.g., Hetherington and Parke, 1979; Kopp and 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, and Ross, 1963 b; Rosekranz and Hartup, 1967).


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 and Geen, 1967; Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981; Geen and Berkowitz, 1967).

4. Portrayal of the perpetrator of violence as similar to the viewer (Liebeman 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 and Alioto, 1973; Geen and 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 and 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, and Schwartz, 1966).

9. Portrayals of violence whose commission particularly pleases the viewer (Ekman, Liebert, Friesen, Harrison, Zlatchin, Malstron, and Baron, 1972; Shife and 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 (Liebeman 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 and Barret, 1978; Donnerstein and 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 and Berkowitz, 1981).


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

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

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 three 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 and 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 when the victim confesses that the forced sex was a good idea?)

In these experiments, exposure to portrayals of consenting sexual intercourse is said not to increase aggressive behavior against the female target. However, the type of display and the level of sexual exposure are unclear. Evidence from Canada and the United States reveals heightened male aggressivity resulting from consensual, nonviolent erotica. 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 buggery—what has been perhaps too coyly dubbed "slasher" films. These are movies in which women suffer horribly, generally in a sexualized context, 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 nonviolent. 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 as early as 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, and Zillmann, 1980; Gombrich, 1980; Harrison, 1981; Ryan and 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'être of cartoons is simple humor. However, humor itself is hardly simple. Indeed, humor is a complex and multifaceted 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, Bryant, and Cantor, 1974; Zillmann and Cantor, 1972). During World War II, for example, the Allies circulated countless thousands of propaganda cartoons ridiculing our Axis enemies. Simultaneously, 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. 143-147).

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, it appears that, children may learn more quickly and attend more closely to those educational features which are fast-paced, appealing, and humorous. Bryant, Zillmann, and 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?

If one form of sex cartoon teaches children about appropriate sex behavior, it seems reasonable to examine erotic/pornographic cartoons which now reach children and which have also taught children about sex for the past several decades.

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 and 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 1 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 and Foote, 1976; Freud, 1905/1960; Goldstein and McGhee, 1972; Haddod and Maesen, 1976; Zillmann and Cantor, 1976). The old idea of incongruity as the sole requisite for humor (e.g., Goldstein and McGhee, 1972, Haddod and Maesen, 1976, and Zillmann and Cantor, 1976) leaves a great deal unanswered regarding racist, ethnocentric, 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 effecting 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 versus 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 and Abel, 1963, p. 180). 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 Gordon 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).

Certainly research on the history and theories of both humor and cartoons would encourage a serious treatment of the cartoon format, particularly as it presents a familiar artistic forum to child readers.

4. RESEARCH ON PHOTOGRAPHS AS AN INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM

The following review of the literature and commentary on photography was written by Dr. Richard Zakia, Fine Arts Photography Chairman at The Rochester Institute of Technology. This essay is quoted extensively due to the difficulty in obtaining similar information from standard texts and due to its overall project usefulness.
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

Today, pictures are often photographs. One of the characteristics which makes photography 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.

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.

Professionally created photographs are fabrications—illusions. Obviously, a photograph seems closer to reality than a painting.

This Is Not A Photograph

In looking at a reproduction of a photograph in a magazine, newspaper, or on television, 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 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 the *Esquire* production department, Hugh Hefner, founded *Playboy* magazine in late 1953. The famous *Playboy* centre-spread girl 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 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 dreamlike 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 nonverbal but quite real contact (p. 39). ... The model agrees. She trusts Stern's photographs because "Bert Stem 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:
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,” “it’s 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 Air Brush. 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 re-photograph it through a fine screen that breaks up the continuous tone image into discrete halftone dots. The new discrete 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 not 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 geometric and colorimetries can be altered. One 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 result leaves 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 direct and immediate representation 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, not necessarily 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, "The Brain", 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 1960s 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 a 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, 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 a few hours, but also over longer periods of time—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. Because 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. Because 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 understood immediately and unequivocally.

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 Air 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 subjective, aesthetic 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 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 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 Vogue magazine which, of course, is appropriate, but suppose it has appeared in Gourmet or Bon Appetite, or, Playboy? 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:

Photography is a powerful medium for telling lies. Unless [we understand this] we become the victims of every clever, lying photographer—and there are plenty of them around (p. 180).

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 Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology (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:

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. As a research technique, 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 symbolic meaning of messages (pp. 21-22).

Krippendorff (1965), Holsti, and Stone (1966) recognize the empirical meaning of content analysis as based on:

. . . 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 the context of the data (Krippendorff, p. 23).
To this end, much of the effort of researchers in content analysis has centered upon those media which would influence large populations (e.g., newspapers, television, radio programs, soap operas, and quite a bit of work has been conducted on comic strips). Special interest has been centered upon the materials which might be weighted by racist, 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; for example, prime-time television drama (Cantor, 1980, 1982); television soap opera (Cantor and Pingree, 1983); cinema (Rosen, 1973); magazine fiction (Cantor and Jones, 1983); textbook humor (Bryant, Gula, and Zillmann, 1980); advertisement (Goffman, 1976); alcohol advertisements in college newspapers (DeFoe and Breed, 1973; Walfish, Stenmark, Wentz, Myers, and Linares, 1981); fine art (Harris and Nochlin, 1976); and popular music (Rosenbaum and 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 and 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 and Images, 1975).

A controversial body of recent research focuses upon the work of Dr. David Phillips. In 1974 Phillips suggested a rise in suicides due to the influence of 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 the presence of media stimuli as a contributing agent to subsequent trauma.

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, and Hacker, 1983); college newspapers in particular (DeFoe and Breed, 1973; 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, and Fearing, 1953); male-female relationships in comic strips (Saenger, 1955); the changing role of women in patriotic cartoons (Meyer, Seidler, Curry, and 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 and 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 Krippendorff (1980) says six issues are involved in the application of this technique:

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

Based upon the above framework, the data under study can be described as "images of children, crime and violence," the context of the data are "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 Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler," 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

From ancient Aristotelian theories of communication effects (Cooper, 1932) to today's scholarly marketing/advertising concepts (e.g., Enzensberger, 1974; Kotler, 1967; Yankelovich, Skelly, and 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. While it may not be possible to conduct such an investigation, a preliminary review of letters to the editor and names of interviewees reveals the presence of influential readers and supporters such as senators, congressmen, judges, novelists, news reporters, entertainers, lawyers, doctors, television and film writers, artists, teachers, and the like.
This project focuses upon the information delivery of erotic/pornographic magazines, *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and *Hustler*. These three magazines were chosen for special study in light of the following seven marketing facts:

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. *Playboy* is also available in some college libraries.

3. Market research data documents these materials as reaching audiences of upscale, 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 Statistics, 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, Hustler and dual readers are from the most recent available source; Simmons Market Research Bureau, 1978-80*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Readership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Playboy</em></td>
<td>15,584,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Penthouse</em></td>
<td>7,673,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hustler</em></td>
<td>4,303,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>MS</em></td>
<td>1,635,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Psychology Today</em></td>
<td>4,704,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sports Illustrated</em></td>
<td>13,034,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vogue</em></td>
<td>5,672,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Playboy and Penthouse dual readers</em></td>
<td>4,384,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Playboy and Hustler dual readers</em></td>
<td>2,450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Penthouse and Hustler dual readers</em></td>
<td>1,771,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* and over 3 million *Penthouse* in-home readers had one or more children under the age of 18 residing in their domicile (*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 percent of the Penthouse magazine readership stated they read Penthouse to “learn about ways to live and the lifestyle 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 percent of Playboy and 21 percent of Penthouse readers were college graduates, while 23 percent of Playboy and 23.8 percent of Penthouse readers had attended or were attending college (TGI M-1, p. 15). Thus, 46 percent of Playboy’s readership and 44.8 percent of Penthouse’s readership consist 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.

7. RESEARCH ON CHILD ABUSE

According to state welfare agencies, child abuse has 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 percent to 20 percent 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 toward 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, though, 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 and 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 and Niggemann, 1982) "acquaintance" sexual abuse (DeJong, Emmet, and Hervada, 1982; Finkelhor, 1979; Tilelli, Turek, and Jaffe, 1980); "familial" sexual abuse, or incest (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1982; Herman and Hirschman, 1981; McNaron and Morgan, 1982); child prostitution (Brally, 1983; Brown, 1979; O'Brien, 1983); and child pornography (Burgess, 1986; Lanning and Burgess, 1984; O'Brien, 1983; Rush, 1980; Burgess and 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, 1983; O'Brien, 1983). Finkelhor (1985) presents numerous reasons for the limited interest in 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 and Birnbaum, 1979; O'Brien and 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 and Bera, 1986; Wenet, Clark and Hunner, 1981).

Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) among sexually victimized children are no longer uncommon (Blumberg, 1984; Tilelli, Turek, and Jaffe, 1980; Rimsza and 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. Boston District Attorney Scott Harshbarger (1986) stated that a startling 45 percent of child victims in one county were under the age of five.

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 and 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 and Hirschman, 1981).

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

Over the past decade, child abuse has been well researched. 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 his work with juvenile sex offenders, O'Brien and Bera (1986) identified as Type One of seven types of juvenile sex offenders, "The Naive Experimenter." John Rabun, Deputy Director of the National Center for Missing Children stated:

\[\text{[W]e investigated 1,400 cases of suspected child exploitation. One of the things that became preeminent in what we found in these cases was that all, that is 100 percent of the arrested pedophiles, child pornographers, pimps ... in effect child molesters had in their possession at the time of arrest, adult pornography ranging from soft pornography, such as } \text{Playboy}, \text{on up to harder, such as } \text{Hustler, etcetera. The scenario, usually went something like the adult presenting them pictures in decent magazines, } \text{Ladies Home Journal} \ldots \text{whatever. Just simply showing them pictures of children, adult women who are fully clothed ... and then progressing to something in the form or fashion of } \text{Playboy} \ldots \text{partial or full nudity ... up to something like } \text{Penthouse} \text{ and } \text{Hustler} \ldots \text{full nudity to full exhibition, to actual sex acts themselves, all of which was done over a long period of time (testimony given to Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, 9/12/84, p. 133).}\]

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.
Researchers in the field mentioned above, largely note the "risk factor" of early child sexual abuse as a contributing factor to a child's adult abuse of children. Moreover, Araji and Finkelhor (1986) are preeminent spokesmen for the concept of "risk factors." This concept suggests the evolution of the pedophile or the pederast as a 'fit' between certain early experiences, current addictions and behavior. As the numbers and the violence of some child abuse increases, a larger body of research emerges to explain these abusive treatments of children.

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 becomes the investigator's responsibility to ask the right questions.

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.

Summary of Literature Review

The seven sections just reviewed are meant to place the child images under study within a broader context than that of erotica/pornography.

Clearly, as the objective of this research is to provide information regarding the treatment of children in these magazines, it is advantageous for the reader to be updated on the current erotica/pornography research. While the President's Commission on Pornography (1970) anticipated that availability of these materials would reduce public interest, research confirms observation: pornography has proliferated into general society, inclusive of child and violent pornographies.

Therefore, please note the literature addressing the increasing role of these materials in children's lives. Truly, it may turn out that the focus of this research concern should, in retrospect, be primarily the impact of said material on children and secondarily the adult educated by these materials during childhood. It follows, however, that unless mass media really educates receivers, the analysis of these materials would be of little import.

Hence, the literature on mass media's educative, and by extension, sex educative properties was touched upon. And, to understand the child educative properties of mass media, one looks to the extensive research on children and television aggression, noting disturbingly credible and long-standing data which confirm a causal effect of certain television violence upon children's attitudes and behavior.

Naturally, since this research examines cartoon education of children and adults, the power of cartoons and humor was examined. A short review of the literature on content analysis was meant to assist the reader in a fuller understanding of the technique used to identify the cartoons and photographs studied. A detailed discussion of our research methodology is found in Volume II, "Methods and Procedures." Beyond this, as
photographs are also being analyzed, we looked at the growing manipulative power of both "true" and airbrushed, cut-and-paste photographs upon perception. The brief examination of market research data would place this analysis within the appropriate context of a wide child and adult readership.

Finally, the compendious review of the growing literature on child physical and sexual abuse places this research effort within a framework of the real-life concerns, which informed and gave impetus to this investigation. As child abuse, sexual and nonsexual has intensified, this has yielded a massive literature of books and articles on each specialized area of abuse.

This literature review is meant to take the reader outside the narrow parameters of a content analysis to a larger world view of mass media as education for children and adults. Again, the task of this project was to identify the presence of children and child abuse within erotica/pornography. It is now up to other researchers to examine the role of erotica/pornography in child abuse.

1 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).

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

3 By July 1986, the Commission had published its report. A 40-page summary (NCAP, 1986, Cincinnati) concluded, "hard-core pornography actually encourages violence against women and threatens their personal safety" (p. i). The Reisman Report identifies the content of all three mainstream magazines as regularly fulfilling the established criteria for "hard-core" violent pornography (e.g., sadism, bestiality, homosexual copulation, necrophilia, scatology, child pornography).

4 A further development of the definition of "pornography" has been identified by the author following the completion of this report.

5 "Autoerotic fatality" refers to accidental death occurring during masturbation; "momentary oxygen starvation increases the intensity of the orgasm" (the Playboy Advisor, September 1976). A pornographic magazine (Playboy, Hustler, tabloids) is almost always used by the victim during this act in order to arouse his (or her) excitation in concert with the strangulation process.

6 Special thanks to Dr. George Comstock, for his superb contribution to this section on television and aggression.

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

8 Concerning the issue of consenting sexual intercourse as lowering male aggressivity, see Dr. Edward Donnerstein's research findings on the effect of erotic "nonviolent" images upon his research population of young college males. Students who saw women as the most "worthless" were exposed to "X RATED" nonviolent, erotic films involving consensual-only sexual behavior. These young men even saw violence to "rape victims" as less violent than "X VIOLENT" viewers, or viewers of "R RATED" sex violence films. Donnerstein's data find "EROTIC" materials elicit high hostility from college males. This corresponds with much of Zillmann's research. Donnerstein presented these findings at the Symposium on Media Violence and Pornography in Toronto, February 1984 (p. 92).

9 See attached cartoons in Appendix A.

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

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

12 Special thanks to Deborah Fink for her superb contribution to this section on child abuse.
IV. Research Parameters and Limitations (RPL)

Common scientific protocol includes the Principal Investigator's analysis of what is called the research "limitations." 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 RPL presented in the original November 30, 1985 Overview (Limitations I); and 4) A brief overview of the American University editor's draft, which had been rejected by several peers.

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 Cournard, winner of the Nobel Prize in Medicine of 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 nonreductionist 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 research endeavor was revolutionary in that no prior research had theoretically or conceptually envisioned the need to analyze the depiction of children, crime and violence in popular mainstream erotica/pornography. The 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 researchers can often be measured by the degree to which the original researchers have marked pitfalls and obstacles they had experienced so that those who follow behind can avoid any unnecessary stumbling blocks. To this end, acting as both revolutionary and investigator-discoverer—the Principal Investigator cautiously, meticulously, documented any possible limitations identified while developing and implementing the theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and technical order of the research. The meticulous process should empower verifiers-consolidators with the ability to both 1) replicate the present research, and 2) to go beyond these research parameters to play 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 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.

Coders Were Not Subjects

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.

Crime and Violence by 2.4 and 2.5

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.
Preliminary Studies

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).

Child: Over 18 Years

II. The study missed hundreds of children estimated in comic strips as well as approximately 2,000 visuals identified as possible "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.2

This latter group, while small, was considered important in the information centered upon birth and the meaning of children. Thus, "child" monsters born of a human mother or father, or angels (generally engaged in precocious human coital behavior) were examined as was the pseudo-child, an apparent adult dressed/posed as a child. The task of this research was to identify the "images of children" in said magazines. If children were described as monsters at birth or as copulating angels, this might have unintended consequences for the child or adult reader. If children were seen as objects deserving of violence, such mental imagery could become problematic to some viewers.

Evidence not available during project coding 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.

Analysis Units

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, an "Aggregate Activity Table" is provided at the conclusion of this Limitations synthesis.

Magazine Size

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 sent to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This time line is restored here for review. Magazine size, over time, suggests that the inclusion or exclusion of child images did not depend on 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.
Inter-Rater Reliability

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 (not intra-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-reliability, were quite acceptable.

Coder, Staff Impact

Because 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 (e.g., flashbacks, unanticipated emotions, nervousness, sexualized views of children) at varying times upon all associated with the effort. All coders were able to reach the staff psychologist at any time, and all received “debriefing” at project end. The coders claimed that while the research was disturbing to a greater or lesser degree, it also presented information which was enabling and empowering for them. However, only a series of follow-up interviews with each of these coders could provide cues to the long-term impact of the tasks.

A review of randomly selected coding sheets toward the final coding week found a few coders missing clearly violent and/or criminal pictorials, images they would not have ignored in the past (i.e., a nude woman being roasted on an open pit in a small Hustler photo montage). This same fatigue was reflected on the last day of the project when coders were asked to recall precise definitions for all coding instruments. This was a last minute in-house sketch, which became American University’s “Coder Conventions.” While stressful “wind-downs” are common for similar project closures, it is unclear whether this case also reflected some increased coder-violence tolerance.

Revisions

Revisions of coding instruments are tedious and time consuming but they are a recognized “limitation” to insure a final, meticulous, content analysis. While an analysis of the universe of child imagery was deemed appropriate, the 5/12 example, 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. A revised Aggregate Activity table (following) should assist readers with the similarity of nomenclature between instruments. Coders were instructed to identify 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, its 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. Research bias is always a concern in emotionally charged investigations. Therefore, testimony by the outside statistician selected by The American University Director of Research Grants and Contracts, who critiqued this document is especially useful:

... 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: Appendix A, pp. 4-5).
### Table 1
Aggregation of Activities for Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Child Cartoons</th>
<th>Child Visuals</th>
<th>Adult Crime and Violence Cartoons</th>
<th>Adult Crime and Violence Visuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIOLENT ACTIVITIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder/Maiming</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflicting Pain</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force or Planned Force</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Message</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Discussion</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Fantasy/Memory</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Violent Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excretory Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scatological or Morbid Presentation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault/Battery</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Sexual Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing/Displaying Violent Prop</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEXUAL ACTIVITIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genital or Anal Sex</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Foreplay</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being Nude</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invasion of Privacy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Arousal</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Message</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Discussion</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Fantasy/Memory</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venereal Disease</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical/Surgical Sex Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Sexual Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Foreplay/Sexual Arousal</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Dealing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Illegal Sexual Behavior</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anal-Genital, Oral-, Object-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual/Lesbian Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: The above nomenclature can signify comparable features presented in various sections across all four instruments [See Exhibit VIII-5 (1-2)]. X = Coded in study. NA = Not applicable (not coded in study). This table (1-2) contains accurate statements of the coded information contained in the project database.*
Table 2
Aggregation of Activities for Analysis*
(continued from Table 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Child Cartoons</th>
<th>Child Visuals</th>
<th>Adult Crime and Violence Cartoons</th>
<th>Adult Crime and Violence Visuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONVIOLENT/NONSEXUAL ACTIVITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Discussion</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonviolent/Nonsexual Fantasy/Memory</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nonviolent/Nonsexual Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trickery</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Activity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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 noncriminal 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 eliminated. 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, and Tukey, 1954; Courand, 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 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.

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. Other researchers may 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 anti-social 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

As pornography research has been male biased (i.e., almost exclusively conducted by male researchers) attempts were made to maintain an equal female-male ratio. However, over time the composition of the coder team was skewed toward a female bias. These magazines are primarily male entertainment, involving the use of female models on the one hand, and male writers, humorists, and artists on the other hand. Thus, the female analysts' perceptions of imagery conceivably could differ from those of past and future 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” (i.e., using mainly male coders/subjects and male principal investigators) this analytical effort may turn out to be of special value to scholarly dialogue on gender differences toward 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 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 (e.g., Baron and 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 (measured as 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 served by such personal techniques.

Policy Toward Coders

It had been argued that the coders would have been excellent subjects for a pre-test/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, of the Peer Review Board, the Principal Investigator assured each coder 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 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 (Also see Volume III: Data Book, p. iii-vi). Increase in child display was not a function of the increase in overall magazine content (see page 82).

The total number of pages for each magazine for each year provides a convenient and accurate 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 is contained in the data book (Volume III).
Indeed, it was found that there did not appear to be 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 decreases 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.

**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 reorder must make this adjustment, she/he is to mentally compare crime and violence to child imagery over time. This 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.
### Table I

#### MAGAZINE SIZE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total Issues</th>
<th>Total Pages</th>
<th>Average Pages per Issue</th>
<th>Missing Issues/Estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>76,749</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>30,826</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>14,421</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The absence of child imagery in a sex magazine context may be viewed as an appropriate baseline for assessing the presence (increase/decrease) of child imagery. Another convenient baseline for viewing change in child presence/absence is overall magazine size. The data on magazine size is provided in the Data Book but the above timeline identifies the years of highest page numbers. This information confirms the fact that page size did not dictate increases or decreases in child content. (See Table IV, Comparison of Child-To-Pages Over Time).
Indeed, it was found that there did not appear to be 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 decreases in the specific content under analysis.

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An examination of the citation literature as a reflection of the rise in reported cases of child sexual assault.

* Estimated time frame of nomenclature
Table III
READER’S GUIDE TIME LINE CITATIONS

Using The New York Times Index and the Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature I 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. I started charting in 1945 to get a real feel for the reports before the coming of Playboy. I’ve gotten side tracked along the way with the introduction of subject headings, so my research was slowed down a bit. For example, “pornography” wasn’t even used as a subject heading until 1973; up until then citations were listed under “sex crimes”. Then along about 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 used became “incest”, “rape” “child abuse” and “child molesters”. I should also mention that the instances of reports of sexual crimes committed against children skyrocketed starting in 1977- a really sharp and dramatic increase.

Lucinda Cross Hill
School of Library Science
University of Kentucky


683 MAGAZINES:

- 373 Playboy (31 years)
   (12/53 to 12/84)

- 184 Penthouse (15-1/2 years)
   (9/69 to 12/84)

- 126 Hustler (10-1/2 years)
   (7/74 to 12/84)
Table IV
COMPARISON OF CHILD-TO-PAGES OVER TIME

YEARN FREGUIENCIES OF CHILD IMAGES
ADITIVE: CARTOONS AND VISUALS

The above magazine baseline identifies the highest years for pages estimated across each magazine. The Child Frequencies are shown at their highest number across magazines, indicating that the increase or decrease of child images is not a function of increased overall magazine content.

Highest Year Magazine Pages: Playboy 1979 Penthouse 1979 Hustler 1984
See Data Book (Vol. III) for detailed documentation.
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.

4. RESEARCH PARAMETERS AND LIMITATIONS II

Discussion and Clarification

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.

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 "setup" sheet. A second coder (Coder II), re-examined the codability of each selected image.
Upon receipt of Coder I setup 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 inadvertently 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.

Presence of Children In Cartoons and Visuals:

Every image culled from the almost 9,000 identified images fulfilling the criteria of a cartoon or visual child or child representation (excluding 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, Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines, differ from Ladies Home Journal, Time, or even Sports Illustrated or Esquire. 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 female displays. Recognizing this sexual content it is reasonable to infer from the aggregate data that a) 6,004 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 through the 1970s; and d) decreased in recent years but were—and still are—present. The basic underpinning of content analysis can be seen as an analysis of content in a specific context. Because this was apparently not fully understood by the editor of The American University's September 2, 1986 draft of Limitations, Krippendorff's commentary is referred to here for authority:

... any content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data. ... By defining a larger context unit for each recording unit, the researcher recognizes and makes explicit the fact that symbols codetermine their interpretation and that they derive their meaning in part from the immediate environment in which they occur (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, nonviolence/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. Unfortunately, in its present format as edited by The American University, to retrieve specific data on child and activity requires that the reader carefully peruse nonconsecutive 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 narrow. Nearly 9,000 images were originally identified in setup sheets by coders as “under 18 years,” although only 6,004 images were eventually accepted by the second coder review as fitting our increasingly narrowed project “child” parameters. Thus, roughly 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 on cogent arguments, the Attorney General’s Commission on Pornography recommended restricting commercial sex employment to males and females who are over 21 years of age. The notion here was similar to the increase to age 21 for legal purchase of alcoholic beverages. Risking an educated guess, were age 21 used as a benchmark in this research effort our juvenile population would have tripled.

Beyond this, informal observation suggests that hundreds of comic strip representations were lost to analysis. On the other hand, 4 percent (N=245) of child cartoons and visuals included a variety of “fantasy”
images analyzed as "child representations." Such "under 18" cartoon representations were generally portrayed as offspring of a human parent: 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 instrument frequencies. 7

Of the 6,004 identified images, fully 19 (0.3 percent) involved an actual birthing of a bizarre and unreal object to a human mother—an important "treatment" of children and birth in this genre. It would be useful to code other general interest, family, or women's magazines to locate the similar portrayal of a woman giving birth to a ten-pound tongue (Playboy, November 1974).

The Pseudo-Child:

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. Because it is generally illegal in the United States to display individuals under 18 years of age in graphic sexual 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.

Pseudo-child image and evaluation by Drs. Wambolt and Negley and their commentary is attached in Appendix E. Moreover, Dr. Eli Newberger singled out said Playboy cover in his recent Harvard Medical School conference focusing on child abuse (Newberger 1986), identifying the clear mix of child, teen, and adult images into this sexualized depiction.
The pseudo-child 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 on the Age Evaluation Guide (AEG) Appendix E, 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.

The text cues were operationalized based upon dictionary definition of specific words and upon common agreement re: their child orientation. Thus, following discussion and research a "CODER'S WORD LIST" was established for use with the Child Visual Questions 15 and 74 in which the coders were informed "The words must be unequivocal; that is, not open to differing interpretations. None of these terms alone qualify an image as that of a child or pseudo-child ... (they) are not sufficient if the key words can apply to both children and adults; for example, nymphette, child-woman, little girl, kid (unless 'little kid,' Lolita, jailbait, errand boy, nubile). . . . Not Sufficient: My Dad or daughter (by adult), innocent, chaste, young, groupie, girl, boy ... teen ... is assumed to refer to a person under 18 years of age (over 18 will generally be noted in the display)." Similar care was taken with "Sexual Terms" and with "Violent Terms," etc.

In addition to the 9 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."

Now, it is important to remind the reader that there were untold numbers of young-looking female models who were not coded as children, but who were indeed, under 18 years of age. This was the case, as noted elsewhere in this report, for the magazine, Playboy and for Penthouse as well as Hustler. The fact remains that all of these magazines dissemble ("lie" is also a term identifying the misrepresentation of facts) regarding the ages and the backgrounds of the young women who appear in their pages. The most blatant example in recent years was the appearance of a 16-year-old girl, Tracy Lords, in the September 1984 issue of Penthouse. This youngster was identified elsewhere in this report, but it may be useful here to note the blatant abuse of the reader's trust in text descriptions of the young "adult magazine" models.

Tracy Lords became 18 in May 1986 and appeared in 24 separate Penthouse photos in 1984, each graphic and many providing genital display. The girl was not coded by our coders because—interestingly—she was not dressed as a child, nor were there any signals or cues to tell the reader that this youthful-looking girl was indeed an adolescent. In point of fact, the girl was described by the Penthouse copy editor as follows:
September Pet of the Month, Tracy Lords, has spent her 22 formative years in a series of sunny locales. "I've studied interior design at El Camino College, but I intend to study acting at U.C.L.A. I want to do high-fashion modeling"... 36-23-36. ... Having been a virgin until 19, Tracy loves [having fun ...] "I want to be a mistress, not a housewife."

Again, March 1985, Penthouse told American readers that its mother/daughter incest photo story involved an 18-year-old. However, in Australia I discovered this youngster was 16 years old, and that Queensland censored Penthouse due to the child's age—a fact fully known by Penthouse but misrepresented to the American reader. Also, the Australian 1985 Playboy presented Shannon Long at 16 years of age in graphic nude displays (Long appears in the 1988 American Playboy at age 19).

In addition to the 9 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."

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.

An additional perceptual issue surrounding the 2,016 child cartoons involved 31 of the 89 same-young-girl character created by one Playboy cartoonist. 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 "Cindy" as an adolescent. Cindy 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.10

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 visuals described objects used as children and 14 percent (681) of the 4,987 photos and cartoons 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. As noted, it is also unclear what percentage of these latter models, dressed as children but coded as adults were actually underage models 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. Documentably, all three of these magazines had been involved in recruitment of models who could have been underage. In Australia, where age 16 is “consent” all these magazines use youngsters this age—and apparently younger.

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, we have every reason for concern that some significant percentage of the current child sex abuse epidemic may be traced to vulnerable persons whose sexual fantasies are being 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 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 simply 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 over time.
Each unit of analysis is applicable and comparable from 1954 to 1974 to 1984 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 random-selected sample of months and years was drawn from each of the three magazines in order to develop a preliminary estimate of the ratio of child cartoons and visuals to overall cartoons and visuals contained in each magazine.

Table I

AVERAGE TOTAL NUMBER OF FEATURES PER MAGAZINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
<th>Pooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cartoons</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>136.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Only</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pages</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>191.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reflects a small random sample of Playboy (15 issues selected from the period 1956-84), Penthouse (7 issues selected from the period 1974-84), and Hustler (6 issues selected from the period 1974-84) magazines.

Data on the total number of cartoons in each magazine examined in the study, as well as the total number of child cartoons were collected as part of the coding process and can be used as a basis for precisely computing the ratio of child images to total images for each magazine universe.

Since basic study materials (current computer tapes, documentation and printouts) which would have contained much of this information were withheld by American University from the Principal Investigator from November 30, 1985, to the time of this writing. The sampling procedure described above was employed to estimate the stated ratios.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
<th>Pooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CARTOONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. Cartoons</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Imagery</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Child Imagery</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VISUALS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. Visuals</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>136.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Imagery</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Child Imagery</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CARTOONS AND VISUALS COMBINED</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. Combined</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>164.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Child Imagery</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II represents the child cartoon and visual universe, and presents percentages and frequencies of child imagery within the established 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 unknown reason, without the approval of the Principal Investigator, 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 in Tables I-V, child cartoons and visuals could be compared to absence of children, or 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 as 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).11

It is to be remembered that our project interest focused, appropriately, on the presence or absence of child representations. That is, magazine issues which contained 'X' representations of children as compared to magazine 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, looking to basic canons of mass media communication, it is relevant that children have been shown in sexually explicit magazines, per se. Political figures, correspondents, citizens, and the publishers themselves have publicly insisted that cartoons, illustrations, and photos (at least in Playboy and Penthouse) have never portrayed crimes committed against children. The best selling of these magazines has publicly denied that even ONE cartoon of child sexual abuse or children as adult sexual targets was EVER included on its pages. The significance of such denials may take on larger meaning as other researchers develop these findings further.

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 percentage 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 on 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 meanings that were specific to the study. 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. Because 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, was 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 previously, 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 representations of children, were coded when these were a) offspring of a human parent, or b) if they were clearly used as children. 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.

*Activities* 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 specific language of the findings and manual definitions of character and activities.

*Characters* played specific roles. These definitions should be considered in evaluating any data that relate to roles of characters. Text analysis was used 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 complex research, inferences from the data should be based on the specific features and definitions.

**Inter-Rater Reliability**
("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 contained primarily 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. Because 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-tabulates sex of our coders with their question responses may identify sexually dymorphic attitudes. (Note: past research generally relied on male analysts.)
Coders' 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. Handling the four questionnaires
required keeping 273 main topic areas isolated, with a resulting pool of over 2,000 possible responses. Thus, the
techniques which facilitated comfort for the coder were useful. 12

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. Because it was impractical to
cancel the coding activity in order to retype and reprint all coder manuals based on discovery of one unusual
scene, all coders were asked to note these additions in writing. At the conclusion of child cartoon coding—and
during a one-hour session at coding end—coders were given the option to write up the ways in which they coded
all three instruments. Some coders chose to perform the optional task and some did not.

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, 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 positions 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 them­
selves, 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 on-going 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 comparing quite acceptably to other types of studies.

Most people who read erotic/pornographic materials tend to keep them from public view. That 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 ongoing debriefing phases by the Principal Investigator, such emotional, nonsexual 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 setup phase. This suggests that visual crime and violence frequencies would be somewhat deflated.

The fatigue factor may be seen in a four-point reliability loss from 0.85 in the child cartoon study to a lower—but still highly credible—0.81 for adult crime and violence cartoons.

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-Rater 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 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 Figure 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:

- 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.

- 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.

- 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 nonidentical 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
- 1,290 agreements
- \[
\frac{1,290}{1,480} = 0.87
\]
FIGURE B
PLAYBOY PILOT STUDY ANALYSIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Issue</th>
<th>No. Discrepancies</th>
<th>No. Cartoon x Required Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 interpretations 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. Because 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 cannot identify coder drift on those few unanticipated dimensions which still required 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 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 nonchild ("adult") crime and violence scenarios utilized a statistically sound and recognized stratified random sampling technique in which 5/12 (41.67 percent) 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")

Obviously as each instrument dealt with different scenes and characters, each had certain parameters, as to the kind of data recorded and the kind 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 "overrepresented" 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 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. Page 85 discusses important details 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.” Because this document was the source of information delivered to the peers, and this document critiqued by peers, and because peer critiques have subsequently become public documents, 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 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 underage model permission slips.
to be signed by parents or guardians, and *Playboy* employed an underage centerfold (*Playboy, January 1958*) but most importantly, defended that use as appropriate (December 1958).14

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 younger in some states and provinces—in the U.S. or abroad. Beyond this, all three magazines displayed underage girls nude and semi-nude in artistic, cinematic and through various other techniques of presentation.

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. Dr. Wambolt and Negley address the incest potential in these images (see Appendix E). And, we know that child cues (e.g., toys, dolls, teddy bears, child clothing, poses, etc.) are child associational stimuli.15

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 the 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. 74-75, originally in the Data Book Exhibit VIII-5(1) pp. 95-6, and attached in the appendix) suggests that the major activities are manifestly (operationally) comparable across all four instruments.16

“Sex Selling/Barter,” for example, is defined as the action parallel to “prostitution.” “Nudity” was coded as a child “activity” and in the analysis of crime and violence (see questions 34 and 35 for cartoon “Nudity” of Characters A and B: F(4) and questions 19 and 25 for visual “Nudity” of characters A and B: F(5). These can be compared with ease and accuracy. “Theft” is questions 13 and 35 (F2 and F3) in the adult instruments, question 32, “child cartoons” and questions 45 for child visuals. Scatological information in child cartoons appears as question 56 (defecation, urination).

“Killing/Murder/Maiming” was analyzed across all four instruments. Although the nomenclature differed, the child instrument coded *MURDER*, as: “an unlawful killing without a sexual component” (Appendix F(2) and F(3) questions 14 and 62). Similarly, adult instruments described *KILLING* as, “e.g., any violent or criminal activity resulting in death, manslaughter” (Appendix F question 8; Appendix F, question 29.

“Force or Planned Force,” involving restraint and forceful assault, is found in child questions 41 and 60; adult cartoons as questions 11 and 32. “Violent Message” is applicable in visual crime and violence to answer 33 as “Wearing or Displaying Violent Prop or Symbol.” Again, it is captured as question 11 re: violent props present in the visual. The same events or cues were coded but often used different nomenclature. This is one of the important reasons for a careful reading of the frequencies and definitions prior to drawing inferences.

Nonchild 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 found to be sexual in child materials in the crime and violence analysis surgery was found to be violent in the aggregate.17

**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 via additional tables of appropriate frequency comparisons. Many such comparisons must await subsequent analyses and presentation by this researcher and others.
The Principal Investigator, anticipated American University would retype the child cartoon instrument and present its frequencies as in the other three instruments. Along with general corrections undertaken by the Principal Investigator, this crucial child cartoon document is now available for examination. 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 6 may note, process and recall the two little cartoon angels engaged in sodomy and disregard the nude 7-year-old or vice versa. Again, it is useful to remind the reader that this was exploratory, nonexperimental 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 Time, Playgirl, and Players 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 Ladies Home Journal, across all of these criteria. Our preliminary examination of Time for example, suggests that it carried few child images meshed with violence. Where these were displayed they 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 in the context of sex, crime and violence, 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: 19
"It is a sound study producing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in a scientifically acceptable fashion" (for an extensive excerpt from his statement see Appendix A, Landau, pp. 4-5).

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. Child sexual abuse, and child 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 a violent/pornographic context.

1 Limitations I: the November 30, 1985, draft by the Principal Investigator presented to The American University.
2 See 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 GJDF.
3 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. A substantive portion of his critique is attached to Appendix A.

NOTE: The above nomenclature can signify comparable features presented in various sections across all four instruments. (See Exhibit VIII-5 (1-2).) X = Coded in study. NA = Not applicable (not coded in study). This table (1-2) contains accurate statements of the coded information contained in the project data base.

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

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 (September 2, 1986) of the Principal Investigator's original report (November 30, 1985). For ease of comparison, the titles used in the university edition are presented parenthetically or as in the original American University draft. The present Limitations should be compared to the September American University draft for clarification of errors-of-fact contained in that latter document. Although an effort to avoid repetition was made, some overlap was required in order to retain the integrity of the University draft. A careful reading of this section is crucial in order to clarify many project criticisms identified by the anonymous American University editor.

5 Note that the cross magazine data for the Child Cartoons may be found in this volume.

6 For example, 104 visuals included child representations such as an "erotic" stone angel being pressed against the pudenda of a nude woman. The Playboy caption explicitly describes the activity between the "infant" and the woman as sexual (9/84).
7 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 childlike young blond 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 behavior as being age-blurring activities. Additional analyses need to be conducted focusing on such age-blurring materials since false testimony already exists to suggest sex offender tendencies to negate/blurr age boundaries.

8 The 690 pseudo-children in visuals were required to fit at least two criteria for their inclusion as pseudo-children (see Principal Child; Appendix I and J). 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" hairstyles had been narrowed to two styles only: ponytails 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, DC art museum) identified the absence of C and D (child poses) as part of the art history of adult nude females. Thus, as contrasted with traditional nude displays, these unique child poses (C and D) could be isolated as child cues.
9 A series of five recent "Cindy" cartoons were presented to the peers for discussion, analysis and guidance. With text masked, the Cindy's appeared visually adolescent. With text uncovered, one Cindy was seen as adult. The decision was to code this adult/child heroine in each cartoon by the artist. This decision was based on the following five observations: 1) Cindy represented a technique of age manipulation across time of the same basic physical criteria of "school girls." 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 1986, p. 108, 113; 4) the fact that 65 percent of these 89 cartoons were "girls"—underage post closure of this research project (December 1984), but vacillated between adult and child; and 5) in three preliminary case studies, when removed (cut out) and shown (clothed) to young children in conjunction with other adult and child cartoon females, youngsters view Cindy as "a girl."

Reasonable arguments exist which suggest 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.
The data on the total universe of overall cartoons can be retrieved for follow-up research.

Obviously, as the coders were spot checked regularly and verified on reliability weekly, any inaccurate convention was caught quickly. However, most conventions referred to posting the guides and to posting key categories used often.

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 by all 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 16-year-old Tracy Lords who appeared nude as the Penthouse centerfold in September 1984 (Lorken, 1986. Michigan Senate Corrections Committee).

The pseudo-child was identified by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986, July) as a "hard core" category 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).

It should be clearly stated that many 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.

In The American University "Limitations" of Volume I 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. Yet, comparing Child Cartoon Appendix A2 (13-24) and Child Visual Appendix E (31-34) one finds the same activities coded across both instruments.

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.

See Appendix F of this Volume I.

As stated earlier, Dr. Emanuel Landau is the past Chair and present consultant on Statistics and Environment was not known to the Principal Investigator and was selected by The American University for this critique.

In any art analysis the intention of the artist would be considered, as would the context in which the art has been created and exhibited. This research looked at the cartooning of children as a component of the treatment of children, and thus of the adult relationship to the child. Following are two examples of information from mass publications regarding the meaning of child, the treatment of child, and especially the role of children in the family. The information (myth or reality) reflects the perspective acceptable and appropriate to the publication displaying the cartoon art, and the concepts acceptable to its readers.
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: Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler. 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 Playboy, then Playboy and Penthouse, and finally, Playboy and Penthouse plus Hustler.

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 in cartoons, and the adult crime and violence visual data represent every reference to a nonchild in the context of crime and violence in a visual. The unit 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 visuals. These are identified as children or adults in the context of visual 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.

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 magazines 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 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.
Approximately 40 percent of judgment conflicts between the child’s age and cues found captions to be responsible; the remaining 60 percent of conflict were divided about equally between juvenile clothing/hairstyle, furniture/equipment, federal expression and culture of childhood symbols. About two-thirds were natural human children without handicaps or defects; about 5 percent of these had exaggerated sexual parts.

About 18 percent were in some stage of sexual undress (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 disgust over anger, shock, fear, and sadness; about a fourth expressed pleasure, and 5 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 having 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 one-third 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) and nearly one-third of these were labeled in some sexual terms. About one out of four were part of a series within a single eyespan, almost one out of six were part of a series illustrating text, and almost one out 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 75 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 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 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, childbirth in-wedlock was seen more often than out-of-wedlock in cartoons, but overall 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 on 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. Nearly 80 percent 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, 3 percent were in the background and 6 percent were identified as offstage (the three placement categories).

Data on physical depiction and on cues present were consistent regarding 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, 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 nonfiction 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 eyespan 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 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 scatological 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:

Activities:

Several activities could be taking place within the same scenario, often suggesting mixed messages. Looking at the activities via discrete 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, yielding 14 percent overall implied and depicted.

Somewhat more than 4 percent contained sexual foreplay or physical arousal. About 10 percent contained force or planned force; about the same percentage 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 scatological 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 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 (magazine, 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 nonfiction 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.

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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 scatological 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 markedly 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 nonthreatening activities such as affection, invasion of privacy, nudity, other nonsexual/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 restricting 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 nonthreatening. 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 shorter publication history, *Hustler* portrayed sexual displays/nudity in more than twice as many child visuals as did *Playboy* and *Penthouse* (730 versus...
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 versus 317), mutual participant. Together, the two account for 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 on 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 5/12 SAMPLE OF 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cartoons</th>
<th>Visuals</th>
<th>Total C &amp; V</th>
<th>Average Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy (N=373)</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>4,792</td>
<td>8,009</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse (N=184)</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>1,805</td>
<td>2,854</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler (N=126)</td>
<td>1,073</td>
<td>2,918</td>
<td>3,991</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled (N=683)</td>
<td>5,338</td>
<td>9,516</td>
<td>14,854</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

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

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cartoon Total</th>
<th>Avg. No. Cartoons Per Issue</th>
<th>Av. 5/12 Cartoons</th>
<th>Estimated 12/12 Universe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy (N=154)</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse (N=75)</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler (N=50)</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled (N=279)</td>
<td>2,206</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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 and 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.

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 slightly more than a 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); in about 40 percent, age could not be specified. In about a third of the cases, the principal character was identified as animal, science fiction, supernatural, monster or otherwise specified; 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 5 percent involving either full 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 magazine did not have at least one reference. Only Hustler cartooned the close-up child genitalia.

Generally, the victims’ role requires additional cross tabulations to explicate, although it was evident that roughly 600, or 11 percent of the victims were kin to the apparent perpetrator. In approximately 5 percent of the cases the victim received some form of defense, while more than 90 percent of the victims were unprotected—despite the presence of nearly 1,100 others, in almost one-third of the scenes 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, 18 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 90 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 versus 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, teachers, doctors, and the like. Government/military apparently acted in a protective role in roughly 3 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 the last sections 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.

Table III
CRIME AND VIOLENCE VISUAL DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Visual Total</th>
<th>Avg. No. Visuals Per Issue</th>
<th>Avg. 5/12 Visuals</th>
<th>Estimated 12/12 Universe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy (N=154)</td>
<td>1,997</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse (N=75)</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler (N=50)</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>2,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled (N=279)</td>
<td>3,916</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>9,516</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, violent props or symbols, presented as depicted in 2,197 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 minimum of 1,788 such cases. Estimated to the 12/12 universe cartoon and visual, drug activity equals 487 cases, anal/genital and anal/oral sex equal 518 cases, other illegal sexual behavior, 2,038 cases, and so on.

Again, in estimates to the 12/12 universe, satanic/occult scatological/morbid themes in cartoon and visuals, equaled 518 cases while in 830 visual scenarios only, 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 42 percent, less than half of the actual crime and violence portrayals estimated in the three periodicals studied.

The total Adult Crime and Violence data would be 9,516 Visuals and 5,338 Cartoons, or 14,854 scenes of Crime and/or Violence across the three selected magazine publications studied, 1953–1984.
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 less than three-fourths were in 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 four 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 8 percent, 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 50 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 identified as assisting an apparent victim although there were about 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 by overall).

Unfortunately, due to the abrupt cessation of this research project, data for important issues remain as raw data or require cross-tabulations (e.g., these and other findings need to be broken out and presented—pooled, individual magazine, and over time).
VI. Discussion of the Findings

It is widely thought by the public that children do not exist in the pages of mainstream erotica/pornography in the United States. If depictions of children in erotica/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 video players, 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 bookstores, 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 Playboys over a period of 31 years, 184 Penthouses over 15.3 years, and 126 Hustlers 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 number 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 was used as a stand-in 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 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 each scenario. To count every child in each PPH scenario was discovered to be impossible 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 of the total count. Moreover, the focus of the research was not minuscule but conceptual. We were examining the meaning and the nature of the child's presence in exotica/pornography. Therefore, this study reports the frequency of children in terms of the number of cartoon and visuals 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 8 times per Playboy issue, 6 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 5 percent of all visuals published in the three magazines. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total # of child cartoons:</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated percentage of all cartoons:</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # child cartoons/year:</td>
<td>38.58</td>
<td>17.28</td>
<td>52.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # child cartoons/issue:</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Volume III, the Data Book Time Lines):
Child Cartoons Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964:</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969:</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974:</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979:</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984:</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest year:</td>
<td>8 (1959)</td>
<td>6 (1973)</td>
<td>26 (1975)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 was coded for 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:

Child Visuals: Totals and Averages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total # of child visuals:</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated percentage of all visuals:</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # child visuals per year:</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>116.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # child visuals per issue:</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964:</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969:</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974:</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979:</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984:</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest year:</td>
<td>31 (1979)</td>
<td>121 (1972)</td>
<td>144 (1982)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that, unlike the cartoons, PPH child visuals did not decline significantly during 1984. Indications are, however, that 1985 data will 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.

Child Cartoons and Visuals Highest Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Year for Children</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = During Year</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = Per Issue</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 most blatantly exploitive 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 European flair, and 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 abandoned by *Playboy* 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*, or special releases, such as, the nude 10-year-old Brooke Shields in *Playboy Press’* "Sugar and Spice."
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. Discounting the pseudo child and unspecified child, 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. Overall, by including all 6,004 images, 39 percent were 3 to 11 years, 26 percent 12 to 17, 16 percent fetus to 2 years, 14 percent pseudo children, and 5 percent unspecified age.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of the Principal Children (PC's) in Child Cartoons²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Playboy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetuses (in utero and aborted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newborn to 2 years:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 11 age group:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 to 17 age group:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 to 11 age group. The percentages for each age group and magazine are as follows:
Ages of the Principal Children (PC's) in Child Visuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
<th>PPH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fetuses:</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newborn to 2 years:</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 11 age group:</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 to 17 age group:</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that although 3 to 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 almost half (47 percent) of the Principal Children in all the 6,004 cartoons and visuals were girls, about 32 percent were boys, and roughly 21 percent were children of both sexes or 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 (44 percent male, 32 percent female, 24 percent both sexes or 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 (25 percent male, 55 percent female, and about 20 percent both sexes or unspecified). Advertisements were though to be the key contributing factor to 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.

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 1960s, 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 grown-up body. These nude "big and little" model categories 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 big 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.
Captions Describing Children in Child Visuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Terms:</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Terms:</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual and Violent:</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanic/Sexual/Violent:</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Illegal Terms:</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SEX/VIOLENT TERMS:</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Race/Ethnicity:

Overall, 85 percent of the Principal Children were Caucasian, 3 percent Black, 8 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. However, 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). Penthouse 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. Hustler's 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 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 percent 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cartoons</th>
<th>Visuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partially exposed:</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genital/full nudity:</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EXPOSURE:</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Viewer’s Perception—14 Percent to 26 Percent

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 percent of these characters, while implied nudity (generally children in bed with the Big Bad Wolf, or Uncle Bill, etc.) yielded an additional 4 percent of Principal Children. Conservatively, this would suggest that fully 21 percent 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 a child-adult. Such matured Principal Children appeared in 5 percent of the scenarios. Thus, depending on the viewer’s perception, children were most visibly sexual 14 percent of the time. The addition of implied as sexual/sensual yields 21 percent, while chile-as-adult yields a total of 26 percent 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 (8 percent).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
<th>PPH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partially exposed:</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genital/full nudity:</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EXPOSURE:</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggested/implied exposure:</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SEXUALIZATION:</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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 percent of Penthouse Principal Children were partially or fully nude. Coding along the same criteria, 13 percent of Playboy Principal Children were exposed to a similar degree in its visuals. The Playboy claim that its magazine pages never exploited children is disproven 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.

Hustler was candidly exploitive of the child’s "internal" genitalia, with fully 17 percent of their models being so exposed and another 8 percent genitally depicted but without internal close-ups. Penthouse provided juvenile and adult readers with close-up gynecological displays of models in 3 percent of their visuals, while another 10 percent (total 13 percent) were genitally depicted sans close-ups. On the other hand, Playboy is on record with a sparse presence (0.1 percent), or 2 cases of gynecological displays, although another 88 (4 percent) were genitally exposed but nongynecological.

### Children's Sexual Exposure in Visuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partially exposed:</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genital/full nudity:</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EXPOSURE:</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gynecological-internal:</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Principal Child visual character described as nude or genitally exposed above, constituted a minimum, noncross-over total of one-quarter of all Principal Children. Another group of questions looked at the quality of the sexualization of these child characters.
### Dress of Principal Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child totally nude:</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>19% total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult sexual apparel:</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3% total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NUDE/SEX DRESS:</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>22% total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the visual questions, as in the cartoon questions, coders identified treatment of the child character's, state of dress or undress which could be cross-tabulated with stage of nudity. For example, additional analysis can identify the number of Girl Scouts dress but with underpants showing suggestively, etc. 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 on the context in 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 depictions of female children. While we have little knowledge about the precise quality or quantity of the brain’s processing of these visual stimuli by sex, age, etc., we do know the stimuli are neurochemically processed by receivers.

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

### CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The common opinion may be said to be 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 these three magazines, and, to test the hypothesis that these child images did appear in context with images of crime and violence.

99
To this end, a 5/12 sample or 42 percent (rounded) of 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 perception. Most importantly, visual data need not be subjected to cognitive analysis, and, 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 on 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 increasing mass exposure of children to the messages delivered by visual (and text) erotica/pornography. However, as yet, society has not chosen to consider the specific consequences of this widescale sex education process.

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 on one possible consequence society may consider regarding E/P child exposure.

The Crime and Violence Data

While extensive analyses have been conducted, a large body of collected crime and violence data remain to be analyzed (e.g., rape by profession and sex of victim and offender, by familial relation, etc.). The following is basic demographic information on E/P victim and offender populations.

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 42 percent (rounded) of the total sample. In order to compare the child data to the crime and violence data, the reader must multiply Playboy and Penthouse by 2.4, and Hustler by 2.5.

100
The *Hustler* magazine selection was slightly under represented (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 *Hustler* frequencies. Moreover, since the Date Book does not footnote this reminder, the reader could easily be misled regarding the deflated totals of characters and activities.

**Data Summary**

Out of the nearly 15,000 crime and violence depictions, more than six thousand, or 40 percent were photographic, nearly 40 percent were cartoons and the remaining images were illustrations. While there were definite differences between magazines, in no case did one magazine offer no contribution of the material at hand, but rather, each magazine exhibited 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 nonsexual crime and violence and females to sexual crime and violence. Nearly half of the victims were male, more than 40 percent female while 11 percent were both male and female or other. Over 50 percent of our offender population was male with not quite one-quarter of the offenders female and 24 percent both sexes and other.

*Age*

Almost 70 percent of our victims were, not surprisingly, young adults, between 18 and 39 years, with only 15 percent middle-aged and the smallest victim group being the elderly with 3 percent victimized. Similarly, 60 percent of the offenders were young adults while slightly more middle-aged characters appeared as offenders than victims. Again, 3 percent of elderly appeared as offenders while over 20 percent were of unclear age.

*Race*

Racially, these magazines appear to maintain a strong Caucasian character, despite their extensive nonwhite male readership. The Caucasian character is further revealed in the review of female centerfolds and displays and it was obvious in the child analyses. In this case, over 80 percent of identifiable victim and offender populations were Caucasian with 2 percent of the offenders and victims Black. The remainder of victims and offenders were fairly evenly distributed among nonwhite characters, while 2 percent of the victims were Asian and/or Hispanic.

*Activities*

It may be significant that while actual "violent sex acts" were estimated at 1,779 cases or 12 percent, roughly 30 percent of the scenarios presented the victim in some form of nude display within the context of
the context of the crime and/or violence. It should be emphasized that sexual identity and particular acts of
violence in these data need to be explored fully. 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 felt as the “excitement”
of the crime and/or the violence were described.

With 14 percent of the material coded as including some form of murder and another 14 percent coded
as assault and battery, these sexually graphic magazines are documentably playing on violent themes in the
context of graphic sexual arousal/stimuli. Until further data analyses are conducted, we are unable to identify
what percentage 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 an 11 percent presence. This category included the
institutional representatives of government, judiciary, law enforcement or business who engages in the
acceptance of bribery or who attempted to bribe or otherwise cheat or steal.

As noted, violent sex acts were identified at 12 percent, while 56 percent of all visuals (5,273) used violent
props and another 1,733 visuals dealt humorously with sex dealing/prostitution.

**Protector/Defender**

As with depictions of children the adult crime and violence scenarios included a dearth of individuals
protecting or defending a victim, particularly for altruistic reasons. Only 2 percent of all victims were seen to
be aided in some manner by a person in the scene while 1 percent of the victims practiced some form of self-
defense. Beyond this, of visuals alone, 16 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) which were used in a sexual context.

**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 waters of reader tolerance to ascertain its 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>187 cases</td>
<td>16 per issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>131 cases</td>
<td>11 per issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>228 cases</td>
<td>19 per issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime and Violence</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>490 cases</td>
<td>41 per issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>271 cases</td>
<td>23 per issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>568 cases</td>
<td>47 per issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. Based on the null hypothesis, no children, crime or violence exist in these sexually explicit magazines.

A second hypothesis tested was that children are depicted in sexual and violent activities, and that children are also depicted as initiators, recipient and/or observers of said activities. Based on the null hypothesis, no children would be depicted in sexual or violent acts, nor would they be sexually interacting with adult and older juveniles versus peers.

The data, however, requires a rejection of both null hypotheses. Moreover, there were few children engaged in sex play with same-age peers. Indeed, out of 580 cartoons 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 as initially legitimizing heretofore unacceptable social behaviors was found to be confirmed by the data. This early theory (Reisman, 1979) of media attitude socialization via cartoons and fairy tales may be seen to have been supported by the data on sexual relations between children and adults, accounted for by sex. Within the cartoon format as early as May 1954, boys were found sexually associated with older women, even family members. Yet, little girls did not enter scenarios as adult male sexual targets until one decade later, via the fairy tale cartoon. Subsequent use of the female child appeared also in photographs: 1) pseudo-child photography, 2) "Sex in Cinema" out-cuts which were banned or cut from the originally distributed film, 3) "artistic" renderings of juvenile nudity, 4) sexualized child images in the Centerfold biography, 5) underage foreign models, 6) underage children identified as adults (e.g., Tracy Lords, 16 years old, *Penthouse Pet*, September 1984).

This research did not attempt to examine the documented use of composite photography, nor the possibility of subliminal imbeds or other types of sophisticated photographic artistry. Thus 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 during their publication history. Should this research
alert the public to the magazine tactics for inclusion of children, it seems reasonable to assume that artistic means will be found to continue providing such child stimuli.

The data provide objective evidence of media child sexual abuse. A question for public debate is the degree to which mass media child sexual exploitation puts 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 exploitive 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 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 2,500 percent in child depictions and 650 percent of crime and violence need to be considered in future public policy dialogue on the impact of the sexually explicit genre on children, crime and violence, and the overall society.
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 explicate, titled, "Child Magnets." The term denotes images in cartoons and photographs deemed particularly attractive to children, and which would draw their attention if they were 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. Because the bulk of the magnets were found in cartoons, this preliminary investigation did not establish the percentage of magnets in the overall pictorial content. Only pop-ups and three-dimensional magnets were the other main magnet source. A full-time series study of this phenomenon is urged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Child Cartoons</th>
<th>Child Magnets</th>
<th>All Cartoons</th>
<th>All Magnets</th>
<th>Percent of All Magnets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>13,055</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>2,898</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,016</td>
<td>4,062</td>
<td>19,633</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 of cartoon content. 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. Nu-dity 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.

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


The attraction of these specialized illustrations for both adults and children may be seen in a $3 million 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-up, three-dimensional paper cutouts depicting Goldilock's invasion of the Three Bears' home, or Jack's magic bean stalk.

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. However, 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. Learning theory supports the notion that 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, indeed, as a figure somehow relating to both religion and 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 import to both adults and to children. This could be especially relevant at the preoperational 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 Playboy Santas, 139 Penthouse Santas, and 39 Hustler Santas. This project did not officially code 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 drug 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, January 1979, p. 360) or as Santa having cannibalized a child (Playboy, January 1977, p. 221). A small boy is violently shot in the head by Santa who is using a large rifle (Penthouse, December 1977), or as Santa is brutally crucified by a mouse-trap (Penthouse, October 1976, 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 nonmalevolent overtones is intriguing because 1) these cartoons would be viewed/read by children, and 2) some male readers may affectively identify with Santa Claus—Santa is widely viewed as a father substitute or as a symbol of God, religion or love.

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. Such intuitive, affective, emotional experiences of childhood can be said to 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 therefore, across all three magazines, as an exploitive, violent adulterer and pedophile, may prove to be nontrivial.

Fairy tales:

When examining the overall demographics of fairy tales, it is interesting to note 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 this 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 and Harate, 1979; Waldner, 1978; Willows, 1980).

As in child cartoons in general, 1971 was a major year for the inclusion of children in the fairy tale illustration (see Table I, The Data Book). 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. (Boys were associated sexually with adult females as early as May 1954, one decade prior to the sexualization of girls as targets for adult males.)

The Playboy (August 1964, p. 124) cartoon was the first clear, traditional fairy tale which identified a black and white fully clothed juvenile Cinderella cartoon coded as nonsexual nonviolent. 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 or violent (Playboy, p. 165). In 1967 Snow White appears in Playboy, full page, full color, page right. In an illustration, Cinderella’s breasts are barely covered. The suggestion is that she has just been ravished: “... and then suddenly there were these seven little men and their seven little beds ...” (February 1967, p. 183). In March 1970, a second Snow While 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). 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 “transsexual doll” while a pre-school child finds her mama provocatively 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 “Socialization of Taboo Ideas” is noted in an original flow chart dated 1976. 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 reader’s resistance was circumvented, she/he could adjust to the idea of little girls giving and receiving sex—even from adult men. During the entire of this research few children were described sexually in the most popular of these magazines (February 1984—November 1985). Following on the concept of cartoons serving as a technique for the socialization of taboo ideas, the return to fairy tales in 1985—86 portrays the childhood heroine of Goldilocks and the three bears sexually interacting with an adult penis substitute. That is, Goldilocks is seen having enjoyed a dildo vibrator—rather than to show her as a fairy tale child interacting sexually with the bears or an adult male figure (Playboy, December 1986).

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) |
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 nonthreatening 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 and 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Playboy</th>
<th>Penthouse</th>
<th>Hustler</th>
<th>Pooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Ads</td>
<td>5,283</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Ads w/Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Ads</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>1,611</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Ads w/Children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NO. ADS</td>
<td>7,505</td>
<td>3,427</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10,974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The above table is based on an 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.
CHILD IMAGERY OVER TIME: A COMPARISON ESTIMATE OF EROTICA/PORNOGRAPHY CARTOONS/VISUALS VERSUS ALCOHOL/TOBACCO ADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAGAZINE</th>
<th>CARTOONS/VISUALS</th>
<th>ALCOHOL/TOBACCO ADS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHILDREN (*)</td>
<td>TOTAL (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playboy (N=373)</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>66,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse (N=184)</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>30,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler** (N=126)</td>
<td>1,779</td>
<td>15,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled (N=683)</td>
<td>6,004</td>
<td>112,620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 percent, 3.8 percent, and 11.5 percent (respectively) of the cartoons and visuals include child imagery. This can be compared to 0.2 percent, 0.3 percent, and no percentage (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 over 99 percent 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 downtime (while new instruments were being prepared, inter-rater reliability assessed, 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 its few male display cartoons of the male sex organ.
By the 1970s, all sexual body parts (breasts, genitalia), began to appear as photographs (see data book). *Hustler*, for example, introduced the penis photographically, although the phallus had originally appeared in cartoon form in *Playboy* following its one flaccid photo.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BREASTS</th>
<th>GENITAL/PUBIC</th>
<th>GYNECOLOGICAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>17,127</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthouse</td>
<td>8,840</td>
<td>2,765</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hustler</td>
<td>9,717</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>2,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35,684</td>
<td>9,362</td>
<td>3,297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the general task ambivalence felt by the coders, accuracy may have suffered. 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 individual’s 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 probably 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 of the data and reduce discomfort experienced 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;

* 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 by the magazine aggregated examined.

** Note that while *Hustler* had no children in alcohol and tobacco advertisements, few of these products advertise in the magazine.
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 a dispassionate count 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 body count could provide much objective data on exactly what is being displayed in these magazines and 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 of certain photo essays and pictorials. A careful investigation of the process of composite photography or "photo montage," especially that which may combine child body-parts with adult body-parts, is in order. The Body Validation Instrument could also enhance techniques to identify other misleading photographic techniques while policy or legal implications regarding "truth in advertising may 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 accurately advertised, that "vital statistics" are commonly misrepresented, and that these deceptions may have both short and long term consequences for juvenile and adult male and female readers.

Comparative and Control Studies

The present research 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 readerships allegedly female, such as Playgirl, and c) whose readership may cross racial and gender boundaries, and which ostensibly are nonerotic/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 engaged in a marketing or advertising activity for the white female as both "ideal" 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 speculation 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 disintegrating heterosexual harmony and the vanishing Black family focuses on 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 lie 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. For example, Gross-Hill writes in personal correspondence:
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... ['Pornography' wasn't even... a subject heading until 1973;... until then, citations were listed under 'sex crimes']. About 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.' The 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 look at 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 erotic/pornographic time lines on cartoon and visual 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 in press reports. While 1979 was the first organized year for child sex assault reports; highest presence of children in Playboy was 1971, Penthouse 1972, and Hustler 1978.

Thus, 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 included its new subject heading. In 1975 "child molesters" became part of the Reader's Guide subject index. Such an example of life mirroring art suggests but does not establish a causal relationship between a reader's view of sexualized children and the growing treatment of children as adult sexual targets. However, it does suggest a use for additional time lines drawn from the data base, as well as additional research.

**Child Interest Levels**

The Child Magnet data lend some insight into the amount of material in each magazine which even the smallest children may find of interest, such as 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 on 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 on children's imaginations.
An examination of the citation literature as a reflection of the rise in reported cases of child sexual assault.

* Estimated time frame of nomenclature
Table III
READER'S GUIDE TIME LINE CITATIONS

Using The New York Times Index and the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature I 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. I started charting in 1955 to get a real feel for the reports before the coming of Playboy. I've gotten side tracked along the way with the introduction of subject headings, so my research was slowed down a bit. For example, "pornography" wasn't even used as a subject heading until 1973; up until then citations were listed under "sex crimes". Then along about 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 used became "incest", "rape" "child abuse" and "child molesters". I should also mention that the instances of reports of sexual crimes committed against children skyrocketed starting in 1977 - a really sharp and dramatic increase.

Lucinda Gross Hill
School of Library Science
University of Kentucky

683 MAGAZINES:
• 373 Playboy (31 years)
  (12/53 to 12/84)
• 184 Penthouse (15-1/2 years)
  (9/69 to 12/84)
• 126 Hustler (10-1/2 years)
  (7/74 to 12/84)
VIII. Recommendations for Future Research and Application of Present Findings

In addition to providing information previously unavailable to the professional, private, and volunteer sectors, the present findings provide directions for future research. Future research should examine the role 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 development 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).

Elaboration and Replication of Preliminary Studies

As noted, 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):
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 sporadic users, as well as nonusers of this material. Comparisons of responses over time within and across groups could yield useful data regarding the desensitization or arousal, revulsion, and/or addiction.

**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. In addition, it would be an opportune context in which to attempt a new, potentially nonjudgmental 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." The addictive properties of erotica/pornography may also be operationalized (Shepherd and 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, Wilhelm 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 have philosophized on the meaning and psychology of humor, such as Aristotle, Chesterfield, Darwin, Freud, Hobbs, Marx, Plato, and Bergson. 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 oriental) 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 nonverbal. A review of the literature on nonverbal behavior and on proxemics 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 and Negley 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 consensus, and the use of several separate panels could aggregate such opinion from distinct sectors such as 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 nonarousing 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.). Because 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 because the addicted individual has blunted judgment 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 autoerotic 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 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 dialogues 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 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 children’s 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 upon 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-contact 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 any erotica/pornography 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:

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 media-stimulated mnemonic arousal “flashbacks” for some children, rather than a tactile or contact 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 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 testimony in cases of sexual abuse.

Could the "Ted Bundy" syndrome—(Bundy's claim of early pornography exposure is similar to scores of other rapists, murderers/mutilators) be a function of ECPI as well as other early trauma? (Note that an examination of the few "erotic" magazines available in 1959 find these less explicit or "pornographic" than today's Playboy. If Bundy was using pornography [age 12, year 1959] he would have been mainly using Playboy (1953). Penthouse did not exist until 1969, when Bundy was already a long-time adult sex offender.)

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, 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).
Exposure to such stimuli may arguably in and of itself constitute actual "harm" to a child. Children never exposed to such imagery, films, videos, 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 time, EPCT is merely a theoretical and conceptual model. It is vital that the presence or absence of erotica/pornography be established in criminal cases. If such stimuli has intruded upon the child's imagination, society should begin to share responsibility for a new view of media "harm" to children and society.

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 would 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/packages for specialized groups:

OJJDP training programs could be specifically packaged in order to inform discrete 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.

**Cost-Benefit Analysis**

It would seem important for the American Public to have some accurate notion of what pornography/eroticism/the sex industry is costing the taxpayer each month/year. That is, when both the obvious and the less obvious, direct and indirect costs of public legitimization of the sex industry are calculated, will the average citizen favor continued public support of monitoring the activities related to this enterprise? In the past, direct costs for research have included millions of tax dollars for two commissions to investigate pornography and the harm factor. This research project was a similar tax drain, while national and state prosecutions include the costs of staffing special offices, judges, legal services, drafting of documents, salaries for sundry items, etc. These costs relate to child pornography, cable porn, dial-a-porn, adult pornography, etc. Tax costs are incurred due to expenses for investigations, police actions, etc., often responding to citizen protests and requests by pornographers for additional public access. These would be pressed against "adult" book stores, film theatres, magazine displays, topless bars, etc. An analysis of public costs for these activities would be prudent.

1 The private and volunteer sectors should be similarly educated and trained in this area of inquiry.

Stepping out of the role of Principal Investigator of this study, a hypothesis of "Erotic/Pornographic Child Trauma" (EPCT) is presented. We know that children often experience levels of fear, shame, and/or confusion if exposed to erotic/pornographic images. We need to ask, 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?
IX. Conclusion

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 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.

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, illustration, or photograph, including those in advertisements—either depicted a child or, in the case of a cartoon, referred to a child in the caption. The child could be a main character, part of a crowd scene, or, in the case of a cartoon, offstage and referred to only in the caption.

Children have been presented in the cartoons and visuals of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler since their early years of publication; only slightly more than 10 percent of the presentations of children in child cartoons were accounted for by the caption in the absence of some visual presence.

Children have been presented in sexual contexts, encounters, or scenarios with adults since the early years of 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 51 percent of the instances was male; in 35 percent, female; and in 12 percent, 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 observer.
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 “pseudo-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 pseudo-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 percent of Playboy, 33 percent of Penthouse, and 47 percent 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 nonchildren 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 likely to be providing pleasure than unpleasantness. As receivers of activity, children were more likely to be the objects of unpleasantness than of pleasure. 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. The portrayal of children as appropriate figures a) to stimulate pleasure and b) to receive aggression in effect, is a utilitarian definition of the child.

The present findings do more than merely raise serious questions regarding the possible role played by the stimuli examined in the growing epidemic of child abuse in our society. They imply an inevitable effect upon the attitudes and behavior of some number of vulnerable juvenile and adult consumers.

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 institutions. Such displays, since 1954, raise certain 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 exploitative 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 sexual, violent, 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. The question for future debate and research is, to what degree have these portrayals—within the “sex-and-violence” arousal format—contributed to in the past and current condition of women and children at risk?
X. References


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### "CHILD" CARTOONISTS

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<th>PLAYBOY</th>
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**Total:** 2,016
APPENDIX A

1988 Executive Summary

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Reprinted from Preventing Sexual Abuse

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Anatomical parts graphically depicted in both photos and cartoons in this executive summary have been
masked for four reasons: 1) To protect the integrity of girls and boys sexually used by the magazines; 2) Some of
these images violate federal laws against child pornography; 3) To make the document accessible to the
entire public, young and old, religious and secular, for debate regarding public policy; and 4) Because highly
stressful, volatile imagery acts neurochemically to impede rational thought and decision making.

Earlier, these uncensored child images were sent to persons marketing these magazines (e.g., conve-
nience store owners, advertisers, etc.) as well as to child welfare groups in order to “prove” the explicit nature
of child sexual exhibits in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler. After viewing these uncensored images, thousands
of merchants divested from the association with Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. Southland, 7-11 was among
those who responded to the Reisman research by divestment from these magazines. Subsequently the
Reisman research has been cited in child pornography cases before the United States Supreme Court in 1989
and 1990.
INTRODUCTION

From Preventing Sexual Abuse, Summer 1986

A 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 findings before the United States Attorney General's Commission on Pornography on November 21, 1985. Visual images of children in sexual and violent 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 examined for characteristics of the child or adult depicted, the activities in which the child was involved, the nature of the activity, and the state of dress or undress of the child. Pseudo-children (adults dressed and posed as children) and any discrepant body features, such as oversized breasts on 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 pseudo-children.
- 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 age 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 exploitive 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 pseudo-child images until verifiable research can be conducted on the harm factor. Such action by sex-industry representatives could be seen as an act for responsibility based on concern for the welfare of children, rather than an admission of guilt.

EXTERNAL REVIEW BOARD FOR IMAGES OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, AND HUSTLER MAGAZINES:

Cooperative Agreement #84-JN-AX-K007

Dr. George Comstock, Samuel L. Newhouse Professor of Public Communication at Syracuse University, is a foremost authority on television and social behavior. His work, in part, has focused on mass media and its effects on social values, social institutions, and, in particular, the young viewing public. Dr. Comstock serves on the editorial boards of several major communication journals, is a member of the National Council for Children and Television and was senior author/editor for the Surgeon General's Report on Television and Human Behavior (1978). His extensive work in the area of mass media has yielded numerous books and articles which are seen as a foundation for this field.

Dr. Robert Figlio is an Associate Professor of Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania. His critique of the unauthorized American University draft was helpful in the identification of issues and data requiring clarification, addition and correction. With Dr. Marvin Wolfgang, Dr. Figlio co-authored the Department of Justice...
“National Survey of Crime Severity.” He is the only original peer who was unable to review and evaluate this final technical version written by the Principal Investigator.

Ms. Jane Huntington is a specialist in the area of juvenile justice. She is past Director of the Juvenile Justice Project of the American Red Cross, and served as Juvenile Justice Coordinator for the National Coalition for Jail Reform. Ms. Huntington has written widely in the area of sexual crime and juvenile behavior.

Dr. Emanuel Landau is an epidemiologist and statistical analyst whose specialty is the critique of large-scale, complex research designs. As a senior statistician, Landau, past Chairman of the American Statistical Association Committee on Statistics and Environment, served as the outside, anonymous, expert selected by the American University to evaluate project methodology.

Ms. Laura Lederer is Program Officer for the L.J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, and one of the country’s leading experts on pornography research and management. Ms. Lederer’s unique knowledge of both grant management and pornography research have been an invaluable asset to the advisory board.

Dr. Richard Zakia is Chairman of the Fine Art Photography Department of the Rochester Institute of Technology and brings to the board his expertise on educational psychology, photography, photographic education, and visual perception. Dr. Zakia published numerous books and articles on photography and visual perception, presented papers, lectures, and conducted workshops in the U.S. and Canada as well as contributing an excellent analysis of pornography for the final Volume I Overview for the Reisman Report.

Supplementary Critiques:

Edward Eichel, a certified psychotherapist and consultant in Health Education/Human Sexuality and Family Life Education in New York City.

Gordon Mur, M.D., Director of Medical Communications at Glaxo Research Laboratories is responsible for the evaluation of medical research protocol and is also associated with the North Carolina Chapter of the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse.

Linnée Smith, M.D., is a psychiatrist whose professional role in the Collegiate Athletic Community involves the education of athletes and coaches on the treatment of illicit drugs in mainstream, sexually explicit mass media.

Dr. Dorothy Tenue, discoverer of “literrance,” past tenured professor of Psychology at the University of Bridgeport, is a clinical psychotherapist, theorist and author of three books on psychology.

Marianne Wamboldt, a psychiatrist, formerly of the Department of Health and Human Services, Section on Comparative Studies of Brain and Behavior, and Dr. Janet Negley, a psychologist with The California Psychotherapy Association.

Comments of Members of the External Review Board

George Comstock, S.I. Newhouse
Professor of Public Communications

I have reviewed the draft of your report of November, 1986, Children, Crime and Violence in the Pictorial Imagery of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler. My judgement as a scholar of the empirical investigation of the social influence of the communications media is that:

1. The research meets the usual criteria and standards for such endeavors, and suffers from no problems or weaknesses not common to the genre of research represented.

2. Its findings should be of value to those interested in popular culture, erotica or pornography, and the effects of erotica, pornography, and violence in the media, and particularly to those concerned with the implications of such phenomena for women and children.

3. The synthesis of marketing data, child abuse statistics, the media effects literature, and various psychological formulations relating to media effects is adventurous, intriguing and an admirable exercise in that necessary human venture, thinking the unthinkable. The document is of sufficient comprehensibility and completeness for submission to a sponsoring agency as the draft of a final technical version. This was not true of the version prepared by the American University.

Jane Huntington

I have reviewed the Executive Summary of your final project report and the letters that you sent me. As you know, I have studied juvenile justice issues as part of my master’s course at the School of Justice at The American University, and I have participated in projects funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice & Delinquency Prevention, particularly dealing with early intervention strategies. I must advise you that I am no longer working in juvenile justice; however, as I observed to you in the initial stages of the project, I believe your research would be of interest to child protection workers as well as to any professionals who interact with youthful sex offenders. Again, as I have stated before, I find the “child magnum” concept of particular interest.

Your research presents a longitudinal content analysis of child representations in the three magazines examined. As I see it, the research provides a data base of child images in “mainstream erotica/pornography” (which you state in your introduction was a purpose of this “exploratory research”). Though I am not a researcher and cannot speak to the statistical methodology, my lay conclusion is the same as Dr. Landau’s in that the “content analysis did adequately test the hypotheses of the study regarding representation of children in the three magazines with special reference to sexual and violence contexts. The findings are clearly of interest but the possible adverse effects from such presentation cannot therefore be inferred.”

Dr. Zakia, also, points out that this was a “survey, a content analysis,” and, as such, I agree that it ought to be published. Your research has constructed a base upon which to build further research studies. However, at this point, the research itself cannot be the basis for any conclusions and recommendations, other than for further research and, of course, of the empirical findings of the child images in mainstream erotica/pornography.

Excerpts from Dr. Emanuel Landau’s Review*

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 extent representations of children exist in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler 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 Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler magazines*".

*These statements are excerpts from Dr. Landau’s 13-page evaluation. On August 13, 1987 Dr. Landau wrote: “Having noted the August 1987 materials planned for delivery to OJJDP, I wish to reaffirm my original August 1986 sentence regarding the methodology used in this research. "This is a sound study, producing high quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in a scientifically acceptable fashion."
over time” (p.1a).

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 conduct of the study (p.1b). [Page numbers in this section refer to the original documents.]

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 necessity for pilot or pre-testing and the comparability of the coders’ entries. This concern for the form of the questions 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” (p.2).

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 number of additional unpublished tabulations available from the project files (p.8).

The meticulous care with which the project attempted to deal with the “overall objective of the study...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 occurred, the portrayal of crime and violence without children was also studied” (p.3).

The pattern of training for specific questionnaires followed by actual coding represents, 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 (p.7).

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 (p.7).

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 (p.3a).

The training of the coders involved a meticulous procedure of training and practice on the Child Cartoon Coding Instrument. Interrater reliability was assessed at the conclusion of coding and coders were debriefed to document their unique approaches to the content analysis (p.7).

It is my judgment 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 violence contexts. The findings are clearly of interest but the possible adverse effects from such presentation cannot therefore be inferred (p.4).

Volume I also demonstrates a carefully conducted study of the content of the three journals constituting the mainstream of erotic/pornographic publications (p.4a).

In summary, the statement of limitations notes in detail the shortcomings of this study. However, in my judgment, the authors have tended to oversate 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 (p.12).

Laura J. Lederer

I write to congratulate you on the successful completion of your study, “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.” Your research is of tremendous value. It is the first study ever to document the complete representation of children, children depicted in sexual situations, and children depicted in criminal and violent situations in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler magazines, the three leading mainstream pornography magazines in our country. It documents these images over time, which makes it possible to pinpoint the introduction of such images into the social fabric. It also makes it possible to trace the proliferation of certain themes, such as child assault, child sexual molestation, and incest and to correlate the increases in these images with reportings of real-life crimes against children. In addition, the study yielded an enormous amount of invaluable data never before gathered. It is now possible to identify the age of the children portrayed in these magazines and to note that the largest number portrayed were between the ages of three and eleven, to identify the race and religion of these children, as well as their sex. The data can be identified for any one of the three magazines, or a pooled figure representing all three magazines can be found. The data also identify criminal and violent activities such as rape, battery and murder. These data can be used by other researchers, as well as police, child protection agencies, physicians, nurses, clinical therapists, educators, government officials and others who now work in various capacities to halt child abuse, child sexual molestation, and incest, as well as all forms of juvenile delinquency.

As a foundation program director of a private philanthropic foundation, I can say that the grant was properly administered and well-used. This was an enormous undertaking: a large-scale study with complex coding processes, housed in a university, which took a good percentage of the original grant amount to cover overhead costs. As principal researcher, you set up the research parameters, tested them with preliminary studies, and then ran the project within a two year time limit, employing over 30 people, including 25 coders, a complete administrative team, and a dozen expert consultants. I urge the immediate publication of your final report dated November 1986, and its full distribution, by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. I know that the American public very much wants to read the final report, and I believe that our society will reap benefits from it.

Dr. Richard D. Zakia

Thank you for the opportunity to read your report on “The Role of Pornography and Media Violence...” and to offer some comments. First let me again state my position that the data you have gathered is important and should be made available to serious researchers along with valid qualifying statements and criticism you have included in your November 1986 Report. Let me outline some of the things I find especially valuable in your report:

1. Benchmark

Your data on the cartoons in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler provide a reference point that we never before had. This is important for longitudinal studies and for possible comparison with other similar information; i.e., cartoons and visuals in other magazines.

2. Methodology

The instruments you developed for your study and your approach in establishing verbal categories for pictorial information can be very helpful to others.

3. Correlations

Your findings on the number of cartoons in which the principal child is “School age to puberty: elementary school age six through eleven” raises an important question. Do national statistics on child molesting reveal a similar situation. In other words are most children that are molested between the ages of six-eleven?

4. Cartoonists

Of the several cartoonists mentioned, the one most often used by Hustler magazine was Dwayne B. Tinsley by a margin of twice the next most used cartoonist. Can the Tinsley cartoons be isolated and studied between the years 1974 to 1984? This could uncover useful information regarding cartoon codes and possible changes which
In this environment I have been fully exposed to the principles and practice of sound medical research and its proper presentation. I have also been lately associated with the North Carolina Chapter of the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse, and partly because of this interest and what I recently have been learning about child abuse, I feel that the subject of your research is important, timely and of considerable public interest.

Just as physicians (and the public) have had a growing interest in the role of television in child abuse (see Wharton and Mandell, Pediatrics, June 1985), there would undoubtedly be a similar interest in the role, if any, of mainstream pornography. Now, for the first time, major documentation has been provided regarding how children are depicted in mainstream pornography and how images of children are related to situations of nudity, abuse, crime and violence. This has to be an important body of data and an important first step, if the methodology of data collection has been sufficiently rigorous. My own view is that the methodology employed here has been too insufficiently exacting. And, while some modifications may be suggested for the future, I would concur with the statistical reviewer, Dr. Landau, that this is "a sound study providing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area, conducted in a scientifically sound fashion."

My chief conclusions from reading this report are as follows:

1. Children have been extensively sexualized in mainstream pornography. Documentation of this point alone is an important finding.

2. It is clearly established that there has been a pictorial trivialization of child sex abuse—particularly in cartoons. And as Harrison is quoted as saying in this report: "The cartoons is a unique force in modern society."

Socialization of other taboos, in cartoons especially, is also documented.

Bearing in mind that everyone is influenced in some way by what they see and read, it is absolutely essential that the impact of these child representations on both adults and children be further investigated. We are not dealing here with the content of television soap operas, etc., but with a pictorial medium that is seen to have a record of portraying the breaching of the most sensitive social taboos as a subject for humor. Serious investigation of the impact of this should now begin.

I commend you and your staff for an admirable execution of a complex task performed in a relatively short period of time. I look forward to the Department of Justice making this report available to the medical and child-welfare communities, as well as to the general public.

Linnea W. Smith, M.D.

The significance of your research cannot be overestimated, that of undertaking the most comprehensive to date content analysis of the three topgrossing erotic/pornographic magazines. This information is an invaluable precursor for the scientific community as well as society to critically evaluate issues of causation and potential for distortion of attitudes on human sexuality and antisocial behavioral impact.

There has been appropriate criticism of those of us in the medical profession in general, as well as those of us in psychiatry specifically, to be more cognizant of the role of mass media and its impact on the well-being of juveniles and adults.

These publications target juveniles as an important part of their readership and aggressively market their product to this segment of the population which may be most vulnerable during the formative years of sexual identity. Your analysis of the depictions of children in pornographic material is especially pertinent. Recent surveys confirm an overwhelming majority of adolescents reported repeated exposure to this material.

Research examining the effect of preocious exposure to pornography on children's attitudes and behavior is seriously inadequate. Children must be assumed vulnerable to adverse health consequences unless and until proved otherwise.

It is imperative that your report be made available immediately to
adds even more complexity to the problem.

to pornography in general. The use of childhood heroes and fantasies
sexual input and respond by shutting down. -

has deletious effects.

"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

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representative of several themes in current pornography: The

of human nature that must be understood if we are to behave

responsibly as a society. In conjunction with other recent data on

research is on the cutting edge of crucial social issues and that you

member in good standing of national and international professional
organizations including the American Psychological Association and
the International Society for Human Ethology. In recent years my
research and theory focused on interpersonal sexual-affectional
attractions in a context of the ethology of human reproduction and on
the biological and social implications of reproductive technologies.

I have complied with your request that I review "Images of
Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler
Magazines." A full report is to follow, but in summary I feel your
research is on the cutting edge of crucial social issues and that you
have produced, on a subject of intense controversy, valuable and
reliable data. I am most interested in the results of the additional data
analyses as well as additional projected research.

I congratulate you on your perseverance in the presence of the
unique obstacles that working with these materials produce. The
reactions evoked by your work—of officials, participants, colleagues,
and the public—to the very subject of pornography reveal an aspect
of human nature that must be understood if we are to behave
responsibly as a society. In conjunction with other recent data on
violence and abuse your findings confirm that our children are in
jeopardy.

Dr. Marianne Z. Wamboldt and Dr. Janet Negley

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.

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...

So, we see priests, Santa Claus and the Tin Man in sexual postures ...

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.

The increasing explicitness of the pornographic images is remis-
scint of an addiction. More and more is needed to create the same
effect. 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.

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.

One possible dangerous effect of these pictures is that they
refrain 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.

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 literacy 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; 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."

If 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... 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.

Edward W. Eichel, M.A.

In reviewing your research on pornography, I can say from my
twenty years of experience as a sexologist that you have gone to the
heart of the matter. Let me identify several points that I wish to touch
on:

1. Your market research and additional other reviews of the
literature are an important contribution to our understanding of the
complex role of commercial sex information in our nation's life.

2. As a sex researcher, it is of grave concern for me to discover
that the materials under investigation have been instructing both juvenile
and adult readers about the desirability of children as sex partners and
the harmlessness of early sexual activity for children. The fact that this
type of visual education is mass distributed in magazines I consider
another key finding. This makes me wonder about the source of
inspiration for some of the bizarre sexual behaviors—auto-erotic
asphyxiation, for example, which has been responsible for numerous
fatalities amongst juveniles.

3. Your identification of "Child Magnets" in each of the magazines
adds fresh insight to the impact of these materials on juvenile readers.
This information would be very useful to sexologists, child develop-
ment specialists, and a broad spectrum of child welfare workers.

4. The attention given to the pairing of violent, sexual, and juvenile
stimuli—within this sex education medium—raises the issue of visual
communication to new levels of complexity and scholarly concern.

In my opinion you have raised some powerful questions for the
research community and provided basic data to assist in answering at
least some of those questions. The data you provide on juvenile
stimuli suggest a simultaneous arousal of both genital responses and
fear responses in some viewers. I consider these findings important
and suspect they will be the basis for major steps in resolving the
problem of defining "pornography." Congratulations, I look forward
to your report being made available to professional researchers and to
the public at large.

*Excerpts from Dr.'s Wamboldt and Negley's seven-page critique
of eighteen sample images selected from Playboy, Penthouse and
Hustler.
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF IMAGES OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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, newstand 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 newstand 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 newstand 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 newstand 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 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] 1 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, and 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 complete Reisman Report in three volumes, constitutes the definitive report by the Principal Investigator. These three volumes are available separately or together from the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse in Washington, DC. Volume I (503 pages) is The Overview. This volume incorporates a large body of important project information, including materials contained in Volume II, Methods and Procedures (382 pages) and Volume III, The Data Book (approximately 700 pages). The AUTHENTICATED Reisman Report, delivered in November 1987 to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, incorporates clarifications, corrections and additions to the September 2, 1986 draft delivered by The American University to OJJDP. (A chronology of the project report appears on the overleaf of Volume I, p. iv.)

As the first indepth investigation of Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler—leaders in the commercial sex industry—and the only mainstream newstand 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 newstand 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.

HUSTler-leaders in the commercial sex industry. On the one hand, the public has expressed an abhorrence of child pornography and of violence associated with sexuality in sexually explicit magazines. Yet, the most prominent of these magazines publicly denied any misuse of children in its content 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 harmed in these popular magazines.

On the other hand, preliminary research by the Principal Investigator had indicated that children had been extensively sexualized in popular E/P. Furthermore, Juvenile Justice and other professionals identified "softcore" E/P as tools employed to lure and indoctrinate children into sexually abusive situations. 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 study focused upon the analysis of children (juveniles), crime and violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler, 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. 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. In 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. It follows from the above accepted body of communication theory that E/P messages effect receivers in some manner and thus are worthy of indepth analysis.

Why Study Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler?

Recent data available from Canada confirmed existing American studies of early onset of exposure to E/P. The Canadians found adolescents, ages 12-17 reporting most frequent exposure to mainstream E/P. Moreover, according to recognized market research sources, Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler maintain the highest readership amongst all E/P magazines, providing "informed sexual education" for juveniles and adults since December 1953. The overall readership can be said to cross all socio-economic boundaries, while a large percentage of readers may be classified as relatively well-educated upscale "change agents." Based upon circulation figures and juvenile justice and delinquency prevention concerns, 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. 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 erotic/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. 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 erotic/pornography.

**Why Study Cartoons?**

Approximately two-fifths of the images examined were 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. 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 humorous, the vast body of cartoon research documents cartoons as a socio-political art form. It is speculated that some sort of "Socialization of Taboo Ideas" often used the cartoon format 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?**

Almost half of the total images examined were photographs. Photographs are generally viewed as accurate representations of reality, with little public awareness of the illusions inherent in the photograph. Research identifies such illusion as the result of professional skill and knowledge: The making of the photograph via lighting, camera angles and often composite photography, and its professional reproduction into an artistic product. Upon reception, the child or adult interpretation of the photographic scene takes place, without need for cognitive effort or attention. Since the great majority of E/P pages contain photographic depictions, it is appropriate to examine any widespread circulation of photographic messages pertaining to children, crime and violence.

**METODOLOGY**

1. **Development of Instrumentation:** Utilizing standard content analysis methodology, four discrete 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. **Codes:** 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. **Training:** Coders learned Critical Viewing Skills via great works of art. Following this, content analysis training followed the Krippendorff process. Each coder underwent test trials and group training blocks in the use of the "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. **Materials:** From December 1953 to December 1984, all issues (N=683) were coded for depictions of children: Playboy (N=373), Penthouse (N=184) and Hustler (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. **Magazine Distribution and Instrument Handling:** 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 Reliability Measures:** Inter-rater reliability was computed at .87 in the pilot study and subsequently, .85 for child cartoons, .83 for child visuals, .81 for crime and violence cartoons, and .85 for crime and violence visuals.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The present research findings quantify the nature of children, crime and violence imagery in over three decades of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler 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 Playboy delivered 170 images of crime and/or violence to the public. Total newsstand depictions increased 650 percent across all three magazines by 1984. Looking at children, the Playboy only distribution of 17 child images in 1954 were increased—across all three magazines—to 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 unforeseen finding may be the estimated 27 percent of Playboy, 33 percent of Penthouse and 47 percent of Hustler cartoons and illustrations identified as "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 Magnets may be viewed as a technique both catering to, and attracting, a juvenile audience. Therefore the depictions presented in "Child Magnets" may be presumed to be of special public interest and concern.

The body of research on sexual arousal suggests that acts of child sexual molestation by some vulnerable juveniles or adults are precipitated if one achieves 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 appears of compelling public concern that the present research documents a contextual association...
of three discrete stimuli: 1) adult female nudity and graphic female sexual display; 2) neutral, sexual and violent child depictions; and 3) depictions of crime and violence. The magazine genre evidences a unified culture and world view which incorporates all three stimuli: pairing the arousal to an adult sex object with child sexualization and crime and violence. Thus, it is not unlikely 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 and adult exposure to, and reliance upon, the informal sex education provided by these magazines. Thus, it is only realistic to implement these research data into nonexistent, nonexplosive school programs as well as other modes of juvenile guidance. The findings should be provided in wholesome educational formats using 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 prostitution and the growth of juvenile pregnancy suggest the need for a critical examination of the notions of sexuality which have been and are now 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 potentiate revealing lines of questions and 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 these 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 Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler 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...

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 the Attorney General Meese in his October 23, 1986 press conference, it is proposed that Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler 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.

Notes

2. The slash is "erotic/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 "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), in which 73 percent of respondents believed explicit sexual magazines, movies and books lead some people to commit rape at other sexual violence while 93 percent called for stricter control of magazines displaying sexual 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 "Evidence and Anecdote: Lee County, Florida" (pp. 23-24).
5. See for example, commentary by Senators (1965, May), in which a 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). See also "The role of erotic depictions in the determination of the role of sexual violence" (pp. 227-232).
6. See for example, "Research on the Role of Erotica/Pornography Among Children and Adolescents" (pp. 23-38). Also see Hass's "Teenage Sexuality: A Survey of Teenage Sexual Behavior" (1979), in chapter 12, "Teenagers' Responses to Pornography" (pp. 153-161), teenagers discuss the influences of erotic pornograp (particularly Playboy) in their personal and sexual lives.
7. For more extensive information see "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
8. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
9. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
10. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
11. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
12. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).
13. Ibid. "Research on Erotic Images as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler" (pp. 59-61).

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Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique" (pp. 55-58), 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 I). In addition, the "Research Parameters and Limitations (RPL) are located in Overview of Project" (Volume I, pp. 68-117).

17. For extensive data presentations, see Reisman's Data Book (Volume III). A comprehensive overview of Selected Findings and Discussion of Findings are located in Overview of Project (Volume I, pp. 118-162). In addition, the seven preliminary studies conducted during the present research project are discussed in (Volume I, pp. 163-185).

18. For additional information on the Child Magnet study, see Overview of Project (Volume I: Preliminary Studies). "Child Magnets," (pp. 163-169).

19. This quote is from the Washington Post article "Meese forms anti-pornography task force" by H. Kurtz (October 23, 1986, p. A21).

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

### Selected Bibliography*


*The bibliography is limited to references in the executive summary and the first author's pertinent writings. A comprehensive bibliography is included in the Overview of Project, Volume I.

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### A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THIRTY-SIX CHILD SAMPLE CARTOONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS FROM PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER

![Washingtonian](https://example.com/washingtonian-cover)

Whatever happened to childhood? The above Washingtonian cover portrays two five- to six-year-old children, apparently siblings.
perusing Playboy magazine. This picture may be seen as a dramatization of actual data which identify Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines as primary sources of sexual education, entertainment, simulation and guidance for child and adult consumers. Our research considered these magazines with due regard for their widespread, long-term use as sex education by children as well as adults. Smaller children (and some adults) are often unable to read, and thus attend to pictures more than to captions. With this in mind, project analysts (coders) were trained to mask off captions before determining the pictured children's ages. Until "caption masking" was standardized, the age-inappropriate nature of much child text and imagery commonly caused coders to inflate children's ages by more than five years (e.g. judging a four-year-old as nine-years, etc.). It is similarly urged that readers mask the captions of the attached 36 sample images to assess child ages. (To guide objective analysis we developed the Age Evaluation Guide presented in Volume II of the final "Reisman Report.") Remember, it can be said that images are more speedily received and longer retained by the brain than is text.

The Principal Investigator's analysis reflects a) Ph.D. in Speech Communication from Case Western Reserve University with a specialty in mass media effects. b) expertise as a multi-media art educator for the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Los Angeles Skirball Museum, and Scholastics Magazine, New York. and c) an award-winning professional career creating educational "music videos" for both public and commercial television.

Space limited this analysis to children and drugs. See The Institute for Media Education (TIME) for a portfolio of sample crime and violence cartoons and visuals in the three magazines.

I. PLAYBOY "DRUG EDUCATION" CARTOONS

Playboy: Cultivation and training, as of the mind; the acquisition or imparting of knowledge... mental training along a certain line.

1) Grandmother Enjoys Marijuana (9/72, p.195). A hip grandmother enjoys the modern amenities of marijuana suggesting both the hominess and the harmlessness of drugs for juvenile and adult readers.

2) Young Children Enjoy Marijuana (12/70, p. 296). Two small brothers, about ten years of age, link the joys of Christmas with marijuana use, suggesting both the hominess and the harmlessness of drugs for juvenile and adult readers.

3) Women Enjoy Illicit Drugs (6/77, p. 201). Women describe use of cocaine and other illicit drugs as an integral part of party entertainment, suggesting the advantages of "recreational" drug use for both juvenile and adult readers.

4) Parents Enjoy Marijuana (3/70, p.221). Parents and other "elders" learn to enjoy youthful drugs, suggesting both their hominess and the harmlessness for juvenile and adult readers.

The four cartoons in this set are themes representative of the data on child and drug images in Playboy, as well as those in Penthouse and Hustler (see the "Reisman Report" Volume III). Hundreds of cartoons, fiction and editorials educate readers to the notion that child and adult drug users are adventurous risk-takers who do no harm to self or society. Documentation of Playboy's funding and legislative lobbying role for NORML (National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws) and for the decriminalization and acceptance of all illicit drugs in the USA, is available through The Institute for Media Education (TIME).

II. PLAYBOY CHILD "SEX EDUCATION" CARTOONS

5) Implied Incest (3/72, p.163). The "Teddy" cartoon is a full page color image describing a sexual scene between a female child and a male adult. The story takes place in mid-day (based upon the light violet of the window scene) and in a middle to upper class home (based upon the dormer window, well kept furnishings, violet wall-to-wall carpeting, clear possession of room by the lone child, etc). The artist, Ffolkes, typically draws this child in his cartoons: a girl of about seven to eight years, large wide eyes which occupy nearly half of the face, an uniformly smooth and round bow mouth. But for the exaggerated breast development, her polka-dot hair bow and yellow curls complete an unambiguous pre-school look. Since the exaggerated breasts deliberately confuse the reader's age evaluation, place your finger over the budding breast to determine the holistic age information provided. Ffolkes creates the overall impression of a very young child by simultaneously linking breasts with a child-like face and general body, a flowery illustrative technique, a doll house, teddy bear and ball.

The story is of child sex for money (prostitution). Cartoonist Ffolkes has the child cheerfully blame her "teddy" for the unexpected price, portraying the younger as mercenary and more clever than the adult male offender. Thus, Ffolkes "equalizes" the child and adult in his drama, suggesting that the male, not the child, may be victimized, tricked and exploited. In addition, the casual safety of the man's mid-day entry into the bedroom of the already nude female child and his shock at a charge (blamed on "teddy"), would imply some sort of kinship pattern; father, uncle or step-dad, etc. Some may question the incest implication or prefer to see this as an adult prostitute dressing as a child, an equally problematic "joke". However, a complete review of Ffolkes' 35 child cartoons presents an identifiable artistic pattern of nude female children in bed with men, women and other adult family members (e.g. "Uncle William"). Furthermore, as Playboy has become aware of the Reisman research activity, Ffolkes has lately abandoned these child-adult sex dramas for other themes.

It is relevant that the male's appearance, his age, race, white collar and blue surge suit, identify him as a similar profile to millions of Playboy readers. This child molestation drama suggests intercourse may occur and is part of a documented Playboy claim of adult-child sex harmlessness.

Reality is in contrast to the Ffolkes humor mythology. For, should a child of this age be penetrated by the sex organ of such an adult male, the child would commonly sustain significant, often permanent, physical (as well as emotional) trauma. Here, as throughout hundreds of similar "jokes," children are seen as sex objects for some normal pedophile juvenile and adult readers.

6) Uncle/Incest (5/74, p. 205). As in "Teddy", Ffolkes again uses a young child (adding a bow, curls and exaggerated breasts) for an incest/trickery/statutory rape story. Ffolkes has the child describe an apparent statutory rape by her overweight, elderly, uncle as a fun game. Typical of most Playboy child sex abuse humor is the adult use of "games" to trick children into first degree sex assault with no physical or emotional harm resulting to the child.

7) Sexual Molestation (10/71, p.166). Note, Interlandi’s seven- to ten-year-old child appears older than does Ffolkes’ youngsters (sans Ffolkes’s exaggerated breasts). Interlandi institutes that his female child is experienced with hands-on sexual molestation, for we are told she is comparing this attack with those past. As in the "Teddy" cartoon, the male offender (a tossled, now robed, neighbor, teacher, uncle, friend, etc... lighting his "after" cigarette), is the more innocent of the two characters. This Playboy sex education cartoon claims the sexually savvy nature of the child who, as always, is not physically or emotionally harmed by a man’s suggested full sexual assault.

8) Gang Rape by Adult Friends/Beast/Objects (3/78, p. 231).

*NOTE: COVER THE CAPTION FIRST. NEXT, READ TEXT AND DETERMINE THE AGE OF CHILDREN IN CARTOON.

Based upon a found perceptual/behavioral bias toward inflating children’s ages in cartoons due to precarious captioned language, it is crucial to cover captions for a more accurate assessment of children’s chronological ages.
Again Ffolkes uses the culture of childhood to set his scene. He places his exaggerated breasts, bow and curls upon a “Dorothy” likely raped by all three cheery Wizard of Oz friends. An immmobile policeman stands by providing no movement toward chase or arrest. This particular sex and violence child assault joke is rare for Playboy as it includes some suggestion of harm (although humorous) and sexual force (versus trickery) of the child.

III: PENTHOUSE CHILD “SEX EDUCATION” CARTOONS

9) Child Assault (11/76, p. 92) “Straight” sex between an apparent adult and a five- or six-year-old is not seen as “denial.” The Penthouse sex education cartoon implies the child as mature, mercenary, promiscuous and unharmed by sexual intercourse.

10) Prostitution/Homosexual/Orgy (2/79, p.60). Penthouse proposes, as above, the precociously natural prostitution of children, suggesting orgy/homosexual activity with adults as harmless and funny. This child is seen to be about three to five years of age.

11) Statutory Rape by Object (5/84, p.137). The use of fairy tales by pornographers is discussed in greater detail in the “Reisman Report” Volume I. Here Dorothy was depicted grinning, voluntarily grasping the Straw Man with her arms and legs, while her two protectors casually observe the activity. Again, the idea of “adult” and bizarre sex as harmless to the child is the sex education presented.

12) Child Assault (11/82, p.171). Artist Bill Lee applies the Ffolkes technique: very small child with exaggerated breasts. The nude “conservative politician” in bed with the nude child suggests sex has pleasantly taken place. As with “Uncle William,” (and Interlandi) the child places a happy phone call to mom while the man smokes his “after” cigarette. Harmlessness of adults tricking children into sex is the sex education presented.

IV: HUSTLER CHILD “SEX EDUCATION” CARTOONS

13) Incest/Father Assault (5/84, p.15). Artist Dwaine Tinsley has a father attack his teen-age daughter. She appears frightened but resigned. Some emotional harm of sexual violence is implied, though apparently disregarded by Tinsley’s father character.

14) Abortion (2/79, p.85). One of dozens of similar Hustler abortion “jokes.” Hundreds of “birth” jokes in all three magazines describe the genre’s systematic portrayal of birth as producing generally illegitimate, deformed, and/or undesirable offspring.

15) Sexual Assault in Children’s Public Space (3/77). This Tinsley story provides “Chester the Molester” (a monthly feature) with a playground victim. Noting the smiling face of the potential victim and the unusual way in which the child’s legs are opened as she goes toward Chester, Tinsley suggests here that children may seek, but surely are unharmed by such sexual assaults. Children’s assault by fathers/neighbors/uncles/Santas/politicians/ministers/fairy tale friends, in the child’s private space (home) and/or public space (e.g. playground) is common in all three magazines. All three describe children as sexual “targets” with neither a safe place nor an adult person (male) they may expect to trust.

16) Kidnapping Children (10/77). Hustler generally builds stories around the kidnapping of small girls in the monthly Chester activities. These bound children appear apprehensive and “Chester the Molester” is naked. Tinsley specializes in portraying fearful faces on his children and his later cartoons often used much more graphic sexual scenes than this in 1977. However, the children here are treated with as little concern for the harm of adult sex assault as are the Playboy Ffolkes smiling children.

V: SANTA CLAUS (RELIGION) IN PLAYBOY AND PENTHOUSE CARTOON HUMOR*

17) Cannibalism of Boy (1/77, p.221). Here Playboy’s Santa appears to have cannibalized a boy whose clothing is piled on the floor at right. Santa’s pointy, sharpened teeth and bloody handkerchief clearly indicate the child was “dinner.” A separate study of the treatment of religion and Santa, in all three magazines, identified the treatment of these themes as systematically violent and deviant. (Preliminary findings on this study are available from TIME).

18) Bestiality (1/79, p.360). *Bestiality between wives and the family dog, etc., is a common Playboy theme and reported in the findings under “crime.” It is noteworthy however, that one of the few Playboy male characters to be portrayed in bestiality is Santa Claus. The significance of such images—particularly including Santa—for millions of children, voluntarily and involuntarily, viewing these magazines cannot be overstated.

19) Sadistic Sexual Assault (12/74, p.87). Here the small girl in Penthouse is portrayed as paired, and the lyric supports the notion that a rape is taking place. Upon closer inspection we find that while Santa’s pants are down, the pants are still ON the child. “Public” adult-child sex and violence (rape) is the suggested entertainment and sex education theme. See Drs. Wambolt and Negley’s commentary on this cartoon and 17 other images appended to Volume I of the “Reisman Report.”

20) Child Murder (12/77, p.208). Killing of boys is portrayed as humorous in this bloody Penthouse image of a “good boy” shot by Santa. The genre regularly uses Christmas and Santa as its holy or spiritual reference. Hence, it is important to note that all three magazines portray Santa consistently as an immoral, violating or violated male.

VI: PLAYBOY CHILD “SEX EDUCATION” PHOTOGRAPHS

21) Nude adolescent and “Rubber Ducky” (7/85, p.133). Following the announcement of this research, although loudly denying their history of child sex abusive imagery, Playboy and Penthouse drastically reduced the numbers and nature of their sexually assaultive images of children. This 1985 photograph was part of the genre’s many subtle attempts to retain the child in sexual scenes. The yellow duck (called “rubber ducky”) in this model’s hand, the oversized red high-heeled shoes (taken from mornnie’s closet?), the knock-kneed long adolescent legs and narrow hip line, white stockings with yellow duckies, and the suggestive text, testify to Playboy’s attempt to circumvent the juvenile and adult pedophile and normal reader’s resistance to sexualized images of children, stimulating readers with “child” arousal stimuli.

22) Incest/Father/Rape (11/71, p.120). This incestuous photographs has been assessed by computer air-brush experts as a cut-and-paste image of both an adult female and a young child, air-brushed together to arouse the reader by the child imagery. The pig-tails and hair bows, Raggedy Ann, white bobby-socks and Mickey Mouse/ nursery rhyme sheet, are clear symbols to simulate the child. Moreover, the call to the reader/fathers to force sex on their sleeping daughters is blatant in this Playboy text (e.g., “Naturally, she diggs forcefull father figures, so come on strong, Big Daddy!”). Again, as in the cartooned sex/violence images of Playboy, there is no suggested harm (physical or emotional) to the alleged child from such a “forceful father figure.” The double entendre of “come” on strong, urges fathers/readers to use violence for full sex entry.

23) Incest/Rape (8/75, advertisement). This image of a developing adolescent—apparently handcuffed for giving trouble to parents—is especially unsettling due to the real life cases of such young women and girls who have been tied to beds by parents or guardians and forced to perform sexually. It is especially useful to note that this photo is an advertisement for Playboy’s once “harder” magazine, Out.

*NOTE: This “childless” Santa cartoon (#18) is presented as a point of information due to Santa’s emotional/spiritual role in most children’s lives. Additional Santa analyses are available through the institute (TIME).
which used even stronger child and violent sex educative material than did *Playboy*. The incestuous and sadistic information links sex and violence and again suggests that the young girl (Jane) is getting what she deserves, with pleasure for all.

24) *Simulated Lesbian/Incest* (7/81, p. 108). Photographer David Hamilton provides *Playboy* with "private" scenes of (foreign) nude, young girls whom he portrays as "cousins," embracing and displaying themselves for the reader's entertainment. Publicly displayed images of these youngsters (unsubstantiated as either cousins or lesbians) is not presented as possibly harmful for the girl models now or later, when they gain their age of majority.

25) *Incest/Rape of "Retarded Nymphette"* (11/76, p. 147). As in cartoons, *Playboy* photos have generally utilized "themes" to exploit child nudity. "Sex in Cinema" has been a theme which permitted *Playboy* to "report" explicit pictures of nude children in foreign films and/or sexually graphic but unscreened outcunts from American films. This photo unscrupulously and glibly describes a "retarded nymphette" about to be "ravished" by her "father" figure.

26) *Incest/Father-Daughter* (11/80). Using a now famous actor/director and a well known child star, this film outcut portrays a father apparently about to perform oral sex on his young daughter. Again, *Playboy* 's text artfully suggests that incest is harmless for a father or his child.

27) *Adolescent and Simulated Lesbian* (8/71). This typical Hamilton photo-essay "peeps" at (foreign) young girls during the "growth" stage. Hamilton poses the girls as self-exploring and lesbian. Despite the documented abuse of nude models (from obscene phone calls to violent rape-murders), the harmless, artistic nature of posing is emphasized and no possibility of present or future harm to the young girls from sex display is presented.

28) *Teen Nude* (8/78, p. 238). Relying upon the sexually mature appearance of the youngster to legitimize (the now illegal) sexual exploitation of an underage youth, *Playboy* knowingly used this nude photo of Natassja Kinski at 17 years of age. The use of voluntarily nude young "actresses" further undermines the sensitivity of readers regarding the capability of young persons, such as 15-year-old Pen house pet Tracy Lords (9/84), to give consent to their irreversible appearance in public sex displays. The Attorney General's pending legislation will require a 21-year-age-of-consent cap for nude/sex models. Not surprisingly, the cap is opposed by the sex industry.

29) "Pseudo-Child" (4/76, cover). Fantasizing child sex for the reader, *Playboy* dresses the explicit, sexually seductive, half-nude adult in a white vaginal petticoat, black patent Mary Jane shoes and white tights, finishing with a little-girl blond hair-do. She sits on a white bedroom rocker, encircled by child symbols in her pink, blue and white wallpapered bedroom. Clutching her (surrogate *Playboy* reader) white "bunny" to her full breast and surrounded by her small Crinkshoes, vulnerable pastel-colored dolls and stuffed animals, she gazes out at the reader with a little-girl, "come-hither" pout. Similar semi-nude child-adults are now regular features in sexually explicit magazines, films and videos. (Note that this April 1967 *Playboy* was the magazine our two little children are examining on the *Washingtonian* cover.)

Several medical and photo- montage experts examined this cover. Each independently concluded that two, perhaps three bodies, were combined to create this cut-and-paste female image. The child clothing and props were all carefully designed to create child arousal stimuli by blurring perceptual distinctions between child and adult females. As in cartoons, technically deceptive photos suggest to both normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers that the child is a woman and the woman is a child and thus both children and woman may be envisioned as appropriate sexual objects.

30) "Peeping" (11/71, p.174). An ostensibly natural, "private" scene of two nude youths in love provides public entertainment for *Playboy* viewers. This may be said to undermine the sensitivity of readers regarding the right of children to attain their majority before giving consent to sex displays. These two youngsters are seen as under 18. The 21-year-age-of-consent is meant to provide youth with an opportunity to mature prior to being legally acceptable as at-risk nude sex objects. That is, such models serve, irreversibly, as a stimulus to the imaginations and possible behaviors of some portion of the public large.

VII: PENTHOUSE CHILD "SEX EDUCATION" PHOTOGRAPHS

31) *A 12-Year-Old Sex Object* (1/76, p. 54). This explicit *Penthouse* display included graphic genital and anal exposure of an apparent 12-year-old child. For several months following this photo-story, *Penthouse* conducted a "guessing game" with prizes for readers who guessed the "real" age of "Baby Breeze." Eventually the publisher claimed the English "Baby" to be 21 years old (unsubstantiated), further blurring perceptual distinctions between child and adult females as appropriate sexual objects for both normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers.

32) *A Six-Year-Old Sex Object* (1/81, p.133). This *Penthouse* model's face alone (as it appeared in the opening photo of this photo-essay) was shown to doctors attending Dr. Reisman's seminar for pediatricians at Georgetown University Hospital. From the model's face, the pediatricians judged her to be six years of age. As this photo-essay continued, the "child" attained breasts and became a "woman," and graphic genital exposure and images of "fantasy" violence were added. The repeated magazine genre theme both in cartoons and later in photos has been a blurring of distinctions between child and adult females as appropriate sexual objects for both normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers.

VIII: HUSTLER CHILD "SEX EDUCATION" PHOTOGRAPHS

33) Incest/Child Molestation (1/76, p. 82). Arguably, the small boy has been manually stimulated to erection for this illegal, "spontaneous" photo-essay, implying the harmlessness of mother and son sex.

34) Child Assault (2/75, p. 68). This extensive photo-essay pictures a nude young girl with a clothed middle-aged man. The youngster has not attained pubic hair as yet, or it has been removed to suggest a much younger child.

35) *Scout Display* (10/76). *Hustler* often dresses their child or adult sex models in Brownie, Girl Scout, Camp Fire Girl, Candy Stripe uniforms, etc., in photo-essays. Based upon general research conducted on "paired stimuli" (See discussion in Volume I of the "Reisman Report"), genital/anal displays of nude young models dressed in children's uniforms would place some such uniformed children at increased risk of assault from associationally stimulated normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers.

36) Child Sex Display (8/83). The "little girl" is displayed genitally and analy. Allegedly an adult, the text claims, "You would be surprised what a "little girl can do..." Always, these photos systematically blur the social, physical, and emotional distinctions between female children and adults as appropriate sexual targets for both normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers. This photo repeats the same sex educative cartoon information discussed earlier, suggesting that adult-child sex/violence is fun and harmless physically and emotionally for even the youngest of children.

*NOTE: Child Surrogates: the increased use of shaved female genitalia in all three magazines continues to simulate children as sex objects for the stimulation of both normal and pedophile juvenile and adult readers.

The following 36 cartoons and photos are numbered as per foregoing discussions.
1. Playboy: 9/72, p. 195, Artist: Unknown

"Harold, aren't you going to give your sweet old grandmother any pot?"

2. Playboy: 12/70, p. 296, Artist: Unknown

"That was strong grass! I've got visions of sugar plums dancing in my head."


"It was a fantastic party! There was great coke, 'Ludes, pot, group sex, and Marge mixed the most fabulous guacamole dip."

4. Playboy: 3/70, p. 221, Artist: Unknown

"It's fair enough. The little squirt borrows our car, we borrow his pot."
5. Playboy: 3/72, p. 163, Artist: Ffolkes

"But first of all, we have to ask Teddy's permission, and that costs $40."


"Everything's fine, Momma. Uncle William and I are playing a game called consequences."

7. Playboy: 10/71, p. 166, Artist: Interlandi

"You call that being molested?"

8. Playboy: 3/78, p. 231, Artist: Ffolkes

"That's them, officer!"

"Yeah! and he gives you one of these, just for straight sex, no deviations!"


"If you nice people don't want to buy any matches, how about a ménage à trois?"

11. Penthouse: 5/84, p. 137, Artist: Cummings

"For a guy without a brain, he does okay."

12. Penthouse: 11/82, p. 171, Artist: Lee

HELLO, MOMMY, I MET THIS NICE POLITICAL LEADER FROM THE MORAL MAJORITY ON CAPITOL HILL,...

"Gee...I'd love to go to the drive-in, Tommy, but my dad has some, uh, extra household chores for me tonight."


15. *Hustler*: 3/77, Artist: Tinsley

16. *Hustler*: 10/77, Artist: Tinsley
17. Playboy: 1/77, p. 221, Artist: Wilson

"Bring in another!"


"The lady at the employment office said the only prerequisite was the ability to fly."

19. Penthouse: 12/74, p. 87, Artist: Medoff

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"

20. Penthouse: 12/77, p. 208, Artist: Unknown

"That'll teach you to be a good boy."

"Young Girl"...[and her] "Rubber Ducky."

23. *Playboy*: 8/75, p. (AD), Photo: Unknown

"How one family solved its discipline problem"

"This is Jane. When she is nice, she is very nice. But when she is naughty, she has to be punished."

22. *Playboy*: 11/71, p. 120, Photo: Smith

Incest ("Come on Strong, Big Daddy")


Simulated Lesbian/Incest
25. *Playboy*: 11/76, p. 147, Photo: Unknown

Incest/Rape of "Retarded Nymphette"


Incest/Father—Daughter

27. *Playboy*: 8/71, Photo: Hamilton

Adolescent and Simulated Lesbian


17-year-old Nude Display

PLAYBOY

Defy the IRS!
A Revolutionary Movement Takes Root in America
The Gripping New 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 Makers
How Adam Lost His Virginity


Typical Pseudo-child

31. Penthouse: 1/76, p. 54, Photo: Finkei

"Baby Breeze"

32. Penthouse: 1/81, p. 133, Photo: Unknown

Adolescent boy and girl displayed as "lovers."

In facial portrait only, Georgetown pediatricians judged model as 6-years-old.
33. *Hustler*: 1/76, p. 82, Photo: Unknown

34. *Hustler*: 2/75, p. 68, Photo: Unknown

35. *Hustler*: 10/76, Photo: Unknown

36. *Hustler*: 8/83, Photo: Klatt

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Incest Mother/Son

Adolescent Fantasy

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"You would be surprised what a 'little girl' can do..."
SELECTED FINDINGS

Child Depictions

Basic Facts:
49% (2,971) photographs
34% (2,016) cartoons
17% (1,017) illustrations

PRINCIPAL CHILD
47% female
32% male
21% both/other

SEX
49% male
35% female
16% both/other

AGE
78% adults
7% 3-11 years
7% 12-17 years

CHILD***********************************************************************************

OTHER CHARACTER
Where Depicted
8% fetus-2 years
16% unspecified
14% pseudo children (*)
20% genital act (
12% sexual encounter with adult

RACE
85% Caucasian
3% Black
12% Other minority

SHARE OF CHILD DEPICTIONS (NONADDITIVE)

29% nude/genital display (visuals only)
21% visually exposed/sexualized
20% genital activity
16% sexual encounter with adult

10% force
10% killing/murder/maiming
6% internal genital (“pink”) exposure (visuals only coded)
4% sex with animals/objects

Share of Child Depictions by Magazine**

Playboy: 8 avg/issue (5% of Playboy cartoons/visuals)
Penthouse: 6 avg/issue (4% of Penthouse cartoons/visuals)
Hustler: 14 avg/issue (12% of Hustler cartoons/visuals)

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

Sample Child Depictions (Nonadditive)

29% nude/genital display (visuals only)
21% visually exposed/sexualized
20% genital activity
16% sexual encounter with adult

10% force
10% killing/murder/maiming
6% internal genital (“pink”) exposure (visuals only coded)
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Playboy highest year: 1971 (N=187, or 16 per issue)
Penthouse highest year: 1972 (N=131, or 11 per issue)
Hustler highest year: 1978 (N=228, or 19 per issue)

Sample Crime and Violence Depictions: (Nonadditive)

56% violent props (Visuals only)
32% nude and/or sexualized victims
14% killing/murder
14% assault/battery
12% sex dealing/prostitution
12% violent sex act
12% other violent activity
11% white collar crime

Share of Crime and Violence Depictions by Magazine:

Playboy: 21 avg/issue (12% of cartoons/visuals)
Penthouse: 16 avg/issue (10% of cartoons/visuals)
Hustler: 32 avg/issue (26% 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

Playboy: 29 average per issue
Penthouse: 22 average per issue
Hustler: 46 average per issue

Appendix

The Institute for Media Education
Box 7404
Arlington, VA 22207

Note on methodology for estimating the number of features per magazine, 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. 95-96).

** For rationale of estimates, see "Overview of Project (Volume I), Table I, "Average Total Number of Features Per Magazine." (p. 95), and Tables "Crime and Violence Data" (p. 133), "Crime and Violence Cartoon Data" (p. 134), and "Crime and Violence Visual Data" (p. 137).
APPENDIX B

Pornography Evaluation

by

Janet Negley, Ph.D. & Marianne Wamboldt, M.D.

and

An Anonymous
Art Education Museum Curator
for a Washington D.C. Museum
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
General Comments

The eighteen examples offered for evaluation seemed to be represented 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, that is, 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 1950s). 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 woman. 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 teenagers, 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, often their mothers, 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 possibility 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 embarrassment, 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 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.

Once 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 toward young girls which the man had been keeping at bay.
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; 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 that 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; for example, 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 toward children. The description and quote on the previous page is personally repugnant in that I don't think what she represents is "everything 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 teenager, with all the trappings of childhood. In particular, she is not showing any female body parts, i.e., 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 a particularly confusing picture for a teenage 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 than *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 incongruous 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 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 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 embarrassment and fury. The difficulty of the cartoon is that we are all so familiar with the situation that we think it's funny 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 gives too much permission for sexual play, and indeed, may pressure young girls to become sexual before they are ready.
Comments of a professional art educator and historian who is on the staff of a major U.S. museum.

MEMORANDUM TO DR. JUDITH REISMAN

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, January 1981—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 come that it might be appealing to have sex with a juvenile.

Playboy, August 1975—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, November 1971—Again this is the pandering to the issue or 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, October 1979—The little-girl image as a sex object again, this time no suggestion intended, but a more forceful invitation to sex.

Playboy, November 1971—This bad photograph is offensive but not at all sexually suggestive.

Playboy, November 1968—Again, a child as an explicit sex object/target.

Playboy, March 1970—Gang rape connected with children through the image and one of the most popular juvenile tales.

Hustler, November, 1982—This is the raunchiest sort of exploitation of the Oz theme again. Disgusting.

Playboy, November 1954—Making a joke of the relation of a juvenile with a prostitute.

Penthouse, December 1976—Not funny, sexual molestation using, again, childhood myths.

Playboy, March 1972—Again, the cult of childhood and children's fantasies tied to sex.

Hustler, January 1977—A disgusting and ineptly-drawn cartoon that tries to make fun of a serious societal problem.
*Hustler*, October 1978—Violence, but this has no meaning for me sexually, probably because it is so badly conceived.

*Hustler*, October 1978—Is it possible that *Hustler* is trying to make a moral point with this terribly-drawn piece?

*Seventeen*, August 1984—Possibly a double-entendre but not really sexually explicit.

*Seventeen* and *Glamour*, September 1985—Meaningless to me and not really sexually explicit.

*Playboy*, October 1979—Inviting sexual exploitation but not raunchy.
APPENDIX C

NCAA Fact Sheet

on

Playboy, Athletes, Drugs and Children

and letter from

Linnea W. Smith, M.D.
Fact Sheet for
The National Collegiate Athletic Association
on
Sports, Children, Drugs, and Crime and Violence
in Playboy Magazine

Why would NCAA be concerned about the content of magazines in which NCAA athletes appear?

Athletes are acknowledged as primary heroic role models for American youth. Any magazine which profiles prominent American athletes is naturally sought out, read, and traded by juvenile males. Since youngsters may review the magazine content favorably due to the presence of admired athletes, its content should appropriately reflect the time-honored image of American Sports. Youngsters are drawn to those publications which profile their admired heroes: magazines such as Sports Illustrated, Basketball Times, Basketball Digest, Sport, Football Digest, Baseball, and Playboy. While sports magazines cater mainly to the sports community, does a sexually oriented magazine such as Playboy serve the long term interests of the sports community?

To answer this question, the following fact sheet briefly addresses specific components of Playboy, its depictions of sports, its record on drug use, its treatment of children, its standards on crime and violence, and its position on male sexuality. Workshops on these issues are strongly urged.

1. Are sports figures portrayed in Playboy?

Nearly every Playboy publication (N=368) has carried some article, interview, review, or reference to sports.

- Approximately 10% of major Playboy interviewees were sports figures
- Since November 1977, Playboy has annually canoed top collegiate basketball players and collegiate football players since the '50's.

2. What are the selection criterion for Playboy's All-America Team?

The selection method is unclear. Does the publication employ a group of experts as do legitimate polls, i.e., UPI, AP, U.S. Basketball Writers, etc.? Apparently the magazine will exclude those players from the All-America Team who are unwilling or unable to be photographed.
3. Has Playboy been involved in legalized gambling?

The income from foreign gambling casinos was a significant source of profit for Playboy Enterprises during the late '70s until the early '80s. At that time Playboy was forced to sell its casinos in England because of violations against British gaming laws. Following that, Playboy entered a joint venture to establish a Playboy Casino in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Playboy was forced to sell its interest, however, because New Jersey rejected Playboy's application for license due to previous legal difficulties.

4. Were sports associated with drugs in Playboy?

Playboy has profiled sports along with depictions of recreational sex since 1953. Depictions of recreational drugs emerged in 1968. Decriminalization of drugs has been a primary editorial, legislative, and financial Playboy commitment since November 1970 (See Addendum Part 1, "An Abbreviated Chronology of Playboy Magazine's Drug Policy.")

Beginning in the late '60s, a minimum of 293 visual drug scenarios were identified. 82 (28%) of these involving juveniles. Moreover, we estimate several thousand textual drug references were included since the early '70s. The majority of this information promoted recreational drug use. Moreover, a review of these texts found that criticism of drug use focused upon the individual's personality as the determinant of abuse.


Most recreational drug references were located in The "Playboy Forum," "Forum Newsfront," letters to the editor, advice columns, interviews, jokes and film reviews. Many references were found in special articles, colorful graphs and charts and reports of drug legislation. Governmental abuse of young users was a prominent topic.

Many drug references were juxtaposed with information on sports figures and the "All-America Teams." An example of the magazine's combination of sports, recreational sex, and recreational drugs can be seen in the September 1978 issue. Adjacent to the "Drugs '78" article was: 1) Playboy's "Pigskin Preview"; 2) graphically nude "Girls of the Pack 10" and; 3) a rainbow colored and detachable "drug centerfold."

5. Does Playboy provide informal drug education to American juveniles?

Until Playboy, no reputable American publication brought positive drug information within easy reach of juvenile consumption. Research surveys document this publication and this genre as primary sex education for American youth. Although no major surveys have examined the role of these magazines in juvenile drug education, Playboy drug charts, games, cartoons, jokes, editorials, articles, and legislative successes are by definition part of the readers' drug education.

*Based on a preliminary examination of total text content.
6. Do children read Playboy? Would its contents appeal to children?

According to Mediamark Research, Inc. (Spring 1984. M-1), Playboy has at minimum, a monthly audience of nearly 16 million adults. In 1975 over 6 million in-home readers had one or more children residing in their domiciles. The "Playboy Advisor" has printed advice to sexual queries allegedly from juveniles.* The publication is aware that the magazine has been, and continues to be, a source of education for youngsters.

While juveniles are not counted as readers in official marketing statistics, most studies on early sex information identify Playboy as primary informal sex education for children. In 1979 psychologist Aaron Hass identified Playboy as a sex education forum relied upon by juveniles for information and often for advice, values, and mores (Teenage Sexuality, 1979).

Our analysis identified a minimum of 30% of Playboy cartoons and illustrations holding special appeal for children, i.e., Santa Claus cartoons and illustrations, Cowboys and Indians, coloring books and cut-outs, sports figures and the like. For example, Playboy published a colorful drug game, "Feds 'N Heads" in May 1971. We called these visuals "Child Magnets."

7. Did Playboy portray children with licit or illicit drugs?

A content analysis of 377 Playboy issues yielded 3,045 child images, an average of 8.2 images per issue. Our research on the magazines' visual and cartoon materials identified 158 (5%) of Playboy's 3,045 child images associated with the use of drugs or alcohol.

- 52% (82) of the 158 child images were drug related. More than half of the child visuals included illegal drugs such as marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and PCP. (The number of child cartoons involving marijuana, cocaine, PCP, etc., is not yet available although it is in our database. At this time, we estimate approximately 30-40 additional child drug cartoons.)
- 48% (76) of the 158 child images were alcohol related.

8. Has Playboy portrayed children in sexual or violent scenes?

Although Playboy currently states that they have never portrayed children in sexual encounters with adults, 415 (14%) of the 3,045 images associated children in some sexual scene with adults. In comparison to the 415 child/adult sex associations, a maximum of only 17 images involved the negative health consequences of recreational sex—venereal disease, etc. Included in the 3,045 images were:

- 21% (646) images associated children with nudity
- 14% (424) images associated children with genital activity
- 8% (236) captions to visuals described a child in sexual terms

*A recent letter, alleged from a juvenile, with the Playboy advisor's reply is available upon request.
7% (208) images associated children with force
6% (184) images associated children with genital/anal exposure
3% (82) images associated children with sex with animals or objects
2% (54) captions described a child in violent terms
Altogether, 1% (33) child images were associated with "runaway" or venereal disease scenarios
0.46% (14) adults were portrayed with hairless (shaved) genitalia, simulating child genitalia
43% (1,323) were photographs
39% (1,196) were cartoons
17% (526) were illustrations
A major Playboy photographic technique for displaying adult-child sex was via its "Sex in Cinema" feature (including oral and incestuous activity).
Nearly all depictions of child sexual abuse portrayed the child as unharmed or benefited by the activity.

9. Were some of these child images associated with the liquor and cigarette advertisements?

Liquor and cigarette advertisers apparently felt it was inappropriate to associate children with their products. In contrast with the 3,045 Playboy depictions of children in 373 magazines, this industry only included 0.13% (10) child images out of 7,505 of its liquor and cigarette advertisements.

10. Does Playboy sexualize violence?

Corroborating the Malamuth and Spinner's (1980) research on violence in "best-selling erotic magazines," our data document 8,009 scenarios and 10,740 acts of crime and/or violence associated with Playboy's graphically sexual content. These included: the trivialization of gang rape, incestuous abuse, juvenile prostitution, necrophilia, and sadomasochistic activity. For example:

- Approximately 38% (3,068) images of nude/genital display were found in the 8,009 crime and violence scenarios
- 1,483 visual images of violent props: guns, whips, knives, chains, and bats
- 1,121 images of assault and battery
- 1,006 images of killing or near killing
- 586 images of direct sexual violence
- Text and articles on sexualized violence have dramatically increased since the late 1960's

11. Hard-core magazines are known to be used by sex offenders. Has this magazine also been documented in cases of child sexual abuse?

Playboy has been used in the sexual entrapment of children. Its use is confirmed by numerous case histories, testimonies of sex offenders, and incest survivors, as well as research on child pornography, child prostitution and sex rings, and onsite crime evidence. It is therefore of some concern that most children depicted in Playboy were between six and eleven years of age—the most common age group for actual incestuous abuse and general child maltreatment.

Our slides identify two Playboy-associated crime site cases. The first case involves child sexual abuse: the second is an auterotic fatality. In both, Playboy photos were the visual stimuli used for the activity. In the first example, the adult offender disinhibited an adolescent sister and brother with the magazine
photographs. Hard-core magazines are often poor quality, less available, and more foreign to a child. In this case, attractive content and famous people made it easier to persuade the child to pose for child pornography.

12. Would sexualized violence be imitated?

The body of recent research on depictions of sexualized violence has found that viewing "positive-outcome-rape" depictions often leads men to believe force fulfills female sexual fantasies (Donnerstein & Malamuth, Pornography and Aggression, 1984). This question, however, requires a detailed response precluded by our brief format. Here, Dr. Bernie Zilbergeld's arguments seem worthy of prudent consideration:

Women in the fantasy model [Playboy or Penthouse] are also portrayed as wanting sex all the time and wanting to be handled roughly, no matter how much they may request gentleness or protest the male's sexual advances.... She means yes even if she says no. She wants to be taken despite her protestations, she wants roughness.... Is it any wonder that men in the real world have trouble knowing what to do when a woman says 'No' or 'Stop.' ...(Male Sexuality, 1978, pp. 31-2).

Both researchers and feminists have voiced concern that pornography plays a role in the increasing reports of campus gang rape. Although it is believed that the vast majority of gang rape incidents go unreported, a recently published study by the Association of American Colleges identified more than 50 incidents occurring at a wide range of academic institutions during a 2-year period. The majority of reported incidents occurred at fraternity parties while a smaller number involved college athletes.

In addition to sexual violence against children, our coders identified a minimum of 586 cartoons and pictorials describing adult sexual violence. Most of the cartoons were positive-outcome-rape or assaults in trains, beaches, planes: gang rapes or tricking a woman into sex via false marriage contracts, marijuana, liquor. Sadistic sexual pictures of rape and torture were often found in Playboy's movie reviews, including "Sex in Cinema."

13. How is male sexuality defined in Playboy?

Many researchers have charged that the Playboy/Penthouse genre has a negative influence on male sexual satisfaction. They have pointed to the depiction of men and boys as manipulators and "hunters," out for female sexual conquest. And they have warned that men were given expectations of constant macho sexual performance, leading to frustration, recrimination, and occasionally impotence. Dr. Bernie Zilbergeld also observed that the magazine consistently mislead and ridiculed men about their sexuality. He especially singled out the role of cartoons:

Humor is the basic source of education.... and sexual humor boasts all the old crap and all the old fears. It counts. Sex is loaded with anxiety, even for ten-year-olds.... Cartoons that poke fun at impotence or other male inadequacies would outweigh any supportive things said in the advice column (cited in Weyr, Reaching for Paradise, 1978, p. 218).

Conversely, Dr. Dolf Zillman of the Institute for Communications Research at Indiana University, commented on the possible effect of pornography on women's attitudes toward men:
This research focused on callousness toward women. It is conceivable, of course, that massive exposure to pornography promotes women's sexual callousness toward men as well (Pornography and Sexual Aggression, 1985, p. 135).

14. Until recently, people thought of Playboy as a contemporary publication. With this new knowledge do they still feel that way?

Times are changing... Until recently it was reasonable to suggest that a large number of people saw Playboy as an intellectually adventurous magazine which also portrayed pretty young women in the nude. Breaking away from rigid sexual stereotypes, the Playboy editorial team was seen as creating an image of healthy admiration for the girl-next-door—nude. Our research does document a somewhat more complex sociosexual Playboy agenda: one which involved the magazine as both pro-actively and reactively affecting the current mores of the American male—thus American society.

We now know that Playboy has mixed drugs, sex, violence, and children in its pictorial and text format. Researchers such as Zillman, Court, and Malamuth have all concluded that the mix of sex and violence affects normal men, socializing self-admitted callousness toward and even interest in sexualized violence. Russell, Finklehor, and Burgess' research, and federal testimony established the use of sex materials to coerce wives, girlfriends, and children into both abhorrent and violent sex acts. Said Dr. Neil Malamuth, Communication Studies, U.C.L.A.:

... the portrayal of sexual aggression within such "legitimate" magazines as Playboy or Penthouse may have a greater impact than comparable portrayals in hard-core pornography (Pornography and Sexual Aggression, 1985, p. 42).

The public assessment parallels that of the sex researchers. The Gallup Newsweek poll in March 1985 reported that 73 percent of respondents felt sexually explicit materials lead some people to sexual violence, and 93 percent said magazines with sexual violence should be strictly controlled. Issues of children and drugs in these magazines have never been addressed. Other researchers have identified violent content in Playboy. Few people realize that a popular magazine such as Playboy has, for years, carried mixed messages of sex, images of children as appropriate sexual partners, drug advocacy, male sexual inadequacy, and crime and violence. Our future research will further identify these components over time.

ADDENDUM

PART I

Abbreviated Chronology of Playboy Magazine's Drug Policy

• September 1966: "Pigskin Preview" issue, Playboy interviews Timothy Leary, proponent of drug experimentation.

• October 1967: Playboy editorial identifies its future drug policy and begins ongoing editorial and financial campaign to decriminalize marijuana use.

• January 1968: Playboy begins "Forum Newsfront" which then carries—from 1968-86—approximately 35% of the drug information previously presented in "Letters" and advisor columns.
• Late 1970: *Playboy* supplies $5,000 to attorney Keith Stroup to establish the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML). *Playboy's* continuing financial support of NORML is part of the magazine's commitment to the reform of oppressive U.S. drug laws (01/79, p. 387).


• May 1971: *Playboy* publishes the drug game "Feds 'N' Heads." This was a "board" game directing players to spin and win marijuana. (high school users were identified as part of "game")

• Late 1971: *Playboy* contributes $100,000, the first of many grants, to NORML for 1972 drug campaign (02/77, p. 152).

• September 1972: "Pigskin Preview" issue, *Playboy* publishes the first *Playboy Drug Chart* and proposes to decriminalize marijuana.

• October 1973: NORML/Playboy efforts result in the first state decision to decriminalize marijuana use in Oregon.

• May 1975: NORML/Playboy efforts result in Supreme Court judgement for private marijuana use in Alaska.

• September 1976: "Pigskin Preview" issue, letter to the *Advisor* from cocaine user does not receive advise to cease cocaine use, but rather how one tests for cocaine purity, suggesting a text: The Gourmet Coke Book for quality control directions.

• November 1976: *Playboy* editorial advocates decriminalization of all drugs: marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and the like.

• December 1976: *Playboy* efforts result in successful judicial decision to decriminalize cocaine laws in Massachusetts.

• February 1977: *Playboy* interviews Keith Stroup, Director of NORML. Stroup thanks *Playboy* for funding NORML and publicizes the *Playboy/NORML 'inside joke'" about NORCL. *Playboy* asks Stroup, "Shall we tell the world about NORCL?" (the National Organization for the Reform of Cocaine Laws). This article is in concert with all *Playboy* articles on marijuana in that reflects an editorially biased, pro-drug position (02/77, p. 152).

• February 1977: NORML/Playboy efforts result in charges against suspects dropped in Montana "marijuana raid" (01/79, p. 387).

• March 1977: NORML/Playboy efforts result in decision to decriminalize marijuana for "medical" purposes in Washington, D.C.

• February 1978: NORML/Playboy efforts result in successful decision to decriminalize marijuana use for "medical" purposes in New Mexico and three other states.

December 1979: “Cocaine Defense”—Playboy article identifying their funding of legal and technical defenses in cocaine prosecutions.

May 1981: letter to the Advisor receives technical drug directions to remedy negative cocaine effects, and advice promoting higher quality cocaine.

April 1982: Dr. Ronald Seigel, Playboy cocaine expert, writes of his testimony in the Massachusetts vs Richard Miller case, which was supported by Playboy and which first declared the cocaine/narcotic classification unconstitutional. ...As it stands now, the most dangerous aspect of cocaine use is getting caught and suffering the criminal penalties for a narcotic defense” (p. 63.) [author’s emphasis].

September 1983: “Pigskin Preview” issue, Don Rogers appears as an “All American Team” defensive back. Continuing its drug information bias, Playboy prints an “expert” article by philosophy professor Dr. Richard Sharvy, who states that if we “Legalize heroin, cocaine, marijuana, homosexuality, teenage sex, prostitution, public nudity, pornography ...” (p. 52) society will be safer/better. By omitting alternative argument or an editorial challenge, Playboy supports Sharvy’s conclusions regarding the public’s “right” to drug use.

September 1984: “Pigskin Preview” issue, Cocaine: A Special Report: The 10% addiction solution. Playboy publishes major article decrying the horrors of cocaine abuse but suggesting only the “addictive personality,” (one who would be addicted to alcohol, sweets, or any food/drug) will be traumatically impacted by cocaine use. This notion is maintained throughout the article by experts such as Seigel (cited in 4/82) that “personalities” tend to account for the problems of drug abuse. Drug “use” is not seen as the problem. Widespread use of drugs by athletes strongly indicates that many in the athletic community view themselves as part of the 90% of society suggested by Playboy as persons able to control and enjoy the benefits of cocaine use.

December 1985: Why Drug Enforcement Doesn’t Work: This article argues that since “[t]here is more money in illegal drug traffic than in any other business on earth,“ the efforts to legally control drugs should be abandoned. By omitting alternative argument or an editorial challenge, Playboy supports Gonzales’ conclusions regarding, in effect, legalization of all drug use.

January 1986: “Collegiate Basketball Preview” issue, Len Bias appears as a “All America Team” forward. Drugs are mentioned positively several times in this January issue. In “Killer,” a fictional story with a “non-white” hero, difficult feats are accomplished under massive drug influence. One drug-taking scenario concludes with the stoned hero celebrating himself as, “a new man, for a new season (p. 206)” [author’s emphasis].
DRAFT OF PLAYBOY DRUG INFORMATION IN FOUR TEXT FEATURES:
"DEAR PLAYBOY," NEWSFRONT, THE ADVISOR, AND FORUM

Based upon a preliminary analysis of these four text features, we estimate that, spanning seventeen years from 1966 to 1986 (certain years were not available at present), there were:

- 860 text references to chemical substance abuse
- An average of 51 references per year
- 92 references in the peak year of 1975
- 14 references in the lowest year of 1985
- 62.4% positive chemical substance references
- 6.3% negative chemical substance references
- 31.3% neutral chemical substance references

Among the 31.3% neutral references, the majority included a humorous or positive component

- Beyond the 860 text references, 158 child images/cartoons were drug/alcohol related.
- In 1963-65 a random sample of 7 months yielded only 18 references to chemical substances. All of these were alcohol. Marijuana and LSD became prominent in 1966. Marijuana dominated Playboy scenarios and peaked with a ratio of 6 to 1 by 1972 and 1974, while other substances such as amyl nitrate, heroin, and LSD moved into the substance use text. By 1975 cocaine emerged as a drug of choice, although the higher ratio of marijuana to other chemicals—including alcohol—still held in 1976. A full text and pictorial analysis is underway from December 1953 to the present.

- As citizen drug use has dramatically increased over the last few years, the radical decrease in Playboy drug "letters" and "advice" in 1985 suggests an editorial decision, verifying Playboy’s past decades of drug normalization text.

- An examination of other magazine classifications such as jokes, interviews and fiction, may identify a chronological shift from drugs-in-letters, etc., to other drugs-in-features. For example, the noted January 1986 Len Bias issue had no letters or advisor drug text. Rather, its drugs-in-fiction suggested the advantages of drug experimentation.

Due to the time restrictions faced in preparing this text, the Playboy drug record is incomplete. A complete analysis of the entire history of the Playboy magazine editorial drug policy is underway with particular focus upon text: letters to the editor, and advisor columns.
PLAYBOY PROMOTES DRUGS UP TO 1990

May 1987: "The Dangers of Drugs," mailed nationwide to sports leaders, falsely claimed only 10% of the public could be addicted to cocaine and thus harmed. Marijuana was implicitly cleared.


January 8, 1990: The Wall Street Journal says:

Aerial surveillance has chased many growers indoors, where up to half of the domestic crop is now grown . . . Untold tens of thousands of compact growing closets—in which eight or 10 plants can be raised—are installed in American homes. One closet can grow half a pound of buds, worth $1,500 or $2,000, every three months. ("California's Unwinnable War Against Marijuana")

While the nation annually spends billions of tax dollars to stop drug use, Playboy continues profiting as a major pusher, placing full-color ads for the kind of marijuana closets that The Wall Street Journal says: "grow half a pound of buds."
March 27, 1986

Dear NABC members and families,

I am writing this letter to encourage those in the athletic community to re-examine some issues regarding media image and influence. Not only am I concerned as a parent and as a basketball fan, but I am also writing as a psychiatrist and as the spouse of one who has spent a lifetime career in college athletics.

Annually, since 1977, college basketball players and coaches have appeared in Playboy magazine as Playboy’s All-America Team, which is part of the College Basketball Preview. Professional and college football have been represented in Playboy for a longer period of time.

In most of the past 10 years, the basketball players and coaches selected by Playboy have received expense-paid trips to Chicago where they had their photographs taken to appear in the magazine. In the late 70’s, I accompanied my husband to Chicago where he was photographed to subsequently appear in the publication.

Until recently, perhaps like many of you, I was part of a 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, we may have been influenced to not risk being labelled prudish or repressed.

Employing sophisticated marketing techniques, Playboy, I believe, is exploiting college basketball to enhance its circulation and legitimize its publication. More than 4 million copies of the Playboy College Basketball Preview issue are sold each year, reflecting a minimum monthly audience of almost 16 million adults. The millions of juvenile readers exposed to this “adult entertainment” magazine are not included in the Mediamark research figure (spring, 1984).

Because athletes are so popular and visible, athletes and coaches are important role models to our youth, and our youth are very vulnerable to the information presented in the magazine. It is important to increase our awareness of the context in which athletes appear when they are pictured in Playboy.

Here are some subjects that have been covered and/or depicted in Playboy over the years:

—Children in sexual environments in photographs, cartoons and illustrations
—Children associated with licit or illicit drugs
—Recreational drug use associated with sexual pleasure, and enlightened, fearless behavior
—Sex with crime and violence
—Sports figures involved in drug, sex, and violence scenarios

We are now living in a society with pervasive mainstream media bombardment of explicit and dehumanizing sexuality. Adolescents perceive pressure to be sexually active, and our children repeatedly and appropriately respond that they don’t know what adults’ values are.

Precocious and indiscriminate sexuality is not without social, medical and psychological consequences. Sexually transmitted diseases are epidemic and many have serious lifelong complications. There has been an enormous increase in sexual crimes of all kinds. Teenage pregnancy is a humanitarian and 16 billion dollar a year national crisis.
Another key social issue identified by Playboy Enterprises has been "recreational" drug consumption. The magazine focuses on "recreational" drug use while ignoring or trivializing potential harmful effects. The Playboy Foundation has contributed substantially to organizations lobbying for the decriminalization of "recreational" drugs.

It's too simplistic to suggest one magazine is a direct and significant cause of drug abuse but it is a generally accepted, widely circulated magazine that contains the message that recreational drugs are okay. Collegiate basketball and the NCAA are participating in a general educational program to assist in the important effort to eradicate drug use, especially in our youth. Does it make sense for college athletes and coaches to appear in this magazine?

**Does college basketball want this association with Playboy?**

I am aware of one individual player who turned down his invitation to go to Chicago last year and consequently, was left off the Playboy All-American team. We must question the ethical position of the magazine in picking another player as "best" rather than informing readers that this individual chose not to appear or was unable to be photographed. His refusal certainly didn't hurt his publicity and exposure throughout the season. There are a number of legitimate polls, who employ groups of experts in the selection process, where athletes can be recognized.

I urge those in college athletic programs, players, coaches, and administrators, to re-examine this association, and to participate in an important individual and collective decision-making process.

A leadership role by the athletic community has significant potential for positive social change.

Sincerely,

Linnea W. Smith, M.D.
SPEIRS NOMINATION TO HEAD OJJDP APPROVED BY CONGRESS

Editor's Note: The confirmation of Veme L. Speirs as administrator of the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was being held up by Sen. William L. Armstrong (R-Colo.) because of requests by anti-pornography groups. However, on July 22, Armstrong agreed to let the nomination go to the Senate floor for a vote. At 5 p.m. the Senate approved Speirs as OJJDP administrator. The controversy stemmed from the refusal, to date, of OJJDP to publish the final report of Dr. Judith Reisman's study of child sexual abuse depictions in three popular sexually oriented men's magazines: Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler.

Reisman received a $734,000 grant in 1983 to conduct the study, to be administered through The American University in Washington, D.C. In the study, Reisman and her research staff analyzed more than 6,000 images of children in cartoons and other pictures found in nearly 700 issues of the magazines. The study generated an enormous amount of controversy in Congress, especially because of its cost.

Reisman charges that the final report of the study was gutted by American University officials and, as a result, was criticized severely by peer review boards because of the faulty editing. She submitted her own version of the final report to OJJDP officials, who in turn sent it to American University officials and have refused to publish it, Reisman says.

(Continued on page two)
Speirs, who has been serving as acting administrator of OJJDP, made the decision last November not to publish Reisman's final report. She then took her cause to various anti-pornography groups, and, at the request of the groups, Sen. Armstrong, using a traditional Senate courtesy, placed a "hold" on confirmation of Speirs' nomination.

Backing Reisman in her efforts to get the Justice Department to publish the final report is the National Federation for Decency of Tupelo, Miss.

At the confirmation hearing of Speirs on May 20, he did not encounter much opposition, and Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said he backs Speirs as permanent administrator because Speirs had provided written assurances that he will support OJJDP and will be "an aggressive advocate within the Reagan Administration on juvenile justice issues."

Printed below is an article by Reisman regarding the controversy. OJJDP officials were invited to prepare a response, but declined the offer.

WHY DOES OJJDP REFUSE TO PUBLISH THE REISMAN REPORT?

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

Citizen groups and prominent academicians and feminists have been demanding that Vernon L. Speirs, acting administrator for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), release the real, fully authorized, Reisman Report to the public. That concern prompted Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.) of the Senate Judiciary Committee in May to request explanations from Speirs regarding the OJJDP dissemination of my final report, "A Content Analysis of Children Crime and Violence in the Pictorial Imagery of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler."

Since May, Sen. William Armstrong (R-Co.) has requested a courtesy hold on the confirmation proceedings in order to further investigate the matter.

Sen. Humphrey asked the nominee, among other things, why — on November 14, within 24 hours of its Nov. 13, 1986, receipt — OJJDP had couriered all six bound copies of my 360-page Volume I to my hostile host institution, The American University. Speirs was asked why my authorized report and findings were suppressed by OJJDP, unobtainable for public critique through Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA) requests. And, he was asked to answer my charge that no one at OJJDP ever even read the report, which the OJJDP director of research demanded be delivered on November 13.

Speirs was asked to explain his claim that the Reisman Report did not accomplish "the major objectives of the study," since past OJJDP Administrator Alfred Regnery testified to his knowledge:

"The product which you ultimately delivered ... was what we had asked you to do. The fact that it was apparently rejected by OJJDP did not, therefore, bear on the question of whether you performed under the grant, but was a political decision on the part of the acting administrator."

And past Deputy Administrator James Wootton, concurring with Regnery, added:

"Dr. Reisman's research accomplished what it set out to do. She analyzed the content of Penthouse, Playboy and Hustler and found that a pattern of depicting children as viable sex objects existed. There are obviously those that do not like the implications of those results and will do everything that they can to discredit those associated with this project."

As most readers of Juvenile Justice Digest know too well, my research — which dared to also examine Playboy, documented as the most popularly relied on U.S.A. sex education source for American men (and allegedly, boys) — has been in the crossfire since its inception in December 1983. The study received extensive attention from the media and in Senate hearings (April 11, 1984; Aug. 1, 1984; May 7, 1985; and May 20, 1987). At the onset, my investigation into the popular, sexually explicit entertainment media attracted an intense interest among a broad spectrum of political figures, academicians and broadcast and print journalists. However, as Rutgers University Professor Seymore Gilbert cautioned: "Those attacks certainly raised questions as to the motives of those endeavoring to abort an organized scholarly research project."
Looking realistically at the unrelenting and continued obstruction and assault upon me and this research effort, we do need to ask, as did Professor Gilbert, about the motives for these attacks. The time is right to describe the background to the controversy, and to identify some of the key players and research findings.

Background To Controversy

This research sparked interest among child welfare workers, justice professionals, public policy makers, communicators, First Amendment activists, citizens' organizations, sex educators, and parents as well as juveniles. Not surprisingly, the billion dollar sex industry sees financial and other interests which would benefit from suppression of both the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography Report and the Reisman Report. To accomplish their so-called goals, the sex industry hired Gray and Company, a firm with deep personal and economic ties to the conservative movement, the Reagan Administration and the Republican party.

Under the rubric of the Media Coalition (representing Playboy and Penthouse) Gray and Company (now called Hill and Knowlton) were to implement "preemptive strikes" which would undermine efforts to control the sex industry. Gray would mount a campaign to discredit anyone who might compromise the sales of Gray's client magazines, Playboy and Penthouse.

Reportedly having served as co-chairman of President Reagan's inaugural committee, Robert Gray's organization estimated its influence in the service of the Media Coalition would cost $900,000 per year. Note the excerpts of Gray's six-page leaked memo presenting several short and long range strategies:

"A way must be found of discrediting the organizations and individuals who have begun to seriously disrupt the legitimate business activities of publishers, distributors and sellers of legal, non-obscene books and magazines. [Playboy/Penthouse...]. Quiet efforts should be undertaken to persuade the Attorney General, the White House and the leaders of both parties that the forthcoming work... is so flawed, so controversial, so contested and so biased that they should shy away from publicly endorsing the document." [author's emphasis] (June 5, 1986)

The potential impact of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography frightened the sex industry, and 7-11's divestment from sales of Playboy and Penthouse was a staggering loss to sex industry revenues and credibility. Playboy's Burton Joseph and Penthouse's Philip Nobile had agitated against the Commission and against my research since each was announced. The industry's concern became immense by April 12, 1986, when Jerre Thompson, president of the 7-11 Corporation, wrote to Alan Sears, executive director of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography:

"... Respected experts... are of the opinion that apparently a very small segment of our society employs various tools, including adult magazines, to assist in abuses of children and others. That was strongly pointed out in Judith Reisman's report before the Commission at its hearing on child pornography." (author's emphasis)

The Media Coalition, Gray and Co., and 7-11 had one thing in common: they all recognized the significance of any research that would document: (a) depictions of children and violence in popular, sexually explicit magazines; and/or (b) educate the public regarding the importance of such depictions. It was known that the Reisman Report would do both, and thus it (and I) were on the hit list from the word "Go." Direct and indirect attacks on my work came from commercial and public broadcasting, the print media, AU (my host university), even from the Department of Justice -- and of course directly from the sex industry itself. I had not anticipated the massive lobbying attack to which I would be subjected -- nor the counteracting support for my work which would emerge across the nation -- from the American people.

The University violated every legal and ethical agreement established between myself, OJJDP, and AU in our final contract. Subsequently circumventing the academic peer review process, AU hired unidentified persons to adulterate and discredit my report, submitting a putrid, secret document to OJJDP on Sept. 2, 1986 -- nine months past the project deadline. OJJDP chose to reject the flawed AU draft on Nov. 14, 1986.

However, inexplicably, within that same day, OJJDP also returned -- to AU -- my final document which I had redrafted at my own expense, rewritten and radically expanded in which I had corrected AU's unsubstantiated disclaimers with appropriate evidence, painstakingly documenting word by word. OJJDP officials never read my nearly 400-page Volume I, which I had presented at 2:00 p.m. Thursday, but rather -- again violating a legally binding document -- OJJDP couriered each of my six bound copies to AU on Friday.

"Wholesale Endorsement By Peers"

Despite OJJDP dismissal, unread, of the Reisman Report, a group of over 13 academicians and health professionals, including five experts originally chosen by AU to monitor and review my study, unanimously endorsed the project methodology, findings and usefulness.

After reviewing my final report -- at no charge to the taxpayer -- these analysts all called for the immediate publication of the $734,000 study by its funding agency, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
(Of that sum, my total income for this controversial project which has taken nearly four years has been approximately $75,000 for an average of six days a week, 12-14 hours a day.)

The peers' wholesale endorsement of my report conirms the need for OJJDP to make this document, rather than AU's flawed draft, available to the public.

Speirs' statement in November was:

"We believe, based on confirmation of the problems by external peer reviewers, that... flaws significantly reduce the definitiveness and usefulness of the findings."

This statement refers to AU's discredited draft, a document which did not carry my name and which did carry so many unsubstantiated disclaimers that I was forced to repudiate the AU material. Indeed, Dr. Robert Figlio, a vociferous critic from the University of Pennsylvania, agreed with my dismissal of the University work, saying that the AU report was "unpublishable."

Pinpointing the difference between what AU and I presented to OJJDP, Dr. George Comstock, Samuel I. Newhouse Professor of Public Communications at Syracuse University, said of my report:

"The document is of sufficient comprehensibility and completeness for submission... This was not true of the version prepared by American University."

And Comstock warned that non-readers of these magazines should be exposed to the photos and cartoon examples we sent him:

"Everyone with whom you seriously communicate about this project should receive some similar (or the same) document, for sexual humor elsewhere does not prepare one or serve as a substitute for this material."

It should be made clear here that the five AU-selected peers (Comstock, Zakia, Figlio, Lederer and Huntington) monitored and approved each step of the design for any possible flaws during the entire study duration. As principal investigator, I designed the project methodology along tried and true Krippendorff content analysis lines. The project design was modified where necessary, according to the specifications of this five-member external peer review board. In addition, AU demanded that the dean of the School of Education also approve each design development. Final approval on all project design and methodology was subject to criticism at OJJDP by my project monitor, Pamela Swain.

In fact, despite Swain's tenacious opposition to this research throughout the entire tenure of the project, on Jan. 23, 1985, she wrote - as director of OJJD P Research and Program Development - that in her considered opinion our project design "... is clearly conceptualized and the methodology is well developed." In addition to Swain's review at OJJDP, our project was examined by an internal peer review board at AU, several times by AU's Human Subjects Review Board, and approved by all.

To guard the integrity of the project, all formal and informal aspects of scientific protocol were rigorously adhered to. Detailed and timely quarterly reports of progress, problems and modifications were reviewed and approved by AU's dean of the School of Education and regularly presented to Swain for her examination and for any possible criticism.

Speirs claimed "multiple serious flaws in the methodology" of AU's draft. But the flaws were not in the methodology; they were in the language AU had inserted to discredit the methodology. Apparently seeking a hard-nosed critic, specializing in large-scale design methodology, AU employed a reviewer who had recently rejected an EPA project as flawed, Dr. Emanuel Landau, past chairman of the American Statistical Association's Committee on Statistics and Environment. Landau found fault with the strangely bowdlerized and disjointed AU work. However, in conclusion, noting the unsubstantiated disclaimers written by unidentified AU editors, Landau still praised my methodology:

"Meticulous... A sound study providing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in a scientifically acceptable fashion."

Peer reviewer Dr. Richard Zakia, professor at Rochester Institute of Technology, concurred with Landau about the methods and procedures and added that the research serves as a "benchmark," and "a reference point that we never before had." In a supplementary review, Columbia professor Dr. Michele Shedlin added:

"I am using your work in my course on Research Methodology at Columbia University (School of Public Health) to illustrate the scientific rigor possible in doing content analysis. My students (nurses, physicians, social workers, administrators) are fascinated with your work and methodology."

While reviewer Jane Huntington, juvenile justice coordinator of the National Coalition for Jail Reform, had been highly critical of the American University document and concerned about practical uses for the data, the final Reisman Report earned her support:

"I believe your research would be of interest to child protection workers as well as to any professionals who interact with youthful sex offenders."
Agreeing with Huntington regarding the research usefulness, Stanford University Department of Psychology expert Philip Zimbardo offered a supplementary endorsement of: "the significance of [my] findings" as did Dr. Gordon Muir, director of medical communication for Glaxo Research, who said:

"Now, for the first time, major documentation has been provided regarding how children are depicted in mainstream pornography and how images of children are related to situations of nudity, abuse, crime and violence."

Supporting Muir, peer reviewer Laura Lederer, program officer for the L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, affirmed:

"It is the first study ever to document the complete representation of children, children depicted in sexual situations, and children depicted in criminal and violent situations in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler."

Similarly, North Carolina's psychiatrist Linnea Smith concurred: "The significance of [the] research cannot be overestimated" while in a letter to Senator Kennedy, Brandeis University sociologist and author Kathleen Barry stated:

"Here we have, in this document of 1,800 pages (funding $734,371) all the research and data necessary to begin to construct public programs that will protect potential victims from sexual violence... We DO have the research! But the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has suppressed and ALTERED it."

On that note it is well to remember Professor Seymore Gilbert of Rutgers University, who warned that we need to consider why this research was suppressed: "Those attacks certainly raised questions as to the motives of those endeavoring to abort an organized scholarly research project." Gilbert's ominous warning is all the more relevant when one considers the call by Dallas Cowboys coach Tom Landry to the public to assist in getting this report out:

"After reviewing your research on images of recreational drugs and children as presented by sexually explicit magazines, I am convinced that your findings deserve the widest public disclosure... [and of] great value to those of us in the athletic community as well as the nation's youth and adults in general."

Conclusions And Recommendations

The research findings yielded 30 years of increasingly numerous and blatant displays of sexualized children, crime and violence, peaking overall in the late 1970s. While the project was not designed to establish a causal relation-ship between actual assaults upon children and depictions of assaults upon children in these magazines, the study raises very serious questions about the imitative effect of these images on vulnerable juveniles and adults. Especially recognizing the spate of copy-cat juvenile suicides, the nation will need to consider the probability of a similar spate of copy-cat juvenile sexually violent behaviors.

In addition, there are several other issues requiring 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, crime and violence have reduced taboos and inhibitions, which had previously restrained abusive, neglectful, or exploitive behavior towards 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 which call attention to sexual and/or violent activity.

As Brandeis University scholar Kathleen Barry has said: the Reisman Report provides "all the research and data necessary to begin to construct public programs that will protect potential victims from sexual violence."

These findings should be made available in educational packages (i.e., charts, graphs, statistical tables, examples and explanatory narrative) for law enforcement and other professionals and lay persons. Such an educational program could encourage systematic data collection of any such media materials at the crime site or used by offenders or victims. This was its original purpose and it was this intention which is thwarted by the OJJDP rejection.

The report should be available to the public, facilitating active debate and dialogue in organizations, schools, churches, etc., without requiring exposure to primary sources.

While much of the study's controversy was based on its $734,000 price tag, the peers' critiques establish the worthiness and usefulness of the research (note: Gray & Co., contracted to discredit "individuals" like me, was paid more than double the project cost).

Beyond its value as basic research, however, these findings could support a public policy divestment that would save American taxpayers millions of dollars over the next few years: divestment from government subsidy of braille Playboy editions as well as divestiture from...
YOUNG PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST ARSONS, FBI SAYS

In its Uniform Crime Report for 1986, Crime in the United States, the FBI reported on July 25 that 19 percent of the overall offenses cleared by law enforcement involved young people under the age of 18.

The report indicates that police in the U.S. cleared 21 percent of the 13.2 million serious crimes reported to them in 1986. The total crimes committed and reported to police was six percent above the 1985 experience and represented the highest level since 1981.

Youths under the age of 18 accounted for nine percent of the violent crime clearances and 23 percent of those for property crimes.

Of all persons arrested nationwide in 1986, five percent were under the age of 15; 17 percent were under 18, 31 percent were under 21; and 49 percent were under 25, the FBI said.

Other statistics in the report pertaining to youths and young adults include:

- Forty-one percent of all murder arrestees were under 25 years of age.
- Of the arrestees for forcible rape, 45 percent were under the age of 25, with 30 percent in the 18- to 24-year age group.
- Sixty-two percent of the persons arrested for armed robbery were under 25 years of age.
- More than 3.2 million burglary offenses were reported to law enforcement agencies across the nation during 1986. Of the estimated 450,600 burglary arrestees in 1986, 71 percent were under 25 years of age.
- Larceny-thefts numbered an estimated 7,257,153 offenses reported in 1986. Twenty percent of the offenses were cleared by police. Of all persons arrested for larceny-theft, 46 percent were under 21 years of age.
- There were 1,224,137 motor vehicles stolen in 1986. The national clearance rate for motor vehicle theft was 15 percent. Of the arrestees, 58 percent were under 21 years of age.
- Fifteen percent of the 110,732 arson offenses coming to law enforcement attention during 1986 were cleared. Demonstrating a higher percentage of juvenile involvement than for any other Index crime, persons under age 18 alone accounted for 35 percent of all arson clearances. The estimated number of arrests for arson in 1986 totaled 18,700. Sixty-three percent of the arrestees were under 25 years of age.

ARKANSAS YOUTH ON DEATH ROW TO GET NEW TRIAL

The Arkansas Supreme Court in Little Rock on July 20 ordered a new trial for a teenager who has been on death row since he was 15 for murdering two elderly women and a 12-year-old boy.

In a unanimous decision, the court ruled that the state failed to show it eliminated eight potential black jurors in Ronald Ward's case for reasons other than race. Ward, now 17, is black and the three victims were white. The conviction was reversed and the case was sent back to Circuit Judge David Burnett of Osceola for a new trial.

Ward was convicted by an all-white jury of felony murder on Sept. 20, 1985, for crimes committed the previous April. He became the youngest death-row inmate in the nation.

At the time of his arrest four days after the slayings, Ward admitted he had broken into the women's home. He insisted he was forced by two men, who were never found, to commit the burglary and the rape. He said he left the house before any of the victims were killed.

PUBLISHING THESE MAGAZINES BY PUBLIC LIBRARIES, JAILS AND STATE UNIVERSITIES ACROSS THE NATION.
APPENDIX E

Excerpts From

Age Evaluation Guide (AEG)
and
Emotional Expression Guide (EEG)

See full explanation and complete AEG and EEG in Methodology Book, Volume II, 1987 submission

The Culture of Childhood

Culture: The customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a... group.

Webster, 1983

The “Culture of Childhood” can be seen as incorporating the physical, emotional, social, and spiritual development of the child within his or her unique world. This culture encompass symbols, colors, words, gestures, songs, books, stories (e.g., nursery rhymes and fairy tales, heroes, such as Robin Hood, Snow White, Santa Claus; and villains, such as The Big Bad Wolf, the wicked witch or stepmother, ogres, etc.) as well as the special environments within which children work, play and live. This world will be viewed as the childhood cultural millieu.
FEAR

- The brows are raised and drawn together
- The wrinkles in the forehead are in the center, but across the entire forehead
- The upper eyelid is raised, exposing the 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 nor stretching of mouth takes place

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION GUIDE (EEG)

See Methods Book for full EEG
EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION GUIDE (EEG)

See Methods Book for full EEG.
Practice faces for evaluation of emotional expression were used in the rating sessions. Under child and adult faces were used.
INFANT FACIAL ARCHETYPES

**Facial Expressions**

- **Frustration**
- **Hurt**
- **Angry**
- **Fear**
- **Surprise**
- **Neutral**

**Facial archetypes**

- Sad
- Happy
- Angry
- Surprised
- Disgusted
- Confused
- Frustrated

**Key**

- Nose: rounded, nostrils open
- Mouth: curved, closed
- Eyebrows: raised, corners pulled up
- Eyes: open, pupils round
- Teeth: visible

**Examples**

- Sad: Nose rounded, mouth curved down
- Happy: Nose uplifted, mouth curved up
- Angry: Nose wrinkled, mouth curved down
APPENDIX F

Supplementary Graph and Charts

1. Types of Activities Coded in the Child Instrumentation
2. Coding Sheet for each of the four coding activities:
   a) Child Cartoon coding instrument (114 questions)
   b) Child Visual coding instrument (75 questions)
   c) Adult Cartoon Crime and Violence instrument (35 questions)
   d) Adult Visual Crime and Violence instrument (49 questions)
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:**
(e.g., assurance that sex will cure hiccups; claim by adult that this is education; offering child candy, a doll, wine)

---

**Affectionate Activity:**
(e.g., nonsexual 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 nonsexual and nonviolent story, making nonsexual and nonviolent statement)
**Coding Instrument Sheet**

**Child Cartoon Unit**

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<tr>
<th>MAGAZINE/CODER DATA</th>
<th>TYPE/EXPLICITNESS OF ACTIVITY</th>
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**FOR TAUSE USE ONLY:**

**CODER INITIALS:**

**DATE CODED: __ __/____

214
# Appendix F
## CHILD VISUAL UNIT

### A. MAGAZINE/CODER DATA
- Title
- Year
- Month
- Page
- Coder

### B. VISUAL OVERVIEW
- Number
- Color
- Size
- Type
- Series
- AD
- Physical Set
- Culture
- Theme

### C. PRINCIPAL CHILD
- Child
- Criteria
- Sex
- Race
- Place
- Depiction
- Cue
- Source
- Exposure
- Pink
- Dressed
- Hair
- Adult
- Pose
- Setting
- Eye
- Facial

### D. OTHER CHARACTER
- Other
- Sex
- Race
- Place
- Depiction
- Age Cues
- Authority
- Protector

### E. SEXUAL/STATUTORY INFORMATION AND F. PROPS
- Lifeless
- Orient
- Relate
- Obscene
- Barter
- Theft
- Abuse
- Drug
- Run
- A-Props
- B-Props
- B-Sex
- Ch-Prop

### G. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>O.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romantic Kissing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affectionate Activity</td>
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<td>Invasion of Privacy</td>
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<td>Sexual Display</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual Foreplay; Arousal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genital, Anal Sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Force, Planned Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inflicting Pain</td>
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<td>Killing, Maiming</td>
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<td>Medical/Surgical</td>
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<tr>
<td>VD. Morbid Presentation</td>
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### H. RELATIONSHIP TO SURROUNDINGS
- Other
- Twoeye
- Sexind
- Sexpic
- Viopic
- Art
- TextS/V
- Textch
- Topic
- Words
- Satan

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</table>
Appendix F

ADULT CARTOON UNIT

A. MAGAZINE/CODER DATA
1. Title  
2. Year  
3. Month  
4. Page  
5. Number  

B. CARTOON OVERVIEW
6. Color  
7. Size  

C. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES
8. Killing  
9. Assault  
10. Viol/Sex  
11. OtherViol  
12. Suicide  
13. Theft  
14. Drug  
15. Pers/Inst  
16. GenPub  
17. Accident  
18. SexDeal  
19. Invpriv  

MODIFIERS
20. Other 1-S  
21. Anal  
22. Racial  
23. Satanic  

D. ROLE OF CHARACTERS
VICTIM  
24. Sex  
25. Race  
26. Age  
27. Depic  

PERPETRATOR  
28. Sex  
29. Race  
30. Age  
31. Depic  
32. Protect  
33. Role  
34. Nude/Prim  
35. Nude/Sec  

CODER INIT: ____________________
DATE: ____________________
CODER NO. ____________________
### Appendix F
#### ADULT VISUAL UNIT

#### A. MAGAZINE DATA
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#### B. VISUAL OVERVIEW
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#### C. ROLE OF CHARACTERS

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- **“B”**:  
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#### D. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

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<td>35. Theft</td>
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<td>36. Drug-Related Activity</td>
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<td>37. White-Collar Crime</td>
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<td>39. Accident</td>
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<td>40. Sex-Dealing</td>
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<td>42. Other Illegal Sexual</td>
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<td>43. Homosexual/Lesbian</td>
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<td>44. Anal</td>
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#### E. USE OF PROPS

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<td>47. Scat/Morb.</td>
<td>48. Purpose</td>
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CODER NO. ____________  
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APPENDIX G

Sample Graphs and Time Lines
from
Data Book, Volume III
November 1986 Report
THREE TOPSELLING E/P* PUBLICATIONS
NEWSSTAND AGGREGATE

Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate

---

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

Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate

---

* Erotica/Pornography: Three magazine aggregate

CHILD DEPICTIONS
ADULT CRIME AND VIOLENCE DEPICTIONS
Child Cartoons (CC) & Child Visuals (CV)

Being Nude or Sexual Display

Number of Images

Playboy

Penthouse

Hustler

CC Dep

CC Imp

CV Dep

CV Imp
Child Cartoons (CC) & Child Visuals (CV)

Scatological or Morbid Presentation

Number of Images

- CC Dep
- CC Imp
- CV Dep
- CV Imp

Playboy | Penthouse | Hustler
CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION
of the Number of
Child Fairytale Cartoons

YEAR

NUMBER

Playboy

Penthouse

Hustler
Cartoon Graphs are Cumulative (Added)
CHILD CARTOON DATA: PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, & HUSTLER

Number of violent and sexual activities with the Principal Child as INITIATOR

- = PB
□ = PB & PH
+ = PB, PH, Hu

CHIL...
Number of violent activities with the Principal Child as INITIATOR

- = PB
- = PB & PH
- = PB, PH

Number of sexual activities with the Principal Child as INITIATOR

- = PB
- = PB & PH
- = PB, PH

229
CHILD CARTOON DATA: PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, & HUSTLER

Number of violent and sexual activities with the Principal Child as RECIPIENT

- = PB
- = PB & PH
+ = PB, PH

CHILD CARTOON DATA: PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, & HUSTLER

Number of non-violent and non-sexual activities with the Principal Child as RECIPIENT

- = PB
- = PB & PH
+ = PB, PH

YEAR

YEAR

230
Number of violent activities with the Principal Child as RECIPIENT

- PB
- PB & PH
- PB, PH

Number of sexual activities with the Principal Child as RECIPIENT

- PB
- PB & PH
- PB, PH

CHILD CARTOON DATA: PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE & HUSTLER
Number of sexual activities with the Principal Child as OBSERVER

* = PB
□ = PB & PH
+ = PB, PH, & U

Number of violent activities with the Principal Child as OBSERVER

* = PB
□ = PB & PH
+ = PB, PH, & U
14,854 ADULT CRIME VIOLENCE
PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE, HUSTLER

XII. Extra appendixes

May 2013 — A copy of *Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler* is digitized and made freely available at [drjudithreisman.com](http://drjudithreisman.com) with the following additions:

A. *Taboo or not taboo?* by Lyn Owen, UK Guardian, September 16, 1977


C. Cover page of the Executive Summary of this report, available in full at [drjudithreisman.com](http://drjudithreisman.com), including its following page, *Letter from John B. Rabun, Jr., Deputy Director, National Center for Missing & Exploited Children*

D. *Scientific Authority for the Sex Industry Complex (SIC) in the 20th - 21st Century* flowchart by Judith A. Reisman

E. *Common Law vs. Model Penal Code* flowchart and accompanying description *A General Overview of How State Criminal Code Reform Proceeded Largely during the 60s and 70s* by Judith A. Reisman


G. *Playboy Lost to Reisman!* — Reisman Child Porn Study Defeats Playboy’s Dutch Libel Suit available at [drjudithreisman.com](http://drjudithreisman.com)
Taboo or not taboo?

The gloss is beginning to fade from the full frontal beauties in the girlie mags and sales are plummeting. So the sex marketeers are turning to fade zones in the search for thrills for their readers. Lyn Owen reports

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Taboo or not taboo?
Judith A. Reisman

About My Study of ‘Dirty Pictures’

Some of my critics say I look at “dirty pictures” for a living. To put it somewhat more objectively, I direct the $734,000 Justice Department study of three widely read magazine publishers I call “erotic/pornography” — part of a growing $7 billion-a-year sex industry. Given the cost of this project, the taxing public deserves a fair description of our research rather than snickers, sneers and premature cries of “censorship” that chill informed public debate.

Using traditional content analysis techniques, my research staff catalogues activities involving children, crime and violence found in the pictures and cartoons of Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler, the three largest-selling erotic/pornographic magazines. Although our findings will not be completed until November, I can say that we have identified 2,016 child-related cartoons, of which approximately 75 percent involve children in violent or sexual activities. Many of these depict gang rape of child victims, fathers sexually abusing daughters, Santa Claus murdering a child, etc.

Despite press claims to the contrary, this research lies well within the mainstream of serious public interest. Major polls on the subject of sexually explicit media, including the March 18, 1985, Newsweek Poll by Gallup, report public concern regarding the effects of sexually oriented media on society. According to the Newsweek poll, 73 percent of all respondents believe that explicit sexual magazines, movies and books lead some people to commit rape or sexual violence, while 39 percent called for stricter control of magazines that show sexual visual violence. Any sexually explicit materials that sell approximately 200 million copies annually and are passed on to friends and family of all ages, can be seen as informal “sex education” and the proper concern of society.

Why does this analysis deserve federal support? Many people read sex magazines to learn about sexual behavior. If some sexual education materials portray children as desirable sex partners for adults, this may be of vital interest to parents and citizens who are concerned about increases in child sexual abuse.

More disturbing, law enforcement officials find sexually explicit materials, including these three magazines, at the scene of the majority of rape and other violent sexual crimes. Sexually explicit materials are demonstrably used to lure children into criminal sex acts perpetrated by adults and increasing numbers of juveniles. There is a crucial need for research explicating the reported increases and changing nature of sexual assault on boys, girls and women. Careful examination of these popular sex education materials is logical and long overdue.

As an expert in mass communication, I have studied media interactions of children as targets of adult sex and violence. In 1977 I identified what I called the “pseudo-child” — composites of female adults dressed as children, mixed with teddy bears, lollipops, baby talk and gynecological diagrams. These composites suggested a disturbing possibility. When presented together, could ambiguous age-blurring visuals, child rape jokes and articles that approve of adult-child sex arouse child sex fantasies in vulnerable readers? Over time, could some readers subconsciously misjudge age-appropriate sexuality, perhaps facilitating some forms of abusive behavior?

These hypotheses coincided with many police observations, researchers’ examinations of sexual entrapment of children, and recent findings in adult pornography research. A full-scale, carefully designed research effort on the content of sexually explicit magazines was in order. In December 1983 I received a grant from the Department of Justice to conduct this research.

Our findings should provide for innovative programs to combat physical and sexual abuse of children. For example, police and child welfare training programs could be developed to help identify the role of sex materials in crime against children—particularly in cases of rape, incest, pornography, prostitution and abuse. Child welfare professionals may help victims more efficiently if they are aware when a child was forced to repeat what was seen in explicit pornographic films and magazines.

The data will also contribute to informed public debate and facilitate the design of forward-looking techniques for community, family and school education. Ultimately, the sex industry may police itself through a code of standards.

We have indications of a strong relationship between commonly available erotic/pornographic materials and child abuse. If this relationship proves to be the case, policy makers will need to devise creative policies to reduce child abuse while protecting basic constitutional liberties such as freedom of speech. Perhaps it is fear of this challenge that has caused individuals who are otherwise proponents of child welfare to dismiss this study without really trying to understand its purpose.

This research is translating emotional and often disturbing visual information into statistically valid, usable data. Yet, the work has been attacked as paving the way for censorship. Some writers argue that scholarly study of mass-distributed magazines is so dangerous that it must be “pre-censored” in the same of free speech. The ethical pursuit of truth, however, should never be discouraged. This research lays the foundation for dialogue on a social issue of nationwide concern. When it is completed, I believe the citizenry will consider their $734,000 well spent.

“The taxing public deserves a fair description of our research rather than snickers, sneers and premature cries of ‘censorship’....”

The writer is a research professor in the School of Education at American University.
Executive Summary

IMAGES OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER MAGAZINES

This research was sponsored by Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), United States Department of Justice, Project No. 84-JN-AX-K007, and carried out at The American University, Washington, DC, from February 1984 to November 1985 and delivered to OJJDP in November 1987. Principal Investigator was Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D.

While the complete three-volume Reisman Report is available from OJJDP, the agency shelves several drafts of various reports ostensibly written by Dr. Reisman. However, only the November 1987 Reisman Report has been approved by the Peer Review Board and authenticated by the Principal Investigator. The Overview, Volume I, is recommended as a brief (503 page) synopsis of the research project and relevant information. All three volumes total nearly 2,000 pages. For further information contact Dr. Reisman at The Institute for Media Education, Box 7404, Arlington, VA 22207 (703-237-5455).

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March 24, 1988

Judith A. Reisman, Ph.D., President
The Institute for Media Education
P.O. Box 7404
Arlington, VA 22207

Dear Dr. Reisman:

Many, many thanks for honoring our request and providing at no cost the hundreds of copies of the “Executive Summary: IMAGES OF CHILDREN, CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE AND HUSTLER MAGAZINES” and for sending them to our mailing lists of criminal investigators working cases of missing and sexually exploited children.

I have carefully studied the Executive Summary and strongly urge all those concerned with the welfare of children to thoroughly review the document and give heed to the many disturbing implications contained therein for the protection of children. This study must be read by all those concerned with the ways pornography and violence in the media affect the incidence of child sexual exploitation and abuse. In support of this thought, you may like to know some of my professional background and investigational findings.

Prior to my coming to the National Center as its Deputy Director, I was the Program Manager for the Louisville-Jefferson County, Kentucky Exploited & Missing Child Unit. This police/social work Team was the first in the nation created to provide detection, investigation, and protective services on behalf of youth as well as apprehension and prosecutory services against adults criminally exploiting children through prostitution, pornography, or child sex rings in the Louisville SMSA.

From July 1980 through February 1984 the police/social work Team of the E.M.C.U. investigated about 1,400 cases of children suspected of being victims of sexual exploitation. Fifty-four percent (756) of the children were found to be victims and an additional 31% (431) of the children were considered probable victims although lacking sufficient proof for court proceedings.

During this time period, the E.M.C.U. prosecuted hundreds of adults for various crimes involving the sexual exploitation of children. Over 40 major cases involved the successful prosecution of adults involved with over 12 children each. In one particular case, investigators thought there were up to 320 child victims. At the time of arrest of and/or service of search warrants, ALL of these adult predators were found with various forms of adult pornography and in most cases child nudes and/or pornography. Over four years, the E.M.C.U. Team learned to expect to always find adult pornography as such was used by the adult offenders for their own sexual arousal, for self validation of their own sexual deviation(s), for extortion of child victims or other adults, and for the deliberate and planned lowering of inhibitions of child victims.

Truly, the media you have identified can be devastating in effect in protecting children and gives real cause for concern and study when child erotica seems to be on the increase in popular literature. Please keep in touch with all current updates and new initiatives.

Again, many thanks for the multiple copies of the report and all your efforts in behalf of children.

Cordially,

John B. Rabun, Jr., ACSW
Deputy Director
Scientific Authority for the Sex Industrial Complex (SIC) in the 20th - 21st Century

FUNDING
Original Funders
Rockefeller Fnd., Ntl. Research Coun. on Research (Later, Playboy, State Federal Grants)

Academic Institutions
INDIANA UNIVERSITY
THE KINSEY INSTITUTE
1938

Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey
A Certifiable Psychopath Creates the USA Sex Science Paradigm Shift

1948
Playboy 12/33 Launches Big Pornography Mainstreams First Scenes of Adult Sex w/Children in Cartoons

1955
1960s "The Pill" 

Sexs, Drugs, R&R

Crafting A Sex Field and The ALI-MPC
1955

1953

SSS Society For the Scientific Study of Sex
1957

SIECUS
(Sex Information & Education Council of the United States)
1964

1968
(Pomeroy)

SIECUS
(Sex Information & Education Council of the United States)
1964

1965

THE FIRST INSTITUTIONS GRANTING HUMAN SEXUALITY DEGREES IN TEACHING, COUNSELING RESEARCH, PH.D.s, MASTERS, EDUCATION DEGREES, SAFE SEX TRAINERS, ETC.

NYU Ed/Health
1964

IASHS*
SF/Cal
1968

U Penn Ed/Health
1978

ASSECT
American Society for Sex Educators, Counselors & Therapists
1967

American Assoc. of Marriage & Family Counselors
1977

1971: BIG Pornography "training" for Sexual Attitude Restructuring (SAR)
(Leonard, on SAR for ESQUIRE: THE END OF SEX, p. 24.)

SAR & OTHER PORNOGRAPHIC COURSES TO FULFILL DEGREE PROGRAMS; EG;
Erotic Massage, Self Massage, Sex Education Course Design & Implementation, Sex Surrogate Use in Therapy, Fantasy, Masturbation, Forensic Sexology

Human Sexuality Programs
Wardell Pomeroy
Deryck Calderwood
Paul Gebhard
Kenneth George
Vern Bullough

Commission on Accreditation
1986

SSSS

Sex Education Curricula
Wardell Pomeroy
Deryck Calderwood
Robert McIlvenna
Mary Calderone
Lester Kirkendall

ASSECT applies the Kinsey Model through outreach agencies like Planned Parenthood (PP) & SIECUS entering schoolrooms, courtrooms, etc.

PP/SIECUS promote "Outercourse:"
Pornography, Bi/Sex, Promiscuity, Sodomy, S/M, "Sex Games," etc, for school children

Schools:
1960 to Today
Public, Private & Parochial Kindergarten through Doctorate

Marriage, Sex Laws
1955 to Today

Protections Gutted by The American Law Institute Model Penal Code (ALI-MPC)

THE SEX INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (SIC)
(Big Pornography, Big Sexology, Big Pharmacology)
Medicate, Vaccinate for Pandemic STDs, Crimes, Dysfunctions (Viagra, HepB, HPV, AIDS, etc.)
THE MODEL PENAL CODE (MPC) REMOVES PROTECTIONS FOR WOMEN & CHILDREN

PRE-1948

COMMON LAW
Only lawful sexual congress is marital heterosexual coitus.

Kinsey Reports (KR): The Advent of “Consent”
KR falsely claims that 95% of white men would be sex offenders, were the common law enforced:
- 69% frequent prostitutes (prostitution is illegal)
- 85% have pre-marital sex (fornication is illegal)
- 50% commit adultery (adultery is illegal)
- 10%-37% are somewhat homosexual (sodomy is illegal)

While of white women KR falsely claims that:
- 0% are harmed by rape
- 50% have pre-marital sex (fornication is illegal)
- 26% commit and 50% desire adultery (adultery is illegal)
- 87% of pregnant single women abort (abortion is illegal)
- 25% of wives abort (illegal)

Of children, KR falsely claims that 100% are orgasmic from birth, hence:
- Children can benefit from sex with adults and older persons, even incest (illegal)
- Children need early, explicit school sex education (illegal)
- Children need masturbation, hetero/homosexual acts taught (illegal)

Of parole, KR falsely claims that sex offenders rarely repeat sex crimes.

LAW SCHOOLS:
Dale E. Bennett, Louisiana State University Law School, Baton Rouge, La.
George H. Davis, Professor of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.
Sheldon Glueck, Professor of Law, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Jerome Hall, Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law, Bloomington, Ind.
Albert J. Harno, Dean, University of Illinois College of Law, Urbana, Ill.
Henry M. Hart, Professor of Law, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Jerome Michael, Professor of Law, Columbia University School of Law, New York, N. Y. (Deceased 1953)
Frank J. Remington, Associate Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, Wis.
John Barker Waite, Professor of Law, University of California, Hastings College of Law, San Francisco, Calif.

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Sanford Bates, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, State of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J.
Winfred Overholser, M. D., Superintendent, St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.
James V. Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.
Florence M. Kelly, Attorney-in-Charge, Legal Aid Society, Criminal Courts Branch, New York, N. Y.
Joseph Sarafite, Chief Assistant District Attorney, New York County, New York, N. Y.

MPC #4 “Sex Offenses” Draft Sent To States

MPC #4 “Sex Offenses” Draft Adopted/Adapted By All States

STATE LEGISLATURES

MEDICINE/Psychiatry
Courts
Law Enforcement
Corrections
Legal Profession & Law Schools
Public/Private Education

AMERICAN LAW REVIEWS/JOURNALS
(From 1982 - 2000, 650 Westlaw Cites)

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Curtis Bok, Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles D. Breitel, New York Supreme Court, New York, N. Y.
Gerald P. Flood, Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stanley H. Fuhr, Judge, New York Court of Appeals, New York, N. Y.
Learned Hand, Judge (Ret.) United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, New York, N. Y.
John J. Parker, Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, Charlotte, N. C.
Oria L. Phillips, Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, Denver, Colo.

MPC ADVISORS/THERAPEUTIC SCIENCES
The Rockefeller Foundation
Herbert Wechsler, Harvard Law Review, Call for MPC

AUTHORS/REPORTERS OF MPC
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Louis E. Schwartz, Assoc. (Lawyer)
Morris Ploscowe, Assoc. (Judge)
Paul Tappan, Assoc. (Lawyer/Sociologist)

Four Books Call for “Science-Based” Sex Law Reforms
- Sex Habits of American Men, A Symposium on the Kinsey Reports
- American Sexual Behaviour and the Kinsey Report
- The Ethics of Sexual Acts
- About the Kinsey Report

OTHERS:
Leonard S. Cottrell, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y.
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Lionel Trilling, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

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Lawrence Z. Freedman, M. D., School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Manfred S. Guttmacher, M. D., Chief Medical Officer, Supreme Bench of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md.

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Learned Hand, Judge (Ret.) United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, New York, N. Y.
John J. Parker, Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, Charlotte, N. C.
Oria L. Phillips, Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, Denver, Colo.

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Lawrence Z. Freedman, M. D., School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Manfred S. Guttmacher, M. D., Chief Medical Officer, Supreme Bench of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md.
A General Overview of How State Criminal Code Reform Proceeded
Largely during the 60s and 70s is as follows:

1. After the 1952 call in the Harvard Law Review by Professor Herbert Wechsler, the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code (Draft #4) was distributed to the states in 1955.

2. The state legislature provides funding, with federal assistance in some instances through the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, to form a Commission to reform/revise the state criminal code. The Commission advises and approves drafts written by one or more "reporting staff."

3. The Commission consisted of law school professors from each major law school, judges, and prosecutors. Some states had advisory committees that included the therapeutic sciences, and corrections.

4. The Commission and/or drafting committee examines the American Law Institute Model Penal Code as its primary source for reform including the ALI's recommended changes. There is also frequent reference to the early state revisions in Illinois (1962), New York (1967), and New Jersey (1971). Some states also looked at the Louisiana laws which are uniquely based on the Napoleonic code. There are specific citations to The Kinsey Reports, as well as the Wolfenden Report (a study of Sodomy in Great Britain) in the sex offenses recommendations, or to "second generation" sources which cite to The Kinsey Reports via the 1955 draft of the MPC being a primary example.

5. The Commission or one of its key spokesmen publishes an article calling for "reform" in a law school or Bar journal. The justification given is that existing law is "obsolete," not based on "current social and scientific thought," and too complex. Some cite examples such as references to trains and livery stables.

6. In the "Crimes against the person" and "offenses against morals" state law code sections, are renamed "sex offenses" in the Model Penal Code.

7. The common law concept of "consent" primarily to marry (or to determine if the crime was rape or fornication) is twisted to move toward legalization of all sexual contacts between "consenting adults," with the age of consent being lowered in most cases.

8. Forcible rape becomes so narrowly defined by the requirement that the victim prove her resistance by injury or death, that the lesser crimes or infractions are often plea-bargained. One state (Minnesota) has eliminated the term "rape" all together. Others use "sexual assault," "sexual misconduct," "sexual contact," "sexual conduct," "illegal intercourse," or other terms to describe sex offenses. The new terms for rape in the reformed codes are defined differently from state to state, as are the ages applied, and the penalties.

9. The state revision Commission introduces the concept of "forcible compulsion" into the definition of rape (burden of proof shifts from the predator to the victim), and the crime is diminished by the creation of lesser offenses based on degree of non-consent, the age of the victim, and age differential of the offender and victim, the amount of injury, the relationship between the predator and victim, if any.

10. As recommended by the Model Penal Code and The Kinsey Reports (Male Volume p. 392), the age of consent is moved to between 12 and 16, and offenses are graded downward as the age of the victim increases.

11. Generally, the state and common laws protecting marriage are abolished or penalties reduced. For example, consensual fornication, adultery, and sodomy are legal in many states. Bestiality and necrophilia are eliminated or moved from the sex offenses section to "cruelty to animals" or "abuse of a corpse."

12. The new criminal law code is presented to the state legislature as "merely technical improvement" without major substantive change, and is passed in whole or significant part.
The 1955 American Law Institute “Model Penal Code” eliminates common law to reduce/ end sex offense laws and parole all criminals.

Fornication & Cohabitation (normal and harmless)
- Weakens or Eliminates Laws
- Out of Wedlock “illegitimacy”
- Divorce—“No Fault” Child Custody to More Affluent Spouse

Obscenity Exhibitionism (normal & harmless)
- Violent Soft/Hard Pornography, Impotence
- Hetero/Homo Pornography & Prostitution Enterprises

Sodomy, Beastiality (normal & harmless)
- 67% Sex Victims Under age 16; 64% of Forcible Sodomy Victims Boys under 12
- Gov/Private Agencies Created to Treat Youth & Adult Disorders, Criminals, Sick & Insane

Prostitution, Solicitation (normal & harmless)
- Sex Therapy Surrogates

Seduction (normal & harmless)
- Absent Fathers, Child Criminals, Sadistic Hetero/Homo Acts, Prostitution, Rape, etc.

Adultery (normal & harmless)
- Welfare, Prostitution of Women/Children, Live-in Boyfriends, Pornographic Incestuous Abuse

Alienation of Affection, Breach of Promise (normal & harmless)
- Partial Birth, Euthanasia, Cloning, Fetal Harvesting Experiment

Abortion (normal & harmless)
- “Consent” Rules; Peer Sex is “Play”, not Rape, Hostile Workplace, Homicide, “Rough Sex” Defense, etc.

Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor & Incest (normal & harmless)
- 25 New Venereal Diseases, Hep B, AIDS, etc.

Sodomy, Rape, Wife/Child Rape (normal & harmless)

Obscenity
- File, TV, Video Games, Internet & Library Porn
- Adult/Child Hetero/Homo Drugs & Alcohol Abuse, Therapies

Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor & Incest
- 1991 Gov. Mandated Infant Hep B Vaccine, Gov Seeks to Mandate Other STD Vaccines with Parental Consent

“Medical Market” for “At-Risk Youth” Justifies Title X, “The Emancipated Minor,” School Condom Programs, Abortion with Parental Consent, etc.

Failed Promiscuity Experiment: Increases Welfare Costs, Failed Programs, State Control of Children and Social Anarchy

Sexual Sabotage [2].indd   198
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Playboy Lost to Reisman!
Reisman Child Porn Study Defeats Playboy's Dutch Libel Suit

In 1994, Playboy sued Dutch tv broadcaster EO to demand the retraction of statements by Dr. Reisman in one of their broadcasts. On air, Reisman essentially accused Playboy of producing child pornography, based on the study of three decades of its publications. Playboy ultimately lost the lawsuit.

The broadcast

On September 17, 1994, EO, a Dutch public broadcasting association, aired an episode of its news and current affairs tv series Tijdsein (EN: Time Signal), which featured a 20 minute section on sexual abuse in the United States. Judith Reisman was interviewed for this production, in particular concerning the results from her study for the Department of Justice. This research was sponsored by its Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Project No. 84-JN-AX-K007, and carried out from February 1984 to November 1985, with results published in 1987.

"The research was an investigative analysis of PLAYBOY, PENTHOUSE and HUSTLER over the period of December 1953 to December 1984 to examine for nonviolent, violent, and criminal image portrayal and scenario involvement of children. The research reported the findings of 14,854 images of crime and violence and 6,004 images of children (with the predominate group being girls between ages 3 to 11 years) as part of the overall sexual and violent scenario. There were 989 sexual scenarios which included children actively involved with adults; and each magazine portrayed children as unharmed and/or benignly affected by the child/adult sex."

-- Role of Pornography and Media Violence in Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and Juvenile Delinquency - NCJRS Abstract

See also: Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse and Hustler

October 3, 1994, EO is subpoenaed by Playboy, demanding retractions be published in the next episode of Tijdsein, as well as printed in the broadcasting association’s tv guide. They charged unauthorized use of their brand and that Playboy had been "brought into the news by the EO in an unnecessarily hurtful and damaging way", claiming they had "suffered considerable damage". A hearing was held on October 11.
"lies and slander" ... "Never is there an image of a child in the magazine."
-- Jan Heemskerk, Chief Editor for Playboy in The Netherlands

"I assume that, in America, Playboy has long been familiar with the views of Reisman. I would say to Mr. Heemskerk: turn to America."
-- Andries Knevel, EO Director of Programming

"Playboy never will sue me in the USA, since their deliberate child sex abuse methodology would be proven in a court of law."
-- Judith A. Reisman, PhD

### The verdict

Judge Bentinck ruled in Playboy's favor, only on the count of EO's use of three images of Playboy magazine covers and three other Playboy images, without permission; a copyright violation. All other claims and demands by Playboy were dismissed.

The judge could see no wrong in EO reporting Reisman's findings, nor that there was an obvious intent to harm Playboy in doing so, adding also that EO's journalists had taken great care in researching and producing the piece.

In paragraph nine of the ruling, Reisman's findings are referred to as:

"the uncontested factual findings of Dr. Reisman"

Effectively, the judge only ruled EO could not re-air the episode for as far as works by Playboy are shown. On not giving Playboy a chance to voice its opinion in the particular broadcast and the fact that Playboy doesn't agree with Reisman's findings the judge simply stated that "Playboy and associates, being publishers themselves, possess ample access to the media to combat any opinion they deem incorrect."

### Case details

"Playboy" in this case comprises the following plaintiffs:

**PLAYBOY ENTERPRISES INC.,** based in Chicago, Illinois, United States of America, and
**UITGEVERIJ SPAARNESTAD B.V.,** based in Haarlem, The Netherlands

versus "EO", Evangelische Omroep, the defendant in this case:

**VERENIGING TOT BEVOORDERING VAN DE EVANGELIEVERKONDIGING VIA RADIO EN TELEVISIE DE EVANGELISCHE OMROEP,** based in Hilversum, The Netherlands

Amsterdam District Court case number: **KG 94/2529Be**

Read the full Dutch language verdict: [HTML](#) | [PDF](#)
Headlines from Holland

*Playboy demands retraction of EO about incest*
September 26, 1994, ANP

*Playboy threatens EO with lawsuit*
September 27, 1994, NRC

*EO prosecuted*
September 28, 1994, Het Parool

"Playboy does in fact print child pictures and cartoons"
October 11, 1994, ANP

*EO does not have to retract statements about Playboy*
October 27, 1994, ANP

*Playboy loses suit against EO*
October 28, 1994, AD

Read original Dutch language press coverage [here](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (sources)

**Related articles**

- [Study Reveals Porn Magazines Promote Sexual Abuse of Children](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (December 11, 2011)
- [Study Says Porn Magazines Promote Children As Sexual Objects](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (December 11, 2011)
- [The Bizarre Pitch For 'The Playboy Club': It's All About Female Empowerment?](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (October 4, 2011)
- [When Playboy sex doesn't sell](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (October 1, 2011)
- [All Pornography is Homoerotic](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (August 14, 2011)
- [Judith Reisman on Focal Point](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (June 16, 2011)
- [Playboy vs EO - Dutch verdict](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (June 7, 2011)
- [Dutch Press Coverage of Playboy vs EO](http://www.drjudithreisman.com/playboy.html) (June 4, 2011)
Playboy Historically Pandered Sex Abuse by Health Professionals  (April 18, 2010)

Hello Bunny!  (January 18, 2010)

Playboy's Role in Incest  (October 22, 2009)

Playboy's Mother Marge Cartoon  (October 15, 2009)

Senate Candidate Franken in Playboy's "We Won!" Issue [PDF]  (February 4, 2009)

Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler - Summary  (February 4, 2009)

DOJ Abstract of OJJDP Report: Role of Pornography and Media Violence in Family Violence, Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, and Juvenile Delinquency  (April 4, 2006)

Images of Children, Crime and Violence in Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler  (August 15, 2005)