

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF
CARTOON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN
PLAYBOY: 1981 AND 1991**

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CARTOON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN
PLAYBOY: 1981 AND 1991

An Abstract

Presented to the
Graduate and Research Council of
Austin Peay State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jonathan Ridgeway Hahn
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To the Graduate and Research Council:

I am submitting herewith a Thesis written by Jonathan Ridgeway Hahn entitled, "A Comparative Analysis of Cartoon Sexual Violence in Playboy, 1981 and 1991." I have examined the final copy of this paper for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Mass Communication and Speech.


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ABSTRACT

This study examines cartoon sexual violence in Playboy Magazine over a ten year period of time. A comparison was made between the year 1981 and 1991. The number of sexually violent cartoons had increased in 1991. Furthermore, there was also a correlation between an increase in forcible rapes as recorded in FBI statistics and an increase in sexually violent cartoons. The cartoons were more likely to depict rape and sadomasochism as well as more subtle exploitative or coercive sex in 1991 over 1981. The rate of nudity, however, decreased between the two years.

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Introduction

Americans are troubled by pornography. A poll taken for Time magazine (Pornography: A Poll, Time Magazine, July 21, 1986, p. 22.) by Yankelovich, Clancy, and Schulman has found that nearly two-thirds of the respondents are "very" or "fairly concerned" about the pervasiveness of pornography in the United States. Sixty-five percent of the Americans questioned in this poll believe that pornography leads people to be more sexually promiscuous, 61% believe that it encourages people to consider women as sex objects, and 57% believe that exposure to pornography will lead to a breakdown of social morals. Fifty-six percent believe that pornography leads to other forms of sexual violence. When asked whether selling of magazines with nude pictures in local stores should be outlawed, 67% of women and 49% of the men replied, "Yes."

Approximately 85% of adult men and 70% of adult women in the United States have been exposed at some time during their lives to material of explicit sexual content in either visual or textural form (McCary, 1973). The United States Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970) estimated that \$1 billion worth of pornographic material was sold in the United States, whereas Hoff (1989) advises it has grown to \$8 billion per year. Pornography accounts for 90% of the world production of still photographs and video film (Hebditch & Anning, 1988).

People have reasons to be concerned. Pornography is linked to violent acts such as rape (Healy, 1985). Pornography is known to treat women as sex objects. Pornography has even been known to serve as a teacher for adult sex education (Winick, 1970), as well as for teenagers (Zilberged, 1978).

There is concern about the widespread availability of sexually violent materials in America, and its effects on American society. Many studies have looked at the damaging consequences of exposure to pornography. This study looks into the content of cartoons in Playboy magazine. It has been said that a picture is worth a thousand words. A cartoon generally contains both pictures and words. This researcher will observe the combination of pictures and words to inform the public of the overall message being delivered.

Before starting, two areas must be kept in mind. The media, generally television and film, may influence people by making them hardened toward violence. When people have been exposed to a great deal of prior violence, either directly or imaginably as in the movies, television programs, or other types of media, there may occur a "kind of psychological blunting" of the normal response to violent events (Cline, Croft, & Courrier, 1973, p. 362). The phenomenon has also been shown to include children (Eron & Huesmann, 1980). If people are already desensitized to

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sexual violence, is pornography or mass media in general the culprit? It is beyond the purview of this study to answer that question.

Statement of Problem and the Study's Purpose

The purposes of this study are to determine whether there is an increase in sexually violent cartoons in Playboy magazine and determine whether sexual violence in the United States has followed a similar trend. Specific hypotheses to be tested through this content analysis are:

1. The percent of sexual violence depicted in pornographic cartoons will parallel the number of sexual violent acts in society.
2. The percent of cartoon sexual violence will increase in 1991 over 1981.
3. The percent of nudity will decrease in cartoons in 1991 over 1981.
4. The percent of exploitative/coercive sexual relations contained in sexual violent cartoons will increase in 1991 over 1981.
5. The percent of rape and sadomasochism contained in sexually violent cartoons will decrease in 1991 over 1981.

Definition of Terms

Cartoon - a drawing, with or without a caption, which tells a story by itself.

Coercive Sexual Relations - to force or compel a person to consent to do a sexual act.

Exploitative Sexual Relations - using one's circumstances to force or compel a person to consent to do a sexual act.

Mass Media - all mediums which provide entertainment to audiences of all ages (i.e., radio, print, television, and motion picture)

Nudity - exposure of the penis, breast, vagina or buttocks.

Rape - having sexual intercourse with another person forcibly, and without that person's consent.

Sadomasochism - a form of sexual satisfaction derived by a person who controls or is dominated, inflicts or receives, harm to or by another.

Sexual Violence - rape, sadomasochism or exploitative/coercive sexual relations. (Malamuth, N. & Skinner, B., 1980; Scott, J. E. & Cuvelier, S. J., 1986)

Limitation of the Study

The study will be limited to the 12 monthly issues of Playboy magazine (American version) for each of the years 1981 and 1991.

Pornographic and Violence Research

Chapter 2 represents a review of related literature. Chapter 3 explains the methodology to be followed while conducting the content analysis. Chapter 4 introduces the results generated from the analyzed data. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the thesis with a summary of the analyzed data and recommendations for future research.

Review of Related Literature

Ellis (1926) made reference to pain, rather than cruelty, and considered erotically motivated pain the essence of sadomasochism. Ellis noted that sadists limit their love of pain to sexual situations, and in other respects may appear conventional. Davis (1983) states sadomasochism combines sex and violence, not erotically motivated pain. Violence then instills fear, with the only difference separating sadomasochism from rape - rape has nothing to do with the expression of sexuality. Dworkin (1989) compares sadomasochism violence to torture; women in chains, which is represented in pornography. Pornography, according to Dworkin, represents man's deepest erotic aspirations, common values of all men. Roth (1982) found that deviant forms of sexual behavior, mainly sadomasochism, have proved to be substantially more common among the males of the human species in every culture investigated.

Patterns in sadomasochism were found by Gosselin and Wilson (1980): these included direct beating with the hand or a wide variety of instruments (i.e., paddle, belt, cane, and whip being the most popular); pricking, cutting and burning; tying up, gagging, blindfolding and immobilization in stocks and pillars; and belittling through humiliation. Weinberg and Levi-Kamel (1983) suggest the core of sadomasochism is not pain, but the idea of control, dominance, and submission. Schur (1988) agrees, finding

that the giving or receiving of pain is not the central issue. Benjamin (1983) states that sadomasochism is domination, which exists because our culture provides a male dominated society.

According to Roth (1982), pornography and sadomasochism are identical, and the underlying theme is male bondage. Exposure to pornographic depictions of sadomasochism reinforces detrimental, malicious perceptions of women and encourages physically and sexually abusive treatment toward women (Donnerstein, Linz, Penrod, 1987). Smith (1976) advises the information conveyed in much of the sexually violent pornography is that women are basically masochistic, and in need of male domination. A review of 430 hardcore magazines available in New York revealed that 85% contained bondage-discipline materials, 71% in which males dominated and 29% in which they were submissive (Winick, 1985). Fesbach and Malamuth (1978) concluded that sadomasochistic pornography which is expressing sexual violence can have long-lasting negative effects.

Kanin and Parcell's (1977) 20-year analysis of sexual coercion suggests that the level of coercion remained relatively constant; 69% of women studied reported some type of sexual aggression was used to obtain sex. Pornography emphasizes coercion as a forerunner to, or an integral part of, sexual activities (Weaver, 1991). Weaver points out that regardless of the nature and severity of the actions

that precipitate sexual activities, women are depicted as ultimately responding to such stimulation with great pleasure, and males are shown suffering no negative consequences as a result of their actions. Consequently, this aggressive, sexual imagery increases the probability of aggressive, sexual fantasy, which increases the probability of engaging in coercive behavior (Greendlinger & Byrne, 1987). Pornographic imagery and aggression lead to degradation, and objectification of women as legitimate forms of sexual entertainment (Stock, 1991).

Berger, Searles, Salem, and Pierce (1986) found that undergraduate women tend to downplay the seriousness of most unwanted sexual contact as harmless, commonplace in bars and parties, and something that should, therefore, be endured. This rationalization provides a basis for tolerance of sexually exploitative and coercive behavior. In a sample of college men, coercion most frequently took a verbal form such as lying, arguing, threatening to end the relationship (Greendlinger et al., 1987), and the use of force by means of physical, financial or psychological means (Grauerholz & Koralewski, 1991). Enke and Sudderth (1991) blame the educational system for allowing certain practices, especially differential socialization of males and females, to contribute to the development of sexually coercive attitudes and behaviors.

Sexual coercion is relatively commonplace: as many as 40% of the girls may be coerced into sexual acts during childhood, about 50% of women on college campuses or in the workplace will experience sexual harassment, as many as 25% of the women may be raped during their lives, and almost all women and girls experience the threat of sexual violence (Kelly, 1988). Rape is partially described as forced intercourse; and the type of force used may include not only physical violence, but psychological coercion as well (Adams & Abarbanel, 1988). Rapaport and Posey (1991) define coercive behavior as that referring specifically to the use of force against women and to the beliefs that heterosexual relationships are characterized by manipulation and mistrust. Koss and Dinero (1988) found that the sexual aggression of choice by male college students was sexual coercion; they used verbal coercion to obtain sexual intercourse. A study in the importance of sexual coercive fantasies was linked as a predictor of both hypothetical future likelihood to rape and as a postdictor of past coercive sexuality (Greendlinger et al., 1987). Rapaport and Burkhart's (1984) study of college males found that 70% stated they "attempted to verbally convince a woman," and 35% of those stated they "ignored a women's protest" (p. 218). Rapaport et al. (1984) report that male college students are involved in a wide spectrum of sexually coercive behaviors, from kissing a woman against her wishes

to clearly aggressive behavior such as forcing a woman to have intercourse against her wishes. Koss and Oros (1982) had already suggested that the spectrum of sexually coercive behavior include coerced intercourse. Furthermore, the study found that frequencies of self-reports of sexually coercive behavior indicate that males do not report committing the acts enough to match female reports of victimization.

Schur (1984) points out that many may profess to view coercive sexuality as deviant, but actually, it is in many respects the norm. Schur (1988) states that many males are being taught to be more aggressive, and argues it is quite understandable that we find high frequencies of rape, sexual harassment, and other types of sexual coercion. Most men view sex as "scoring," women as "putting out," and coercion as a means to obtain sexual activity (Schur, 1988). This lends credence to Mac Kinnon's (1979) definition of sexual harassment as "economically enforced sexual coercion" (p.35). Because sexual harassment/coercion is widespread, women workers all too frequently are being put in the position of "having to choose between unwanted sex and employment benefits or favorable conditions" (Collins & Blodgett, 1981, p. 79). With a person in the position of authority, the ability to coerce another individual into sexual relations or to punish the person for her refusal has

caused unwanted sexual intercourse for many (McCormack, Azarovitz, Michaud & Pailles, 1991).

Morgan (1978) states, "Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice." Faust (1980) also feels pornography is relevant to the category of rape, since it reinforces the belief that women respond to sex exactly as men do. Of all behavior which arouses marked social concern, rape is the one which currently excites the most interest world-wide (Chappell, D., Geis, G., & Geis, G., 1977). Burkhart and Stanton (1988) argue the reality of sexual violence is that as children, as adolescents, and as adults, women are most likely to be victimized by their protectors, families, and intimate partners. This occurs due to forced sexual activity has become culturally normative behavior (Ageton, 1983). Koss (1985) found that 57% of women in her sample described an experience which was classified as rape.

Malamuth and Donnerstein (1982) reported that exposure to violent sexual material: is related to self-reported proclivity toward rape, stimulates rape fantasies, leads people to perceive rape victims as experiencing less trauma, (Malamuth & Check, 1983) and increased arousal for rape where victim shows signs of pleasure and arousal. Check and Malamuth (1986) found that men who view violent pornography in which others are enjoying rape might come to expect that they too would enjoy rape. Furthermore, observing a man in a pornographic rape depiction going completely unpunished

for his actions might disinhibit an already angry or assault prone observer's own rape behavior (Malamuth, 1981a). In a study of college males, Malamuth (1981a) found that 33%, and Tieger (1981) found that 37%, reported that, hypothetically, they would rape a woman if they were guaranteed they would not get caught.

Parrot and Bechhofer (1991) believe that 25% of women in the United States will be victims of rape by the time they are in their mid-twenties, and over 75% of those assaults will occur between people who knew each other. Studies of college males found that 25% (Koss et al., 1982), and 50% (Rapaport et al., 1987), self-reported having forced sexual intercourse (rape) on their dates. Baron and Straus (1984) show a positive correlation between rape rates and states with the highest circulation of pornographic magazines. Scott and Schwalm (1988) found the same correlation in regards to pornographic home subscription rates. Court (1984) found a correlation between an increase in violence contained in pornographic magazines between 1964 and 1974 and a dramatic increase of 139% in rapes. Since pornography is more readily available in Western countries than it was a decade ago, there has been an increased reporting of rape and attempted rapes in those countries (Court, 1977). After the legalization of pornography in New South Wales, rape rates have nearly doubled in a three year span (Court, 1987).

Burt (1980) emphasized rape as an outgrowth of a culture that creates and causes to spread rape myths, which target the female as the culprit of the crime and exonerate the rapist. Field's (1978) findings of rape myths in the general population display beliefs that portray women as secretly desirous of rape, as responsible for inciting or preventing rape, and as promiscuous if they are raped. Check and Malamuth (1983) found that men who have more traditional sex roles have displayed more acceptance of violence against women and myths about rape.

Malamuth and Check (1980a) showed two commercially released, feature films to male and female college students containing graphic depictions of sexually suggestive activities, portraying women as responding positively to abusive sexual assaults. Malamuth et al. (1980a) found that male subjects significantly increased acceptance to interpersonal violence against women and tended to increase endorsement of rape myth perceptions. Malamuth, et. al., (1980b) found women to go in the opposite direction. In another study using soft core pornography, men readily accepted the myth that some women actually enjoy being raped (Malamuth & Check, 1980b). Donnerstein (1984a) found that prolonged exposure to pornographic movies as well as non-violent, R-rated sexual movies had similar effects concerning the perceptions of rape myths. Donnerstein's (1984a) research shows that sexual themes desensitize men

toward rape victims just as strongly as do violent themes with sexual undercuts.

Exposure to a sexually explicit rape scene in a pornographic movie in which the victim shows a positive reaction tends to produce a lessened sensitivity to rape, increase acceptance of rape myths, and interpersonal violence against women (Malamuth et al., 1983). Exposure to sexually violent pornography by college males increases hostile attitudes toward women, that women are responsible for rape, and are aroused by sexual violence (Malamuth & Check, 1985). Check (1987) found that subjects exposed to dehumanizing material were more likely to report that they might commit rape if assured they would not be punished, and believed in the rape myth that women are responsible for rape. Donnerstein et al. (1987) concluded that pornography promotes certain antisocial attitudes and behavior, particularly material that portrays the myth that women enjoy or in some way benefit from rape, torture, or other forms of sexual violence. Check and Galoien (1989) found that subjects exposed to violent pornography believed in the rape myth, and that women wanted sex the way it was portrayed in the movie. Zillmann and Bryant (1982) found that male subjects still had a propensity to trivialize rape 3 weeks after exposure to non-violent pornography, reporting that long term exposure to pornography will have long lasting detrimental effects toward women.

Weaver (1989) conducted an investigation to determine exactly which stimuli with violent and sexually arousing entertainment produced callousness toward women. Weaver's (1989) findings show that particular sex cues that are entirely devoid of violence can be potent mediators of sexual callousness toward women, and that the terrorization of women can foster such callousness in men. Exposure to explicit sexual videos promoted callous attitudes toward rape, and significantly trivialized the sexual abuse of women, whether adults or children (Buchman, 1988). Zillman et al. (1982) found that subjects who were exposed to non-violent pornography expressed more callousness toward women and less support for the women's liberation movement. Another study of non-violent pornography by Zillman and Bryant (1984) where women were viewed as a sex object significantly increased males sexual callousness toward women. The Malamuth and Check (1980c) studies into violent pictorials in pornographic magazines revealed callous attitudes towards rape and self-reported possibility of committing rape. Malamuth (1981b) discovered that as pornographic images became more violent, adults became more calloused in their attitudes toward rape and sexual abuse. Donnerstein et al. (1987) concluded that both violent and non-violent pornography have detrimental effects on how men think about women, resulting in great callousness about violence against women.

Fisher and Byrne (1978) found that exposure to sexually explicit films increased sexual imagery (talking, thinking, and dreaming about sex). In the Davis and Braucht (1971) study of 121 male adults, their sexual thoughts and activities changed 24 hours after being shown pornographic movies and showed an increase in masturbation, pornography-aided sex, and sexual fantasies. In a similar study using 377 college males, Mosher (1971) found not only an increase in sexual fantasies, but an increase in intercourse during a follow-up two weeks later. Chesler (1978) interviewed men about their sexual fantasies, many of whom described pornographic scenes of disembodied, faceless, impersonal body parts, i.e., breasts, legs, vaginas, buttocks. Chesler found that men of all ages fantasized about voyeurism, scenes of whorehouse and male gang rapes, scenes of rape and mutilation, and scenes of seduction and strangulation.

Members of the Longford Committee (1972) believe that it is harmful and that repeated exposure to pornographic material results not in satisfaction and boredom, but an ever growing appetite for sexual fantasy. The continued or long-term exposure to pornography increases the availability of thoughts (fantasies) about female instability, may also inflate judgements about the frequency or normality of sexual behaviors such as rape, bestiality, or sadomasochism (Kahnemann & Tversky, 1981). Zillmann and Weaver (1989) feel pornography provides the material for fantasies that

easily come to mind at later times and then constitute the takeoff for personal fantasies that are similar in kind. Malamuth (1981b) states that exposure to aggressive pornography may also lead to self-generated rape fantasies. Greendlinger et al. (1987) agree, stating that imagery increases the probability of engaging in aggressive sexual fantasy, and the fantasies increase the probability of engaging in overt coercive behavior. Many people (in study) claimed to have "tried out" sexual activities depicted in pornography (Goldstein, Kant, Judd, Rice & Green, 1971).

Barclay (1971) found that exposure to sexual stimuli (naked pictures) increased sexual fantasy as well as aggression. Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) found that 62% of women surveyed at a midwestern university reported experiencing at least one episode of sexual aggression in the previous year. In another study, Berger et al. (1986) found that pervasiveness of male aggression is viewed by young women as "an inevitable part of the dating game." Donnerstein and Barrett (1978) concluded that aggressive-erotic stimuli can lead to aggressive behavior toward women, and allow men to justify their aggressive behavior (Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978). Bentler and Speckart (1981) feel that the increase in violent and deviant themes in sexual materials, especially aggression against women in pornography, has cause for concern because such material may negatively affect both attitudes and behavior toward women,

and may cause to immortalize undesirable perceptions of rape and aggressive behavior, which go along with strong effects attitudes can have on future behavior. Malamuth (1986) discovered that men who indicated some likelihood that they might commit rape (if not caught) are generally more affected by exposure to aggressive pornography. Scully (1990) feels that the more cultural support with a society for hostile and aggressive acts toward women, the more likely such acts are to occur in that society. Trotter (1981) feels that aggressive pornography is accountable for increased men's aggression toward women. This aggression is then expressed toward women in both attitudinal and behavior changes.

Research indicated that arousing pornographic films paired with aggressive content can result in increased aggressive behavior (Tannenbaum, 1971). Zillman (1971) found that exposure to non-aggressive pornographic films would increase aggressive behavior. Schmidt, Sigusch, and Schäfer (1973), study showed that pornography changed the mood in the direction of increased aggressiveness and decreased friendliness. It was also discovered that sexual arousal induced by the reading of pornographic literature elicits greater aggressiveness than does the reading of science fiction filled with aggressive content (Jaffe, Malamuth, Feingold & Feshbach, 1974). Schmidt (1975) showed that not only males, but also females can be highly aroused

sexually in response to viewing sexually aggressive stimuli. Donnerstein et al. (1978) discovered that pornography not only increased their aggressive behavior, but also reduced feelings of restraints about aggressing. Feshbach et al. (1978) found that males are prone to use violent pornography to reinterpret expressions of pain on the part of female rape victims as indications of sexual excitement. This interpretation reinforces the males aggressive techniques as justifiable.

Results show that violent pornography can increase (Donnerstein, 1980), and influence (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981) aggression against women. Malamuth (1981b) and Donnerstein (1984b) found that males exposed to aggressive pornography displayed the highest level of aggression. Mulvey and Haugaard (1986) found that prolonged use of pornography, which portrays sexual aggression as pleasurable for women, increases punitive behavior and forced sexual relations by males towards females.

Malamuth, Check, and Briere (1986) found that aggression enhanced the sexual arousal of male college students who were aroused by depictions of forced sex. The higher the arousal to force sex, the easier it was for the male to justify his ideology of dominance over a woman and the greater the likelihood they self-reported the possibility of engaging in such acts in the future. Malamuth et al. (1986) found 30% of the male subjects were

sexually aroused by aggressive (forcing a woman into doing something she did not want to do) than non-aggressive pornographic stories. Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) found that males aroused by aggressive stimuli were more likely to condone rape and violence. Koss et al. (1988) found this true in interpersonal relationships also and these males will have peer groups that reinforce highly sexualize views of women. Malamuth (1986) found sexually aggressive men more likely than other men to be hostile toward women, to have dominance as a motive for engaging in sex, to be sexually aroused by depictions of rape, to be irresponsible and lack social conscience, and to have peer groups such as fraternities that pressure them to be sexual.

Kanin (1967) found that men in fraternities were more likely to be sexually aggressive than men who were not in fraternities. Sanday (1981) reported that the presence of special, all male places typifies rape-prone cultures. Ehrhart and Sadler (1985) cited the fraternity as a social context at high risk for the occurrence of rape. Furthermore, they identified over 50 cases of campus gang rape, almost all of these occurred in fraternities. Warshaw (1988) described the purpose of fraternities is to encourage male bonding, this occurring often at the expense of women. Martin and Hummer (1989) found that college fraternities, in particular, create an environment in which the use of coercion in sexual relationships with women is regarded as

normal, and furthermore, that the showing of pornography regularly helps reinforce the message.

The Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1971) concluded there was no direct relationship between exposure to pornography and subsequent sexual crimes. However, Booher (1991) interviewed law enforcement officials across the country who advised that their experiences with offenders who were caught with pornographic materials in their possession leads them to believe that such materials motivate sex crimes. Marshall (1989) found that pornography easily influences boys by their underlying message. When the message indicates that women enjoy being raped, that rapists are powerful figures, that children are appropriate sexual partners, that children seek out sex with adults, and that adult child molesters are powerful and in control, it can be shown how exposure to pornography of this kind might effect a powerful influence on the formative attitudes of vulnerable young males. A study of rapists show that between the ages of 6 to 10, 30% were exposed to explicit pornography whereas only 2% of the control group stated they had seen such material during these formative years (Goldstein, Kant, & Harman, 1973). A study of 476 reformatory inmates, ages 16 - 21, shows a positive relationship between high exposure of explicit sexual material and sexual promiscuity and deviant behavior at a young age (Propper, 1971). Kant and Goldstein (1978)

research found that a family background in which discussions of sex are repressed and conservative sexual attitudes prevails seem to be a better predictor of sex crimes, which in turn influences the use of pornographic material to obtain knowledge of sex. Check et al. (1986) suggest that rapists have less sex education than normal individuals, and that they may be more influenced by pornography because they are unable to distinguish appropriate and inappropriate behaviors that might be learned from pornography.

This study revealed that the rapist is usually emotionally immature, received little supervision from his parents in his youth, and is frequently physically unattractive (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeray, & Christenson, 1965). Goldstein et al (1973) stated that a rapist is a person who has problems with his sexual development, which leads to the use of pornography. Nelson (1982) found that rapists are unduly influenced by pornography; that which depicts acts of aggression (e.g. rape) is typically the most influential. Rapists believe that women enjoy being raped and that masculinity is reflected in coercing someone to have sex and in humiliating and degrading that person (Marshall, 1988). This belief was formed by viewing pornography. Scully (1990) found that rapists believe in the rape myth and use them to justify their own sexually violent behavior. The essential characteristics that turn a rapist on: the partner be unwilling; the more she resisted,

the greater the arousal and enjoyment; and age, race, and even sex of the victim was immaterial (Abel, Blanchard, Barlow, & Mavissakalian, 1975). They further pointed out that these are the same themes pornography helps instill in their minds.

Research indicates that rapists showed increases in sexual arousal when viewing depictions of rape than consenting sexual behaviors (Abel & Blanchard, 1976). Furthermore, rapists showed increases in sexual arousal more often than other inmates when viewing depictions of rape (Abel, Barlow, Blanchard, & Guild, 1977). Research on 247 outpatient rapists stated that pornography still increases sexual interests (Able, Rouleau, & Cunningham-Rather, 1985). Even the sadistic rapist is drawn to pornography, not for aggression alone, but the violent depictions portrayed with the material (Nelson, 1982). Groth and Hobson (1983) found that the sadistic rapist exhibits the strongest preoccupation with pornography, i.e., it allows him to be involved with violence mentally when such is not possible physically.

Marshall (1988) revealed that as adults, the rapist and child molester made more use of hard core pornographic material than did ordinary citizens. Slightly more than 33% claim to have occasionally been incited to commit an offense after exposure to sexually explicit pornographic material. Furthermore, child molesters believe that children want to

have sex with adults and that pornography clearly suggests and demonstrates that the man in the scenario is in control of the sexual interaction. The Araj and Finkelhor (1986) study in child molestation suggests that pornography and early sexual history is the cause for this deviant sexual arousal.

Morgan (1980) states that pornography is sexist propaganda, encouraging men to rape. Susan Brownmiller (1975) calls pornography the undiluted essence of anti-female propaganda, which promotes a climate which acts of sexual hostility directed against women are not only tolerated but ideologically encouraged. Longino (1980) feels pornography is the vehicle used for the dissemination of a deep and vicious lie about women. Betzold (1990) advises that pornography not only exploits women, but also promotes their own worst fantasies.

A female victim's arousal is a common theme in pornography portraying rape (Malamuth & Skinner, 1980). Dietz and Evans (1982) reveal that men view violence and aggression in pornography which tells them that women want men in control. Scully (1990) states many feminists point to the growing accessibility of violent and degrading pornography as one of the more potent nourishers of a cultural climate that accepts sexual violence. Smith (1976) found that not only is sex increasingly fused with violence, but contemporary depictions often suggest that sexual

violence has a positive outcome. Denmark and Friedman (1985) are concerned that the images of men and women involved in sex-role, violent, stereotyped relationships, which include the aggressive-erotic behavior acted out against women, invite the public to accept inaccurate and dangerous displays of women and the ways they should be treated. Feshbach et al. (1978) state that pornographic presentations that depict the violent victimization of women do reinforce violent behavior positively. The Zillman et al. (1984) study of both male and female college students viewing pornographic movies over a three week period revealed that both became more tolerant to bizarre and violent forms of sex and less supportive to sexual equality. Pornography suggests to the reader that even if a woman seems disinterested or repulsed by a pursuer, she will eventually respond favorably to forceful advances, violence, and overpowering by a male assailant (Johnson & Goodchilds, 1973).

The pornographers, modern and ancient, visual and literary, vulgar and aristocratic, put forth one consistent proposition: erotic pleasure for men is derived from and predicted on the savage dehumanization of women (Dworkin, 1989). Slade (1984) advises that the concern expressed by many feminists is not sexual explicitness, but rather the profusion of degrading images of women as well as the increasing amount and degree of violence that has appeared

in pornography since the 1970's. Baron et al. (1984) argue that such increases in the use of women in humiliating ways for entertainment of men as a major contributor in shifting attitudes toward acceptance of sexual violence, and desensitization to the negative consequences of such behavior. Brownmiller (1975) feels pornography is designed to dehumanize women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access. Pornography is not only an insult to women, but it appears to validate sexist attitudes and support the position that women are legitimate targets for sexual abuse and humiliation (Groth & Birbaum, 1979). Check (1987) revealed that long-term exposure to dehumanizing or demeaning depictions facilitates negative changes in antisocial attitudes among males.

When men rape in pornography, there is no injury, and indeed the woman enjoys the sexual experience as she never has before (Smith, 1985). Pornography belittles and demeans women by portraying them as malleable, obsessed with sex, and willing to engage in any sexual act with any available partner (Diamond, 1985). Abeel (1987) agrees, stating that women are normally portrayed as eagerly soliciting participation in, and responding with hysterical euphoria to, any of a variety of sexual encounters. Many men have learned a lot from pornography about what sex is suppose to be, what women are suppose to be, and what men are suppose to be, which stands in the way of sexual justice (Kimmel,

1990). Berkowite and Rogers (1985) found that continued exposure to pornography with the idea that women will do practically anything sexually may encourage similar thoughts that are available in memory and easily recollected than they were before being exposed. Duncan and Nicholson (1991) found that college men gained a greater amount of their sexual knowledge from pornography than do women, the most common topics learned by men being oral and anal sex. Booher (1991) points out that through society's conditioning men are stronger and supreme, women are weak and men's property, and that society bombards males with sexual ideas through pornography.

Garry (1978) contends that pornography makes men lose respect for women and to view them as objects. Mac Kinnon (1982) agrees that men are taught by pornography to treat women as mere sex objects, having no worth or importance apart from their capacity to provide sexual gratification to men. The long-term pornographic exposure study by Zillman and Bryant (1987) and the short-term study by Zillman (1989) showed that after such exposure subjects were less satisfied with their mate's performance, and viewed them as mere sexual objects of pleasure, not intimate companions. Giobbe (1991) feels that with the explosion of hard core pornography onto the open market in the 1970s, the definition of a woman's value as a sex object expanded to include her willingness to engage in a myriad of sexual acts

as depicted in X-rated videos and magazines. Pornographic movies and magazines market women as commodities, i.e., women are presented as "tits and ass," with bulging breast and painted on smiles (Betzold, 1990, p. 117).

Pornography is merely a reflection of male power (Faust, 1980), and is consumed by males who thrive on male domination (Griffin, 1981). Pornography not only teaches the reality of male dominance, it defines women as a sexual object, a thing, one who is to be acted upon (Mac Kinnon, 1987). The bulk of the production of pornographic films strongly emphasize a distinctively "macho" or masculinized orientation (Crabbe, 1988), which results in women being dominated by so called tough guys (Russell, 1980). Men are taught to take the initiative, and to persist attempts at sexual intimacy, even when a woman indicates verbally that she is unwilling to have sex (Gagnon & Simon, 1973). Pornography reinforces perceptions of male control over female bodies by reducing women to functions rather than cherish their individuality (Diamond, 1985). Feminists argue that pornography's expression of the masculine mindset will lead it into more extreme forms of violence that men will commit against women (Brod, 1990). Yet, Soble (1986) argues that pornography is not an expression of male power, but a lack of power, a defensive maneuver attempting to keep down the social advances of women.

Given the sea of images presented within the mass media that profess to be authoritative sources for what characterizes a woman, it is strange that problems in pornography or sexist attitudes are delivered through television programming and the ads we view (Steele, 1985). Through social customs, religion, media, and the law we have promoted the idea that wives owe sex to their husband and have no right to refuse (Daley, 1978). Malamuth and Skinner (1980) suggest that female subordination has been communicated in varied forms of mass media have far reaching effects in promoting a sexist ideology. Stanko (1988) feels society conditions and media implies that women fear living alone, and instills the thought that they need men for protection. Weitzman (1979) states that children's books and television shows portray marriage as the ultimate goal in life. Bascow (1986) found that traditional gender role and male dominance are promoted by the depiction of women in television shows, commercials, cartoons, children's books, magazines, newspapers, films, and textbooks. Women and girls are taught by media to be passive, and men and boys are taught to be aggressive (Tavris & Wade, 1984).

Public media, especially television, appear to validate sexist attitudes and support the position that women are legitimate targets of sexual abuse and humiliation (Groth, 1979). Bart (1979) feels that rape and the response to rape is a model of sexism in society, i.e., a reduction in sexism

should also reflect a reduction in rape. Jenkins and Dambrot (1987) found that stereotyping, acceptance of rape myths, and adversarial sex beliefs are related to college students judgements that acquaintance rape is within the realm of normative behavior. Field (1978) found that traditional sex roles were associated with beliefs that rape is often a woman's fault. The traditional view of women as powerless sex objects, who must exchange sexual favors for male protection and financial and emotional support, inevitably leads to adversarial relationships between the sexes (Weis & Borges, 1973). It is important to note, however, that the effects found are likely to occur within all types of mass media, and that the depiction of aggression is by no means limited to pornography (Malamuth, 1984).

Burt (1980) explains that we live in a rape culture that supports the objectification, and violent and sexual abuse of women through movies, television, advertising, and girlie magazines. Burt believes that exposure to such material would increase rape myth acceptance because it would tend to normalize coercive and brutal sexuality. Groth et al. (1979) feels rape is attributed to the increased availability of sexual explicitness in the public media, especially television. Brownmiller (1975) states the media, and pornography, actually glorify the rapist, thus providing a sanctioned model of rape behavior. Malamuth

(1981b) found that certain rape portrayals in literature format, and in television (Malamuth, 1984), can stimulate high sexual arousals in normal persons. Eysenck and Nias (1978) study found that arousing sexual imagery tends to increase aggressive behavior when portrayed on television. Greenburg, Graef, Fernandez-Collado, Karzenny, and Atkin (1980) found that although rape on television was infrequent, the common form of sexual mortality was sexual intercourse between unmarried persons. Lowry and Towles (1989) state that the networks present a constant barrage of titillating sexual imagery and innuendo, but seldom portray the consequences of sexual behavior.

Zilbergeld (1978) proposes that sex in the media serves as a fallacious model of human sexual behavior by creating unrealistic and infeasible sexual expectations. Television and magazines are successful in persuading people to buy things by simply showing models buying and enjoying these things; why should the same not apply to showing actions of a violent or sexual nature which apparently are satisfying the people portraying them on screen or in the magazines (Eysenck et al., 1978). Cochrane (1978) feels the commercial exploitation of female sexuality in films and advertisements enhances a sexist society which endures male dominance.

Portrayals of sexual violence and aggression towards women in the mass media negatively affect both social

attitudes and behaviors, increase sexual responsitivity to sexual violent fantasies, and create an atmosphere in which acts of sexual violence against women are not only tolerated but ideologically encouraged (Griffin, 1981). Bandura (1973) found that men, in general, prefer to view violence more than women. Viewing violence on television and subsequent effects has been described by many researchers: these studies include Evans and McCandles (1978) who found evidence that viewing violence on television increases the probability of subsequent aggressive behavior; Malamuth et al. (1981a) who stated that television increased the likelihood of accepting interpersonal violence and rape myths; Roberts and MacCoby (1985) who found that violence on television can cause violent acts at some subsequent time; Green (1983), Freedman (1984), Huesmann, Lagerspetz, and Eron (1984), Wood, Wong, Chacere (1981) who stated that viewing violence on television can cause violent acts almost immediately after viewing; Andison (1977), Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod (1984), Green and Thomas (1986) who found that violence on television can cause an immediate loss of empathy and emotion toward the victim of violence. Malamuth et al. (1980) found that the incidence of violence seems to be greater in nonsexual films and television programs than in either soft-core or hard-core sexual presentations. Studies of the content of television have consistently found a high degrees of violence present in almost all programming

(Carter & Strickland, 1975), and are more popular on average than non-violent programs (Clark & Blankenburg, 1972).

Television films portraying criminal acts carried out in various ways, and with various motives, appear to facilitate both attitude change and the realization that such acts can be accomplished (Bandura & Menlove, 1968). Campbell (1975) feels the media sends constant signals throughout our culture which are reinforcing the close relationship between sex and aggression which further serves to encourage rape. Such images on television as violent relationships are not only harmful to a woman's physical safety, but equally to her own self concept (Leidig, 1981). Such is generally part of the television's top news stories on the evening news (Hanmer & Saundes, 1983). American culture views male aggression as normal and supports this by its television programming (Burt, 1980). Berkowitz (1984) found that the aggressive behavior seen in the media activates ideas, emotions, and implicit behavior, associated with them. Malamuth et al. (1980b) found that attitudes and beliefs may be altered by information conveyed in the mass media's depictions of sexual aggression or violence.

Mass media do not tell us what to think, but they do tell us what to think about (Sutherland & Galloway, 1983) by setting an agenda and informing the audience of the issues (Youn, 1987). Audiences are like sponges, soaking up media messages, and are active in selecting their choices and

interpretations of programs, books, newspapers and other media (Blumler & Katz, 1974). Selnow (1990) feels the personal values that are native to American culture are deeply embedded in the programming material of its most favored entertainment medium.

It is television that has affected the culture by reflecting the culture (Beck, 1992). The effects of television themes and patterns move audiences toward the perception of mainstream value, and these themes also play an important role in establishing cultural norms (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1984). The media reflect and shape cultural images, values, and socialization (Brown, 1981).

Bandura (1977) found the media more prominent where other sources of learning are minimized or unavailable. Groth and Birnbaum (1980) found that rape is attributed to the increasing availability of pornography and sexual explicitness in the public media, which are successful in setting cultural norms. Huesmann et al. (1984) found that the frequency of viewing our cultural norms in the media was highly related to concurrent aggression and predicted future aggression.

Pornography is similar to advertising, i.e., the consumer can buy the product but not the happiness or status that it brings. Pornography may cause one to lose oneself

in the fantasy, yet be detrimental if one feels he/she can demonstrate this behavior as reality (Diamond, 1985).

Terry and Ertle (1974) found that males preferred sexual cartoons, and Groch (1974) found aggressive as well as sexual cartoon preference. A study concluded that sex and aggression have been long standing themes in humor, with people frequently preferring this type of humor (McCauley, Woods, Coolidge & Kulick, 1983). Prerost (1980) found that 19-year old males rated sexual cartoons funnier because of the sexist content of the cartoons, Chapman and Gadfield (1976) found the same in older adult males. Love and Deckers (1989) concluded that as sexism in cartoons increased, so did males funniness ratings. Jay (1981) and Sewell (1984) found that when the cartoon caption included either mild or strong profanity, men found the cartoon funnier than women.

Matacin and Burger (1987) looked at sexual themes in Playboy cartoons. The study covered the year 1985 in which 363 cartoons were found. The study did not cover sexual violence per se, but it was interesting to note that one area covered was coerciveness for which there were six such cartoons.

The Malamuth et al. (1980) study on sexual violence includes both pictures and cartoons in Playboy and Penthouse for the years 1973 through 1977. The definition for sexual violence originates here. Playboy was found to contain an

average of two sexually violent cartoons per issue. This remained constant for the five year study. Problems existed in the methodology for rating cartoons. Malamuth states that future research should develop reliable categories for rating sexual violence. Two graduate assistants, one male and one female were used, and judgement was based on their definition of sexual violence, using the four categories. No break-down of the categories is given.

Scott and Cuvelier (1986) replicated the Malamuth and Skinner (1980) study. The time span was 30 years, from 1954 to 1983. Scott advised that Malamuth and Skinner (1980) did not find a trend, but rather viewed an unusual time period when sexual violence was at its peak. Furthermore, Malamuth was later contacted by Hugh Hefner, and had his staff tone down the sexual violence. The study was conducted by using nine teams consisting of one male and one female. They were given oral as well as categories spelling out each subject contained in sexual violence. Findings indicate that sexually violent cartoons have decreased. In 1983, the redirection was to less than .3 (average) per issue.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Material

The data for this research were gathered from the years 1981 and 1991. Playboy magazine was selected for analysis for several reasons. First, it is the oldest continually published sexually oriented magazine. Second, it has the highest total circulation of the sexually oriented magazines: 4,250,324 in 1983, comparable in circulation to Newsweek, 3,022,722, and Time, 4,719,343 ("ABC Audit Report," 1983). Third, it is easily obtainable at many libraries as reference material.

The years 1981 and 1991 were used to see the changes over a decade while also researching current material. All twelve issues per year were included. Multiple frame cartoons/stories were counted as a single item.

Design and Procedures

The procedure is different from Malamuth et al. (1980) and Scott et al. (1986). Whereas graduate assistants were utilized in the Malamuth study, Scott utilized undergraduates. The researcher will serve as the lone rater in this study. A rating sheet was devised to evaluate all cartoons contained in the issues, thus insuring consistency of rating.

The rating sheet contains a listing of all issues under review (see Appendix A). The rating sheet is divided into the following categories: sexual violence, nudity, total number of cartoons, and pages per issue.

The category containing sexual violence is subdivided into rape, sadomasochism, and exploitative/coercive sexual relations. Rape is defined as having sexual intercourse with another person forcibly, and without that person's consent. An example of this is a cartoon that shows the inside of an operating room, the female patient under anesthesia, and the male doctor having intercourse with the patient. Sadomasochism is defined as a form of sexual satisfaction derived by a person who controls, dominates, and inflicts or receives harm to or by another. An example of this is a cartoon showing a naked female tied to all four corners of a bed being spanked while giving oral sex. An exploitative, sexual relationship is defined as using one's circumstance to force or compel a person to consent to do a sexual act. An example of this is a cartoon of a male executive and female secretary having sex on his desk during a Christmas party, with the male reminding her that she has earned her Christmas bonus. A coercive sexual relationship is defined as to force or compel a person to consent to do a sexual act. An example of this is a female cheerleader giving oral sex to a male basketball player while asking if this is the only way to get his tennis shoes pumped up.

Sexual violence depicted in pornographic cartoons will also be compared to violent acts of society. The Federal Bureau of Investigation currently produces the Uniform Crime Reports. This shows a breakdown of the eight major crimes defined by the FBI. They include: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Only forcible rape will be used as a comparison to the total number of sexual violent cartoons per each year studied. Included in this definition is assault or attempts to commit rape by force or threat of force; however, statutory rape (without force) and other sex offenses are not included.

A separate total was kept on the amount of nudity in cartoons. Nudity is defined as the exposure of the penis, breast, vagina or buttocks. This was scored regardless of whether the cartoon contains sexual violence.

The research will be presented in Tables 1-4 (see pp 41-44). In the following chapter, the research results are examined.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis of the Study Results

Playboy Magazine is published monthly. Twelve issues were compared in both the years of 1981 and 1991. A difference was discovered in the total number of pages the magazine contained as well as the total number of cartoons. In 1981, Playboy Magazine averaged 283 pages and 29 cartoons per issue. However, in 1991, the average fell dramatically to 191 pages and 17 cartoons per issue. The average was derived from taking total number of pages per issue and total number of cartoons per issue and dividing them by 12.

The rating sheet was arranged to keep an accurate count of each individual month to coincide with the year. The rating sheet was divided into the subject areas of concern: rape, sadomasochism, exploitative/coercive sexual relations, and nudity. Total number of cartoons and pages per issue were kept to form a basis for making a comparison to both issues. Yearly totals were kept to compare the years total amount of subject matter.

The rating sheet was devised for use in a comparison by percentage rather than from raw data which show the total amount of any given category compared to another of the same category without regard to the total amount of data viewed in the category. This method would distort the outcome if the data compared are not equal in quantity. This study would have entirely different results had this method been employed. The year 1981 had 55% more cartoons than 1991.

To illustrate the point, Table 1 shows that in 1981, there were three more sexually violent cartoons than in 1991. This does not take into consideration that 1981 had 158 more cartoons from which to obtain three extra cartoons. Had 1991 had the additional cartoons, it is uncertain if the outcome would be the same, increase, or even increase, yet still be below the total of 13. It should be noted that the straight comparison does show what one would view. Anyone who would pick up the magazine from the year 1981 still would see 13 sexually violent cartoons, whereas, by viewing 1991, would see 10.

In using the comparison by percentage, the categories are compared by dividing the total number of like items within the category by the total number of items in that particular category. This allows a true comparison between the years on an even basis. It establishes the true percentage of a particular category to be compared equally to that same category of another. To illustrate the point, in 1981, 13 sexually violent cartoons were found. There was a total of 359 cartoons. The same items (sexual violence) were divided by the total number in the category (total cartoons) which reveals the percentage of like items contained within the category. This means that 3.62% of the cartoons contain sexual violence in 1981. By doing this, one can compare the increase of content contained in 1981 over 1991 by a percentage comparison.

The results of this study will be presented as they pertain to each hypothesis tested. A completed rating sheet is provided in Appendix B.

The first hypothesis tested states, "The percent of sexual violence depicted in pornographic cartoons will parallel the number of sexually violent acts in society." The percentage of sexually violent cartoons in 1991 was subtracted from 1981. The results show that 1991 had an increase of 1.4% more sexually violent cartoons (see Table 1). The Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report was compared by dividing the total number of forcible rape offenses of 1981 by those of 1991. This revealed an increase of 25.8% in 1991 over 1981. There were increases in sexually violent cartoons as well as sexually violent acts for 1991; however, the increase in real life is not so dramatic as in cartoons.

TABLE 1

Sexually violent cartoons as related to Uniform Crime Report
for 1981 and 1991

	Sexually Violent Cartoons	Total Cartoons	Percentage	Federal Bureau of Investigation UCR Forcible Rape Number of Offenses
1981	13	359	3.6	81,536
1991	10	201	5.0	102,555
1991	Increase in sexual violence		37.3	25.8

The second hypothesis tested states, "The percentage of cartoon sexual violence will increase in 1991 over 1981." Dividing the 10 sexually violent cartoons by the 201 cartoons located for 1991 revealed that 5.0% contained sexual violence. The same procedure was followed for 1981 which revealed 3.6% contained sexual violence. Therefore, 1991 had an increase of 37.3% more than 1981 in the percentage of sexually violent cartoons contained within the given year (see Table 1).

The third hypothesis tested states, "The percent of nudity will decrease in 1991 over 1981." By dividing the 126 total nude cartoons by the total cartoons of 359 for 1981, it reveals that 35.1% contained nudity. The same procedure was followed for 1991, which revealed 27.8%. Therefore, 1991 decreased by 20.8% (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Comparison of Nude Cartoons from 1981 and 1991

	Nude Cartoons	Total Cartoons	Percentage
1981	126	359	35.1
1991	56	201	27.8
1991	Reduction in Nude Cartoons	---	20.8

The fourth hypothesis tested states, "The percent of exploitative/coercive sexual relations contained in sexually violent cartoons will increase in 1991 over 1981. By

dividing the 10 total exploitative/coercive cartoons by the 359 total cartoons for 1981, it revealed that 2.8% of the cartoons contained exploitative/coercive sexual violence. The same procedure was followed for 1991, which revealed 4.97%. Therefore, in 1991, there was an increase of 78.6% (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

Year comparison of exploitative/coercive cartoons
from 1981 and 1991

	Exploitative/coercive cartoons	Total cartoons	Percentage
1981	10	359	2.8
1991	10	201	5.0
1991	Increase in exploitative/coercive cartoons	---	78.6

The fifth hypothesis tested states, "The percent of rape and sadomasochism contained in sexually violent cartoons will increase in 1991 over 1981." By dividing the three total rape and sadomasochism cartoons into the 359 total cartoons for 1981, it revealed that 0.8% of the cartoons contained rape and sadomasochism. The same procedure was followed for 1991. Since there were no cartoons in 1991 with this theme, the percentage drop was 100% (see Table 4).

TABLE 4

Year comparison of rape and sadomasochism cartoons
from 1981 and 1991

	Rape and sadomasochism cartoons	Total cartoons	Percentage
1981	3	359	0.8
1991	0	201	-0-
1991	Reduction in rape and sadomasochism cartoons		100

The following chapter will discuss the study results
along with recommendations for future research.

Discussion and Recommendations

Discussion

Although this study did not show a parallel in the rates of sexually violent acts in society to sexual violence contained in Playboy cartoons, there was an increase in both for the year 1991. This study does show that the frequency of exploitative/coercive sexually violent cartoons is on the rise. The rise between the two comparative years was 78.6%. The drop in percentage of nudity was much more noticeable although smaller. The existence of rape and sadomasochism was eliminated in 1991 thus showing a 100% drop and an indication of the future trend of Playboy Magazine.

Two earlier studies were performed in this area. First, Malamuth et al. (1980) showed an increase in sexually violent cartoons. Although the accuracy on how the figures were obtained makes this study very questionable because of the use of two graduate students, one male and one female, who had doubtful qualifications to conduct the study. The study years included 1973 through 1977. The male rater admitted that he was familiar with these types of magazines and rated sexual violence in 1973 as 4.1% of the total amount cartoons to a high in 1977 of 7.1%. The female rater stated she was unfamiliar with these types of magazines and went in an opposite direction of finding 6.8% in 1973 to a low of 5.0% in 1977. At no time were instructions given or definitions provided to the raters on the definition of

sexual violence. Malamuth et al. (1980) stated that the study was unable to account for the differences in the raters' judgments, but that the differences might not have existed had there been reliable categories for rating sexual violence. Based on this study, it was reported that sexual violence in Playboy cartoons rose.

The second study, Scott et al. (1986), reported research of Playboy Magazine from 1954-1983 produced different results. Overall, a decrease was found, most notably during the years of 1974 and 1977. This study's research was obtained by using nine teams of college undergraduates containing one male and one female. The raters were given an instruction sheet and oral instructions. It is unknown if the instruction sheet contained sexual violence definitions. Three separate attempts were made and phone contact was established with Dr. Scott to obtain copies of his research instrument. However, this researcher was not successful in reviewing the necessary documents.

This study does claim an average of 8.7 sexually violent cartoons per 1,000 cartoons viewed for the entire time period of the study. Furthermore, it claims that there are only three sexually violent cartoons for the year 1981.

The current study is an analysis of cartoon sexual violence in Playboy Magazine, comparing the years 1981 to 1991. All research in this area, including this study, have

examined similar topics and yet reported different findings. Although Malamuth et al. (1980) also found sexually violent cartoons to be on the rise, a reliable comparison is not possible. The current study does define the four categories of sexual violence that were utilized by the Malamuth et al (1980) research along with descriptive examples of cartoons that would fall within each category. Had this been undertaken by Malamuth et al. (1980), the results could have been compared. According to Scott et al. (1986), it is unknown to what extent the researchers were provided with instructions that they too could make a rational decision as to what is and is not sexually violent. There is a definite difference when it comes to the year 1981. Scott et al. (1986) shows a total of three sexually violent cartoons for that year. This study shows a total of thirteen. Again, without the material that the raters were provided, there is no way to make an accurate comparison.

In viewing Scott et al. (1986), a possible difference might be that the undergraduates are unfamiliar with exploitative/coercive sexual violence. If this is so, it would explain the difference for the year 1981. This study found three sexually violent cartoons containing rape and sadomasochism along with ten cartoons containing exploitative/coercive sexual relations for 1981. Without detailed instruction, an undergraduate with limited knowledge might not understand the meaning of words. This

would explain Scott's findings of three sexually violent cartoons compared to this study's finding of 13.

This study views Playboy Magazine as taking a new approach to sexually violent cartoons. It will refer to the exploitative/coercive sexually violent cartoons as the subtle approach. In a comparison of raw of data, both 1981 and 1991 both showed 10 cartoons of this nature. Under the comparison by percentage, which this study used, the percentage rose significantly. Furthermore, there were no rape or sadomasochism cartoons for the year 1991. This more subtle approach will continue to grow in the opinion of this researcher. The subtle approach by use of force through circumstances of power or persuasive argument by deception is part of everyday life. The subtle approach is the new wave through sexual intimidation in the workplace or in dating. Males can relate to this type of humor whether they have tried it or just dreamed of trying it.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study was successful, not only in proving the majority of its hypotheses, but in providing a systematic way of allowing others to replicate this study or those of previous researchers. Although successful, these findings point to a need for further research. Future research should examine Playboy Magazine from the year 1954 through 1992. In doing so, the research should review cases of sexual violence contained in the magazine so as to establish

longitudinal trends and more effectively make projections of future treatments of violence in the media.

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APPENDIX A

	Rape	Sadomasochism	Exploitative /coercive sexual relations	Nudity	Total Cartoons	Pages Per Issue
JAN 81						
FEB 81						
MAR 81						
APRIL 81						
MAY 81						
JUNE 81						
JULY 81						
AUG 81						
SEPT 81						
OCT 81						
NOV 81						
DEC 81						
TOTAL						
JAN 91						
FEB 91						
MAR 91						
APRIL 91						
MAY 91						
JUNE 91						
JULY 91						
AUG 91						
SEPT 91						
OCT 91						
NOV 91						
DEC 91						
TOTAL						

APPENDIX B

	Rape	Sadomaso- chism	Exploitative /coercive sexual relations	Nudity	Total Cartoons	Pages Per Issue
JAN 81	1	0	2	12	35	334
FEB 81	0	0	2	8	25	230
MAR 81	0	1	0	19	36	260
APRIL 81	0	0	1	10	26	282
MAY 81	0	0	1	6	28	276
JUNE 81	0	0	0	10	29	300
JULY 81	0	0	1	11	31	260
AUG 81	0	0	1	11	29	260
SEPT 81	1	0	0	9	26	260
OCT 81	0	0	0	10	29	252
NOV 81	0	0	1	8	32	292
DEC 81	0	0	1	12	33	386
TOTAL	2	1	10	126	359	3392
JAN 91	0	0	0	7	26	230
FEB 91	0	0	1	3	18	166
MAR 91	0	0	0	5	17	170
APRIL 91	0	0	1	5	17	174
MAY 91	0	0	1	5	15	186
JUNE 91	0	0	1	2	13	198
JULY 91	0	0	2	2	14	178
AUG 91	0	0	1	6	17	174
SEPT 91	0	0	1	4	17	186
OCT 91	0	0	1	6	13	202
NOV 91	0	0	1	3	13	186
DEC 91	0	0	0	8	21	246
TOTAL	0	0	10	56	201	2296