

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

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 exploitative behavior toward children.
3. The possible trivialization of child maltreatment in the minds of readers; and,
4. The consequences of presenting sexual and violent images of children in magazines that call attention to sexual and/or violent activity.

Dr. Reisman recommended the National Institute of Mental Health, the Department of Justice and child welfare agencies cooperate to address the problem of pornography in our society through the use of task forces and research efforts.

She further recommended a voluntary moratorium on child or 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 I. 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. Emmanuel 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 I.J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, and one of the country's leading experts on pornography. She is author and editor of the well-known work *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*, and in 1977 established the organization Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media (WAVPM). 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,

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 adventuresome, 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 magnets" 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

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 photography for the final Volume I Overview for the Reisman Report.

Supplementary Critiques:

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

Gordon Muir, 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.

Linnea 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 Tennov, discoverer of "limerence," past tenured professor of Psychology at the University of Bridgeport, is a clinical psychotherapist, theorist and author of three books on psychology.

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

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. Emmanuel 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 its 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 overstate the imperfect qualities of this content analysis study. It is a sound study providing high-quality data in a complex and difficult area conducted in a scientifically acceptable fashion (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 11, 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 Dwaine 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

might have emerged. Do cartoons such as Tinsley's have historical precedence? Having done some visual research in the Kinsey Library on Sex and Human Reproduction at the University of Indiana, I believe they do and can be identified in the collection of pornographic visuals available there to researchers. Some of these visuals are by well known artists of earlier years.

5. Similar but Different

The cartoons in all three magazines although somewhat similar are also different. *Playboy* for example is more verbal while *Hustler* is blatantly visual. *Hustler* cartoons also portray more violence and contain ethnic slurs. How do other "girlie" magazines compare?

6. Syntax

The placement of cartoons on a page along with specific articles and advertisements, the size of the cartoons, left page vs. right page, black-and-white vs. color is of significance and provides information not previously available. Your "eye scan" data points out the importance of judging the cartoons for not only what is within the cartoon but also for what lies outside the cartoon. Perceptual psychologists would find this very useful information.

7. Body Validation

Your proposed Body Validation instrument could be very useful to researchers in the field. What we see, and sometimes often mistake as a photograph of a nude woman, is often a retouched photograph with "visual transplants". By that I mean we now have the technology to create a real, imaginary, fantasized perfect nude woman. Computers can store pictorial body parts, faces, noses, hands, legs, breasts, etc., and display them on a screen for an artist to composite. The final fantasized Venus can then be directly transferred onto printing plates and then into magazines for the voyeuristic eye. The face of a 20-year-old can be connected to the body of a 16-year-old. Your proposed Body Validation instrument warrants further study and testing.

8. Comparisons

Do any of your findings support or question the voluminous Messer Report?

9. Kinsey Library

As you know, the Kinsey Library is an important resource for researchers in the field of human sexuality. The library has an outstanding collection of texts and visuals, including a considerable amount of material, historical and contemporary, on the involvement of children in sexual situations. Some of the material is in cartoon form and some pictorial visuals. I am sure that the Kinsey Library would welcome a copy of your report for their collection.

10. Heuristic

Another important aspect of your study is its heuristic value; it raises what I would call a Janus question. Looking back into earlier publications, what child cartoons preceded the ones your study found? And looking forward, particularly as the electronic media begins to take over with its moving image and sound, where is this type of erotica headed? We now have an important benchmark for *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* for the years 1953-1984, 1969 to 1984 and 1974 to 1984 respectively.

I hope the Justice Department will soon make your report available to serious researchers in the field. As a member of your peer group I concur with my colleague Dr. Landau that the criticism of your report has been overstated. It has tended to obscure the important data your research has uncovered. It was a survey, a content analysis of particular information. Perhaps it should be formally titled "A Survey of ..."

J. Gordon Muir, M.D.

Thank you for the opportunity to review Volume I of your report "Children, Crime and Violence in the Pictorial Imagery of *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*."

By way of background, I am a physician with six years of experience in the clinical research departments of two of this country's leading pharmaceutical companies. I have been assistant director of clinical development and associate director of medical communications at the Squibb Institute for Medical Research, and I am currently director of medical communication at Glaxo Research

Laboratories. 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 more than sufficiently 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 cartoon 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 a sexual and/or violent context is especially pertinent. Recent surveys confirm an overwhelming majority of adolescents reported repeated exposure to this material.

Research examining the effect of precocious 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

the general public. It is beyond comprehension that additional data currently in the possession of American University is not accessible to you or made available to other researchers.

Dorothy Tennov, Ph.D.

My Ph.D. (U. Connecticut, 1964) is in experimental psychology with emphasis on learning and on methodology in behavioral science. I conduct basic research, am a consulting psychologist (Lic., Conn), have attained the academic rank of tenured Professor (U. Bridgeport), taught behavioral psychology, research design, and statistics (U. Connecticut, U. Bridgeport, Hunter Coll.), and have published articles in professional journals and three scholarly books. I am a 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-affective 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 reminiscent 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.

*Excerpts from Dr.'s Wamboldt and Negley's seven-page critique of eighteen sample images selected from *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*.

One possible dangerous effect of these pictures is that they disinherit 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 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."

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 development 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.

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, newsstand available child imagery in the context of erotica/pornography increased nearly 2,600% (16 to 412) from 1954 to 1984 peaking in 1978 at 465 newsstand available depictions. Nearly two-thirds of the child scenarios were sexual and/or violent; the dominant age bracket 3-11 years; girls more prevalent than boys and most likely associated with adult males; and racial portrayals almost exclusively Caucasian. Close to 1,000 sexual scenarios included children with adults; 80% of the children were actively involved in all scenes; and each magazine portrayed children as unharmed and/or benefited by adult-child sex.

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

INTRODUCTION

The concept of true democracy presumes both freedom of information and adequate public access to truthful information. In 1832 James Madison¹ argued that an informed public was a prerequisite to educated debate and decision-making on social issues. Public debate regarding the role of pornography in child abuse has already begun. Yet, until the present research, little information on the incidence and nature of child abuse in mainstream erotica/pornography [E/P]² has been publicly accessible. The purpose of this exploratory research has been to provide the juvenile justice systems and the public with requisite information for informed debate on children, crime and violence in E/P, 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 REIS-

man 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—this project was the subject of extensive press and public attention. On the one hand, the public has expressed an abhorrence of child pornography and of violence associated with sexuality in sexually explicit magazines.³ Yet, the most prominent of these magazines publicly denied any misuse of children in its content⁴ while certain public officials and individuals otherwise noteworthy as proponents of child welfare attempted to dismiss this research, largely because they were sure children were not misused in these popular magazines.⁵

On the other hand, preliminary research by the Principal Investigator had indicated that children had been extensively sexualized in popular E/P.⁶ Furthermore, Juvenile Justice and other professionals identified "softcore" E/P as tools employed to lure and indoctrinate children into sexually abusive situations.⁷ Child welfare professionals have also observed that victimized children often continue the cycle of violence, frequently becoming juvenile delinquents and/or adult offenders. Based upon growing concerns regarding the role of E/P in child sexual abuse, and the preliminary work identifying children, crime and violence in these magazines, an exploratory investigation of the most widely read erotic/pornographic magazines was undertaken. The present research focused upon the analysis of children (juveniles), crime and violence in *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.⁸ Numerous communication models have been designed which attempt to precisely replicate the communication process. Despite subtle differences, communication theorists may be said to agree that any communication process has some effect on receivers:

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

It follows from the above accepted body of communication theory that E/P messages 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.¹⁰ Moreover, according to recognized market research sources, *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* maintain the highest readership amongst all E/P magazines,¹¹ providing "informal sex education" for juveniles and adults since December 1953, inside and outside the home environment. 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.¹² Yet,

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

Why Study the Depiction of Crime and Violence?

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

Why Study Cartoons?

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.¹⁴ The cartoon has its own artistic and historic tradition. By its very nature, the cartoon has a way of overstating, stereotyping and exaggerating its case. Similar to other art forms, the cartoon demonstrates a view of life, of an issue, of an event, or of a people. While appearing as light and guileless humor, the vast body of cartoon research documents cartoons as a sociopolitical art form. 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 fair representations of reality, with little public awareness of the illusions inherent in the photograph.¹⁵ Research identifies such illusion as the result of professional skill and knowledge: The making of the photograph 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 widescale circulation of photographic messages pertaining to children, crime and violence.

METHODOLOGY

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. *Coders:* 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).¹⁶

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 cartels, 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 0.87 in the pilot study and subsequently, 0.85 for child cartoons, 0.83 for child visuals, 0.81 for crime and violence cartoons, and 0.85 for crime and violence visuals.

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—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.¹⁷

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 nonexplicit, nonexploitive 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, sadomasochistic scenes, rape scenes, depictions of bestiality or excretory functions, and violent and degrading images of explicit sexual conduct...¹⁹

Arguments supporting mature age-of-consent parameters for sex industry employees appear to be reasoned and compelling, based as they are on the notion of youthful vulnerability. As the three magazines examined do include substantial displays of the above activities singled out by the Attorney General Meece 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.²⁰

Notes

1. Letter from James Madison to W.T. Barry (August 4, 1832), reprinted in *The Complete Madison* 337 (S. Padover ed. 1953).
2. The slash in "erotica/pornography" (E/P) is intended to indicate a separation or a bridge between erotica and pornography. For the definition of E/P in the present research see Reisman's *Overview of Project* (Volume I), "Working Definition," (p.27). For additional definitions, see "Central Terms" in the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986, pp. 227-232).

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

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

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

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

7. For more extensive information see *Overview of Project* (Volume I: Literature Review); "Research on Child Abuse" (pp. 62-67.), and "Research on Erotica/Pornography as an Information Delivery System"; "Research on the Role of Erotica/Pornography Among Children and Adolescents" (pp. 28-30).

8. Ibid. "Research on Mass Media as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 30-38), and "Content Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique" (pp. 55-58).

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

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

11. For more extensive information see *Overview of Project* (Volume I: Literature Review); "Research on Erotica/Pornography as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-29), and "Market Research on *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*" (pp. 59-61).

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

13. Ibid. Reference is made to crime and violence in "Research on Erotica/Pornography as an Information Delivery System" (pp. 22-30), "Research on children, television and aggression" (pp. 32-38), and "Content

Analysis as a Mass Media Research Technique" (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 II). 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 compendious 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).

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

WASHINGTONIAN

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO CHILDHOOD?

See page 132



Whatever happened to childhood? The above *Washingtonian* cover portrays two five- to six-year-old children, apparently siblings.