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Playboy Blacks vs. Playboy Indians: Differential Minority Stereotyping In Magazine Cartoons

JOHN R. WHITE

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the nature and varieties of stereotyping of Blacks and Native Americans which occurred in the first twenty years (1954-1973) of the popular magazine *Playboy* and to identify any changes in the content and frequency of that stereotyping over time.

A similar but less ambitious study was done by Houts and Bahr[1] using selected volumes of the *Saturday Evening Post*. The present study was done, at least in part, to accumulate a corpus of data for use in comparison with the Houts-Bahr findings. As with that study, content analysis was the device used to extract the information from the cartoons.

Houts and Bahr were interested in the comparison of data from two widely separated historic periods, 1922-1931 and 1958-1968, and so selected the *Saturday Evening Post* for study as it was a widely read magazine of some longevity. Different considerations led to the selection of *Playboy* for this study. First, cartoons are an integral part of *Playboy*; more so than they are in other magazines where they often are of secondary importance. Secondly, and due in large part to the first, the cartoons are selected primarily on the basis of "quality". Less subjects appear to be taboo, i.e., motherhood may be assailed outrageously and pubertal girl scouts may show up pregnant; and the principal criteria for selection obviously

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is whether or not it is humorous — at least to the cartoon editor(s). Schoenfield's[2] observations concerning the "vast number of 'taboos'" facing cartoonists appears to be much less applicable to *Playboy* than to other magazines. It may well tie in with the fact that *Playboy* magazine itself is an organ born out of controversy and iconoclasm. At any rate, *Playboy* was chosen because it was felt that the relative lack of taboos would make the cartoons therein less restrictive in terms of varieties of stereotypes.

Cartoons are a form of communication which, according to some, have a very direct and lasting impact on their audience.[3] Lessons transported through this medium often take well because the simplicity of the form does not demand any great investment of time or concentration on the part of the recipient. As a conveyance of stereotypes it can be particularly insidious for it often uses laughter to dull our perception of its inaccuracy. People are apt to excuse what would in another context be considered bad taste or a negative characteristic by claiming an appeal to an acute sense of humor.

Stereotyping involves as much from economy as anything else. As humans we deal in categories of information. It is impossible for us to know all things intimately. Outside of a close circle of intimates whom we must know individually, we develop economic shortcuts to understanding. Since we cannot become familiar with all things or all peoples, and since our hurried existence forces us to maximize our usage of time, we order up our percepta according to patterns derived from a code which we carry about and which was constructed through our education and experience. We stereotype.

To defend stereotyping as a human phenomenon is not to defend all stereotypes as fair, accurate, or just. Stereotypes become dysfunctional when they fail to live up to their expectations as categories, i.e., when they pervert, distort, fictionalize, or in some other way inaccurately portray something or someone as that which even superficial observation clearly shows they are not.

Cartoon stereotyping of minority groups takes place when a group is characterized by a relatively narrow range of physical, artifactual, or behavioral traits. Economy certainly is an important consideration here, where the entire message (i.e., the joke) must be communicated with a stinginess of lines and a virtual absence of elaboration. Such a situation is the perfect setting for the stereotype.

A content analysis of cartoons over a twenty year period should be expected to demonstrate the presence of regularities or consistencies in stereotyping.

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis is a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages[4]. It is particularly effective in a study of this kind as the investigator can ask a fixed set of questions of a predetermined population of communications in such a manner as to produce quantifiable results.

Hypotheses

In this study, closely related questions were restated as testable hypotheses:

1.) Query. How are Blacks and Native Americans represented in magazine cartoons, i.e., with what frequency and in what ways?
    - *Hypothesis 1.* The ratio of occurrences (cartoons in which they are present) to non-occurrences (cartoons in which they are not present) will indicate the degree of representation, i.e., whether they are fairly, under- or overrepresented.
    - *Hypothesis 2.* If there are stereotypes either physical, social and/or cultural, the minority group members will be characterized by a relatively narrow and recurring range of physical, artifactual, or behavioral traits.

2.) Query. If stereotypes do exist, what changes, if any, can be observed through time?
    - *Hypothesis 1.* A year-to-year analysis of magazine cartoons will reveal any changes in the frequency of occurrence and means of characterization of Blacks and Native Americans appearing in the cartoons.

The Sample and Coding Units

The statement of purpose, i.e., to examine the first twenty years of *Playboy* magazine cartoons, includes an operational definition of the data universe.

In this study, the *coding unit,* or smallest segment of content counted, took several forms including artifacts, physical traits, and behavioral patterns. The *context unit,* or the matrix within which the coding unit is located consisted of both the cartoon itself (explicit) and the issue and volume (implicit). The volume was considered a crucial unit as it gave direct testimony to the relationship between stereotype and the social milieu of the times.

The Categories

The categories used in this study were grouped under three major areas: Minority Group, How Identified, and Centrality.

Minority Group included the categories Blacks, Native Americans and Problematical. Group membership was determined by one or more of several criteria, e.g. caption, feature, artifacts, and setting. Generally there was no difficulty categorizing characters as Blacks or Native Americans. However, on some occasions there was enough contradiction to warrant insertion in the Problematical category. In the entire study there were only nine cartoons relegated to this status. On no occasion was the situation complicated by the presence of a Black and a Native American in the same cartoon.

Under the heading *How Identified* were four categories which purposely were not made exclusive. The categories—Caption, Features, Artifacts, and Setting—were devised as a means for identifying the group membership of the characters represented in the cartoons. In only 16 of the total 210 minority cartoons were all four criteria used at once.

Cartoon *captions* served two related functions. First, they were used to determine group membership when such membership was not convincingly demonstrated by feature, artifact, or setting. Secondly, they were used to determine the importance of the minority representative to the success of the cartoon. Caption by itself was used in only a single instance to identify a minority group member. In all other instances, it served with at least one of the other three categories. The caption, if not utilized as a primary means of identifying the minority group, was critical to the determination of whether the minority character was a protagonist or an individual whose presence (as a member of a minority group) was central to making the cartoon "work".

Features applies to the physical attributes with which the cartoon characters are drawn. These attributes were also quantified in order to determine the existance of any physical stereotypes or traits commonly associated with Blacks and Native Americans. In 68 instances, physical features were the sole means for identifying minority group membership.

Artifacts refers to cultural paraphernalia found in connection with each of the cartoon characters. It might include anything from a tool or weapon to a piece of clothing or body adornment. Since most artifacts can be used by individuals regardless of their group, they were considered by themselves to be inconclusive or ambiguous indicators of membership in a specific group. In only six cases were artifacts used without reference to the other three categories for identification purposes.

Setting, where identifiable, refers to the geographical location of the action. In many cases the setting was not unambiguous and in no instance was it the sole determinant of group membership. Minority cartoons were separated into two groups based on the setting of their action. The term *native* was used to connote action taking place in a non-Western or pre-industrialized setting. *Non-native* refers to action occurring in Western or urban society. The groupings were selected to provide insights into the degree to which geographical or behavioral stereotyping takes place, i.e., how often are minority members perceived in settings displaced in space (and often time) from the "non-primitive" and present. It is worthy of note that place of action or setting may be as much the subject of stereotyping as can the physical, artifactual, and behavioral.

The heading *Centrality* contained four mutually exclusive categories. These categories were constructed by combining two traits: 1.) importance of the character to the cartoon drawing itself, i.e., whether the character is a major figure or merely part of a crowd or background business; and 2.) importance of the character to the creation of the "joke", i.e, whether the minority character's presence (as a minority) is crucial to the humor. The first attribute was termed *protagonism*, the second *centrality*. By combining the two traits, the following four polar character categories were defined:

1.) *Protagonist/Central*—An individual who is a major actor in the cartoon and also one whose minority membership is critical to the joke.

    Example: Two natives discussing the relative advantages of fertility rites to vasectomies.

2.) *Protagonist/Non-Central*—An individual who is a major figure in the cartoon, but whose minority membership is irrelevant to the joke.

    Example: Two cowboys, one of them a Native American, discussing the increasing occurrence of nudity on the stage (coach).

3.) *Non-Protagonist/Central*—An individual who, though not a major actor in the cartoon, is nevertheless the individual who supposedly makes the joke by virtue of minority membership.

   Example: A Southern plantation owner singing "take good care of yourself, you belong to me", while in the distant background slaves pick his cotton.

4.) *Non-Protagonist/Non-Central*—An individual whose presence in a cartoon is both non-essential or irrelevant to the cartoon and to the joke being conveyed.

   Example: A group of football players, some of them Black, watch enthralled from the bench as a panties-less cheerleader does her high-stepping routine.

FINDINGS

Between and including, the years 1954 and 1973, *Playboy* published 6,974 cartoons. The yearly low was 143 in 1955; the high was 608 in 1969; the yearly average over the twenty years encompassed by this study was 347.35. A glance at Table 1 shows that, with minor exceptions, the magazine published increasingly more cartoons each year for the first fifteen years of publication. Based on the assumption that magazines are in business to make money and money is made by increasing circulation, and increased circulation comes with providing readers with what they want, we can conclude that the increase in cartoons represents positive feedback or response from the magazine's readership. This conclusion would seem to bear out the often repeated phrase that "the best thing about *Playboy* is its cartoons".

After 1969, the sixteenth year of publication, the number of cartoons per annum steadily decreased to 1973 when the number was 459, the lowest figure since 1965. There isn't a ready explanation as to why there should be such a decrease. However, it may be that 1969's high of 608 was an inordinantly high figure which in subsequent volumes was reduced for proper content balance.

The fewest number of cartoons in any given issue was seven in the May issue of Volume 5 (1958); the highest number was 69 which occurred twice in two consecutive issues, August and September of Volume 16 (1969). The monthly average over the twenty years was 28.94. This figure, like the yearly average, has risen

TABLE 1
MINORITY CARTOONS BY YEAR AGAINST TOTAL CARTOONS

Year	Black	%	Native Americans	%	Other	%	Minority Total	Total Cartoons	% of Total
1954	0		0		0		0	160	
1955	2	1.4	0		0		2	143	1.4
1956	4	2.5	0		0		4	163	2.5
1957	1	.65	0		0		1	153	.65
1958	0		0		1	.61	1	162	.61
1959	7	3.9	0		0		7	179	3.9
1960	4	1.9	2	.94	1	.47	7	212	3.3
1961	4	1.4	9	3.1	0		13	293	4.4
1962	4	1.5	1	.37	1	.37	6	273	2.2
1963	5	1.6	3	.96	0		8	313	2.6
1964	3	.87	2	.58	1	.29	6	344	1.7
1965	2	.52	3	.79	1	.26	6	382	1.6
1966	7	1.5	5	1.1	0		12	464	2.6
1967	13	2.7	6	1.2	1	.21	20	485	4.1
1968	12	2.3	4	.76	0		16	525	3.0
1969	29	4.8	5	.82	2	.33	36	608	5.9
1970	16	2.9	6	1.1	0		22	545	4.0
1971	21	3.9	2	.37	0		24	545	4.4
1972	10	1.9	2	.37	1	.19	13	539	2.4
1973	15	3.3	2	.44	0		16	459	3.5
Totals	159		52		9		220	6947	
Percent of Total Cartoons	2.3		.75		.13		3.2		
Percent of Minority Total	72.3		23.6		4.1				

steadily and is at least 10 below the present monthly average (the 1973 average was 38.25).

Of the total of 6,947 cartoons, 220 (3.2%) were minority cartoons. Of this total number of minority cartoons, 159 (72.3%) represented Blacks, 52 (23.6%) Native Americans, and 9 (4.1%) were problematical. The yearly low was the initial year of publication, 1954, when, of 160 published cartoons, none were minority cartoons. Two other years, 1957 and 1958, had only one minority cartoon each. The yearly high for minority cartoons was 36 reached in 1969. 1969, with the yearly high of 608 cartoons, also represents the year with the highest representation of all types of cartoons except those representing Native Americans. Unlike the total of all cartoons which shows a steady yearly increase from 1954 through 1969, the total number of minority cartoons does not move along in any predictable way. Table 1 shows an almost random fluctuation from year to year both in terms of actual numbers of minority cartoons and percentage of the whole. From this we might well conclude, based on our previous chain of assumptions concerning business motivations and feedback, that cartoons need not contain Blacks or Native Americans in order to be funny (i.e., successful).

Of the total of minority cartoons, 159 (72.3%) contained Blacks, 52 (23.6%) contained Native Americans, and 9 (4.1%) were problematical. As is the case with minority cartoons as a whole, those with Blacks and Native Americans do not demonstrate an even or systematic frequency from year to year. Blacks are absent entirely from Volumes 1 and 5 (1954, 1958) and have their lowest representation (by percentage) in Volume 12 (1965). Native Americans are not represented in the first six volumes and appear for the first time in 1959 (Table 1). In only one year, 1961, do Native American cartoons outnumber Blacks. While the total number of Native American cartoons has not shown a dramatic upsurge from any one year to the next, Black cartoons do show such an abrupt upturn. Between 1966 and 1967 the total number of Black cartoons almost doubles (from 7 to 13). This cannot be just the result of an increased number of total cartoons because during that same time the total goes from 464 to 485, a 4.5 percent increase.

Of 159 Black cartoons, 100 (62.9%) were represented in the non-native setting and 59 (37.1%) in the native setting. The change in trend from representing Blacks in the native setting to putting them into non-native settings occurred in 1967. Before that

TABLE 2
MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATIVES IN THE NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE SETTING

Year	Black Total	Black Native	Black Non-Native	Native American Total	Native American Native	Native American Non-Native
1954	---	---	---	---	---	---
1955	2	1	1	---	---	---
1956	4	4	---	---	---	---
1957	1	1	---	---	---	---
1958	---	---	---	---	---	---
1959	7	6	1	---	---	---
1960	4	4	---	2	1	1
1961	4	4	---	9	7	2
1962	4	3	1	1	1	---
1963	5	5	---	3	3	---
1964	3	---	3	2	2	---
1965	2	2	---	3	2	1
1966	7	5	2	5	5	---
1967	13	6	7	6	6	---
1968	12	4	8	4	3	1
1969	29	3	26	5	4	1
1970	16	2	14	6	6	---
1971	21	3	18	2	2	---
1972	10	2	8	2	2	---
1973	15	4	11	2	1	1
Totals	159	59	100	52	45	7
Percent of Total Black Cartoons		37.1	62.9			
Percent of Total Native American Cartoons					86.5	13.5
Percent of Total Cartoons		.85	1.4		.65	.1

time there was only one year, 1964, when non-native Blacks outnumbered natives. Starting in 1967, the policy is to couch Blacks in urban or "non primitive" surroundings. In 1969, only three of 29 cartoons have a native setting (Table 2).

Of 52 Native American cartoons, only seven (13.5%) are set in non-native surroundings. Unlike the Black cartoons, they show no reversal of the trend that native settings shall predominate (Table 2).

Of 100 cartoons in which Blacks are portrayed in the non-native setting, the largest number, 42, have Blacks playing Non-Protagonist/Non-Central roles. The second largest number, 39, are portrayed as Protagonist/Central. After 1968, there is a decided change in direction from using Blacks in Protagonist/Central roles to using them in more varied roles, especially Non-Protagonist/Non-Central (Table 3).

Of the seven Native American cartoons in a non-native setting, six are classed as Protagonist/Central characters and a single one as Non-Protagonist/Non-Central (Table 3).

The degree of reliance on each of the means of identifying group membership differed between Blacks and Native Americans and in each case between cartoons in native and those in non-native settings.

Of Black cartoons in the non-native setting, features account for the recognition of group membership in 99 of the 100 cases. In only one cartoon (a Vargas pin-up) are the features so non-descript that we must look to the caption for a clue as to minority group. Caption followed physical traits as a principal indicator of group, occurring in 32 instances. In the non-native setting, only nine of the 100 cartoons had Blacks utilizing characteristic artifacts (Table 3).

Native Americans in the non-native setting were recognized from features in six of the seven cases with one (a physically nondescript but fully accoutered Eskimo) recognizable only by reference to artifacts. After physical traits came caption, four instances, followed by artifacts with three (Table 3).

The order of reliance changed with the shift from non-native to native setting in both Black and Native American cartoons. Fifty-two of the 59 Black native cartoons rely on physical features as an indicator of group membership. Artifacts followed closely physical traits with 47 instances, while caption was a distant third with 25

TABLE 3

NON-NATIVE CENTRALITY AND HOW IDENTIFIED

	BLACKS								NATIVE AMERICANS							
	Centrality				How I.D.				Centrality				How I.D.			
	Protagonist/Central	Protagonist/Non-Central	Non-Protagonist/Central	Non-Protagonist/Non-Central	Caption	Features	Artifacts	Setting	Protagonist/Central	Protagonist/Non-Central	Non-Protagonist/Central	Non-Protagonist/Non-Central	Caption	Features	Artifacts	Setting
1954	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1957	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1958	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1959	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
1962	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	2	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
1966	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	6	-	-	1	4	6	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1968	5	2	-	1	4	8	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
1969	6	1	2	17	7	26	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
1970	7	1	-	6	4	14	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	8	3	-	7	7	18	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972	3	3	1	1	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973	-	5	-	6	-	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
TOTALS	39	16	3	42	32	99	9	8	6	-	-	1	4	6	3	-

occurrences. In the native setting, 41 of the total 45 Native American cartoons are identified by artifacts, 38 by physical trait, and only 19 by caption.

Among Blacks skin color, hair type (peppercorn or Afro), and nose and lip structure were by far the most frequently used group indicators in both the native and non-native setting. The first male Afro is in 1968; prior to then, all Black males have peppercorn hair. From 1971 on, Afros far outnumber peppercorn.

Among Native Americans the key traits were nose aquilinity, skin color, cheekbone structure, and hair style (bangs or braids). Unlike Black cartoons where the same features were generally relied on for native and non-native alike, the Native American cartoons showed a disparity. Dark skin, which is utilized as an indicator in 18 instances in the native setting (the second most relied upon feature used by cartoonisjts), in no case characterizes the Native American in the non-native setting.

While 21 physical characteristics were used more than once to typify Blacks, only eight physical features saw multiple use in characterizing Native Americans.

Artifacts can be used to situate cartoon characters as well as physical features. In Black cartoons, artifacts are utilized much more often in the native setting than in the non-native. Pendulous earrings, anklets, spears, necklaces, conical grass huts, loincloths, armbands, grass skirts, and dark glasses are the only artifacts used on more than a dozen occasions. Dark glasses (N=12) are the most commonly used artifacts in non-native Black cartoons. Among Native Americans in the native setting, feather headdresses, moccasins, buckskin breeches, breechclouts, and fur parkas are the most commonly used artifacts. In Black cartoons, there is a clean separation between artifacts relied upon in the native setting and those used in the non-native setting. This is clearly not the case with Native American cartoons where the most commonly used native artifacts are also utilized in the non-native setting.

Overall, Blacks appear to be subject to less artifactual stereotyping than do Native Americans. Twenty-five different artifacts were used a minimum of three times (for a total of 263 occurrences) to convey identity to 159 Black cartoons. This averages out to 1.65 per cartoon. Among Blacks in the modern setting this is a low of .44 per cartoon. Native Americans are also associated with a total of 25 artifacts used a minimum of three times (*but* for a total of 191 occurrences) to convey identity to 52 Native American cartoons. This averages out to 3.67 per cartoon. Native Americans are clearly stereotyped with artifacts with greater frequency than are Blacks.

An analysis of roles played by Blacks and Native Americans in non-native cartoons was somewhat revealing. In 100 cartoon situations, Blacks saw service in 34 roles. Nine roles were used on more than five occasions: party guests (10), lovers (8), students (8), nudists (8), actors (7), militants (6), football players (6), picnickers (5), musicians (5), and pin-ups (5). The remainder (25 roles) were used only once or twice. Native Americans were even more uniformly divided among their assigned roles; seven Native Americans filling six different roles. Interestingly, artifacts defined four of the seven characters as Eskimos.

Of Blacks in the non-native setting, the largest number (31) were displayed in cartoons devoted in major degree to matters of sex. After sex, cartoon behavior was centered on matters concerned with civil rights (20 instances, of which eight represented "Black Power" advocates or militants), athletics (9), picnicking (6), drinking (5), and education (5). The remainder were divided relatively evenly over fifteen behavioral modes.

The seven Native American cartoons exemplified only four activities: sex (3), education (2), drinking (1), and pinball playing (1).

When the ratio of Blacks and Native Americans to total United States population is compared to their respective representation in *Playboy* cartoons, some interesting patterns are discernible (Table 4). In the 1950's the initial decade for *Playboy* publication, there were 14 Black cartoons (an average of 2.3 a year over the six years). This number represented 93.3 percent of the total minority cartoons for the period (the remaining minority cartoon was in the Problematical category) but only 1.5 percent of the total of all cartoons (N=960). Based on the 1950 census, the Black population comprised 9.9 percent of the total United States population. Native Americans cartoons were absent from the pages of *Playboy* during the 1950's. As a group they represented .24 percent of the total U.S. population.

The decade of the 1960's saw increases in the total number of cartoons (N=3899) as well as the number of Black and Native American cartoons. Black cartoons represented 63.8 percent of the total minority cartoons and only 2.1 percent of the total of all cartoons; this while Blacks themselves constituted 10.5 percent of

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF TOTAL POPULATION AND MINORITY CARTOONS BY DECADE*

	1950			1960			1970		
		% of U.S. Total	% of Minority Total		% of U.S. Total	% of Minority Total		% of U.S. Total	% of Minority Total
Blacks	15,042,286	9.9	97.7	18,860,117	10.5	97.3	22,580,289	11.1	96.5
Cartoons	14	1.5	93.3	83	2.1	63.8	62	3.0	82.7
Native Americans**	357,499	.24	2.3	523,591	.29	2.7	827,730	.49	3.5
Cartoons	0	--	--	40	1.0	30.8	12	.57	16.0
Black + Native Americans	15,399,785	10.2	--	19,383,708	10.8	--	23,408,019	11.5	--
Cartoons	14	1.5	--	123	3.1	--	74	3.5***	--
Total U.S.	151,325,798	--	--	179,323,175	--	--	203,212,000	--	--
Cartoons	960	--	--	3899	--	--	2088	--	--

* Based on United States Census Figures

** Includes Eskimos and Aleuts

*** Figures Rounded to Nearest Tenth

the total U.S. population. From zero representation in the previous decade, Native American cartoons rose to 40 in the 1960's. This number constituted 30.8 percent of the total minority cartoons and 1.0 percent of the total of all published *Playboy* cartoons. Native Americans themselves during this period comprised .29 percent of the total U.S. population.

In the four years of the 1970's, while the total of Black cartoons was not up to the total of the ten years previous, the yearly average was, at 15.2, almost twice as high as that of the decade before (8.3). The 62 Black cartoons, while comprising 82.7 percent of the total of minority cartoons, were only 3.0 percent of the total of all cartoons. During this same period Blacks made up 11.1 percent of the total U.S. population. Native American cartoons declined slightly in all categories. Twelve cartoons (or three per year as opposed to four in the previous decade) represented 16.0 percent of the total of minority cartoons and .57 percent of all *Playboy* cartoons. According to 1970 census figures, Native Americans comprised .49 percent of the U.S. population.

CONCLUSIONS

To the question in what frequency are Blacks and Native Americans represented in magazine cartoons we can supply an accurate answer. On the basis of representation in terms of population, Blacks have been underrepresented from the magazine's beginnings. In all but the initial six years when they were not represented, Native Americans were overrepresented. These findings generally coincide with those made for the *Saturday Evening Post* by Houts and Bahr[5].

Whereas Black cartoons undergo a dramatic reversal in setting, going from a situation prior to 1967 when the native setting predominated to a post-1967 situation where non-native Blacks outnumber native Blacks by at least 2 to 1 (and in one case, 1969, by as much as 8 to 1), Native Americans cartoons have no year when the non-native setting predominates. The message conveyed by this seems clear. Blacks began to be perceived as members of American society, while Native Americans continued to be viewed largely as an "irrelevant minority" or one not conceived of in anything but romantic, historical, or primitive terms. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, coming as it did at the end of a long period in which Blacks were openly and in large numbers asserting their rights as citizens and claiming a recognition long overdue, may have served as the capstone for this change. Though Native Americans were also covered by the same act, their physical and social presence is ;much less obvious and hence less likely to be affected. It is noteworthy that in 1969, one year after the far more influential 1968 Civil Rights Act, only three of 31 Black cartoons are couched in the native setting.

Throughout the magazine's twenty year history, non-native Blacks are either extraneous to the action of cartoons or they are the central characters around which the situation is constructed. The change in trend occurs in 1969. At that time there is a dramatic shift to the use of Blacks as Non-Protagonist / Non-Central characters. Whereas prior to 1969, Blacks had to be central to the joke in order to be represented, after that date they show up as casual background characters not because they are necessary to the punch line but because they are necessary to a realistic representation of a cross section of American society. Native Americans in the non-native setting are, with but one exception, central to the joke. This disparity is likely due to the same cause(s) that puts such a high percentage of Native Americans in the native setting. Native Americans it would seem have no place in a modern setting unless it is to appear as an anachronism and / or to play the role of butt to a joke.

Blacks and Native Americans are both characterized by a relatively narrow range of physical characteristics. This could well be due to the nature of the medium. Cartoons, almost by definition, must be simple and direct. They must make their point with an economy of line, and this forces the cartoonist to select a minimum of traits all of which he feels will be readily recognized, i.e., he stereotypes.

Blacks are less subject to artifactual stereotyping than are Native Americans. This is especially true in the non-native setting. Again this may be due to the medium. Since black skin can convey minority membership quickly and effectively in a cartoon (even a black-and-white one) there would be less need to rely on identification through association with recognizable artifacts. The public, it seems, stereotypes Blacks with physical features and Native Americans with artifactual ones.

Houts and Bahr note the gradual demise of the American Black in *Saturday Evening Post* cartoons between 1920 and 1960 when he virtually disappeared as a cartoon character[6]. After 1960, Blacks appear only in the native or primitive setting. The authors see this change as the magazine's efficient method for eliminating the "costs" (e.g.,letters to the editor, cancelled subscriptions) of portraying American Blacks by removing them or displacing them geographically. Whether these "costs" are real or not, it is apparent from the evidence that the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Playboy* solved their minority problems in different ways. The *Saturday Evening Post* reacted by "sending them back to Africa" and *Playbof* responded by portraying them as modern members of American society. From this standpoint, at least, *Playboy* has to be considered less reactionary and more responsive than the *Saturday Evening Post.*

The relatively unchanging status of Native Americans, while so much was happening in Black cartoons, must be due to the way in which they are generally perceived. They do not have the effective physical and political presence to exert the social pressure necessary to bring about change. They will probably continue to be so portrayed until their small voice is in some way amplified. When the day arrives that we see Native Americans drawn in Brooks Brothers suits, we will know that they have acquired some measure of social equality.

NOTES

1. Kathleen Houts and Rosemary Bahr, "Stereotyping of Indians and Blacks in Magainze Cartoons", in H. Bahr, B. Chadwick and R. Day, eds., *Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspective* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 110-114.

2. Amran Schoenfield, "The Laugh Industry", *Saturday Evening Post,* (February 1, 1930): 12.

3. James Lively, "Propaganda Techniques of Civil War Cartoonsits", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 6 (1942): 99.

4. Ole Holsti, *Content Analysis For the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p.14.

5. Houts and Bahr, p.112.

6. Houts and Bahr, p.113.