

## ***Dirty Harry* as Pornography: Revealing the Unrevealed**

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*Dirty Harry* was released 40 years ago. We contend that it was a very influential film because it was one of the first mainstream pornography films. Our analysis shows how the producers of *Dirty Harry* used the signifiers and ideology of a porn film to reveal the dirty side of society. Today, those porn film signifiers have created a porn film ideology, which is a common element on television and in film.

**Keywords:** *Dirty Harry*, obscenity, pornography, semiotics

Arguably the most influential law and order thriller since Fritz Lang's *The Big Heat*, *Dirty Harry* was forged in the cross-hairs of turbulent 1960s politics and controversial censorship practices. Rooted solidly in the blue collar tradition of the 1930s Warner Brothers' crime thriller, *Dirty Harry* depicts a number of social ills growing out of metropolitan life in the 1970s. In the 1966 *Miranda v. Arizona* case (384 U.S. 436), Chief Justice Earl Warren and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that individuals in police custody had certain constitutional guarantees when authorities questioned them about crimes. The court enacted this mandate so suspects and prisoners would not be forced into incriminating confessions. Although the Constitution states that authorities have no right to compel an individual to act as a witness against him or herself, police were not required to inform the suspect that anything said could be used against them. The *Miranda* ruling changed everything. Authorities now had to advise suspects and prisoners about the right to counsel before and during police interrogations. Furthermore, suspects and prisoners had to waive their right before questioning could commence. In the aftermath of *Miranda*, enraged citizens and police claimed that the Supreme Court had gone "soft on criminals." Meantime, *Dirty Harry* exploited the changes in film censorship. The ratings had changed to a classification system and *Dirty Harry* embraced an R rating to show elements that would have been prohibited five years previously.

In this paper, we will deconstruct *Dirty Harry* through a semiotic analysis to show that this mainstream film is ideologically pornographic. By splitting the conventions from the semiotic language of film (Metz and Taylor, 1990), we can deconstruct the underlying ideology of the

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text (Derrida, 1998). Further, the directors shot this film in a way that is consistent with the semiotics of the pornographic genre. Like a dirty film which reveals for public inspection that which is normally hidden from public view (borrowing a concept from Linda Williams), *Dirty Harry* reveals the hidden, decadent, seamy, seedy side of urban culture. Only the porn flick's genital display and performance of intercourse are absent from *Dirty Harry*, and both are symbolically present. While *Dirty Harry* may be dressed up like a "clean" film, in reality this film is a "dirty" movie.

As a film genre, pornography is more than prurient stimulation induced by sexual performance and revealing genitals. A porn film states ideological positions about men, about women, about their relationships, about the power present in those relationships, and about cultural hierarchies of domination. Pornography traditionally reaffirms male domination over women through the power of the phallus in action. In this ideological sense, the 1971 Warner Brothers' thriller *Dirty Harry* is a "dirty" movie. Once scholars define *Dirty Harry* as a pornographic film, the concept of "pornography" expands beyond the concept of "skin flick" into an ideological definition.

Politically, *Dirty Harry* concerns the efforts of the eponymous, conservative right-wing protagonist hampered by the ultra-liberal policies of government in a highly permissive city intent apparently on rewarding criminals at the expense of the citizenry. Societal permissiveness creates an obscene, decadent culture hidden beneath a facade of law and justice. As a film, *Dirty Harry* reveals this hidden decadence, just as a "skin flick" reveals hidden genitalia and ideology. The audience becomes voyeurs, removed by space from the decadence but permitted to watch what is supposed to go on behind closed doors, or in the case of *Dirty Harry*, on the rooftops, down the alleys, in the parks and tunnels at night, and in the degenerated sections of San Francisco.

Being voyeuristic makes *Dirty Harry* a phallogocentric film. Mulvey (1988) contends that the "phallogocentrism" (p. 57) of film results from the cinematic use of the voyeuristic camera that gives film a male perspective that objectifies women by allowing men to look at them and put them on display. Because film is so pervasive, film conventions naturalize the subjugation of women because the male gaze is incorporated as a cultural signifier, thereby institutionalizing objectification and subjugation into the culture's dominant ideology. From Mulvey's perspective, all film is pornographic ideologically. The frequent use of the telescopic lens to spy on potential victims reinforces the voyeur perspective as first *Dirty Harry*, then the audience watching safely in their theatre seats, objectify victims into subjects of fetish desire.

The fetish replacement for the phallus becomes the guns and knives used by Callahan and Scorpio to impose their will on the objectified victims. Closeups and extreme closeups present these weapons to the audience to view and gain "knowledge" about them, just as closeups of female genitalia and sexual pleasure provide men "knowledge" about women, argues Kuhn (1982 and 1985). Pornographic pleasure for the male begins when a woman is forced into sexual acts, Kaplan (1983) explains. Similarly, in *Dirty Harry* Scorpio forces his victims into their acts; then Callahan coerces Scorpio to recognize Harry's superiority. Scorpio's gratification comes as his victims go into uncontrolled spasms because of his penetration of their bodies with knife or bullet. His gratification recalls Williams' (1989) description of the male pleasure in watching the female body in the uncontrolled frenzy of orgasmic excitement or the hard core film's climax of the "money shot," the demonstration of masculinity during ejaculation. "Hard core tries not to play peekaboo with either its male or its female bodies," explains Williams (p. 49). "It obsessively seeks knowledge, through a voyeuristic record of

confessional, involuntary paroxysm, of the ‘thing’ itself.” In the same way, *Dirty Harry* provides knowledge of societal decadence by permitting the audience to watch as its victims involuntarily die. The intensity of the experience for the *Dirty Harry* viewers of watching victims being targeted, penetrated, and die may be comparable to that of the person watching a pornographic film. Yet, like pornography, the viewer is protected.

One of the attractions of the pornographic film, writes Kuhn (1985), is that the male can possess the object of his attraction without risk. Kuhn contends that the vagina becomes the representation of the totality of femininity. The male who possesses a woman’s vagina possesses the woman’s body, the woman, and her affections. Real life possession carries the risk of rejection, Kuhn explains, but pornographic depiction of the vagina is not threatening since the cinematic replacement for the real allows the male to possess that which makes the woman female but with the knowledge that she will always perform in the ways that bring him sexual pleasure. In *Dirty Harry* the audience can experience vicariously the brutality of a decadent society without coming into real contact with the dirt of the alleys or strip shows or gutters. The audience can participate in Scorpio’s murders without condoning them; the audience can become empowered like Callahan, can be masculine like Callahan, and finally kill the evil like Callahan. *Dirty Harry* offers decadence without responsibility, just as a pornography film provides sex without risk.

Historically, *Dirty Harry* is an important film because this film brought the dirty film into the Hollywood mainstream. *Dirty Harry* is the first mainstream porn film, a genre which now includes many films. Our analysis of this film contributes to the understanding of the genre of the major stream porn film. We conclude by discussing the ideological and hierarchical implications of the porn film becoming mainstream.

### **Plot Synopsis**

A synopsis of *Dirty Harry* establishes how this popular and profitable exercise in 1970s film noir readily accommodates pornographic signifiers. A deranged sniper atop an adjacent skyscraper shoots a girl in a penthouse motel swimming pool. Inspector Harry Callahan is assigned to the case. Either the City of San Francisco must pay \$100,000, or the killer, who has signed the note as “Scorpio,” will resume his murderous ways. At first, the mayor stalls for time, but delay prompts Scorpio to ambush a juvenile. The city sets a trap for Scorpio, but he escapes and kills a policeman. Angered, Scorpio abducts a fourteen-year-old girl and demands \$200,000. The mayor agrees to pay the ransom, and Callahan volunteers as the bag man.

Events take a turn for the worse. Scorpio beats up Callahan and refuses to tell him where the girl lies buried. As the killer is about to kill Harry, his partner intervenes. Before the killer can flee, Callahan stabs Scorpio in the thigh with a switchblade. Eventually, Callahan tracks the wounded Scorpio to a football stadium. He shoots Scorpio in the leg and violates the killer’s civil rights. The District Attorney declines to prosecute the killer, and threatens to indict Harry for violating Scorpio’s rights.

After the police release Scorpio, Harry starts following him. Scorpio hires a thug to rough himself up, and he frames Callahan for the beating. The police chief orders Harry to stop his surveillance. After the killer leaves the hospital, he hijacks a bus load of kids. Scorpio demands not only \$200,000 but also a plane to fly him wherever he wants. Harry intercepts the bus in route to the airport. The killer crashes it into a gravel plant and runs. As Harry chases him out to the sludge pond in the rear of the plant, Scorpio grabs a kid fishing. The boy escapes when Callahan wounds the killer. Harry taunts Scorpio, and the killer grabs his gun. Harry’s

bullet hits him in the chest, hurling him into the sludge. Afterward, Callahan pitches his badge contemptuously into the drainage pit where the corpse of the killer floats.

### **Porn Signifiers**

Pornography in the 1970s channeled its impact ostensibly through two basic shots: the meat shot and the money shot. Linda Williams (1989) observes that the meat shot and money shot and their projection of the hidden aspects of sexual behavior became genre signifiers of these mainstream porno films shown in cinemas. Don Siegel's *Dirty Harry* exploits these porn characteristics. A porn film reveals sexual decadence; Siegel reveals social decadence. The action in the porn film climaxes with a closeup of the performance of the penis; the action in *Dirty Harry* revolves around the phallic replacement—guns and knives. Further, pornography empowers the masculine, ideologically satisfying male viewers; Harry Callahan's ultimate superior masculinity also empowers male viewers.

The meat shot encompasses any sexual act with the penis either erect or penetrating a female orifice. Meat shots typically portray a man with an erect penis as ready for action. *Dirty Harry*'s dialogue states the same point: "When I see a naked man chasing a woman down an alley with a butcher knife and a hard-on, I don't figure he's out collecting for the Red Cross." (Fink and Riesner, 1971, 9) Meat shots in *Dirty Harry* show the characters brandishing their weapons, whether those weapons are guns, knives, or fists.

The money shot displays the engorged penis ejaculating seminal fluid, producing visual evidence of the male experiencing pleasure, what Williams (1985) describes as "the most blatantly phallic of all hardcore film representations" (p. 93). Siegel "delivers the goods" (Williams p. 106) by depicting a male character firing his gun with the subsequent images of blood erupting from the opponent's body. As Williams writes, the money shot "can be viewed as the most representative instance of phallic power and pleasure" (p. 93). When either Harry or Scorpio discharge their firearms or use other weapons to draw blood, the need to depict the firing, stabbing, or smashing action serves "as the ultimate climax—the sense of an ending—for each heterosexual act of violence" shown (p. 95).

### **Incorporating Pornography**

*Dirty Harry* appeared at a pivotal moment in cinematic history when relaxed film censorship allowed the exhibition of hardcore porno films in mainstream public theatres. Major studio films such as Arthur Penn's *Bonnie & Clyde* (1967), Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969), John Schlesinger's *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), William Friedkin's *The French Connection* (1971), Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), and Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* (1973) challenged the limits of mainstream film censorship. Eventually, the movie ratings board relented and replaced the X-rating on *Midnight Cowboy* with an R-rating because the filmmakers refrained from showing actual sexual acts. Similarly, *Dirty Harry* availed itself of the expanding latitude in film censorship to depict its themes with great realism (Zimmerman, 1972, 59).

Traditionally, hardcore pornos have been generically referred to as "dirty," implicating their unsavory content and nature. Inspector Callahan is addressed as "Dirty Harry" four times in the film. The first reference clarifies Harry's egalitarianism. He wears a judicial blindfold of sorts because racism exerts little weight in his judgments. The second time, his partner Chico uses the nickname after Harry peeps into a window while Hot Mary entertains her boyfriend. Later, Harry advances his own theory about his nickname: he constantly tackles

the dirtiest jobs. Lastly, Chico concludes for himself in Bresler's office: Harry "always gets the shit end of the stick" (Fink & Riesner, 1971, 62).

Implicit in each of these examples is Harry's relationship with Scorpio because the killer constitutes another "dirty" assignment. Scorpio forces Harry to scramble breathlessly through San Francisco at night. Along the way, Callahan—as well as the audience—encounters a diverse bunch of perverts and thieves.

### **Analysis of Specific Scenes**

A closer examination of several scenes reveals that pornographic conventions exploited to arouse the audience and to scourge their deviant response by converting their pleasure at such prurience into degeneracy. Those scenes include Scorpio's initial shot, the foiled bank robbery, the foiled sniper attempt, the Hot Mary episode, the night stakeout sequence, the Mount Davidson park clash and the follow-up Kezar Stadium confrontation, Scorpio's hired beating, and the showdown at the gravel plant. For brevity, this paper will focus on three scenes—Scorpio's initial shot, the Mount Davidson park clash, and the final showdown—that demonstrate the pornographic nature of this film.

#### **Scorpio's first shot**

Pornographic signifiers, such as phallic performance, voyeurism, objectified identities; meat and money shots materialize in the breakdown of this scene. After its introductory tribute to slain San Francisco policemen, *Dirty Harry* shifts to a superimposed closeup of a cop's badge dissolving into a low-angled, closeup of a silencer on the muzzle of a high-powered rifle. The barrel of the rifle looms in intimate proximity with the camera. According to film theorist Louis Giannetti (1993), intimate distances "range from skin contact to about eighteen inches away" as the silencer is shown in a closeup shot. The rifle with the silencer embodies the phallus and phallic performance. Giannetti describes this distance as one of "physical involvement—of love, comfort, and tenderness between individuals" (p. 63-63).

Meanwhile, jazz composer Lalo Schifrin's musical score serves as a porn signifier, according to Shadioan (1974, p. 170). The music is "sado-sensual—especially the female chorus with its wordless vocal refrain (the Scorpio "theme")"—underscored as it is with a syncopated beat.

Voyeurism plays a major part in this brief (little over a minute's worth of time), yet sexually taut, sequence of images. Siegel frames a young woman in a medium shot from the sniper's point of view as seen through the telescopic sights as she rises and walks to one end of the penthouse pool. A social distance of about four to twelve feet as magnified by the scope appears to lie between the assassin and his victim, signaling the transaction of impersonal business. Appropriately enough, the young woman suspects nothing as she swims laps. Siegel neatly establishes the setting with a zoom shot that pulls back from the far skyscraper to reveal another skyscraper where the anonymous assassin stands poised over his rifle. The viewer remains at a public distance here from the killer varying from twelve to twenty-five feet. Scorpio fulfills the role of a voyeur. Scorpio's pleasure in killing from ambush allies itself to the voyeur's pleasure he derives from the object of his attention being unaware of his gaze.

In this sequence, the assassin consumes the female swimmer with his predatory telescopic gaze until Scorpio shoots her. He is watching the unsuspecting woman in a yellow, one-piece bathing suit as she dives into the pool and swims laps. An ensuing shot repeats the earlier, uncomfortably intimate closeup of the silencer on the rifle muzzle. Siegel cuts back to

the woman's graceful aquatic strokes as seen from killer's perspective in the cross hairs of his sniper scope. The magnified distance between the swimmer and the killer creates a personal distance of perhaps four feet. Scorpio restrains himself from shooting her immediately because he derives voyeuristic pleasure from watching her swim. The swimmer's beauty and sexuality seem to transfix the sniper's attention. Essentially, Siegel alternates between intimate, personal, and public distances in the relationship between Scorpio and the murdered woman. Although Scorpio is clearly shooting at her, Siegel has gone to extreme lengths to bring these two participants, as well as the spectator, into a kind of close proximity that suggests the intimacy of a sexual coupling. Siegel uses a closeup of an ejaculated bullet spreading blood in what the killer experiences as the pleasure of someone else's pain. Then, the audience confronts her death struggle from intimate distance, similar to the porn camera's closeups of orgasm. As the first victim drowns, the camera pulls out to the safety of the master shot.

Siegel objectifies both killer and his victim in a pornographic way. Siegel conceals the killer's identity throughout the first scene. Neither his face nor any part of his facial expression can be distinguished during this scene. Instead, the powerful rifle dominates all of the shots like an enormous phallus. Scorpio's entire body appears to be grafted to the rifle. The rifle in the killer's hands distinguishes his murderous function while her yellow swimsuit amplifies the woman's femininity and vulnerability as a victim. Each signifier fits with Freud's sexual fetishism concept "that objects or parts of the anatomy are used as symbols for and replacements of the socially valued phallus" (Myers, 1995, p. 265).

The intrusive closeup shots of the rifle barrel as well as the images in the sniper scope both constitute meat shots. The closeup of Scorpio's finger squeezing the trigger and the sinking girl spewing blood both represent the equivalent of money shots. Siegel presents audiences with an intimate, extreme closeup image of the killer's gloved finger pulling the trigger, then he crosscuts to non-point of view images of the girl in an intimate closeup spouting blood. Although she is dying, her mouth opens in a gasp as she spins as if in orgasm. At the public distance of a long shot of perhaps twelve or more feet, she drowns, bleeding. These camera shots and movements with the appearance of blood correspond roughly to what Linda Williams (1989) calls "visual proof of her objectification and humiliation" (p. 112).

The elements of phallic performance and voyeurism represent pornographic signifiers, but the "sexuality" of the shot degenerates when Siegel suddenly has the sniper fire his rifle. One minute the audience is invited to share in Scorpio's voyeurism, only to be brutally jolted out of it when he shoots the woman. She dies with an awkward clumsiness that heightens the unsavory nature of the outcome. Then the whole pornography hierarchy is reversed. When Harry examines the swimmer's body, the filmmakers have placed the dead girl in a long shot at a public distance, but they have positioned her face and breasts turned toward the camera so that the lighting exposes her cleavage. She is an objectified body on her back, ready to be taken sexually by a male if this were a porn film, but in this film she is dead, turning the porn signifier of preparation for intercourse into a cultural signifier of extreme deviance.

### **Mountain Davidson park and Kezar stadium scenes**

Several pornographic signifiers encode the Mount Davidson Park scene. Scorpio wields the upper hand until Harry surprises and stabs him. Initially, Scorpio appears in a red ski mask, concealing and objectifying his identity. The killer forces Callahan to drop the bag and demands to see his gun. Scorpio's tone of voice and the half-described request reverberates with porn signifiers, comparing this confrontation to that of a pervert asking to see his privates. When

Harry produces his forty-four magnum, Scorpio coos with awe, "That's a big one." Scorpio emasculates Callahan, taking the gun from him and then beating him, tells the helpless Callahan not to pass out until his pleasure is complete. Scorpio towers over Callahan here, while Harry in closeup writhes beneath him in passive agony. Instead of divulging the whereabouts of kidnapped victim Ann Mary Deacon, Scorpio reveals that he has decided to let the buried girl die.

Perhaps the most evocative meat shot in this scene and the entire film occurs when Harry produces the switchblade taped to his ankle. At this point, Chico overhears Scorpio's decision to kill Harry and intervenes. During the gunfight, Harry plunges the blade into Scorpio's thigh, penetrating flesh like a meat shot. Siegel cuts from this image to Scorpio's face in closeup with his lips forming a circle as he screams like a woman having an orgasm.

The Kezar Stadium sequence contains pornographic overtones, too. Callahan and his new partner, De Georgio, learn about Scorpio's lair, enter Kezar Stadium without a search warrant, and search of the premises. Siegel intercuts extreme closeup images of Scorpio's voyeuristic eyes as Harry searches for him. Harry chases the hobbling Scorpio (a wounded animal injured by Harry's phallic penetration) onto the football field while De Georgio switches on the powerful stadium lights. Siegel shows Harry in a closeup with his magnum occupying the foreground the image, then reverses the angle to reveal Callahan's perspective over his gun sight as he snaps off the shot that takes down Scorpio, a slug in the leg. Harry demands the whereabouts of the suffocating girl; Scorpio whimpers about his violated civil rights. A frustrated Callahan treads on the bloody leg in a closeup, and he grinds his foot into the killer's wound. Callahan is superior here, controlling a hierarchical relationship while a whining, sniveling, objectified Scorpio writhes beneath his foot. In a reversal of the old romantic movie convention where the camera modestly averts its gaze from the lovers when things get steamy, Siegel pulls his camera back and retreats into the foggy night. At dawn, Harry stands from afar and watches as a team of police and paramedics remove the fully nude body of the kidnapped 14-year-old girl from a hole and load her onto a litter. In a porn film, this would be a moment of sexual excitement. A long lens reveals female genitalia, the object of the voyeur's desire, and holds the image in closeup. But, as with the swimmer, Siegel twists prurient signifiers into a degenerate offering of pedophilia and necrophilia.

### **Final showdown**

Phallic performance, body language, and meat and money shots constitute the pornographic signifiers in this scene. The showdown scene properly begins when Scorpio spots Harry standing on the railroad overpass. Harry jumps onto the bus as it passes under the bridge, and bullets rip through the metal as Scorpio fires wildly into the roof. Furiously, Scorpio commandeers the bus, runs a Volkswagen beetle off the road, and buries the accelerator. The killer swerves the bus to dislodge Harry. Callahan hangs on and lowers himself so that he can look inside the school bus. Harry brandishes his big magnum and points it at Scorpio who is behind the wheel. This shot serves as a meat shot with each character waving a gun in the other's face.

Scorpio crashes the bus and flees into the gravel factory with Harry in hot pursuit. The limp that Scorpio runs with here serves as a visual signification of his sexually aberrant nature. The killer scrambles toward a lake where he notices a boy fishing in the sludge pond. He snatches the boy without hesitation, shoves his pistol into his throat, and threatens to "blow his brains out." Harry saunters closer to Scorpio and his hostage. Looking as if he were going to

surrender to Scorpio, Harry about faces suddenly and wounds Scorpio in the shoulder, setting the boy free. Scorpio loses his gun, an act akin to castration which feminizes him, and the final showdown proceeds with the killer poised to reach for his weapon. Harry's signature taunt (Make My Day) is played for maximum dramatic power, and the filmmakers frame him from a low-angle with his magnum in front of him. Scorpio is shown from a reversed angle, crouched with his fingers stretched out toward his pistol, his mouth open. Giggling insanely, he scoops up his gun, and Harry fires at him. The money shot is clearly presented as Harry's forty-four magnum is shown firing in closeup. The impact of the bullet catapults Scorpio's body backwards. The dead killer flies through the air in three different shots to hit the water with an orgasmic splash. In a low-angled long shot from a public distance, Harry approaches the sludge and stares down into the camera. Siegel reverses the angle and shows Scorpio's body floating face up with his mouth open, a near duplicate shot of Scorpio's first victim.

### Conclusion

*Dirty Harry*, it is essential to clearly understand, is not ostensibly pornographic in the same sense as a *Deep Throat*. Director Don Siegel has availed himself of pornographic references and signifiers to encode visually the film's ideology. The dialogue speaks of the decadence of society. The action shows us the decadence. The settings place us in the decadence. All of this encoding is then placed into a specific cultural context, into the culture of real social decadence—pornography. *Dirty Harry* gives us the cues of prurient sexual arousal—voyeurism, sexual availability, sexual gratification—then spins the hierarchy on its axis, making the violent the sexual and the sexual deviant. In this way, *Dirty Harry* reveals the hidden decadence of society.

Emerging from this crisis of cultural demise is the hero, Harry Callahan, who becomes the answer to a question posed by Linda Williams (1989): “We should be asking what it [pornography] does for viewers”? (p. 5). Given *Dirty Harry's* success at the box office, in rentals, and on television, the question should be asked: What does this film do for the viewers? Because this movie is a pornographic film, Harry controls the phallus—the gun, the gun empowering him to control his world, both cinematic and ideological. As we stated in the introduction, a porn film states ideological positions about men, about women, about their relationships, about the power present in those relationships, and about cultural hierarchies of domination. Just as a porn film resolves the power relationships in favor of male pleasure and patriarchy, so *Dirty Harry* presents the audience with the dominance of male power over a decadent, perverted world. The conventions of the porn flick in *Dirty Harry* reinforce the socially decadent tone of the film, a necessary element of the film if the patriarchal ideology, stated by Callahan and his gun, is to be successfully rationalized as a natural outgrowth of the plot, centered on the conquest of decadence by the male hero. Once the phallus is empowered and naturalized, the patriarchal ideology of both the porn film and *Dirty Harry* is reaffirmed, justifying male pleasure as a legitimate pursuit of those watching the film.

Forty years after *Dirty Harry*, the mainstream porn film is a popular formula for television and film. *CSI* adopts some of the signifiers of the porn film as the investigators examine death on a weekly basis to determine how the body was penetrated by the perverts. *Criminal Minds* shows the perverted death caused by the sexually deranged person, who is caught as the investigators penetrate his mental deviance. Voyeuristic presentations are the main attraction of the reality shows—*Survivor*, *Dancing with the Stars*, *The Bachelor*, et al. Barely dressed women and men perform actions mimicking sexual foreplay and intercourse.

The audience voyeuristically watches the performances and roots for the person who best fulfills the expectations of patriarchal ideology.

Angelina Jolie made herself a star playing the male in mainstream porn films from *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (2001) to *Salt* (2010). The Lara Croft character—or the updated Evelyn Salt—controls the phallus by killing and defeating her mostly male enemies. Yet, her skin tight outfits and nude scenes make her the objective of the male phallus seeking to dominant her, including those in the audience.

At the 2011 Academy Awards, Natalie Portman won best actress for *The Black Swan*. This is a mainstream porn film. The film gives the audience a voyeuristic view of a ballerina's mental and physical challenges as she sexualizes herself for the pleasure of others.

*Dirty Harry* transformed the porno film from the dark backrooms where a few men gathered for sexual pleasure into a mainstream genre. As many scholars point out the signifiers of sex are used to sell everything from products to news commentators (Bernstein, 2007; Skerski, 2006; Pardun & Forde, 2006; Chambers, 2006; Kastleman, 2007; Macdonald, 1995). This genre sexualizes viewing from the couch to the theater. Attwood (2009) calls it “The Sexualization of Western Culture” and Slattery (2001) describes as the “Immodest Proposals.” Today, the signifiers of porn sexualize mainstream viewing everywhere we look. People seem to asking the creators of the mass media to give us sex at every turn. In the words of Harry Callahan, “Make my day.”

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