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Technical Report of The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography

Volume IV

THE MARKETPLACE: EMPIRICAL STUDIES

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Technical Report of The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, v. 4

Volume IV

THE MARKETPLACE: EMPIRICAL STUDIES

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Foreword

The members of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography take special satisfaction in making available these Technical Reports of research undertaken at the Commission's request and under the direction of its staff.

These reports are an important part of the Commission's response to the directive from Congress to study and report on (*a*) constitutional and definitional problems relating to obscenity controls, (*b*) traffic in and distribution of obscene and pornographic materials, and (*c*) effects of such materials, particularly on youth, and their relationship to crime and other antisocial conduct.

Most of the Technical Reports are original work because, outside of the legal field, very little research on the questions assigned to the Commission had been undertaken by anyone prior to the funding of the Commission in the summer of 1968. At appropriate points in these volumes, reference is made to reports of earlier research, as well as to research projects undertaken independently of the Commission during the two years of its effective life. Primarily, however, the Commission found it necessary to rely on the original research reported here.

Although attention will initially focus on the findings and recommendations of the Commission and its four panels, the research reflected in these Technical Reports will have greater long-range importance. The findings by the Commission and its panels are necessarily limited and hurried distillations, and its recommendations are inevitably tempered by the give and take of seeking to reach a group judgment on a highly controversial subject. The research reported here, however, was subject to no such limitations and is being made available primarily for two purposes:

(1) We expect and invite critical examination and appraisal of these reports, for we have only begun the task of interpreting the wealth of information they contain.

(2) We hope that the Commission-sponsored research will stimulate and point the way to further scientific inquiry in this difficult and baffling field. There are still many unanswered questions, and these will require further research with more refined techniques and instruments.

For the Commission, I wish to express deep appreciation to all the individuals and teams whose research is reported here. We are most grateful both of their willingness to pioneer in this unexplored and controversial field and for their shouldering of the burden on such short notice and with such restrictive time schedules.

I also wish to express for the Commission our admiration and thanks to Dr. W. Cody Wilson, our executive director, and his excellent staff. Only through their valiant and effective efforts in planning and implementing this vast array of highly diverse research projects, all focusing on specific tasks assigned to the Commission, was it possible for us to bring our work to a timely completion.

WILLIAM B. LOCKHART
Chairman

General Preface

Many of the papers in these volumes share two characteristics: a focus on empirical description and a lack of refinement in presentation. Each of these characteristics is a product of both circumstance and deliberate policy.

The emphasis on empirical description reflects in part the nature of existing knowledge at the beginning of the Commission's work. Few empirical observations had been reported in the literature, and these were not sufficient to provide even a tentative description of the phenomena of concern to the Commission, nor to form the basis for research at a higher level of conceptualization.

The emphasis on empirical description also reflects the nature of the task assigned to the Commission. The policy questions posed by the Congress required primarily empirical description for guidance.

The overall research strategy and the specific research projects were guided, however, by ideas and concepts from more theoretically developed areas of the behavioral sciences such as socialization, personality, and social structure. Hopefully, the data compiled for purposes if empirical description of the phenomena of obscenity and pornography will be relevant to theoretical issues in these other areas.

Some of the empirical descriptions may appear to many social scientists as demonstrations of the obvious. This is often the case *after* an empirical description has been provided. Yet, it is never certain that "obvious" concepts and relations are valid until they have been tested empirically. As it turned out, there were a few surprises to a few people.

The policy implications of the findings of this research program may very well stir controversy and debate. Because of their crucial importance for policy discussion and decision, the Commission has presented the basic empirical observations with a minimum of complex statistical manipulation and conceptual analysis. The lack of refinement in presentation of several of the research reports is due in part to the Commission's desire to keep very close to the raw data.

Most of the researchers had less than nine months in which to establish a research team, arrange a research setting, develop measuring instruments, secure subjects, collect the data, reduce the data, and write a report. In several instances we are presenting, literally, the first draft of a report.

The Commission staff has refrained from all but very minor editing of these reports. The observations and interpretations are entirely the authors' To insure that ideological standards were not imposed on the results of the reports, the Commission and its staff have also foregone the prerogative of imposing generally accepted standards of scientific reporting. To the same end we have also published all of the research that has been undertaken for us.

Nevertheless, most of the reports in these volumes quite satisfactorily reflect current standards, not only for conducting research but also for reporting on its results.

We trust that many of the authors will soon present to the behavioral science community reports based on these data but directed to more theoretical and conceptual issues and reflecting a higher degree of refinement of both data and presentation that has been possible here.

This series of volumes of Technical Reports is a joint of the Congress, the Commission, the Commission staff, the research teams headed by the authors of the several papers, and the many people who participated in the studies: Congress posed the general problems, authorized the Commission to contract with competent agencies to conduct research, and provided the necessary funds. The Commission specified the kinds of information that it required and worked closely with the staff in designing an appropriate research program. The Commission staff specified the details of the research program and, under the direction and guidance of the Commission, implemented it—partly by undertaking research directly, but more often by contracting with outside agencies to conduct research. The authors of the papers accepted responsibility for developing concrete research arrangements, collecting and analyzing data, and writing reports, all under tremendous time pressure. Several thousand people cooperated in collecting the data and devoted uncounted hours of time providing the information in these volumes.

On behalf of the Commission, its staff, the authors of the papers, and the people who read these volumes and make use of the contents, I express deep appreciation to the Members of Congress who initiated and made possible the gathering of this information, and to the people who participated in the various studies and contributed the basic information.

W. CODY WILSON
Executive Director
and Director of Research

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Introduction to Volume IV

Volume IV presents empirical studies of the marketplace for sexual materials with emphasis on retail outlets and their customers.

The first three studies present what are essentially case studies of three different cities: Denver, Boston, and San Francisco. The authors of each study come from different disciplines and thereby focus on the marketplace from slightly different perspectives.

Massey looks at Denver with the viewpoint of a marketing economist; Finkelstein views Boston with the eyes of a lawyer; and Nawy brings a sociologist's orientation to his study of San Francisco. They all, however, look at retail outlets and their customers.

The overall picture that emerges from viewing three different cities from three different perspectives is, however, an amazingly consistent one.

The general observations regarding the characteristics of patrons of adult bookstores and movies made in these three community case studies are confirmed and amplified by Winick's observations of patrons in 10 other communities. These observations also provide information about the limits of generalizing about the characteristics of patrons and demonstrate how these characteristics vary somewhat according to the demographic characteristics of the community in which a bookstore or theater is located. Winick's second paper explores the motivations of patrons of adult movie theaters.

The last paper provides a cross-national perspective. Kutschinsky, in his brief paper, looks at the industry from the producers' viewpoint (as did Sampson for the United States in Volume III); provides a case study of Copenhagen to compare with those of Denver, Boston, and San Francisco; and presents data on the attitudes toward pornography of the citizens of Copenhagen that may be interesting to compare with some of the attitudinal data for the United States to be presented in Volume VI.

W. CODY WILSON
Executive Director and
Director of Research

A Marketing Analysis of Sex-Oriented Materials

A Pilot Study in Denver, August 1969

MORRIS E. MASSEY
University of Colorado

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

The scope of the problem

The objective of this study was to collect and interpret information related to the marketing activities, environment, and community climate directly related to sex-oriented materials in Denver, Colorado.

The research efforts were basically exploratory and sought what kinds of information were available on marketing activities, what difficulties might be encountered in collecting this information, and how such information might be used to assess consumption of these materials in the Denver area. An overview of the scope of the study is presented in outline form in Exhibit I.

Exhibit I

STUDY PLAN

I. RETAIL, WHOLESALE, PRODUCTION—ACTUAL FACILITIES
   A. Locations (soft)
      1. Adult stores
      2. Adult sections
      3. Regular stores w/pornography
      4. Misc. (arcades, etc.)

B. Contacts (hard)
   1. Institutions (bars, etc.)
   2. Personal

C. Materials inventory
   1. Movies
   2. Books (hardback, paper)
   3. Magazines
   4. Pictures
   5. Records
   6. Misc. (cards, trinkets)

D. Physical distribution and channels
   1. Systems (linkages)
   2. Members (relationships)

E. Retail operations (internal)
   1. Layout, display, packaging, assortments
   2. Pricing
   3. Costs, profits
   4. Personnel

F. Consumer profiles
   1. Owner/clerks
   2. Observation—(actual)

II. COMMUNITY SETTING FOR INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES

A. Guardians (legal)
   1. Knowledge
   2. Attitudes
   3. Use (objective and personal)

B. Guardians (self-appointed)
   1. Knowledge
   2. Attitudes
   3. Use

C. General Public
   1. Setting
   2. Unitary respondent characteristics (income, education, age, marital status, occupation)
   3. Dimensions
      (a) Knowledge
      (b) Attitudes
      (c) Use

Sources of information

An analysis of marketing activities for sex-oriented materials in Denver relied heavily on primary information, as secondary sources were limited. Consequently, the research methodology described later in detail provides a detailed description of the primary research techniques employed and their execution. Heavy emphasis was placed on observation and interview techniques, since preliminary probes and searches of secondary sources provided only limited insights.

Although the primary information is limited in many cases, a total picture of marketing activities for sex-oriented materials in Denver emerged at the completion of the analyses. Much of the data could not have been collected without the cooperation of the owners of two retail outlets selling sex-oriented materials. Their invaluable contribution to the study made it possible for members of the

research team to observe firsthand the purchase and browsing processes involved in the consumption of sex-oriented materials.

Limitations of the study

As in any study of this nature, there were a number of limitations which necessarily restrict the value of the information presented. Therefore, several factors must be kept in mind when interpreting and judging the information presented. However, these limitations by no means invalidate the value of the information in total.

Although standard marketing research techniques were employed, there were no established procedures for conducting a study of this type on a socially sensitive product. Further, standard information sources such as industry cost information, trade association studies, other academic studies, secondary information dealing with sex-oriented materials, or public information sources were not available. Consequently, techniques were developed and then modified during the study itself as insights into the problem were developed.

A primary difficulty was the lack of definitions and/or classifications of pornographic or sex-oriented materials. Secondary legal, sociological, and psychological sources were not consistent in their discussions of the types of materials. A systematic means of classification and definition was necessary before any study of this nature could proceed. In developing such a classification scheme, three variables were taken into consideration: sex object; sex activity; and media. The following list systematically presents a number of possible variables:

SEX OBJECT	SEX ACTIVITY	MEDIA
Heterosexual	Mechanical	*Books*
Alone	Intercourse—genital	Hard cover
Couples	Oral-genital	Paperback
Groups	Oral-anal	*Magazines*
Homosexual	Genital-anal	*Movies*
Male—single	Sadomasochistic	Public
Male—groups	Fetishes	Private
Female—single		*Photographs*
Female—groups		*Records*
Bestiality		*Miscellaneous*
Male		
Female		
Pedophilia		
Male		
Female		

Each sex object can be viewed in terms of the various sex activities as presented in various media. Each possible variation conceivably produces different responses in consumers and in perceptions of individuals. For example, a heterosexual couple using a mechanical device as presented in a hard-cover book might be deemed acceptable. In contrast, a heterosexual group engaged in genital intercourse as presented in photographs might be considered unacceptable. Consequently, the number of variations considered in the research was limited, although those considered were subjectively determined by research team members to be the most likely possibilities. The standardized classification

scheme developed and used throughout the study provided a comparative base between materials, their use, and attitudes toward the materials.

Much of the success of a study of this type depends upon the cooperation of individuals directly involved in marketing activities. While the owners and clerks involved in the activities in Denver did cooperate, they were obviously withholding some information which they did not feel was relevant or which they wished to conceal. Further, these individuals simply did not know answers to some questions. However, they guessed, and in a number of cases these guesses were shown to be incorrect. However, it was not possible to verify all the information received from these sources; consequently, some data must be used with caution.

While the observation technique provided specific information, it cannot be completely objective, particularly in the case of this study. Even though precautions were taken and training sessions were held for the observers, several elements of the information were necessarily subjective. Further, in-store observations were not complete, as stores became crowded, and observers had to limit the number of people they were watching. Also, since some of the observers were posing as clerks in the stores, they were often distracted by customers asking questions. In effect, the use of clerk/observers was a trade off—the value of having the observers in direct contact with consumers and browsers imposed restrictions upon their observing activities. Realistically, probably only 70 to 80% of the patrons in stores used for observation were actually recorded.

Only two stores out of 21 selling sex-oriented materials in Denver were used as sites for consumer observations. While these stores seemed to be representative of the two basic types of stores, it was certainly possible that other outlets attracted consumers of different types.

Because sales were recorded in only two stores it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to project sales volumes and activities in other stores. Unlike other businesses which typically have some standard bases for comparisons (floor space, display unit variable, hours of operation, or number of consumers), the outlets for sex-oriented materials apparently possessed no standard bases.

In probing the attitudes of the general public towards sex-oriented materials, a number of problems arose. Sex is an extremely sensitive subject; consequently many individuals were not willing or were reluctant to discuss either their views or their activities. This sensitivity was partially offset by the high-interest value of the subject. Probably in a number of cases questionnaires were not completed because of this sensitivity. Others were incomplete due to the length of the questionnaire (30 to 45 minutes' completion time was needed).

The sampling of general public attitudes was not a random sample. Rather, groups of individuals were selected on the basis of convenience and availability. The number of groups sampled was necessarily limited by the time period allowed for completion of the study. Consequently, the groups as a whole tended to be more representative of the middle-class, middle-income strata in Denver than of the total population.

Finally, the traditional time and monetary limitations were significant. The 3-week time period between the signing of the contract and the beginning of field work created pressures on the development of test instruments and limited the amount of pretesting. Although pretesting was done on all instruments, some

modifications were made after field work started thus rendering some of the data incomparable. Further, after all data were collected and tabulated, only 3 weeks were available for analyses and cross-comparisons. A great deal of additional analyses could be performed if such work were deemed important. In addition, the amount of funds available for personnel prohibited the desirable depth in observations and interviewing.

Even though the preceding limitations were important and affected the overall study, the information collected and presented provided insights into the marketing processes of sex-oriented materials and the consumers of these materials in the Denver marketplace as of August 1969.

Preview of the presentation

Following a review of the methodology, the first major section of data considers the sex-oriented materials actually available in Denver. These materials are analyzed on the basis of a sample of all such materials legally purchased for the study from retail outlets in Denver. Mail-order and "under-the-counter"[1] materials are also considered. Objective analyses and comparisons of materials in book form, either paperback or hard cover, are examined on the basis of writing style and readability levels. The section concludes with an analysis of variations in the materials in terms of prices, treatment of subject, packaging, content, and other important variables.

Next, the sex-oriented materials marketing systems (retailers, wholesalers, and limited production facilities in Denver) are examined in some detail. Specifically, operations are examined in terms of their physical components and techniques. Data on sales volumes in the Denver area end this section.

Specific consumption by individual consumers is considered next. These data are based on observations obtained during field research in retail outlets, arcades, and movie theaters. From this information a profile of the consumer of sex-oriented material emerges.

Shifting from specific consumption by individuals to general community consumption of sex-oriented materials, movies, group activities, and United States mail are examined.

Moving to a general assessment of the Denver community's attitudes toward sex-oriented materials, the next section concentrates on the results of a questionnaire administered to groups in the general public. Information obtained from this questionnaire indicates the community's level of knowledge and attitudes relating to sex-oriented materials.

The final section of the report summarizes major findings, describes changes in the marketing of sex-oriented materials in the month following the study, and ends with some interpretations and opinions of the research staff on the study and its findings.

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1. Materials considered illegal by sellers and sold only by personal contact; not openly available in retail outlets.

METHODOLOGICAL PLAN FOR MARKETING ANALYSIS OF SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS

Researchers used standard marketing research techniques (observation and interrogation) for the collection of primary data. However, numerous modifications and adaptations in methodology and instruments were necessary because of (1) the absence of information relating to research studies dealing specifically with sex-oriented materials, and (2) the sensitivity of the subject matter. Whenever possible, multiple sources were used to cross-check the validity of the information gathered.

General orientation process

The sensitive nature of the subject material (from the point of view of consumers) and the apprehension of people actually engaged in marketing the materials (caused by the present legal situation in Denver) necessitated a series of actions to minimize bias.

Initially, the project director informally contacted owners of two different retail outlets to solicit their cooperation. Information gained from these individuals and from other sources (legal and professional) led to the adoption of an academic cover (see Exhibit II) for Phase I of the study (retail operations analysis and observation of consumers). A general statement of purpose was devised to lend academic validity to the study. Cooperating legal authorities and research personnel were the only individuals with full knowledge of the study's purpose.

Exhibit II

MARKETING ANALYSIS OF SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS
IN DENVER, COLORADO

This academic Study proposes to analyze the marketing of sex-oriented materials in Denver, Colorado during the Summer of 1969 from the point-of-view of the legal business operations. The Study will stress the marketing viewpoint in describing business activities and the activities of consumers of these materials. The Study will be conducted using qualified academic researchers from the School of Business, University of Colorado (six professiorial-rank researchers and six junior researchers with a business orientation). The Study is committed to confidential handling of all information received—no names of any type will be used. The Study is not connected in any way with any law enforcement agency.

Morris E. Massey, Ph.D.
Project Director
Assistant Professor of Marketing

Research Study Office:

August 3-August 25:	The Hampshire House — Denver Phone: 292-1200
August 25-Sept. 30:	Business School Annex 103 — Boulder Phone: 443-2211 Ext. 6770

A general orientation meeting for the entire original staff outlined the strategies, methodologies, and personal considerations for the staff. To further protect the study, all personnel were provided with general outlines, purpose statements,

and letters of employment and were required to sign a secrecy pledge. Any individual problems and/or concerns of the staff were resolved in discussions with the project director. The necessity for rapid, accurate accumulation of data was particularly emphasized.

Instruments and techniques for data collection

Nine different general categories of information were examined to provide primary and/or secondary data for the study analyses. Each is examined in the Appendix according to type of data sought, instruments used, staff, instructions, pretesting, controls, and other relevant considerations.

Classification scheme of sex-oriented materials

Early in the planning stage of the study, the research team agreed that a standard scheme for the classification of sex-oriented materials was necessary to avoid value judgments and to make valid multimedia comparisons. It was also useful to have a relatively objective system when communicating with the public, since the use of the word "pornography" not only expressed a value judgment but conveyed a variety of connotations to different people. The purpose of the scheme was not to define "pornography" but to classify sex-oriented materials and to make every attempt to guard against implying a value judgment when referring to sex-oriented materials. For these reasons, the following classification scheme was developed and used throughout the study.

The scheme classified sex-oriented materials on two bases: (1) "type"—type of partners involved in a sex activity, and (2) "class"—a ranking of the degree of exposure of the sex activity depicted.

In the classification matrix, "class" was ranked on the horizontal axis and "type" on the vertical axis.

Determination of the type-rating was based on combinations of partners engaged in different sex activities ranging from sex activities between a human and an animal or using a mechanical device (Type V). The type-grouping had five basic categories; within these categories there were an infinite variety of sex activities possible. For example, each type grouping could be further divided into variations such as intercourse, oral/genital acts, oral/anal acts, genital/anal acts, acts of sadism, acts of masochism, and self-gratifying acts (masturbation). However, for the purpose of brevity, it was decided that the five broad types would serve adequately in a basic classification scheme.

Determination of the class-ranking was based upon the extent of exposure of (1) the sex activity depicted, and (2) the sex organs involved in the sex act. It was assumed that the maximum which can be shown in full exposure of the sex act in progress with full exposure of the sex organs involved. This assumption was used as the basis for Class A, with each subsequent class having lesser degrees of exposure of either the sex activity or sex organs, or both.

Graphic depictions were developed for purposes of general illustration for research staff use of the type/class cells.

The classification scheme was reproduced and included in the original report of this study, as submitted to the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, October 31, 1969.

The matrix consisted of 25 representative line drawings depicting five basic types of "partners" each engaged in five different degrees of sex activity and/or exposure.

The basic Types and Classes used were:

Y Axis

Type I: Normal partner

Type II: Homosexual (female/female) (male/male)

Type III: Groups (more than two) normal or homosexual

Type IV: No partner

Type V: Animals, mechanical devices, or sadomasochistic

X Axis

Class A: People engaged in a sex act with full exposure of all private sex organs.

(*a*) Full exposure of all sex organs.
(*b*) Full exposure of sexual activity.

Class B: People engaged in sex play with private sex organs not in contact but fully exposed.

or

People engaged in a sex act, but no private sex organs exposed to viewer.

(*a*) Full exposure of sex organs and sex act imminent.
(*b*) No exposure of sex organs and sex activity in progress.
(*c*) Full or partial exposure of sex organ and people in "sex play" where there is an atomosphere of sexual activity without explicit sex act shown or implied.

Class C: People with all private sex organs fully exposed, but no sex activity shown or implied. (Detailed "medical" type exposure of sex organs.)

(*a*) Emphasis on detailed exposure of sex organs.
(*b*) Full exposure of all sex organs.
(*c*) No sexual activity shown or implied.

Class D: People fully nude (nudist camp scenes with no suggestion of sex activity and no emphasis in the display of sex organ).

(*a*) Nudity only.
(*b*) No sex activity.
(*c*) No emphasis on display of sex organs.
(*d*) Pubic area only shown.

Class E: People in "girlie" type magazines (*Playboy, Mr., Male, Sir,* etc.).
(*a*) Breasts only exposed.
(*b*) Pubic region hidden or obscured.
(*c*) Male/female or homosexual scenes depicted.

As a general classification scheme, the matrix was used to evaluate all materials in all media.

TYPES OF SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS AVAILABLE IN DENVER

A wide range of sex-oriented materials was available in Denver during the time of the study. This section catalogs the various types of materials which were available and objectively analyzes printed materials. The specific variations between materials in terms of content, pricing, packaging, and so forth are studied next. The conclusion considers Class A (hard-core) materials which were available in Denver either through direct purchase or via the U.S. mail.

An inventory of products available

Specific sex-oriented materials available in Denver during the study period covered the entire range of classes and types in terms of the study's classification scheme for sex-oriented materials. Availability ranged from Class E materials, which could be found on practically any newsstand or magazine rack, to Class A materials, which could be purchased only "under the counter" or through an illegal source.

However, the preceding generalization held only for materials involving photographs. Class A materials were available in text form in all of the 21 outlets selling directly sex-oriented materials and in other forms as "best sellers" sold by many community institutions such as department stores. Class A materials, openly available only in textual form, could be purchased in "class cover-up" forms (with art work or educational labels) or in obvious sex theme materials. That is, explicit descriptions (Class A) of sexual activities were found in a wide range of materials from No. 1 national best sellers (such as *Portnoy's Complaint*) to the pulp paperbacks (such as *Homo Road*) found in the sex-oriented materials retail outlets.

Type E materials ranged from the sophisticated presentation of *Playboy* to the lower quality content in so-called "barbershop" journals. "Barbershop" journals and magazines were not considered offensive or pornographic by many individuals, although realistically these materials presented the entire range of activity types in Class E scenes. In fact, many covers of "barbershop" magazines featured sadomasochistic scenes.

Class D materials were primarily of a "nudist camp scene" variety, and many of these materials have found their way to the legitimate newsstands in underground newspaper publications and in some "slick-cover" magazines such as *Evergreen.*

Class C materials were found only in the sex-oriented materials retail outlets. They were available in all outlets and considered "good" sellers by the owners of these businesses.

Class B materials were not openly available to the general public. That is, they were not sold in outlets, except stores concentrating in sex-oriented materials. However, these materials were enjoying heavy demand in the Denver area. The graphic portrayal of sex foreplay, particularly involving groups of persons, was the most popular material in the sex-oriented outlets.

Books—The varieties of sex in print

A wide range of books in both hard-cover and paperback form was available in Denver during the study period. Hard-cover books frequently presented vivid portrayals of Class A activities in what might be considered as an "academic cover-up." For example, *An Illustrated History of Pornography* was available in better bookstores in Denver at $15 per copy. It contained lavish full-color reproductions of art work stressing the erotic. Textual presentation of all classes and types was found in many best sellers. Graphic Class A passages abounded in *Portnoy's Complaint* and *Myra Breckinridge,* to note only two. These materials were available in general bookstores and book sections of department stores. They were sold without an age limit or other restrictions.

The sex-oriented outlets featured a number of paperbacks of a nonnovel variety, masquerading as "academic studies." These costly paperbacks (up to $10) featured purported authoritative coverage of subjects under such titles as *The Sexplosion, Female Bestiality, Fellatio* and *Cunnilingus Explored,* and *Dr. David Cauldwell's Study of Pornography.* Although many of these books did, in fact, make an attempt to objectively cover the subject matter, most lapsed into vivid "case histories" which rivaled the cheaper paperback novels in description and emotion.

Another variety of book was the manual offering instructions in various sex activities. These ranged from *Self-Fellatio* to *The Manual of Marriage* and *Intercourse.* All such materials featured illustrations of the Class B variety.

Paperbacks comprised the largest proportion of inventories in sex-oriented outlets. These materials tended to word an endless repetition of descriptions of Class A activities. They covered the entire range of possible partners: human, animal, or mechanical. Fetishes were frequently stressed. The characters were possessed with superhuman endurance and amazingly inventive minds for variety.

Such materials were very inexpensively produced (a cost of 11¢ to 16¢ per copy was estimated by two store owners) yet sold for $1.50 to $1.95. Some paperbacks featured illustrations of nudes (which had no relationship to the story). These materials were priced at $3.50 per copy—a premium price differential for the 10 to 15 photos included in the text.

Most paperbacks were consistently from 150 to 185 pages in length. The printing itself was very poor and had numerous spelling errors.

The popularity of paperbacks over magazines may be attributed to the intrinsic involvement factor of printed materials—it is perhaps easier to project oneself into generalized stories than into more detailed photos. When the consumer purchases a book he is perhaps buying an "experience" into which he can project himself. One owner suggested that individuals buying sex-oriented paperbacks were in fact, buying a "date" for the night.

Magazines—Sex in a picture

A wide variety of magazines occupied nearly one-half of the shelf space in stores with sex-oriented materials.

The content of the magazines ranged from Class E "barbershop" variety (pictures, action stories, and "he-man" oriented articles), to journals extolling the pleasures of nudism, photo essays on the human body featuring individual parts such as the male organ, or explicit action shots of a Class B variety. These shots featured heterosexual activities, homosexual (both male and female), and group activities. No magazines were found to contain bestiality, although explicit pedophilia and sadomasochism were in evidence in perhaps 10% to 15% of the magazines.

The more explicit magazines frequently contained editorial justifications for their content; for example, "merely showing the new society." Very few examples of humor or attempts at humor were found in the content analysis of the picture magazines, although "sex joke" magazines were available.

The models featured in the photos were frequently scarred, had poor complexions, and were generally unattractive physically. The male models frequently sported tattoos. In a number of pictures, various props such as articles of clothing were used to indicate the type of individual posing for the picture. Frequent examples found in the male-oriented magazines were military uniforms, leather jackets, and cowboy attire.

"Split-beaver" shots (female sex organs) were extremely popular and were featured in all Class D or higher magazines using female models. Even the nudist magazines have moved toward the "split-beaver" shot, although in most of the nudist magazines the female models keep their legs discreetly closed to some extent. Males were shown aroused to a state of semi-erection in some of the photos. Male-female sex organs frequently were shown in close proximity to one another although never actually engaged. Sex act simulation was frequent in both heterosexual and homosexual (male and female) magazines.

Magazines were often relatively expensive, ranging from 50¢ (for a used nudist magazine) to $6 (for a study of the phallus).

The more graphic magazines in terms of content were typically limited to photos only, with minor text insertions appearing occasionally. The use of color raised the price paid per page, although it probably acted as an incentive to prospective purchasers.

Although used extensively in Class E materials, advertising played a minor role in Class D, or higher, sex-oriented magazines, if it was included at all. All products advertised were oriented toward sex materials or services (inflatable female life-size dolls, dildoes, home movies, books, magazines, flavored lubricants, cruising by "gay computer" and so on). The general theme of the advertisements concentrated on how much personal pleasure the products or services could provide for the individual who ordered them. A great deal of stress was placed upon the explicitness of the materials to be ordered, but most of the copy appeared to be of a "come-on" nature; that is, the reader was likely to imagine that what he was going to get would be more explicit than the magazine which he was reading. The classic "hard sell" technique (bold headlines, strongly worded copy, a sense of urgency) was liberally employed. Interestingly, one publisher was discovered in

the process of conducting marketing research by polling readers on their areas of interest in types of sex activities.

Product differentiation hinged primarily on the basic themes of the photographs—sex movie reviews, couples, group activities, male homosexual, lesbian, sadomasochism, nudist, and "beaver" shots. It is difficult to believe that consumers could differentiate between a number of publications of the same theme (such as "beaver" shots). However, according to several sellers, customers can in fact distinguish between materials and do prefer some magazines over others. This preference is probably based upon subjective personal tastes and appeals and/or identification with the models used.

Overall, magazines provided the most graphic visual portrayals of sex activities among the materials available "over the counter." However, the variety was actually limited in comparison to the complete range of sex activities offered in textual forms.

Photos—Packets of pictures

Sets of individual glossy prints were available in all of the stores with exclusively sex-oriented materials. These packets were sealed, but one of the inside photos was displayed through the cellophane or plastic packaging.

Pictures were of the Class C level and typically featured only one model in the photos. Female pictures were primarily of the "split-beaver" variety and male photos were of the "artist pose" type.

Prices ranged from $2 to $3.75 for six pictures available in both black and white and color. Apparently these photo packs were very similar to pictures which may be ordered through the mail from advertisers in magazines.

Movies—Live action sex

For those desiring their entertainment "live" and at home, 10 of the retail outlets featuring sex-oriented materials offered a series of home movies.

The movies varied from 100 to 200 feet in length and were offered in black and white or color, 8 millimeter or super 8 millimeter. Prices ranged from $12 (for 100 feet of 8-mm. black and white film) to $30 (for 200 feet of super 8-mm. color film).

After preview sessions, members of the research team drew the general conclusion that some Class B activities were shown, although the average activity level was Class D. Some group or couple activities were presented that were both heterosexual and homosexual in orientation. The still pictures on the covers of the boxes showed a representative scene from the movies, usually the most sexually extreme one.

Inventories ranged from 12 to 60 films. Trade-ins on movies were possible, as with magazines and books.

Miscellaneous items

Sex-oriented records featuring "dirty jokes," bawdy songs, or "the sounds of sex" were found in four stores.

Priced from $3.98 to $6.95, they were probably not high-demand items (that is, not as involving for the consumer as other materials), as they were carried by so few retailers. One retailer was in the process of liquidating his record stock at $1 per record (a high-interest item among consumers because of the price). However, he was still making a healthy profit, as he had purchased his entire stock 3 years prior at 10¢ per record. These 36,000 records had taken nearly 3 years to move, but at a standard price of $4.95.

Underground newspapers such as *The Berkeley Barb* and *The New York Review of Sex and Politics* were also carried by the outlets. These items were priced from 25¢ to $1 and were highly demanded by the consumers. One retailer felt the demand was high because of the large number of individuals interested in the "swinger" ads (classified ads for sexual partners).

A number of tabloid newspapers were carried by several of the outlets, particularly the newsstands. These tabloids, such as *The National Spotlight,* sold for 25¢ and were the main items purchased by women. The general orientation was of a tantalizing nature. Headlines read "How Ari Satisfies Jackie," "Man Hires 100 Studs to Sex His Wife," "Rapist Attacks Own Mom," and "Can You Last One Round With A Nymphomaniac?". These newspapers contained a number of ads for devices for seeing behind walls, "instant pussy," 10 lessons in sex technique, friendship clubs, and so on.

Swingers manuals, or catalogs of want ads for sexual partners, particularly wife-swapping and group activities, were not a major part of any retailer's inventory but were obviously becoming more important in sales volume. The only example of the local Denver production of sex-oriented materials was one of these manuals (*The Cordon Insider*).

This publication also featured mail-order ads for a very representative selection of sex-oriented materials sold in Denver. The publisher had a cooperative agreement with the local exclusive wholesaler of sex-oriented materials.

Objective analysis of sex-oriented books

Comparative objective tests were run on 19 books available in Denver and two national magazines of general readership. The Gunning Fog Index and Flesch Reading Ease Test measured the readability levels of the writings.

Results of these tests (see Exhibit III) showed interesting differences in readability levels and writing styles. The two popular magazines ranked high in readability levels and general writing style (*The New Yorker* at 13.4 and "difficult," *Time* at 16.3 and "fairly difficult").[2] These non-sex-oriented articles obviously were directed toward an educated readership.

The same high readability levels held, in general, for "class cover-up" sex novels. *Portnoy's Complaint* (19.0 and "fairly difficult") and *Myra Breckinridge* (10.6 and "fairly difficult") were good examples. The arabic numbers (Gunning Fog Index) represent the general number of years of formal education required to understand easily the style, use of words, and general writing technique of the materials.

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2. While both tests measure readability, actual direct comparison of test results is not truly accurate, as the Gunning Fog Index is strongly influenced by long sentences. Consequently, some inconsistencies occur, but test results are generally comparable.

Exhibit III

READABILITY TESTS ON SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS AND COMPARATIVE POPULAR WRITINGS

	Gunning-Fog	Flesch
1. *New Yorker,* Profiles, page 46, August 9, 1969	13.4	Difficult
2. *Time,* Aesthetics, August 15, 1969, p. 48	16.3	Fairly difficult
3. *Naked Came the Stranger,* by Penelope Ashe, Lyle Stuart, Inc., N.Y., 1969, 255 pp.	5.4	Very easy
4. *Portnoy's Complaint,* by Philip Roth, Random House, 1967, 274 pp.	19.0	Fairly difficult
5. *Myra Breckinridge,* by Gore Vidal. #1 Topic of Conversation! #1 Coast-to-Coast Bestseller! A Bantam Book, 277 pp.	10.6	Fairly difficult
6. *How to Achieve Sexual Ecstasy . . . Every Time,* by Stephan Gregory. For you and your partner . . . PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED sex techniques emphasizing: Coital Positions. Coital Movements. Caressing. Delaying Climax. Prolonging Coitus. Intensifying Sensations, and so forth. Medco Books, Los Angeles, 1968, 166 pp.	14.8	Fairly difficult
7. *Acid Temple Ball,* by Mary Sativa, Traveller's Companion, Inc., affiliated with the Olympia Press Inc., N.Y., 182 pp.	10.6	Fairly easy
8. *The Big Snatch,* by R. L. Vanessa, complete and unexpurgated. Continental Classics, 1969. Printed in the United States, 160 pp.	4.6	Easy
9. *The Black Phallus,* by James Kessler., TNC Fiction, Dominion Publishing Company, North Hollywood, California, 1969. "Jungle drums and weird rites draw white girls and black men together in orgies of erotic madness." 159 pp.	7.16	Easy
10. *Dairy of a Nymph,* by Lewis Stevens, complete and unexpurgated, Foto-Form Publications TM, N.Y., 173 pp.	6.24	Easy
11. *Eros Descending,* by Neil Ever (on cover), by Jean de la Carte (on title page). No publisher given. Printed in USA. 168 pp.	6.8	Easy
12. *The Girl Who Loved Black,* by Leo Guild, Holloway House Publishing Co., Los Angeles, 1969, 247 pp.	5.84	Very easy
13. *The Goddess Stick,* by Aaron Flood, Holloway House Publishing Co., Los Angeles, 356 pp.	7.6	Easy
14. *Homo Road,* Twi-World Publications MALE-ORIENTED, photo illustrated, 159 pp.	6.4	Easy
15. *Irene* (Le con d'Irene), a novel by Albert de Routisie, The Grove Press, Inc., N.Y. 1969. " . . . the finest of all works touching on eroticism." — Albert Camus. 120 pp.	5.16	Easy

16. *The Leather Lovers,* by William G. Phillips, Barclay House, North Hollywood, California, 1969. A Barclay House Psycho-Sex Study. 191 pp.	9.4	Easy
17. *Lipstick and Leather,* by Chris Harrison and *Wicked Woman,* by Arnold Evans, A Midwood Book, Midwood Enterprises Inc., N.Y., 1969. Two daring novels about a special breed of woman. 234 pp.	7.6	Easy
18. *The Sado-Masochistic Lesbian,* by Nicholas Strage, Echelon Book Publishers, Inc., Los Angeles, California, 1968. How women and girls use flogging, oralism, and masochistic perversions to orgasm. For adult reading—An Impact Library Book. 160 pp.	10.0	Fairly easy
19. *Seventh Summer,* by Hadiran Keene, Award Books, N.Y., Published by University Publishing & Distributing Corp., N.Y., 1969, 198 pp.	10.8	Easy
20. *The Swap/Spank Society*, by Kenneth Harding. Classic Publications, Los Angeles 1969. POSITIVELY TO BE SOLD TO ADULTS ONLY! 190 pp.	25.6	Fairly difficult
21. *The Swingles,* by Carson Davis, Newfact Library. The true story of for-single-people-only apartments and their bizarre dwellers! 192 pp.	5.6	Very easy

Note: Identifications of books include front-cover wording and publisher information, if available.

In dramatic contrast, the purely sex-oriented paperback samples ranged from grade-school level, with *The Big Snatch* at 4.6 and *Homo Road* at 6.4. Obviously, even though some of the sex-oriented print materials do require a better-than-average formal education (*How to Achieve Sexual Ecstasy . . . Every Time* at 14.8), the general readership level ran low for most of the sex-oriented books. Most of these materials could be understood easily by the average fifth- or sixth-grader. However, their consumer appeal was not necessarily related to the reader's educational level. One dealer noted that he once made a large number of sales to high school English teachers attending a convention during the summer. Their justification for buying the materials was, "We have to read good stuff for nine months. During the summer we want to relax with junk."

Sex-oriented materials as products

Obviously all products and services are purchased for reasons. In the case of sex-oriented materials the primary reasons are probably sexual stimulation, fantasy, or curiosity. While some of the products have an educational or instructional value, sex-oriented products may be considered substitutes for real or desired sexual activities. Even if the user (reader or viewer) has "escape" in mind, mentally simulated sexual gratification is probably a major part of the satisfaction he seeks. In the case of individuals who for some reason may be unable to achieve sexual satisfaction through contact with another individual, the use of such products is understandable. However, for those individuals who for all practical purposes should be able to lead a "normal" sex life the purchasing and consumption of sex-oriented materials, possibly to the point of dependence, is not so

easily understood. Certainly, curiosity may also be a reason for purchasing, especially initial purchases. However, once curiosity was satisfied, repeat purchases should not be likely. Although the specific motivations of individuals who purchased sex-oriented materials were not examined in this study, the materials themselves were analyzed extensively, and these analyses would seem to indicate that the preceding impressions have merit for future exploration.

Product differentiation can occur in a number of ways. In the case of sex-oriented materials there were four basic variables (excluding media variables) which were manipulated to produce the various products:

1. "Type" or theme–This was the basic orientation in terms of sex partner or object (heterosexual, homosexual, pedophilia, bestiality, mechanical devices, etc.). Although many of the materials included several different themes, there was generally one basic theme in each piece; this was the type-rating in the study's classification scheme.

2. "Class" variation–The degree of explicitness in terms of class variation (the study's classification scheme) created genuine product variations. The lower classed materials (D and E) required a greater degree of imagination; but as the class level rose toward B and A, little was left to the imagination.

3. The use of color–an extra dimension was incorporated in printed photographs and movies through the use of color. The number of color pages included was typically displayed on magazine covers in large numerals.

4. Types of models–the use of different models created product variations complementary to the overall theme. Models frequently were shown wearing some form of costume (leather jacket, military uniform, garter hose, hippie beads, etc.). Negro models were beginning to appear in the magazines. Other materials featured models of various stereotypes, such as young boys, nudists, housewives, and college students.

Physical attractiveness was apparently not a stringent criterion for selection of models in many magazines. One full-page color photo showed a couple with the female in a classic "split-beaver" position. The man's face was only 3 inches away from oral-genital contact. Exhibited in "medical" detail on the female's buttocks was a cluster of pimples resembling boils. Such details might provoke disgust in all but the most hardened viewer. Close examination of the pictures revealed that many models, both male and female, were scarred, bruised, had extremely poor complexions, or were wearing tattoos and other noticeable physical markings.

According to dealers, sex-oriented materials had undergone an evolution in explicitness, particularly over the past 18 months. Dealers were receiving materials on "automatic draw,"[3] which they claimed would have been considered highly illegal a few months earlier. The trend was toward the Class B level.

The packaging of many consumer products is extremely important, and sex-oriented materials were no exception. When a potential buyer is prevented from "leafing" pages because of plastic enclosures, then the cover view of the printed material must be explicit enough to elicit a sale. Customers paying $6 for a magazine anticipated that the cover picture indicates the contents of the material. Thus, covers were used as a major sales technique.

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3. A standing order with suppliers which automatically provides the dealer with new stock on an established delivery basis.

Several dealers noted a sales increase when plastic bags became a standard packaging technique for the majority of retailers of sex-oriented material in Denver (by agreement among the major dealers). From the dealer's point of view, the plastic bag protects materials from damage during browsing by prospective customers and can be used as a purchase incentive. The consumer may place a psychological premium on plastic-bagged materials, as the plastic bag might seem to say to him that the material inside is so explicit he cannot view it in public.

In several samples purchased by the research staff, no ads appeared. Advertising, as noted earlier, does not appear in many sex-oriented magazines or books. Without advertising to help bear the burden of publisher's costs, the price paid by the consumer must cover all costs and profits. Consequently, the price for purely sex-oriented materials reached as high as 24¢ per page for magazines, which was far above the levels of popular mass sellers such as *Playboy*. If *Playboy* were priced at the same per-page rate, the cost for buyers would be $48 to $50 per copy. The high prices, however, apparently did not deter purchasers who were willing to pay for the "satisfactions" provided by sex-oriented materials.

When advertisements did appear, the "hard sell" advertisements seemed to promise more than the products could actually produce in terms of sexual satisfaction.

Prices were usually set by the manufacturer and printed on many covers. If the retailer wished to raise or lower this established price, he merely covered the price with his own gummed label. Considering the potential profit margins involved, it seemed unlikely that any dealer would go below the manufacturer's suggested price. However, leeway did exist for the dealer to determine prices on some materials. The visual audit survey of inventories in the 21 sex-oriented retail outlets included comparison pricing for two items. One magazine, *Cover Girl,* was priced at $5 in three stores, $3.50 in eight stores, and $2.50 in one store. A paperback book entitled *Intercourse* was priced at $5 in two stores and $4.95 in eight stores. During the field research, price variations of from one to three dollars were noticed on a number of "educational" paperback books and on some higher priced magazines.

Display and merchandising techniques completed the in-store marketing efforts for sex-oriented materials. The number of fronts (covers) displayed seemed to be of particular importance. A large number of fronts displayed in a systematic fashion probably created a positive assurance of product variety in the consumer's mind. In fact, many duplications actually occurred in the displays, but unless one studied the displays closely such repeats were not immediately obvious. Another merchandising technique used by manufacturers of magazines and appreciated by retailers was the lack of specific dates on magazine covers. Potential "shelf-life"[4] of a magazine is extended if it is not dated. Putting different covers on the same paperback books was another means for creating perceived product variation. Four paperbacks were found with the same story inside but with different covers. Since the cover itself is frequently the basis for purchase, the consumer would not realize the identical content of the materials.

4. Length of time product can remain on shelf and still appear new.

Class A—The ultimate in sex-oriented materials

Popularly called "hard-core pornography," Class A sex-oriented materials were readily available in hard-cover books and paperbacks in any of the sex-oriented outlets. However, pictorial presentation of scenes vividly depicting Class A sex acts were illegal and could be obtained in only two ways: direct personal contact with a "supplier," or indirectly from Europe through the U.S. mail. It should be remembered that, while pictures of a Class A variety were difficult to obtain, textual coverage of Class A scenes were readily available in many other sources: Many paperbacks and hard-cover books were found in numerous retail outlets which did not typically handle specifically sex-oriented materials.

When Class A was reached in photographs, nothing was left to the imagination. Complete detailed sex acts were depicted vividly.

The major variations in Class A products involved (1) the number of people, (2) the orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, bestiality, etc.), (3) the use of color, and (4) explicitness in showing organ contact and activity (semen). The European materials left no variation unexplored.

Color Climax was representative of European magazines and photographs which could be ordered for as little as $5, a rather inexpensive price in comparison to the non-hard-core materials produced in the United States which stop short of Class A. Interestingly, photos from European materials were being copied and sold "under the counter" in Denver. A black-and-white copy of *Color Climax* could be purchased illegally in Denver for $5. Obviously the increased availability of European materials, which can be copied inexpensively, offers potentially high returns to U.S. "dealers" who wish to handle illegal merchandise.

The $3.50 price for six Class A photographs seemed standard, as it was the per-packet cost of packets purchased for the study. Such materials can be produced easily by amateur photographers. However, code numbers were inked in on pictures, which would lead one to suspect that they were produced by a larger-scale operation than an individual amateur. Further, Class A photos were prepacked in the same manner as previously described photo sets ("split-beaver") which were sold legally.

The origin of the black-and-white sample purchases for the study was uncertain. However, the vice squad of the Denver police force purchased similar pictures (the same models and bedspread were used) and had been told that the pictures were produced in England and were presently being distributed in the United States from a source in New York City. Distribution was accomplished through personal hand-carrying of the photo sets.

Other study sources indicated two other possible means for distributing Class A materials. Truck drivers on cross-country runs were considered potential distributors within the United States. Two sources indicated truckers arriving in Denver from New Orleans frequently carried such Class A photos. For Class A materials produced outside the United States, heavy industrial equipment being shipped into this country from foreign manufacturers offered a convenient port-of-entry carrier in the heavy packing used to insulate the equipment. Contacts alerted by the foreign shippers supposedly removed the sex-oriented materials from the packing in the crates when the shipments arrived at their destination.

Whatever the means of local or foreign production and distribution, the Class A materials were available for purchase if one knew the right contacts. An "under-the-counter" marketing system is subject to local police pressure, and the sensitivity of all sex materials in Denver during the time of the present study made Class A materials difficult to obtain. The same "dealers" for photographs could supply movies of the "stag film" variety. However, if a group such as a fraternity or other organization was interested in renting such films, several numbers listed in the Yellow Pages of the Denver telephone directory (under "entertainment") provided such rental services. Frequently a "package deal" involving films and live strippers could be negotiated. Prices for renting such films ranged from $25 each for one night to $85 for two girls and three films for a 2- to 3-hour "show."

Production of Class A materials had not reached the relatively high photographic quality levels found in lower classed, legal or quasi-legal materials.

A few examples of specific local production were uncovered. One involved a man who approached two plainclothesmen on the Denver police force offering to sell them some "really good pictures." Following the man to his apartment, the policemen found a supply of Class A materials produced in the apartment by the individual. Before identifying themselves as plainclothesmen the policemen were told that the individual's production was a "custom to order" system. Through the use of his friends, male and female, the individual would produce to order any desired sexual variations.

Other study sources indicated a large traffic of sales in Class A materials among "artists" who justified production and use of such materials on the grounds of "artistic need."

A total of 64 Class A films were viewed by members of the research staff. Only four of the films were of relatively high production quality; the majority were poorly edited (if at all), under- or over-exposed, confusing without a plot or story line, and generally difficult to interpret and follow. One source noted that in producing such films three cameras were used simultaneously to produce three different final products. Another source from Los Angeles indicated knowledge of "after-hours use" of major studio sets to produce Class A films. Such films of purportedly high quality were then sold to private collectors or to individuals who used them for rentals. One such rental agent, a member of a varsity football squad in the area, cleared over $1400 renting films "occasionally" during the past school year.

In summary, Class A materials were difficult to analyze. There was little real product differentiation. Production was relatively easy (a Polaroid camera is convenient and inexpensive), and sales were made either on a "personal basis" or through the mail from European companies.

The only real product differentiation occurred in the European materials. They reflected high production qualities and often featured close-ups of oral-genital contact, including scenes immediately following sexual climax. American Class A materials tended to be less explicit in contact and activities shown.

THE DENVER MARKET SITUATION: ECOLOGY, INSTITUTIONS, ENTREPRENEURS, AND SALES

A major concern of this study was the environmental influences which make up and determine activities and the market setting for the sale of sex-oriented materials. General ecological conditions, the core area of the metropolitan district, retailing and wholesaling institutions for sex-oriented materials, an analysis of entrepreneurial characteristics of store owners, and retail sales estimates and Denver area volumes will be discussed at length in this report.

The ecological setting: The Denver metropolitan area

In the analyses of those ecological variables which typify the city of Denver, specific references are directed at the "study area" or "core area." However, many of the comments which follow relate to the broader Denver area which is defined in legal terminology as "city limits."

General environmental conditions

It was generally agreed by city planners and government officials that the core area, or central city, included the geographical region bounded by rail yards and Speer Boulevard to the north and west; a combination of 20th Street and Broadway to the east; 20th Street and Larimer to the north; and Colfax Avenue to the south.

In viewing the various pinpointed locations of sex-oriented stores one sees that the spread of marketing institutions fairly well covered the central-city area. Two specific trends were noted in regard to a tendency to gravitate toward one central area:

1. Sex-oriented bookstores tended to appear in the central core area, as opposed to suburban locations. (Of 21 stores handling greater intensity than Class E materials, only one was in a true suburban location.)
2. Sex-oriented material stores tended to be located in proximity to one another.

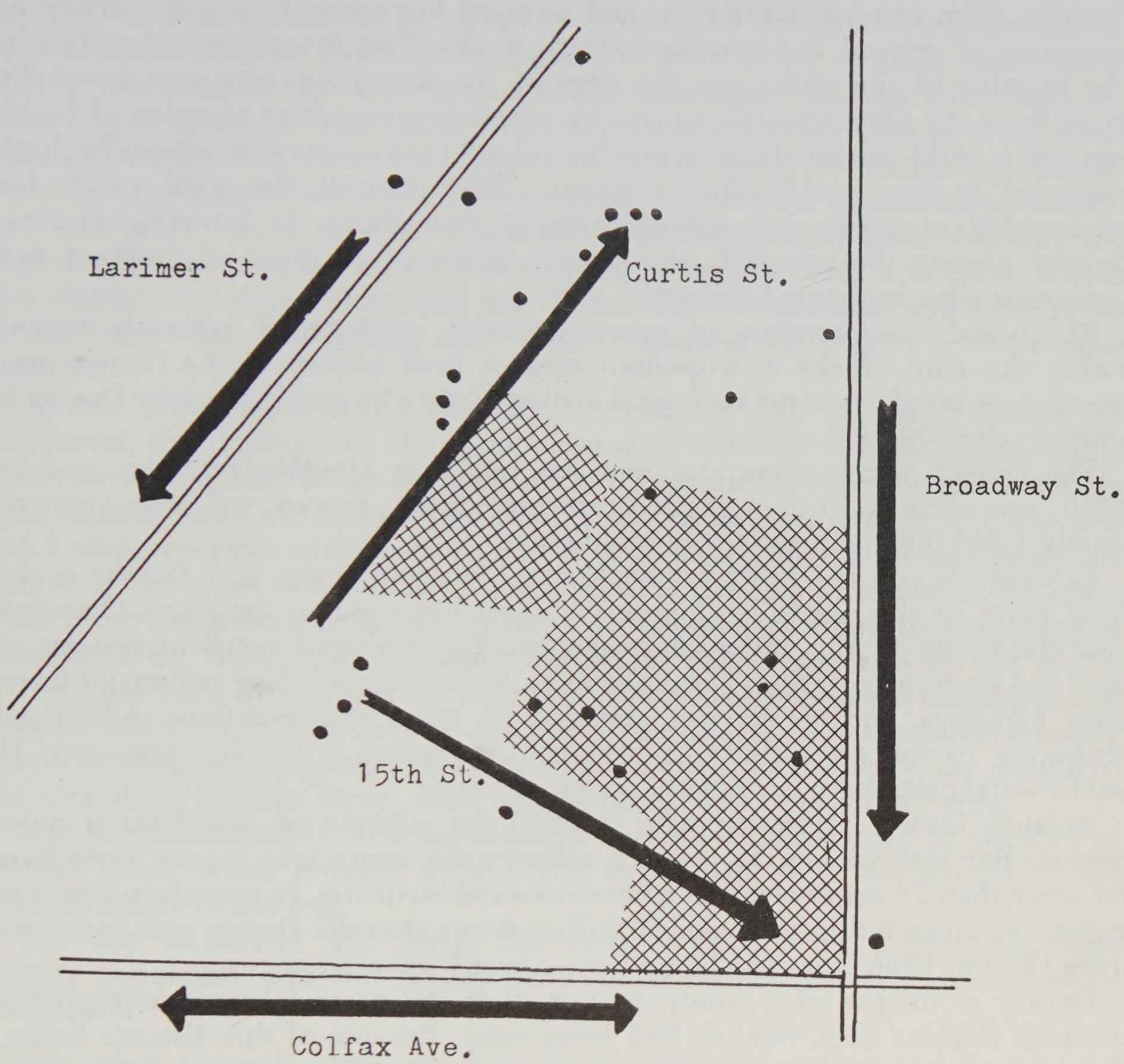
The second statement above must be hedged with the remark that within the core area, certain forms of retailing institutions tended to gravitate toward each other. For instance, one focal point for sex-oriented materials involved the retailing area of 16th and 17th Streets and Curtis Street. Here, in addition to four adults-only sex-oriented material outlets, were clustered two motion picture theaters known for showing "skin flick" sex-oriented movies; a "games" arcade which dealt in sex-type short-run movies; numerous bars (with strip shows) and low-quality restaurants; and several "flop house" type hotels. Because several sellers of various sex-oriented materials and services were located within such a group of business enterprises, it would seem that the whole area served as a total market source for those consumers who wished to visit the area and purchase desired sex-oriented materials or services.

Additionally, certain logical inferences may be made from the general appearance of such concentrated areas. For example, the low-status poor image of

Exhibit IV

CORE-AREA TRAFFIC TRIANGLE:

Sex-Oriented Entertainment Centers



High Density White-collar Business District

Indicates High Density Traffic Flows

• Sex-oriented Entertainment Centers

these focal areas would be highly conducive to low-income traffic and would be equally offensive to upper-class tastes. However, the financial district on 17th Street (banks and brokerage houses) was immediately adjacent to the entire general area.

On the other hand, certain establishments fit no real mold. One particular outlet provided a "class image" by offering a good assortment of textual merchandise from classics, textbooks, and business literature, to a wide variety of magazines of general and specific interest, to the Class B sex-oriented materials. The location of the outlet (on the edge of the downtown core area across the street from the State Capital-county-city administrative office complex of buildings and a park) provided easy access for "class" type consumers, especially those employed in State and local government offices. Overall, the retail outlets for sex-oriented materials were spread primarily throughout the Denver core area, thereby placing the materials within easy access of all types of shoppers and consumers who frequented the area.

The noted concentration of operations with sex-oriented materials existed within the core of the metropolitan area. A brief history of the Denver area provides an insight into the ecological setting of the city and shows why Denver is uniquely desirable as a research site.

The Denver metropolitan area now has well over 1 million residents, and by 1980, according to current growth rate projections, Denver will have approximately 1,600,000 people in the metro district.

Colorado lies in the heart of the Rocky Mountain States with Denver as the focal point of this area's development. Denver has a unique geographic location near the center of the nation and therefore has developed excellent systems of land and air transportation, with nine main highways, including two major interstate highways, and air services provided by seven major airlines. Additional testimony to the geographical importance of Denver is the fact that over 35 public warehouses have been established in the area.

Because Denver is strategically located, the mixture of industries is quite diverse. For instance, in the research industry the metro area is now home base for more than 25 major research laboratories and institutes. In manufacturing, the growth as measured in value-added dollars shows that the Denver area increased from 1950 to 1966 from $562.8 million to over $900 million.

Denver is unique as a study area in that the nearest larger metropolitan complex (Kansas City, Mo.) is 552 miles away. Because of this distance factor, virtually every sort of economic enterprise is represented in the metropolitan area. Further, this assimilation of business and commerce has brought with it an equally diffuse assimilation of people. Denver has perhaps as representative a cross-section of people and attitudes as any large city in the United States.

The core area of metropolitan Denver

While the core area is undoubtedly a changing definitional term, comments in this section refer quite specifically to the "core area traffic triangle," as delineated in Exhibit IV.

Upon visual inspection of the Denver metropolitan area prior to the actual study, it was determined that the majority of retailers of sex-oriented materials lie

within a basic triangle area and traffic system. This system bears the significant burden of the core area's pedestrian and automobile traffic, in-bound and out-bound. Larimer Street forms the northern and western limits; Broadway Street the eastern front; while the two-way, Colfax Avenue completes the triangle.

The central-city area is not unlike most major metropolitan areas in its diversity of building design, retail establishment types, and clientele. The high-density, white-collar business district is typical of normal city design with a large number of multistoried office buildings bordered by "class" type retailing institutions. Also in evidence in this immediate area are numerous full-range hotel facilities. Close by, as would be expected, are various restaurants which cater to every social class and walk-of-life. Denver's Convention Center, while not in this high-density area, lies just outside and is certainly considered within the immediate proximity.

If one were forced to select a hub of the traffic triangle, quite obviously the high-density white-collar business district would serve as such a fulcrum. Within this district, the Hilton Hotel and May D & F Department store can serve as the bench mark for establishing the "class" character of Denver's white-collar workers.

As one moves from the high-density, white-collar business district toward the northwest, the character of the types of retailing establishments noticeably shifts to stores which cater to the shopping needs of the middle class. Typical stores are J. C. Penney's and the Denver Dry Goods, various wearing apparel emporia, and quick-stop, low-price eating establishments. Continuing toward the northwest, the nature of the types of businesses changes again to retailers who cater to the lower class, low-income consumers. Also present are a number of wholesalers and several manufacturing firms such as Aspen Ski Wear. This upper area of the traffic triangle has been throughout the history of the city of Denver the oldest business district, and it has always formed a blend of the functions of commerce; namely manufacturing, wholesaling, and a few small retailers. Realistically, the section of the area along Larimer Street must now be considered a "skid row" area.

Not so coincidentally, this northwest area has been designated by the city of Denver as an urban renewal project and in August 1969 was already in the primary stages of leveling.

The city ultimately will change this business district into a combined high-density population area and modernized business district. The city's plans, briefly stated, are:

> The urban renewal component includes a number of projects in different local neighborhood areas, utilizing redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation methods of renewal in upgrading the five year (Model Cities) implementation period in order to systematically upgrade the area and to maximize the personnel resources available to accomplish the work programs.[5]

Under the present plan for demolition, several of the retailers of sex-oriented materials either will be relocated or removed from business. One of the prominent sex-oriented movie houses, the Victory Theater, has already been destroyed, although the owners are still planning to reopen at another location outside of the

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5. Denver Model Cities proposal.

central business district. Already the citizenry of the residential area where the new Victory is located are in opposition. As of this date, they are seeking legal remedy and local community support for the fight against the Victory.

Public entertainment and sex-oriented retailers

The two variables which best describe the market areas of dealers in sex-oriented material are (1) entertainment areas, and (2) traffic concentrations.

Entertainment areas are characterized by proximity of retailing institutions that cater to the entertainment needs of a particular market segment. For example, the generalized area which is defined as the high-density, white-collar business district has a large number of food and drinking establishments; bars which provide live entertainment by "exotic" dancers; and seven (which is one-third of total in city) of the highest volume dealers in sex-oriented material.

In the upper northwest corner of the traffic triangle a similar situation exists. Here the entertainment is basically the same: there exist numerous bars, eating and drinking establishments, numerous dealers in sex-oriented material, and two "arcade" type fun centers. The only variation between the two areas is a distinct difference in the general class of clientele. The entertainment function of the dealers in sex-oriented material is carried out with equal zeal throughout the traffic triangle and apparently caters to *all* persons, whether they be low-income, blue-collar workers, or upper-class businessmen or women.

Vehicle traffic and sex-oriented material dealers

The second variable of traffic concentration is perhaps equally as important as the entertainment variable. The dealers in sex-oriented material were positioned so as to be quite close to every major traffic flow. Additionally, the random order in which such dealers were dispersed suggests that it was a combination of the aforementioned variables of entertainment and traffic flow which accounted for their proximity.

Virtually every dealer in sex-oriented material was located within easy walking distance of at least one parking lot, although no single dealer provided mass parking accommodations. As a final factor of evidence, every dealer in sex-oriented material was located within at least one block of commercial bus transit lines. Sex-oriented materials were marketed within easy access of individuals entering or residing in the core area.

Retailers and wholesalers of sex-oriented materials

Shifting to the specific types of retail operations for sex-oriented materials, this section draws from the "visual audit" survey of the establishments by members of the research team. (See Appendix for methodology.) Visually observable operational characteristics can be used to define several types of operations and their unique features. After consideration of the retailers themselves, the following section covers operations of the two local wholesalers which service the retail outlets.

Retailers: Physical and merchandising operations

A total of 31 operations were visually audited. Specific types of outlets examined were: eight stores with exclusively adult (sex-oriented) materials; 11 stores with an adult materials "section" (nine bookstores and two newsstands); four public movie houses; two adult arcades (another arcade was temporarily closed); two newsstands; and five miscellaneous operations (train and bus terminals, etc.).

Twenty-one outlets actually sold physical sex-oriented materials, with one arcade also selling a limited selection of magazines. These 21 outlets varied in character: eight dealt exclusively in adult materials; 11 outlets had specifically marked and physically isolated adult material sections; two newsstands had sex-oriented materials randomly mixed with their regular merchandise.

The eight stores with exclusively sex-oriented materials ranged in physical facilities from relatively "plush" (clean, paneled walls, carpeting) to "hole-in-the-wall" (dark, deteriorated, dirty), with the tendency toward the latter. Only two of these stores were designed to provide a sense of well-maintained interiors. Owners of both these stores noted the need for "improving the image" of stores selling sex-oriented materials, and both attempted to follow through.

Because of the general tendency toward a rather shabby appearance in the exclusively "adult" stores, they were located around the perimeter or outside of the downtown core area concentration of white-collar institutions. The one exception was one of the two "plush" stores, which was located one block from the retailing center of the city.

Within these stores, materials were systematically displayed by type of general subject matter, such as nudist, groups, lesbian, homosexual. Displays varied in materials composition from store to store. Some stores grouped all paperbacks together and all magazines together; others grouped both magazines and paperbacks together by subject matter. For example, all materials on "swingers" were displayed together. A general rule of arrangement was that material with potentially more sensitive subject matter was placed toward the rear. Thus, no incidence of front-area display of homosexual materials was noted. Generally, the low-keyed nudist materials confronted an individual first entering the store.

The use of shoplifting deterrents (mirrors and signs) was frequent. Apparently, this activity was common in all stores dealing in sex-oriented materials.

Marketers not exclusively carrying sex-oriented materials comprised eight bookstores, two newsstands, and one arcade. The range of materials offered was equal to the exclusive adult outlets in four stores and less in the remainder. These stores isolated their sex-oriented materials either in specific racks or in physically separate areas. Such operations allowed the sale of sex-oriented materials in conjunction with other standard bookstore/newsstand products. These operations may have appealed to prospective consumers of sex-oriented materials, since they could "legitimately" enter such stores without fear of being "seen" by friends or associates. Such would not be the case in entering the stores with exclusively adult materials.

In effect, the combination outlets created a "legitimizing" cover for the sex-oriented materials. One such retailer provided a vast assortment of hardbound, softbound, and magazine-type materials with an equally large array of subjects ranging from technical business publications to the full range of sex-oriented

materials. This outlet was located in the heart of the high-density, white-collar district and near many Colorado State government offices. The decor of this retailer's store was in keeping with the surrounding environment in that the shelves were neatly ordered, with carpeted aisles in part of the display area. The adult section of the store was positioned toward the rear and under the watchful eyes of a cashier, who spot-checked for the posted 21-year age limit.

The range of floor space available to all the retailers (both exclusively sex-oriented and combined) for the sale of all types of merchandise varied from 85 square feet to more than 1,000 square feet. The only conclusion from an analysis of the spatial variable is that apparently retailers of sex-oriented materials thrived equally well either in cramped quarters or in more spacious layouts.

While the combination store is somewhat of an anomaly among the retailers of sex-oriented materials, the tendency to seclude the adult section was borne out in the overall analysis of other retailers. The following tables give the detailed results of the visual audit. Table information is based on visual analyses of 31 retail operations in Denver. Individual tables total higher or lower than 31 because of multiple responses for given stores. For example, one store may have generated three responses on physical characteristics.

Table 1

TYPE OF ESTABLISHMENT BY PRINCIPAL FUNCTION

N = 31

Type of store		Number
Adult exclusive		8
"Adult" section		10
Bookstore	8	
Newsstand	2	
Newsstand		2
Adult theater/arcade		6
Miscellaneous (transit stations, drugstores, etc.)		5
Total		31

Table 2

PHYSICAL MATERIALS DISPLAY IN ALL OUTLETS

N = 31

Description characteristic		Number
Sex materials in window		12
Regular materials display		13
"Legalizing" signs*		4
Age restriction signs (posted)		23
18 and over	8	
21 and over	15	

Note: given outlet could contribute response to each characteristic.

*Handmade signs saying the book *Intercourse* had been approved for sale by a recent Denver court decision.

Table 3

GENERAL PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF ALL OUTLETS

N = 31

Description characteristic	Number
Well maintained—displays/cleanliness	9
Acceptably maintained	15
Dirty, dingy	5
Well lighted	16
Poorly lighted	9

Note: Multiple responses possible from each outlet.

Table 4

GENERAL CATEGORY OF INVENTORIES

N = 29*

	Number	
Books	Yes	No
Hard-cover	11	18
Paperback	23	6
Appear to be "educational"	16	13
Movies	8	21

*29 equals outlets selling physical products.

Selling sex-oriented materials by means of visual promotion seemed to be limited to appeal for the browsing eye. Table 2 notes about half the establishments selling sex-oriented materials chose to openly display materials in the window to the passing public. As four observations were at movie theaters where marquee display is an obvious necessity, the significance of promotional displays for retailers of sex-oriented books and magazines is minimized. When it did occur, in the stores exclusively carrying sex-oriented materials, genitals were obscured with patches of tape.

It is interesting to note that 23 of the establishments were concerned with age restrictions, which would indicate that the sellers of sex-oriented materials were conscious of the recently enacted Colorado pornography law.

A look at Table 5 shows some interesting results in terms of the variety and degree of sex-oriented materials available in the study area. Class B and C materials were predominant and tended to be fairly well distributed throughout the various "types" of sex-oriented literature. The only real inventory omissions appeared in the materials featuring pedophilia, bestiality, and sadomasochistic themes, the availability of which was often limited.

Forms of sex-oriented materials not included in previous tables but exhibited in some stores include such items as photo packs, trinkets, cards, underground newspapers, and records. Eleven of the 31 outlets dealt in the photo pack business. These materials, along with packs of playing cards were primarily visual presentation of nudes in various poses (predominantly "split-beaver"). Underground newspapers were carried in 15 establishments and their degree of sex-orientation was

Table 5

CLASS OF SEX-ORIENTED MAGAZINES OBSERVED ON DISPLAY IN OUTLETS

Type of sex-orientation on display in stores	Number of stores	Highest class noted in given store*
Barber shop	1	C
	3	D
	17	E
Nudist	15	C
	1	D
Groups	13	B
	4	C
Couples	15	B
	3	C
Lesbians	13	B
	4	C
Homo—male	11	B
	6	C
Pedophilia	3	B
	3	C
Bestiality	3	C
Sadomasochistic	14	B
Other (sex manuals)	2	

*Based on Type/Class classification scheme used throughout this study.

entirely dependent on the paper selected. For instance, *The Realists* featured nudes along with sex-oriented verbiage, whereas other college-type publications were much lower keyed in "class" level.

Only two businesses sold records, which for one reason or another did not seem to be a frequently stocked item in the sex-oriented sales business.

A number of firms dealt in used materials or "trade-in" business. Since certain forms of sex-oriented materials can be quite expensive (the average price for *Intercourse,* a "hard-core" paperback, was $4.95), 15 dealers offered trade-in options for their customers. This trade-in option, plus the resale of the used books, tended to increase the per-unit dollar volume generated for sex-oriented materials and definitely lowered the prices of such materials to the affordable range for a different (lower income) market segment. In addition, the trade-in policy probably psychologically appealed to customers. They appeared to benefit significantly in the trade-in, although actually the seller's profit margin could be and probably was improved.

Arcades—Coin-operated movies

Only two of the three arcades for "adults only" in the downtown core area were operating during the study period. The contrast between the two was marked in terms of physical appearance. Arcade 1 was located on the far perimeter of the core area and on the edge of the skid row section; consequently, its physical exterior and interior were shabby and dingy. Arcade 2 was located in the 18th Street cluster of retailers featuring sex-oriented materials. Because the Arcade 2 was owned by one of the bookstore entrepreneurs, it followed the same general operating standards—extreme cleanliness, background music, and an overall attractive physical facility.

Arcade 1, poorer physically, was also more limited in its entertainment offerings. Two pinball machines were located near the change booth, but the "main attractions" were the 18 coin-operated booths featuring 3-minute (approximately) color movies of single women undressing and posing for "split-beaver" views. The movies ran in segments (from four to 10 installments) with the typical segment featuring a closing glimpse that seems to promise "more and better action" in the next segment. The booth area was lighted by red bulbs. The extremely weak light and the black curtains and booth frames created a situation conducive to private actions such as masturbation.

In contrast, Arcade 2 had 31 booths featuring the same variety of "split-beaver" films. However, two booths featured films using two girls in Class D lesbian situations. The blue-lighted booths (blue control lights outside signaled "booth in use") were black, but the curtains were brightly striped. The general atmosphere, while probably allowing private activity, was not conducive to masturbation or homosexual contact as in Arcade 1 (an entry sign in Arcade 2 read "Only one person allowed in booth.")

A further contrast between Arcades 1 and 2 was noted in the entry areas. In Arcade 2, in addition to the pinball machine, telephone, cigarette machine, and change booth, approximately 30 magazines, eight to 10 movies, and 10 to 15 paperback books were displayed. These materials (mainly Class B or C) were sold by the same cashier who gave change to arcade customers.

Clientele of the arcades also varied during the audit. Customers in Arcade 1 were generally of the blue-collar type, while customers in Arcade 2 had the standard business-suit, white-collar appearance; thus, each outlet appeared to be attracting customers from its immediate surroundings. Women customers were not permitted in either arcade.

For customers seeking longer viewing time than was offered in the arcades the downtown core area contained four adult movie houses.

Adult movie theaters

Unlike the arcades, which featured short film clips, four adult movie theaters offered full-length, sex-oriented movies. All were located in the downtown core area, and during the course of the study two were demolished in an urban renewal project during the last week of August 1969. These theaters provided continuous showings of two to four films from midmorning until around midnight. Prior to the demolition, three of the theaters were located along the same street within a

two-block length. This same area also included four exclusively "adult" stores and an arcade within two blocks of the theaters, and numerous bars and strip shows. The entire concentration of sex-oriented activity was located only one block from the central financial district of Denver.

Total capacity in the theaters was 1375 (200, 215, 360, and 600). However, the urban renewal demolition removed the 200 and 600 capacity theaters.

Physically, three of the theaters were very old but were relatively well maintained—for example, no graffiti were found in any of the men's rest rooms. One of the theaters was relatively new (less than a year old) and the interior was still being remodeled.

None of the theaters offered any sex-oriented materials (magazines, books, etc.) for sale within the actual lobby, although one of them did have an exclusively "adult material" store under the marquee beside the theater entrance.

Wholesalers—Area suppliers

Of particular importance in obtaining a total look at the marketing of sex-oriented materials is the factor of wholesaling institutions which supply the local retailers. The situation in Denver was perhaps somewhat unique in that only two area wholesaling firms actually handled sex-oriented materials. The smaller of the two firms (Wholesaler A) dealt exclusively in sex-oriented materials, while the larger business (Wholesaler B) dealt in sex-oriented materials as just one subject in a complete line of printed merchandise. Interestingly enough, Wholesaler B handled only Class E materials, although certain books which were considered sex-oriented, such as *Couples, Fanny Hill,* and *Portnoy's Complaint,* were significant volume items for this firm's operations.

Two investigators were assigned the task of determining the number of firms involved in wholesaling printed sex-oriented materials. Since Wholesalers A and B had a virtual monopoly in this business, it was only necessary to set up personal interviews with the business managers of these two firms.

The interviewers used an open-end, semistructured questioning procedure to develop as much information as possible. Questions focused on suppliers, the size of the wholesaler's operations, the types of sales made, and the wholesaler's perceptions of retail operations.

Number and size of institutions. As noted above, wholesaling activities were handled exclusively by two firms in the Denver metropolitan area. Firm B was quite large and had a virtual monopoly on general printed materials (magazines and paperbacks) in the region. This company occupied a building of over 20,000 square feet and carried a large inventory estimated in value to be in the range of $750,000 to $1,000,000. This company dealt primarily in non-sex-oriented material but did carry a small volume of Class E barbershop type magazines and some paperback and hard-cover "adult" novels.

Wholesaler A was considerably smaller in terms of overall operations, since the total space occupied was just under 1,200 square feet. It had an estimated inventory of between $100,000 and $150,000. However, Wholesaler A was unique

and important, as it was the sole supplier of exclusively adult, sex-oriented materials in six States.

Sales analysis. The prime mover of sex-oriented materials in the Denver area was Wholesaler A, who generated an annual retail value sales of at least $2.1 million through its distribution linkages with retailers. The management of this firm believed that perhaps $4 million[6] (retail value) in sex-oriented materials were shipped directly to retailers, while another estimated $2.5 million retail in materials were believed to be marketed to the ultimate consumers by means of the U.S. mail.

Wholesaler A marketed sex-oriented materials of three main types: magazines (two-thirds of volume); paperback and some hard-cover books (one-third of volume); and movies (a relatively insignificant number, perhaps 60 titles).

The managers of Wholesaler A indicated that they did not handle "hard-core" Class A materials although they did feel a significant volume of this type of material was sold to individual consumers who had the "proper" contacts. Some internal censorship occurred, as the managers did not automatically distribute all incoming shipments. Rather, they held materials which they believed might be questionable in terms of local laws and current enforcement status. For example, as of August 1969 the two-volume paperback *Sex, Censorship and Pornography,* by Donald Gilmore,[7] had not been released to area retailers, although it was being held in the warehouse for possible future distribution.

The managers of both wholesalers felt that actual physical volume of materials had not increased tremendously in the past 5 years. Prices, however, were estimated to have increased from five to seven times over the same period. The managers also felt the variety in types of material had increased, with a tendency toward the more liberal sort (Types II, III, IV and V, and Classes D, C, and B). These changes seemed to have accelerated even more over the last year to 18 months before this study.

Wholesaler B, because of limited emphasis on sex-oriented materials in its distribution network, was really of minimal consequence in the Denver market. However, because the firm had a large and widespread operation, the comments of managers were considered significant. For example, while Wholesaler A derived the bulk of its sales from promoting Class B through Class E materials, the managers of Wholesaler B felt that materials of Classes C and D were not desired by dealers. Managers of Wholesaler B also felt that 90% of the retail dealers of printed materials in the area were not even aware of the availability of this type of sex-oriented material. Managers of Wholesaler B felt that the market for adult material was not, at present, large enough to be profitable. They did feel, however, that should the Colorado State laws regarding pornography be changed (liberalized), the demand would certainly increase.

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6. Estimate considered extremely high by study staff.
7. This book contained black-and-white reproductions of Class A photographs from Denmark.

Since volume and per-unit profit are such important variables, the following inventory information, as provided to the investigators by Wholesaler B, is presented:

Item	Draw[a]	Sales
1969 *Playboy*	30,000[b]	25,000[b]
1966 *Playboy*	20,000[b]	15,000[b]
Flesh Festival	50	50
Couples	10,000	
Airport	35,000	
Snoopy	7,000[c]	
Myra Breckinridge	6,000[c]	
Portnoy's Complaint	10,000[c d]	
T.V. Guide	30,000 - 40,000[e]	

[a]Automatic delivery. [b]Per month. [c]Estimated.
[d]To be ordered. [e]Per week.

Services provided. Both wholesalers performed the basic channel function of receiving bulk shipments from suppliers and breaking this bulk down for their various customer accounts. However, the larger wholesaler, as would be expected, was more of a full-service wholesaler, providing direct delivery of new issues and pickup of unsold issues at specified time intervals. Standardized order lists and cost mark-up charts were provided to the dealers serviced by Wholesaler B. Additional services included open accounts and cash discounts for prompt payment. Return policy of Wholesaler A was more liberal for sex oriented materials.

Wholesaler A was definitely a limited-service wholesaler. Some dealers who dealt with this wholesaler actually picked up and returned material themselves. Cash discounts were available, though they varied from dealer to dealer and according to the cash-flow position of Wholesaler A.

Wholesaler A seemed to give less thought to matters of cash flow, uniform pricing, delivery schedules, and the full complement of services that a more efficient firm would normally provide. Part of this behavior may be related to the nature of the materials handled, while part would simply be a function of the smaller size of the firm and its nonprofessional management. Realistically, though, it was quite difficult to separate or identify the true cause and effect relationships.

Suppliers to the wholesalers. According to both A and B, the major geographical locations of the national suppliers of sex-oriented materials were California, New York, and foreign countries—primarily Scandinavian. Some paperback and magazine publishing was also noted in Arizona.

Overall, the trend in sex-oriented materials was toward higher priced items. In addition, the more liberal and explicit representations (Classes D, C, and B) were gaining in demand and popularity.

Of the two wholesaling firms in the Denver metropolitan area, Wholesaler A would be considered the primary legal channel for the marketing of sex-oriented materials.

Wholesaler A accounted for approximately 60% of the total volume of sex-oriented materials purchased by area retailers, while the other 40% was handled by direct purchases from suppliers by the retailers themselves. According to Wholesaler A, over $2.5 million (retail value) in sex-oriented materials (Classes E

through B) were sold directly by wholesalers to retailers. This volume was a significant slice of the total market for sex-oriented materials in Denver.

Analyses of owner/clerk interviews and operational information

This section examines bookstores with sex-oriented material from the operational viewpoint of owner/clerks. Included are analyses of operations, owner/clerk perceptions of the business, and an evaluation of the requirements for entry and success in this type of business. In addition, this type of bookstore operation is compared to a model of a typical bookstore.

Owner/clerks as sources of information

Formation of "universe" and sample selection. A total of 21 adult bookstore operations comprised the "universe" for this part of the study. Six owners were selected on a judgmental basis for interviews. These owners accounted for 13 of the 21 bookstore operations and one of the three arcades in the target area. Their operations ranged from the largest, most prosperous to the smaller, marginal stores.

Contacts with potential respondents. The investigators visited each outlet and requested interviews. The owners seemed interested, and cooperation was extended readily in most cases. The specific purpose of the study was disguised as an academic interest in customer types, an explanation which was readily accepted in most cases.

The interview process. A questionnaire was developed to help guide the interviewers but was not administered directly to the owner/clerk respondent. Rather, interviews were conducted with semistructured, open-end questions aimed at the various areas of interest. Each interview lasted more than 45 minutes, and one interview was extended to almost 2 hours. When resistance was encountered in specific areas of questioning, interviewers yielded and attempted to redirect the conversation. The interviews were conducted during the week of August 8, 1969. After the interviews were completed and reviewed, telephone calls were made to gather missing data when needed and when possible.

Reliability of information provided. The owners interviewed seemed to have well-developed personal philosophies about the sex-oriented material business; consequently, this could have biased responses, and obviously did in some instances. However, the sample coverage and the comparative nature of the results provided some cross-checks on the reliability and validity of the data gathered, although no attempt was made to develop estimates of sampling error in a quantitative sense. Judgment does have to be used in the interpretation of the data, since a good part of the material gathered had to be generated with open-end questions. However, enough data was developed to provide an interesting profile of the sex-oriented material business as perceived by the owners. In addition, reliability was enhanced by comparing the response of owners to specific observations (visual audits) as discussed earlier in this study.

Owner/clerk views of retailing operations

Retailer responses—Experience and background.

1. How did the retailer get involved in this business?

Choice:	4
Inheritance:	2.

Retailers noted a number of reasons for entering their present business: they desired to operate their own business; they were making money to support writing activities; they had a similar business in another city; they saw the profit potential while working for another retailer; or they had inherited the business.

Most retailers indicated previous retail experience, mainly at the small business level, as a clothing salesman, a restaurant owner, a parking lot owner, a hotel chef, or a bookstore owner.

2. How long has the retailer owned his store?

12 years:	1
4 years or less:	5.

Although five present owners had not been active operators of bookstores in the Denver area for a long period of time, four responded that they had taken over the operation of bookstores.

3. Who owns the store at the present time?

Single proprietorship:	4
Partnership arrangements:	2.

Two of the single proprietors had initially operated under partnership arrangements. Because of financial disagreements they had bought out their partners. One retailer noted a partnership arrangement with his lawyer and doctor.

4. Approximately how much money would you need to start a similar business today (size of 500 square feet)?

$5,000:	2
$3,000:	1
No response:	3.

Retailers estimated that approximately 10 years ago, $500 would have been necessary to start their business.

Retailer responses—Customer profile.

1. What percent of your customers are merely lookers (nonbuyers)?

80%:	1
75%:	1
70%:	1
60%:	1
35%:	1
"Majority":	1.

The vast majority of potential customers at these retail operations were thought to be nonbuyers. The one retailer who noted that only 35% of his customers were lookers also indicated that he asked all "obvious" nonbuyers to leave after 1 minute.

2. What percent of your customers are regular purchasers?

10%	1
25%:	1
50%:	1
Unable to estimate:	3.

Those retailers indicating regular purchasers noted that these customers' visits ranged from daily to monthly.

3. Are there any seasonal variations with respect to your business?

Yes:	4
No:	2.

Retailers noting seasonal fluctuations in sales suggested that sales were greater in winter than in summer. One retailer noted that August was his best month; several indicated that business picked up during convention periods. Tourism also increased summer sales.

4. Are there variations in customer types at different times of the day?

Yes:	5
No:	1.

Retailers revealed that "businessman" stereotypes accounted for the majority of their business in early afternoons. (One indicated that about 75% of his business at noontime was accounted for by businessmen.) In the evenings, blue-collar types were the most noticeable customers. Morning business was accounted for by a few females, some homosexuals, but few business types and few blue-collar types.

5. What specific types of customers are you aware of? (multiple responses by individuals)

Very few military associated individuals:	2
Professional people account for a good percentage of business:	2
Sexual deviants, mostly homosexuals:	4
A number of physically unattractive ("sloppy") individuals:	2
Very few females:	6.

Type of customers appeared to be related to both the location of the retail store and the time of day. Retailers located near the Denver downtown retailing core area indicated that the majority of their customers during noon hours were businessmen. Those retailers located near the hotel-convention area noted sharp

increases in business during convention periods, with two noting a surge in customers during a recent National Lutheran convention. Finally, retailers outside the downtown core area suggested no set patterns with respect to purchasers. Five retailers labeled their customers as "average people."

6. What percent of buying customers are over 30 years old?

97%:	1
70%:	1
60%:	3
"Majority":	1.

The vast majority of buying customers were thought to be over 30 years old. One retailer suggested that the under-30 age group "lives" their sex and therefore finds no need for adult sex material. The older age group, on the other hand, may achieve part of their sexual satisfaction from printed materials.

7. What percent of your customers are male?

All said between 95% and 98%.

Retailers suggested that the few women who were buying material were perhaps buying it for their boy friends or husbands.

8. Do buyers shop alone or in groups?

Mostly alone:	3
Occasionally in groups:	2
No response:	1.

For the most part, customers shopped alone. One retailer mentioned that, on occasion, groups would look at the material in his store; later, individuals from that group would return to buy material.

9. Do you have any requests for "hard-core" material?

Yes:	5
No response:	1.

Most retailers indicated quite readily that they experienced a number of requests for "hard-core" material. Frequency of requests ranged from once a week to once a day. Retailers suggested that all "types" of people requested "hard-core" material. One retailer suggested mostly businessmen requested this material.

10. Do you know where "hard-core" material can be purchased today?

Didn't know:	3
Other bookstores:	1
Cab drivers, bellhops, and barbershops:	1
No response:	1.

All retailers were vague in their response to this particular question.

Retailer responses—Sales data and other operations.

1. Is any formal inventory control used?

It appears that little, if any, formal inventory control was used by these operations. Most retailers employed a "sight process" which involved simply scanning their displays and ordering "visually low" stocks.

2. What is the approximate dollar sale per buying customer?

$4.00:	1
$2.50:	2
Unable to estimate:	3.

Respondents did not immediately know these figures and probably had never viewed sales on a unit basis before.

3. How much of your sales is accounted for by the secondary (trade-in) market?

20 to 35%:	4
5%:	1
None:	1.

Some retailers noted that secondary sales have been declining in recent years. One retailer noted that 2 years ago the secondary market accounted for 50% of his business and had declined to about 25%. Retailers suggested that the adult material was beginning to acquire the value of a collector's item and that growing personal libraries accounted for a declining secondary market.

4. How are mark-ups on your merchandise determined?

Personally determined:	4
Rely on wholesalers suggested retail price:	2.

Mark-ups on retail prices ranged from 25 to 50%, depending upon the material. For example, a $5.00-priced magazine cost the retailers $2.25, and a $3.50 magazine approximately $1.70. Retailers indicated that some of their materials (certain magazines) had standardized prices; that is, prices were being set at the wholesale and/or manufacturer levels. In addition, it was noted that mark-ups were generally higher on mail-order items.

The following schedule presents the retail pricing of films:

1. Black and white

(*a*) 100 feet—$7 to $8
(*b*) 200 feet—$12 to $15

2. Color

(*a*) 100 feet—$16
(*b*) 200 feet—$30

Wholesale film costs averaged about 20% of the retail price.

In the area of mark-downs (trade-ins), apparently no standard system existed. One respondent noted that mark-downs were 80% of cover price on trade-ins. Another store's policy gave trade-ins a 50% value on cover price on nondamaged materials with 1969 copyright and 25% on all other materials.

5. What is the approximate value of your inventory?

$7,500:	1
$5,000:	1
$1,800:	1
$1,500:	1
No response:	2.

6. How much sex-oriented material sales are needed to break even?

$50 to $100 per day:	4
No response:	2.

Based on the investigators' calculations of average store size, a 500-square-foot operation would have to do about $75 worth of business per day (assuming the owner operated the shop alone) to break even on total costs.

Retailer responses—Suppliers.

1. How many suppliers of adult material are there in Denver?

Retailer response indicated that there were two suppliers of sex-oriented materials in the Denver area. One deals in sex oriented materials exclusively; the other supplies magazines of the *Playboy* variety ("barbershop"). It appeared that the majority of the sex-oriented materials locally supplied came from the one distributor.

2. Do you get all your materials from a Denver supplier?

All of them from Denver suppliers:	3
Other than Denver suppliers:	2
No response:	1.

Retailers receiving materials from other than Denver suppliers revealed that their material was received directly from the following cities; New York, Atlanta, Delray (Florida), Los Angeles, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, and San Francisco.

3. Where do the Denver wholesalers get their materials?

Retailers indicated that the primary Denver wholesaler received its materials from other distributors located, for the most part, in Baltimore, New York, and Los Angeles. Two retailers suggested that the Denver supplier received some materials from foreign countries.

4. When do you pay your suppliers for your materials?

Monthly credit basis:	1
Before discount, if there is one:	1
Open account:	1
Immediately:	1
No response:	2.

Discounts, if offered, averaged approximately 4%.

Retailer responses—Competition.

1. How many serious competitors do you have?

None in immediate area:	4
Three:	1
Everyone:	1.

The smallest retailer interviewed (owned one store), who had been in business the longest of any retailers interviewed felt that everyone was his competition. He noted that only three similar retail operations were in business when he started his operation 15 years ago. Now he felt that the other 20 outlets were "too many" for him to compete with successfully. The larger retailers, on the other hand, were not concerned with competition and felt they could compete successfully with anyone.

2. How do you attract and keep customers?

Don't try:	1
Convenience:	1
Service:	3
No response:	1.

Retailers indicated that others compete for customers on the basis of more and better stock of material, location, and a clean friendly atmosphere. No media advertisements were used in this business, except listings in the Yellow Pages under "bookstores," "magazines," and "news dealers."

3. Do your competitors use the same suppliers as you do?

Yes:	4
No:	1
No response:	1.

Retailer responses—Employment.

1. How many employees are working in your store?

Two:	3
Four:	1
Seven:	1
Eight:	1.

The number of employees appeared to be related to the size of the operation. Smaller store operations usually consisted of the owner and a part-time clerk.

2. What method do you use to secure employees?

Agencies:	3
Ads:	1
Hire or ask friends:	2.

There appeared to be a fairly high turnover of hired help in these particular businesses. One clerk noted that he found his job by answering an ad in the *Denver Post*. The most commonly cited reason for dismissal was dishonesty.

3. What is the average wage you pay your employees?

$1.50 per hour:	1
$1.75 per hour:	1
$2.25 per hour:	1
$100 for 48 hours:	1
No response:	2.

Assessment of owner/clerk

Overall, perceptions by owner/clerks and methods of operations in the retail outlets appeared divergent. It is axiomatic in retailing courses that "store owners are the last to know who their customers really are and how they behave as consumers." The varied information from the interviews seemed to verify this basic retailing assumption. However, specific customer variations by type of customer and shopping behavior would vary according to the individual store location. Consequently, differences in interview responses may be attributed to these locational factors. For many generalizations, such as "young people are not interested in the materials," the perceptions of owner/clerks were consistent and in agreement with other information gathered in this study.

Interestingly, the owners exhibited a general orientation toward the "marketing concept." This modern business orientation stresses the need to provide consumer satisfaction in order to succeed. If consumers are satisfied, then profits are forthcoming through repeat business. The owners of sex-oriented materials outlets generally perceived themselves as being in the business of providing "sex satisfaction." Thus, they were thinking on a broad, more abstract level than simply "being in the business of selling magazines and paperbacks." The subtlety of this broad business philosophy is important, for it is reflected in many operational decisions, such as adjusting the inventory to satisfy changing consumer interests.

Operationally, retailers apparently proceeded intuitively and haphazardly with little specific formal planning or organization. Such would be expected from basically small-scale retailers. However, their limitations were not severe enough to eliminate the profitability of selling sex-oriented materials, as revealed in the next section.

Sales volume in sex-oriented materials in Denver

Any estimation of yearly sales volumes for a total industry or a specific type of business is, at best, inaccurate. A number of variables must be considered; for

example, seasonal variations, different scales of operations, unusual influences (such as the weather), and individual business entries and exits in the system. Even with consideration of such variables, any estimate of total sales volume is an educated guess, unless actual sales figures are obtained. Often the guess can, in fact, become relatively accurate if some constant variable can be used as a yardstick. Such variables include any constant measure, such as average sales per square foot or average sales per customer. Then, if square footages or number of customers are accurately counted or estimated, the sales volume projection can become meaningful. Unfortunately, none of the above-mentioned variables or information was available to estimate annual sales of sex-oriented materials in Denver.

Thus, no accurate annual sales estimate could be made, although two highly subjective estimates can be reported—one based upon estimates by the wholesaler of sex-oriented materials and the other based on extremely tentative findings from the in-store observation phase of the study.

The wholesaler of exclusively sex-oriented materials estimated retail value of over-the-counter sales at $3.5 million. Of this volume, he estimated that his operations provided $2.1 million (retail value), or 60% of the total; the remainder was supplied by direct shipments to area retailers from outside the Denver area. This total area volume would necessitate an average inventory turnover rate of nearly two times per month for the wholesaler's inventory, based upon his estimated retail value of $100,000 to $125,000 (study staff estimate).

In addition, the wholesaler projected that direct mail sales probably equaled or slightly exceeded local over-the-counter sales.[8] If these estimates were correct, then total retail value sales for sex-oriented materials in Denver would be equal to approximately $7 million per year. This seemed to be an extremely high figure, relative to a metropolitan area total population of slightly over 1 million men, women, and children. These estimates by the primary wholesaler of sex-oriented materials were considered highly questionable by the research staff.

Two distinct possibilities existed: (1) either the wholesaler did not know his own annual volume—which was a distinct possibility—and was guessing, or (2) the wholesaler would not reveal the correct figures and consciously attempted to mislead the research staff. The latter reason was very possible, as at the time of the interview with the wholesaler it must have become obvious to individuals involved in selling the sex-oriented materials that the study in progress was much more than just a casual examination of marketing activities. Possibly, the "group" (a half dozen large retailers of sex-oriented material and the wholesaler who occasionally got together to discuss "business") had decided to stop cooperating and actually to try to misinform the research staff. For whatever reason, the estimate of $7 million in total area retail sales of sex-oriented materials seemed high in the judgment of the research staff.

From information gathered in the in-store observation phase of the study, three sources of sales information developed: observed sales figures by individual purchase, cash register daily totals, and comments of owners.

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8. Three dealers in sex-oriented materials also suggested that mail volume was probably equal to over-the-counter sales.

Daily sales totals were obtained whenever possible from the two observation stores. These figures ranged from a low of $247.43 to a high of $463.40. According to comments of owner/clerks, daily averages would typically run around $300 to $350 (store with sex-oriented materials section) and $400 to $450 (store with exclusively sex-oriented materials). The highest daily sales figures reported were slightly over $700 (during a convention period in the spring of 1969) by the store with exclusively sex-oriented materials.

However, the figures for these stores could not be considered truly representative of the other basic types of stores. Locational factors were important, as were physical facilities (both of the observation stores were, relatively speaking, higher quality operations in comparison to most other stores in Denver).

If the figures given by store owners cooperating with the in-store observation phase were correct, the following total area estimate would be realistic:

$325	(Sex-oriented materials section store average)
x 10	(number of stores with sex-oriented materials section)
$3,250	(total daily sales for stores with sex-oriented sections)
$425	(average exclusive sex-oriented materials store sales)
x 11	(number of exclusive sex-oriented materials stores)
$4,675	(total daily sales sex-oriented materials stores)
$3,250	(daily sales—total of stores with sex sections)
4,675	(daily sales—exclusive sex stores)
$7,925	(daily volume for all stores handling sex-oriented materials)
x 312	(business days per year)
$2,472,600	(total annual sales for all 21 stores)

Thus, the annual sales of sex-oriented materials in Denver based on estimates of average daily sales by two store owners was approximately $2.5 million. This figure was far below estimates given by the wholesaler of sex-oriented materials. Further, it was highly unlikely (in the opinion of the research staff) that all stores of a given type could maintain the sales volumes of the observed stores. It was more likely that several of the stores of each type would have sales well below those of the observed stores, although it was possible that two or three stores of each type exceeded sales in the observed stores. Even if these two factors canceled each other, the estimated total sales figure still was not based on any verifiable bench marks.

A more conservative estimate of sales emerged using the following observation-generated values:

$3.20	(average observed sale by research staff)
x 60	(average number of purchases per day per store)
$192.00	(average sales volume per day per store)
x 21	(number of stores selling sex-oriented materials)
$4,032.00	(average sales per day for 21 sex-oriented materials stores in Denver)
$4,032.00	(average total sales per day for 21 sex-oriented materials stores in Denver)
x 312	(average number of business days per year)
$1,257,684.00	(total sales per year, or approximately $1.25 million over-the-counter retail sales of sex-oriented materials in Denver annually)

Adding a similar volume for mail sales, the total sales volume would be approximately $2.5 million (note: postal officials, owners, and the wholesaler were in general agreement that mail sales were approximately equal to and perhaps greater than counter sales).

These figures were far below the wholesaler's estimates. Furthermore, these figures must be tempered with the knowledge that (1) total daily sales were actually higher than $192 per day in observation stores (observation and recording of all sales was not 100%); (2) some stores were open more than 312 days, others less (one owner closed only on Christmas and New Year's); (3) opening hours varied between stores; (4) percentages of purchasers relative to browsers varied, perhaps by type of store: Consider an average purchase of $3.33 per sale to 33% of the patrons entering the store dealing exclusively in sex-oriented materials, versus an average purchase of $3.06 for 28% of the patrons who entered the sex-oriented materials section of the regular bookstore or newsstand.

Thus, the estimates of total annual sales in Denver ranged from a high of $7 million to a low of $2.5 million. In other words, one could best conclude that the local authorities, in expressing the doubt that total sales volume could be estimated accurately, were probably correct.

Realistically, a true evaluation of sales volume in sex-oriented materials would include *all materials of a Class E level or higher*. Such materials would include: all "barbershop" type journals, magazines, and newspapers; underground newspapers; and high-quality "slick" magazines, such as *Playboy*. These materials can and, in fact, do account for a significant consumption of "sex." For example, over-the-counter sales of *Playboy* in the Denver area were 25,000 copies per month. This amounted to $300,000 per year. When sales of all Class E materials were added together, the annual volume in these "low-keyed" sex-oriented materials probably topped $500,000 per year. Further, with 450 to 500 retailers of books and/or magazines in the Denver area, it is virtually impossible to calculate the volume of Class E or D materials (possibly to Class A in the case of books) with accuracy.

In addition, ticket sales for "adult mature" ("R") and "adult only" ("X") movies should be counted. Movies such as *I Am Curious (Yellow)* were, perhaps, "socially redeeming" but nevertheless accounted for a direct consumption of sex-oriented materials. Attendance at such films at a per-ticket price of $2.50 and up added to large sums rapidly. As an indication of the interest in such films, the manager of the theater showing *Midnight Cowboy* stated that this film drew larger box office sales and larger crowds during its first week in Denver than did *The Sound of Music*, shown in the same theater. In addition, ticket sales at the "skin flick" adult movie theaters would add to the volume.

Considering all potential imputs to sales volume, even with the conservative estimate of $1.75 million direct over-the-counter sales of sex-oriented materials, a reasonable estimation of total consumption of all sex-oriented materials in Denver was $4.5 million to $5 million annually.

SPECIFIC CONSUMPTION IN THE DENVER AREA OF SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS AND SERVICES

A major consideration in evaluating the marketing of sex-oriented materials in the Denver metropolitan area was the consumer of such materials. In such an

analysis, specific identification of consumers and information about their shopping behavior could become keys to understanding how and why the entire sex-oriented marketing system works.

To generate such information, several procedures were used: (1) in-store observations of browsers and buyers in the two basic types of retail establishments (stores with exclusively sex-oriented materials and stores with special sections for sex-oriented materials); (2) observations of patrons of movie theaters and arcades featuring sex-oriented films; (3) interviews with clerks and managers of other institutions handling sex-oriented materials according to the study's definition of such materials—namely, department stores handling explicit books about sex; and (4) interviews with others in the community who were knowledgeable about the market for sex-oriented materials.

The results of these research findings are summarized in the next section, including relevant subjective interpretations by the observers and other members of the research team.

The analysis procedure for specific evaluation of consumers

Shoppers for sex-oriented materials were observed in three different contexts: two bookstores, a movie arcade, and a movie theater. For this reason, the analyses of consumers is divided into three sections. Most of the discussion centers on the bookstore observations, as these observations covered a 6-day period, while the others were limited to one day or less.

The discussion of in-store observations is divided into three sections: (1) a description of the stores where the observations took place; (2) a description of the observational techniques; and (3) analyses of data on consumers. The last section is the largest and most involved because of the amount of data available for analysis. Since there were 11 significant variable responses entered for each shopper observation, plus a total number of 110 different possible cross-variable combinations available for analysis, it was necessary to adopt a scheme that eliminates redundancy.

The adopted scheme systematically examines each variable; however, all variable comparisons are not relevant or useful, so only important data are considered.

Since the limitations of time and money restricted the quantity of data obtained from observations in the movie arcade and the movie theater, no multivariable comparisons are made, and the results for each variable are at best only generalities.

In-store observations of consumers in retail outlets

With permission of the owners, two stores selling sex-oriented materials in the downtown Denver core area were used as consumer observation posts for 7 days (August 4 to August 11).

Store A—Selling sex-oriented materials exclusively. Store A was chosen because it ideally fit a category of stores dealing exclusively in sex-oriented materials. Store A was situated on the edge of downtown Denver and was easily accessible

either by car or by foot. With the exception of Sunday, this outlet was open from 9 a.m. to 1 a.m. On Sundays it was open from noon to midnight. The display of materials was characteristic of most outlets; however, emphasis was given to maintaining a wholesome "all-American" atmosphere complete with an American flag. The store was clean, its lighting was adequate, and the display of merchandise was orderly and easily examined by consumers. The exterior window displays clearly indicated the nature of the materials inside, thereby making it unlikely for a pedestrian mistakenly to enter the store.

Interior display techniques were based on segmentation and classification of the various types of sex-oriented materials offered for sale. "Split-beaver" and homosexual magazines were immediately visible to any person entering the store, and no attempt was made to hide the graphic nature of the magazine covers. Paperbacks and "girlie" magazines were displayed toward the rear of the store in an orderly manner. Movies and snapshots were placed on top of, or within, a glass display case behind which the salesclerks were situated. All customers were in clear view of the salesclerks, and at no time could they feel they were privately surveying the merchandise. In relation to other outlets in Denver for sex materials, Store A had the most complete display of merchandise of all types, particularly homosexual.

With the exception of "girlie" magazines, all magazines were carefully enclosed in transparent envelopes securely sealed with tape, thus making it almost impossible to remove and examine the magazine. The owners[9] of Store A recognized that most patrons were uneasy and self-conscious while inside the store. To help alleviate this problem, mood music (FM radio) played at a clearly audible level, and employees were dressed in uniforms (red linen jackets) to give the store an appearance of refinement. Employees were instructed to speak to customers only if the customer initiated a conversation.

Store B—Selling sex-oriented materials in an adult section of regular store. Store B was chosen because it fit the criterion of a legitimate bookstore not dealing primarily in sex-oriented materials, but which sold such materials in a clearly defined section of the store. Store B was situated in one of the most respectable areas of Denver, adjacent to the State Capitol complex. Pedestrian traffic was high, and adequate parking facilities were available within the area. The normal business day was from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.; however, on Sunday, the operation closed at 9 p.m. First impressions for a passerby would be that the outlet was a large, ordinary bookstore and newsstand. He would not know that sex-oriented materials were for sale unless he entered the store. An extensive line of books, paperbacks, periodicals, and newspapers were well displayed according to subject; however, many customers requested help in locating books or sections of interest. Because of the inadequacy in the identification of the general subject section, patrons frequently persued material extending the length of the store and unavoidably became aware of the area containing the sex-oriented materials. However, persons under the age of 21 were refused admittance by a clerk posted at the section's entrance. Cleanliness and atmosphere were not stressed. Window

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9. Apparently a partnership, although one of the owners was the actual manager and the identity of the others was never revealed.

displays were bland, with some window space devoted to each subject offered for sale except for the sex-oriented materials. The store identification, as well as the window displays, made it improbable that a pedestrian would misconstrue the general nature of the business (bookstore/newsstand).

Displays were clearly "low-budget," as there were a number of varied style racks and display cases. However, the spectacular effect produced by the typically glossy and colorful paperback book covers helped to overcome the mismatched racks. The area containing the sex-oriented materials was not immediately visible to a person entering the store, nor would he have any reason to notice it while he was surveying the display area containing the standard items and subjects. The display of the sex-oriented materials blended in with the display of the other merchandise except that they were contained in a special section at the rear of the store. The area was not labeled as containing sex materials, and the titles or covers had to be surveyed to identify the area. The segregation of materials was based on type of sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, etc.), although paperbacks or magazines with heterosexual and homosexual materials were randomly arranged on the display racks. Because the area containing the sex-oriented materials was isolated from the main body of the store, it afforded patrons a chance for some privacy, away from the view of other customers. The majority of the inventory (60%) were paperbacks. Relatively few "split-beaver" and homosexual picture magazines were offered for sale, since the store manager considered a wide assortment unnecessary and did censor materials he personally considered objectionable. Plastic covers were used only on magazines featuring photographs of male or female genitals. Price tags were placed to obscure the sex organs typically displayed on the "split-beaver" and homosexual magazine covers. For the most part, however, these price tags did not remain intact, as they were torn off by the customers. Since the entire area within the adult section was not in full view of the sales clerk, the cellophane envelope often suffered the same fate as the price tag. Background music in Store B was of the mood music variety; however, it was usually played at an almost inaudible level. Clerks were all casually dressed and did not wear standard jackets as did those in Store A.

Although Store B was situated in an above-average business area, the surrounding businesses did not particularly augment or detract from the sale of printed materials of any type. It was within easy walking distance of many downtown workers, thereby allowing visits during lunch hours. The store was across the street from the waiting areas of the public transit authority. These factors and the normal casual pedestrian traffic made the store available to a great many people.

Observation forms and judgment criteria

In order to maximize data, the survey form was limited to 15 variables requiring both objective and subjective judgments on the part of the observers. The following data were recorded in observations:

Retail store identification
Observer
Date
Time

Sex of patron
Shopping status: alone or in group
Age
Ethnic identification
Dress–perceived occupation
Appearance (physical)
Wedding band
Shopping patterns–purchase/no purchase
Browsing patterns
Purchase magnitude
Purchase type

Many of the points required subjective evaluations. In order to maximize reliability between raters, criteria for objective evaluation were established. For a complete explanation of the observation methodology, see the Appendix.

*The consumer of sex-oriented materials**

The following information is based on subjective observations of consumers (not recorded as data in the observation process). After these subjective interpretations of the consumers, the statistical information from the observations are presented in systematic form. In combination, these analyses present a broad picture of in-store consumers of sex-oriented materials as observed in the study.

Observers quickly noted that many store patrons were ill-at-ease (nervous and anxious) while shopping for sex-oriented materials. This was particularly true in Store B, since the adult section was frequented by businessmen in the downtown area, particularly during lunch hour. At times patrons appeared to lose their poise, often slouching over. Some patrons in Store B appeared to be consciously aware of the fact that their presence in the sex-oriented materials section could easily be detected by persons in the regular bookstore areas.

In Store A it was almost impossible for a pedestrian to mistakenly wander into the store, since the exterior identification clearly indicated the nature of the materials for sale. This fact indicates that the persons entering the store had planned to do so and that they had not encountered the store by coincidence. On the other hand, Store B provided an "excuse" for persons who wanted to examine and perhaps buy sex-oriented materials. In Store B many patrons appeared to feign interest in the regular materials. Characteristically, these persons would enter the store, randomly examine the regular publications, and eventually arrive at their intended destination, the sex-oriented materials section.

Eventually, observers noticed a discernible difference between the actions of persons in the regular materials section of Store B and persons in the sex-oriented materials section or in Store A. In the regular printed materials section, persons appeared at ease, talking and walking naturally. However, this was not the case for patrons in the sex-oriented materials section. Few persons asked for help in locating any particular sex-oriented magazine or paperback, probably because they had no particular paperback or magazine in mind. There was no way of

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*Based on observer evaluations and in-store observations.

predicting what a person would buy. Most patrons scanned all categories of magazines and paperbacks and picked up many, concentrating on volume rather than any particular picture or subject. Some persons were apparently attempting to "kill time," as they frequently glanced at their watches. Occasionally, potential customers were very thorough browsers, spending up to two hours to complete their survey.

In the regular materials section of Store B most patrons scanned a book or magazine by holding the item directly in front of them, about chest height. However, in the sex-oriented materials section many attempted to hide not only what they were looking at but also themselves. In Store B the long browsers quickly occupied the corners of the room most obscured from the view of patrons in the general reading sections and held the materials at waist level, against their stomachs. Some persons attempted to obscure the book or magazine entirely by allowing their coat sides to flank the book or magazine. It was not infrequent for patrons to squat down while scanning publications, particularly in Store B. Some customers appeared to be nervous and glanced around to see if they were being watched by other shoppers. For the most part, store patrons moved very cautiously, rarely bumping into one another. Similarly, very little conversation took place among the serious browsers. When they spoke, it was in a whisper. It was not unusual to observe customers becoming "excited"—some persons actually became heavy-winded or were aroused to a physical state of erection.

In Store B there was a very recognizable shopping pattern, particularly among the middle-aged customers. After entering the store these patrons browsed the stacks of the regular magazines for perhaps 5 minutes before arriving at the sex-oriented materials section. In entering the sex-oriented materials section they frequently stopped to explain to the clerk the reason for their interest in sex-oriented materials (curiosity); or they lingered by the generally moderate sex-related paperbacks (Class E) flanking the entrance to the section. These same persons often made a point of stopping to examine *Sports Illustrated, Popular Mechanics,* or similar publications before leaving the store.

Upon terminating a visit to the store displaying sex-oriented materials, some customers appeared to be relieved—possibly because they were leaving or because some sexual anxiety had been released. On the other hand, purchasers, particularly those who bought "split-beaver" magazines, showed signs of nervousness which increased at the sales counter. Some customers were almost contemptuous toward the clerk. It was not unusual for buyers to "throw" their intended purchase on the sales counter together with the money and then move a short distance away from the sales counter. When change was made and the materials "bagged" the customers returned to grab both bag and change and hastily departed.

The longer patrons were in a store, the more difficult it was accurately to predict what they would buy. Few persons seemed to employ a systematic selection process. Rather, when customers decided to purchase (particularly paperbacks) they often selected at random one, two, or three publications. Observers could not predict purchases of homosexual materials. For the most part these customers appeared to be interested in all types of materials; however, when they were ready to purchase they quickly removed the homosexual materials from the display shelf and brought them to the sales counter. When purchasers of

homosexual materials were ready to buy, they frequently waited until the sales counter was not busy and then hastened to the counter with their intended purchase so as to complete the transaction as rapidly as possible. They appeared to be extremely self-conscious while the transaction was being completed; many never raised their eyes above the counter level and never allowed the clerk to look them in the eye.

Some customers were observed in either or both of the stores at several times during the same day or week. In contrast, there were examples of persons who came into the stores once or twice a year to make large purchases. Some of these persons were from the plains and mountain areas of Colorado and were making an infrequent visit to the city of Denver. For example, one person from a town 40 miles west of Denver explained to an observer that his purchase of $60 was necessary because he visited the city only once a month and when he did so, he always "stocked up."

Both stores did some amount of mail-order business; however, both owners denied attempting to solicit this type of business. One of the stores had two loyal customers, one in Alaska and the other in a Colorado jail. Both customers periodically sent cash to the store in exchange for the "latest and best arrivals." One owner had a collection of letters he received requesting either general materials of a sexual orientation or a particular item which had been seen in the store. The owner did not fill these orders because he did not know the age or intent of the sender.

There can be no stereotype of consumers of sex-oriented materials. In the opinion of the observers taking part in the visual survey, persons of many different ages, incomes, occupations, and backgrounds were interested in sex-oriented materials. Many only looked (70%), but quite a few made purchases (30%).

The preceding information was derived from observers' impressions and comments from owners and customers as an orientation. The following sections offer further insights based on the results of cross variable analyses of the data from in-store observations. The data were collected during the period from Tuesday, August 5 to Sunday, August 10, 1969. Monday, August 4 was included in the observations, but data for this date were deleted from the final figures, as this was treated as part of the observer training period. Nevertheless, the 6 days of collecting useable data yielded a sample of 2,506 persons (either browsers or actual purchasers) entering either (1) the sex-oriented materials section of a larger regular bookstore/newsstand (1,305), or (2) the store with exclusively sex-oriented materials (1,201).

Other more limited observations (one full day at an adult movie arcade and a few hours at an adult movie theater) yielded data on 237 arcade patrons and 167 movie goers. These data together with the in-store observations gave a total observation of 2,910 persons who either purchased sex-oriented materials or entertainment, or examined the materials.

The following analyses present highlights of each variable from the observations.

Day of the week

Overall, the day of the week seemed to have little influence on shoppers for sex-oriented materials except for their dress, which was more casual on the

weekend. However, owners suggested that sales often increased toward the end of the month and toward the weekend. For the latter period this was suggested as being particularly true during the winter when snowy weekends were predicted.

Table 6

NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS

Tuesday-Sunday

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Tuesday	17.6	212	17.9	233	17.7	444
Wednesday	15.6	187	15.9	208	15.8	395
Thursday	18.3	220	18.6	242	18.4	462
Friday	19.0	228	14.7	192	16.8	421
Saturday	19.8	238	18.9	247	19.4	485
Sunday	9.7	116	14.0	183	11.9	299
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Time of day

The distribution of the number of customers according to the time of day showed a great deal of similarity between both stores. For both, business was generally sluggish during the early business hours, with Store A averging 9.5 persons per hour before 11 a.m. and Store B averaging 8.7 persons per hour. The highest frequency of customers for both stores occurred between the hours of 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.

During business lunch hours and at the end of the working day the proportion of persons in white-collar business suits increased sharply.

Generally, time of day was primarily an index of consumer density in the stores and did not appear to be a significant influence on types of shoppers (light or heavy browsers) or materials purchased. As would be anticipated, the lunch-hour period and late afternoon-early evening were peak times, probably due to the normal increase in pedestrian traffic during these periods.

Female patrons

Female patrons of sex-oriented bookstores played a very insignificant role in terms of their contribution to sales and their proportion of the total patron population. During the week of observations females accounted for only 2.6% of the total number of persons observed and less than 1% of total sales.

Table 7

MALE AND FEMALE PATRONS

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Male	98.0	1177	96.9	1264	97.4	2441
Female	2.0	24	3.1	41	2.6	65
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Groups and couples

Shoppers in groups (two or more persons) totaled 354 persons, or 14.4% of the total number of persons observed. Of these, most were a part of a group of the same sex while 58 persons, or 2.5%, were part of a mixed group (male and female).

Apparently, shoppers for sex-oriented materials prefer to shop alone.

Table 8

INDIVIDUAL VS. SOCIAL SHOPPING PATTERNS

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Alone	89.7	1077	90.0	1175	89.9	2252
Groups/ couples	10.3	124	10.0	130	10.1	254
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Age of shoppers

Age breakdowns, by percentages and number of persons observed, were very similar between the two stores. A visual representation indicated a normal distribution with a mean of 34, a median of 33, and a standard deviation of 11 skewed to the right (older ages). An insignificant percentage (less than 1%) of the total observed population was below the age of 21 (they were refused admittance by clerks), with only nine persons from each store fitting this category.

Overall, the age of consumers of sex-oriented materials appeared to be important as a possible predictive market characteristic. The majority of consumers were between 25 (or 26) and 45 years old, and these people spent more money proportionately per purchase than younger or older people.

Table 9

AGE DISTRIBUTION

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Under 18	.1	1	.6	8	.4	9
19-25	21.6	260	22.7	296	22.2	556
25-35	34.4	413	30.7	400	32.4	813
35-45	26.8	322	27.2	355	27.0	677
45-55	13.1	157	12.5	163	12.8	320
Over 55	2.7	33	4.9	65	3.9	98
No observation	1.3	15	1.4	18	1.3	33
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Ethnic characteristics

The ethnic mix of shoppers was heavily weighted toward Caucasians. The combined store percentages by ethnic group are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

SHOPPERS BY ETHNIC GROUPS

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Caucasian	85.3	1024	90.3	1179	87.9	2203
Negro	5.5	66	2.9	38	4.2	104
Spanish-American	7.4	89	3.4	44	5.3	133
Others and not recorded	1.8	22	3.4	44	2.6	66
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Generally, the Caucasian was the dominant type of patron observed and made the most significant purchases in terms of total volume percentage and per-purchase value.

Dress–Perceived occupation

The frequency of patrons who fitted into the various occupational groups was consistent between the two stores with a variance of percentages never exceeding 7%.

Of the total observations (2,506), 55.2% were entered in the casual dress category because they did not present observers with any positive identification of status. A concurrence of the part of the observers would indicate that perhaps a larger proportion from the casual group would fit into the white-collar grouping than the others; however, there was obviously no way of proving this.

These data reinforce the importance of the white-collar occupation class as primary purchasers of sex-oriented materials.

Physical appearance

The corresponding percentages of persons fitting into the various appearance categories were practically identical between the two stores.

No similarity existed when proportions of the types of purchases by appearance categories were compared for the two stores. No conclusions emerged for consumers classified by physical appearance, except that the vast majority of patrons were average and not physically distinctive.

Table 11

DRESS/PERCEIVED OCCUPATION

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
White collar	23.1	277	27.4	358	25.3	635
Blue collar	13.1	157	14.9	194	14.0	351
Casual	61.0	734	49.6	647	55.2	1381
Military	0.7	8	3.7	48	2.2	56
Student	0.6	7	1.8	24	1.2	31
Cowboys	0.6	7	0.6	8	0.6	15
Tourists	0.4	5	0.6	8	0.5	13
Clergy	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.1	2
Hippie	0.4	5	0.5	7	0.5	12
Not observed	0.0	0	0.8	10	0.4	10
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Table 12

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Above average	6.7	80	6.3	82	6.5	162
Average	72.2	868	67.3	878	69.7	1746
Poor	15.7	188	19.3	252	17.5	440
Obese	1.5	18	3.2	42	2.4	60
Deformed	0.9	11	1.2	16	1.1	27
Handi-capped	0.8	10	0.9	12	0.9	22
No observation	2.2	26	1.8	23	1.9	49
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Wedding bands

Observers experienced difficulty in getting a complete set of observations for this statistic because many customers kept their hands out of sight (either in pockets or underneath magazines).

The impact of the information in Table 13 must be considered in light of jewelers' estimates that perhaps only 50% of married males wear wedding rings. Thus, it would appear that married men are major consumers.

Table 13

WEDDING BANDS

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Yes	24.1	290	28.0	365	26.1	655
No	59.2	710	59.0	770	59.1	1480
Unobserved	16.7	201	13.0	170	14.8	371
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Shopping patterns

The main conclusion about shopping patterns can be summarized as "the longer people browse, the more likely they are to purchase, and seemingly buy more." The observers found that many heavy browsers deciding to purchase made very rapid, almost random, selections. Perhaps this indicates that the heavy browser, having satisfied his curiosity about the content of the products, simply makes his actual selection in a broad category of material types.

Table 14

SHOPPING PATTERNS: BUY OR NOT BUY

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Buy	32.9	395	26.8	350	29.7	745
Not buy	64.9	779	71.2	929	68.2	1708
No observation	2.2	27	2.0	26	2.1	53
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Type and magnitude of purchases

Generally, sex-oriented materials were more highly priced than non-sex-oriented materials of a comparable type. For example, sex-oriented paperback stories ranged from $1.25 to $3.50 (the latter included some glossy full color pictures). Magazines ranged from $2.50 to $6, with a large number priced at $5. However, the "barbershop" materials were priced much lower, at 15¢ to $1. Thus, average prices paid formed a bimodal distribution with dispersions centered around the ranges of $1.50 to $2.50 and $4.50 to $5.50. This would be expected from the purchasing patterns in combination with the price levels. Table 16 summarizes the unit sales observed by types of materials:[10]

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10. As the observers were unable to record all specific sales data a significantly larger number of items were sold than are given here.

Table 15

BROWSERS

	Store A N=1,201		Store B N=1,305		Total N=2,506	
	%	f.	%	f.	%	f.
Heavy	41.1	494	48.4	631	44.9	1125
Light	56.9	683	50.2	656	53.4	1339
No observation	2.0	24	1.4	18	1.7	42
Total	100.0	1201	100.0	1305	100.0	2506

Table 16

TYPES OF MATERIALS PURCHASED

	Store A		Store B		Combined (A & B)	
Type	# of units	%	# of units	%	# of units	%
Paperbacks	126	34.2	152	46.0	278	39.6
"Beaver" magazines	140	38.0	54	16.2	194	27.7
Barbershop	31	8.4	44	13.2	75	10.7
"Girlie" magazines	6	1.6	32	9.6	38	5.4
Homosexual magazines	25	6.8	21	6.3	46	6.6
Combined (paperbacks and "beaver")	32	8.7	26	7.8	58	8.3
Other	8	2.3	4	1.2	12	1.7
Totals	368	100.0	333	100.3*	701	100.0

*rounding error

The largest percentages of sales were concentrated in paperbacks and "beaver" magazines, but other types of materials were also important to the sales volume. The low volume of sales in "girlie" magazines may signal greater interest by the consumer in more explicit materials.

Observations of patrons in adult film arcade

Two observers posing as clerks in an adult film arcade recorded data about male customers (no females allowed) using the same forms as the in-store phase of the study. All observations were made on Monday, August 11, when a total of 236 persons entered the arcade. The arcade opened at 10 a.m. and closed at 1 a.m. on this particular day; however, it usually remained open until 2 a.m. Excluding the 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. time period when 10 persons entered the arcade, business was very consistent between the hours of 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. The evening hours showed very erratic business. The sharp increase in the number of patrons between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m. could be explained possibly by the fact that the first showing in nearby adult movie theaters was concluded during these hours.

Observation judgments about ages of patrons are shown in Table 17.

Table 17

AGE OF ARCADE PATRONS

Age	Number	%
21-25*	40	16.8
26-35	92	38.8
36-45	85	35.9
46-55	13	5.5
Over 55	6	3.0

*Rigidly enforced minimum age = 21.

In comparison with the bookstores a higher proportion of persons between the ages of 26 and 45 entered. However, the general patterning of relative noninterest in such materials or entertainment on the part of young adults (around 21) continued.

In terms of patron's dress and perceived occupation the trends established in data on bookstore patrons continued (Table 18).

Table 18

ARCADE PATRONS' DRESS AND PERCEIVED OCCUPATION

Dress/perceived occupation	Number	%
Business suit	68	28.7
Blue-collar	23	9.7
Military	2	.8
Student	1	.4
Cowboy	4	1.7
Tourist	1	.4
Hippie-type	1	.4
Casual dressers	137	57.8
Total		99.9*

*Rounding error.

The business suit continued as the dominant specific dress. Many of these individuals were observed during the lunch-hour period.

In physical appearance again the majority of consumers fell into the "average" category. However, the relative percentage of "above average" did increase over that of the bookstores (Table 19).

Table 19

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF ARCADE PATRONS

Category	Number	%
Above average	23	9.7
Average	181	76.8
Poor	26	11.0
Obese	1	.4
Deformed	4	1.7
Handicapped	1	.4
Total	236	100.0

Wedding bands were observed on 69 patrons (32.8%), although realistically a number were probably missed since patrons frequently did not linger near the observers in the entrance area (even though there was a display of sex-oriented materials from an adjacent bookstore) and they tended to keep their hands in their pockets. However, as with the wedding band statistic for bookstore patrons, if only 50% of the married men wear bands, then the estimated number of married patrons for the arcade jumps to approximately 65% of the patrons. Certainly, the absolute percentage of observations is understated if only because of the incompleteness of the observers' efforts.

Overall, the general type and characteristics of consumers observed in the bookstores continued in the arcade. The consumers appeared to be seeking personal satisfaction from the movies. The exact nature of such satisfactions apparently varied from pleasure in viewing nude females to something more physical (an unrecorded number of patrons were observed with an open trouser fly as they left the arcade).

Observation of patrons entering adult movie theater

A limited observation was made during a one-day (7-hour) period of patrons entering the largest downtown Denver adult movie theater.

Table 20 summarizes these observations.

Thus, the general type of consumer observed in the bookstores was mirrored by patrons of an adult movie theater.

Customers were attracted to adult movie theaters by signs extolling the "supersex" scenes in such movies as *Like Mother, Like Daughter, Unsatisfied, The Sporting House, Villa Vanelli, Violated Love, Hot-Blooded Woman,* and *Sands of Ecstasy*. Marquee "still" pictures tended to show the most provocative scenes from the movies.

Types of customers within movie theaters as viewed by the study researcher tended to be undistinguished by any particular characteristics: there was no overt homosexual contact; the audiences were "balanced," with some men in business suits, others in casual clothes.

The consumer of sex-oriented materials—A profile

Based upon observations of consumers in three different outlets for sex-oriented materials or services (stores, arcades, and movie theaters), it is difficult to present any clear-cut consumer characteristics. An attempt was made to validate with more precision some demographic characteristics of bookstore shoppers through a survey post card inserted in each of the first 250 purchases in each observation store.

Returns of cards were low (52 out of 500). However, if the data are generally correct, then they tend to validate earlier judgments about purchasers of sex-oriented materials.

The post card questionnaire (Exhibit V) and the responses (Exhibit VI) follow.

Table 20

ADULT MOVIE ATTENDANCE OBSERVATIONS

N=168

	Number	Percentage
Frequency (time)		
3-4 p.m.	28	16.7
4-5 p.m.	12	7.1
5-6 p.m.	15	8.9
6-7 p.m.	11	6.6
7-8 p.m.	44	26.2
8-9 p.m.	36	21.4
9-10 p.m.	22	13.1
Total	168	100.0
Sex		
Male	157	93.5
Female	11	6.5
Total	168	100.0
Alone/group		
Alone	79	
Groups (male)	64	
Groups (male/female)	25	
Total	168	
Age		
19-25	48	28.6
26-35	61	36.3
36-45	51	30.4
46-55	7	4.2
Over 55	1	0.6
Total	168	100.0
Ethnic Identification		
Caucasian	152	90.5
Spanish-American	14	8.3
Negro	1	0.6
Oriental	1	0.6
Total	168	100.0
Dress		
Casually dressed	144	85.7
White collar	16	9.5
Other	8	4.8
Total	168	100.0

As a general profile, the modal consumer of sex-oriented materials (based upon in-outlet observations and mail response survey data) emerged as: Caucasian male, from 30 to 45 years old, married, with an income level between $10,000 and $15,000, and with at least a high school education and probably some college. In addition, he probably feels "uncomfortable" in purchasing sex materials but is acting on the basis of some need, either real or perceived.

The preceding interpretation is highly subjective and is based on a limited amount of empirical data. However, if future studies focus on the consumer of sex-oriented material, the most likely prospects will probably fit the above description, based upon this study's preliminary findings.

Exhibit V

POST CARD INSERTED IN PACKAGES OF 500 PURCHASERS IN OBSERVATION STORES

This post card is part of a market research project on shoppers in Denver. Please fill out and mail this anonymous questionnaire at your early convenience. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Your age: 18 or under__, 19-25__, 26-35__, 36-45__,
46-55__, over 55__

Sex: male __female__. Occupation: _____

Education (circle highest yr. completed): 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20

Marital status: never married___, married___, single div.___, single widowed___, remarried___.
If married, number yrs. with present spouse___.
Denver resident? Yes___No___. If yes, how long?_____.
Family income before taxes: less than $3,000.___, $3-7,000___,
$7-10,000___, $10-15,000___, over $15,000___.

Post Card Address:

Research Project P
School of Business
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Exhibit VI

SUMMARY OF POST CARD RESPONSES OF PURCHASERS

(Totals do not add to N because of incomplete responses)

	Store A	Store B
	N=13	N=39
Age:		
18 and under	0	0
19-25	3	6
26-35	4	18
36-45	2	4
46-55	1	3
55 and over	0	3
Sex:		
Male	8	31
Female	2	2
Education (years completed):		
12	2	5
13		3
14		3
15	1	2
16	4	4
17		6
18		1
19		2
20	2	6

Exhibit VI (cont'd)

	Store A	Store B
	N = 13	N = 39
Marital status:		
Never married	3	9
Married	5	18
Single-divorced	1	5
Single-widowed	0	0
Remarried	1	2
Denver resident:		
Yes	7	21
No	3	12
Income:		
up to 3,000	1	0
$3-7,000	2	5
$7-10,000	2	8
$10-15,000	3	12
$15,000 and up	2	8
Occupation:	Accountant Engineer Musician Lithographer Medical research File clerk	Lawyer II Teacher III Geologist Salesman VI Unemployed I Student Banker Telephone co. Clerk Office work II Engineer Labor relations Manager Air Force Retired Collection agent Planning Supervisor Farmer Construction worker
Blanks (returned):	3	4

GENERAL CONSUMPTION OF SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS IN DENVER

Moving from specific consumption (in stores, theaters, or arcades) to a more general level, this section briefly considers consumption of movies not specifically sex-oriented (public movie theaters not exclusively showing "skin flicks"); consumption of sex-oriented theme books and other media; consumption of Class A materials by groups; consumption through the mails; and miscellaneous indices of general consumption.

General movies and popular books—Sex themes on the screen and in print

To an increasing degree sex-oriented themes are becoming a major element in many movies and books for general consumption.

A review of movies (by public classification) shown in Denver during August showed a preponderance of sex on the screens. Generally, a basis for classification in three ratings ("mature," "adult mature," or "adults only") means that themes involving sex and/or violence are featured. Thus, movies receiving any of these three ratings were likely to involve a consumption of sex-oriented themes. Such consumption by those attending movies during August was highly likely.

For the week of August 2, the three ratings involving probable sexual themes accounted for 51 movies, while only 17 were rated for "family" consumption and none was rated for "children." The week of August 9 found an increase to 28 films for "family," with 56 others rated "mature," "adult mature," or "adults only." A shift occurred during the week of August 16, with only seven for "Family," and 57 for all other more adult classifications. Finally, for the week of August 23 more offerings catered to the "family" (22), but the "mature," "adult mature," and "adult only" films still dominated Denver screens, with 45 exhibited.

The general conclusion must be that large numbers of moviegoers were exposed to sex-oriented themes often approaching Class A intensity. The setting might not be the same and the themes might be handled more discreetly, but the content of such films was often just as explicit as scenes found in "skin flicks," arcades, and adult material stores.

Interviews with book department managers in two large department stores revealed further consumption of sex-oriented themes in books handled by these stores. Some national best sellers qualified as highly sex-oriented (including graphic Class A passages). Such books were purchased primarily by middle-class, middle-aged women, often with the verbalized excuse, "I'm buying it for a friend, you know."

While quality stores of this type did not carry materials typically found on the shelves of outlets for sex-oriented material, the content of these offerings could not be denied. The department stores did exercise censorship, although in claims made to interviewers they denied carrying "blatantly" sex-oriented materials. However, paperbacks observed on display racks belied this claim. If the shopper in these two department stores (and presumably others) wanted a graphically sex-oriented novel, it was readily available.

Managers of book sections in the department stores noted that (1) materials with sex-oriented themes were not often best sellers, except those by major authors, and (2) young people were not particularly interested in such materials, although they did buy them if "mystical" themes were included with the sex.

Sex orientation was not considered a requirement for sales of hard-cover novels but was perceived as an aid in creating initial interest. Both managers expressed concern over public censorship being used to restrict authors in dealing with sex-oriented themes.

In interviews with staff members of Denver newspapers, a real concern with censorship was frequently voiced. The staff members were basically expressing their own personal views about sex-oriented materials and, relatively speaking,

were not knowledgeable about the availability of strongly sex-oriented materials or the consumers of such materials within the community.

The *Denver Post* ran a special feature article on sex-oriented materials prior to the early spring (1969) consideration of new legislation by the Colorado State Legislature. The book reviewer of the *Post* indicated an increase in the number of sex-oriented materials (hard-cover books and paperbacks) he had received for review. He noted a possible strategy on the part of publishers of such materials to get them into public view via reviews in newspapers. If only one or two books were reviewed in the press, the resulting sales boost would pay for the publishers' promotional efforts.

Area newspapers obviously tempered their handling of sex-oriented themes in book reviews and news stories. Wording was changed in a review *(Denver Post)* of the film *I Am Curious (Yellow)* by deleting explicit wording to make final copy for readers.

In summary, general public consumption of sex-oriented materials appears overall to be widespread, at least for "low-keyed" Class E and D levels. The higher classification levels were important, however, in private group consumption.

"Stag" movies–Private group consumption

Although information was sketchy, a number of groups in the Denver area used Class A films for private consumption. College fraternities, business meetings, and other groups viewed such films in private gatherings. A unit of the Colorado National Guard featured nightly stag films (Class A) at their summer encampment. College fraternities in the area frequently scheduled stag parties. Further, such films owned by individuals were sometimes featured at private parties in apartments and homes. However, the exact extent of such use cannot be determined. Individuals were extremely hesitant to discuss such showings. Use of such films was emphatically denied by Veterans of Foreign War organizations, Elks Clubs, and other groups of this type, although some sources indicated otherwise.

A check with stewardesses from Continental, Frontier, United, and TWA airlines failed to reveal the use of any Class A films at recent Denver apartment house parties, although rumors of such use reached the study staff from three sources. However, stewardesses did report often finding lower level materials left behind on planes.

Visits to area private parties by staff members verified that such films were available and were used. The major source of such films to groups was through "private contact" rentals. Contacts were established by the study staff with an Air Force officer, an advertising agency executive, an automobile salesman, a lifeguard, and several college athletes, all of whom could "get" Class A films. Another rumor, not confirmed, involved an area police department using confiscated films to hold annual fund-raising stag parties.

Generally, groups felt safe in the use of such films unless someone from the party complained. With "closed" sessions, such complaints were unlikely. Thus, Class A consumption proceeded behind closed doors within the community and was not subject to the pressure of "public" attitudes.

Mail-order sex materials

Although not considered as a major segment of the study design, mail-order sex-oriented materials were obviously important. The importance of sales through the United States mails was suggested by indications that Denver area volume through the mail may be equal to or even exceed over-the-counter sales activities. Consequently, some materials were collected as part of the study.

Basically, the mailers were of the same "hard sell" techniques of advertising used in the sex-oriented magazines. Using excerpts from books and magazines to "whet" the reader's interest, the materials made a strong appeal for immediate sales. Illustrations were frequently used, especially in the foreign material brochures.

Buying by mail may have a strong appeal to many potential consumers. For instance, the age of the purchaser cannot be checked by the seller, thus making materials available to anyone who can fill out the forms and send payment. Further, mail order buying shelters consumers from the embarrassment of making purchases in retail outlets. Given the overt nervousness exhibited by many consumers observed in stores, this could well be a highly significant consideration. An interview with the Denver postal official in charge of handling pornographic materials revealed the following points (taken from interview notes):

> It is quite interesting that _____ says that the only time the Post Office is involved in pornographic materials is when the ultimate consumer complains to the Post Office department directly that he has received pornographic material through the mail. The people then have the alternative of calling or writing to the Post Office to make this complaint. The procedure then follows that if it can be determined that pornographic materials contain some sort of advertisement, peddling of wares, so to speak, then the Post Office department can issue a prohibitive order. This in effect tells the company who sent the alleged pornographic material out that the ultimate consumer no longer wishes to be a member of his mailing list. The addressor, then, must comply with the Post Office's requirements to take the addressee's name off his mailing list. Other than this particular requirement, _____ could give no other indication that the Post Office would be involved.
>
> _____ answer to the question "Who inspects these mails or who inspects the mails for pornographic materials?" was therefore, "No one. We don't inspect these mails. Unless we have a complaint from the ultimate consumer that he is being sent materials we have no other inspection process." Again, the only possible exception being in the case of foreign mail that is handled through exchange offices.
>
> Asked what he considered to be pornographic material, _____ answer was that anything that showed nude people in it was, to him, pornographic. He said, however, that in past years the broad, general interpretation of anyone that is nude has been somewhat changed. Now he says that this particular criterion does not hold. Obviously, there are no Post Office guidelines which define what is or what is not pornography. _____ was asked what are local or national guidelines, and he simply said that as far as foreign mails are concerned, there is a list of book companies that produce pornographic

materials, or who have produced pornographic materials in the past and tried to mail them. If one of these companies' names appears on this list and at the exchange point for foreign mail, the foreign mail is labeled.

As far as local guidelines are concerned, they simply do not exist. _____was asked if he could tell where the majority of the pornographic materials that are mailed in the mails are coming from. His answer was that there were really only two basic areas for domestic mail: one, New York City, and the other, California. He used as his information source the number of complaints which his particular regional office had mailed, and the majority of these things were mailed to California or New York publishing firms.

In response to the question "Do you think there is a major problem with sex-oriented materials in the Denver area?", he said an unqualified, "Yes." He said as far as current volume, that since April 14, 1968, they have issued 7,000 prohibitive orders. This is a marked increase in the part two-year period. Since the Post Office program of handling pornography through domestic mails was initiated, he would estimate a 50% increase in the numbers of cases of prohibitive orders.

Asked about who he felt bought these sex-oriented materials, _____ said that—he wasn't very clear on it—he did, however, feel that as far as the prohibitive orders were concerned, there were no particular classifications that could be isolated. He said nuns received some of these materials, as well as doctors, lawyers, workers, laborers, Post Office people. There was no particular market segment that he could isolate.

In general, _____was very helpful in trying to outline the Post Office policies. The distinct impression was that the Post Office had no specific guidelines outside of this peculiar rule that limits their investigation to materials which advertise pornographic materials. The impression is that *Playboy* could be mailed through the mails with no problem whatsoever, as could *Cavalier, Cascade,* or any of the other materials which are classified as a form of pornography.

Overall, the Post Office official seemed to feel there was a high volume of sex-oriented materials arriving in Denver, including both solicitation advertisements and materials purchased by mail.

Miscellaneous indications of general consumption

Two other sources gave additional insights into general consumption patterns for sex-oriented materials in Denver—hotel housekeeping staffs and taxi drivers.

Fifteen major hotels and motor hotels were visited by a staff interviewer, and the housekeeping staffs were interviewed in each one. Questions concerned whether any sex-oriented materials were left in the rooms by guests and what types of people left the materials. Samples of materials were shown to housekeepers to insure that answers concerned sex-oriented materials as defined by the study.

Number of magazines or books left in rooms varied from a high estimate of approximately 200 per week at a major downtown hotel to none being left in

outlying motels or motor hotels. The downtown hotels had the highest number, left primarily by individual businessmen. Interestingly, the maids noted that they found the materials "hidden" in rooms, often tucked behind furniture or drapes.

Hotel staffs varied in their reactions to acknowledgement of the materials. A hotel which catered to visiting professional sports teams reported that no sex-oriented materials were left by these teams.

The amount of materials left in rooms seemed to relate to the relative accessibility of the downtown area. Out-of-town visitors in these hotels would have easy walking access to retailers of sex-oriented material.

Taxi drivers were frequently mentioned as possible "sources" for Class A materials. However, two taxi drivers employed by the largest cab company in Denver (who were working under cover for the study) were unable to obtain any specific leads, although regular long-time cab drivers were questioned informally but extensively during a 2-week period. Consequently, the idea that taxi drivers know about Class A material sources is perhaps a myth. The drivers, of course, did know locations of the outlets selling sex-oriented materials over-the-counter in Denver.

In general, sources of information from major hotels or motels and taxi drivers simply reinforced the knowledge about materials availability found in other phases of the study.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX-ORIENTED MATERIALS

A community as a whole plays an important role in the use of sex-oriented materials, for the community sanctions the materials and the institutions to the extent that they are in fact available.

Perhaps a community sanctions sex-oriented materials by default; if most members of a community do not know the materials are available, then they take no action against the dealers of the materials. Or perhaps people of the community are consuming or desiring the materials. For whatever reason, the community members' attitudes and knowledge are important, for they are a significant factor in shaping marketing activities within the community.

Consequently, a major phase of the study sampled attitudes, opinions, and knowledge concerning sex-oriented material. The results of the survey present a generalized picture of a segment of the Denver community's sensitivity to sex-oriented materials.

The middle-class general public— Sensitivity to sex-oriented materials

On a questionnaire developed specifically for the study, nine groups of Denver citizens registered their attitudes, opinions, and knowledge about sex-oriented materials, both in general and as they perceived the availability in Denver of such materials. The nine groups to which the questionnaire was administered were:

1. Liberal church—the congregation of a liberal Protestant church (N = 148).
2. College students—students enrolled in a junior-level marketing course at the University of Colorado Denver Center (N=98).

3. Right-wing conservatives—members of a national right-wing conservative organization (N = 20).

4. Liberal civil rights—members of a national civil rights organization (N = 29).

5. Union members—representatives from Denver-area unions (N = 37).

6. Businessmen's civic organization—members of the downtown chapter of a businessmen's civic organization (N = 121).

7. Women's civic organization—local members of a national women's community service organization (N = 16).

8. Military unit—members of a local reserve unit (N = 29).

9. Adult education program—students enrolled in a school for adults in the Denver public school system not possessing a high school diploma (N = 17).

Although selected on the basis of convenience, availability, and cooperation, the groups yielded a total of 515 questionnaires. This was not a scientifically selected random sample, and its results cannot be interpreted with any degree of statistical validity. Nevertheless, the results of the responses shed some light on the opinions and experiences of a group primarily composed of middle-class citizens. It is this general stratum which guided the community through their business, professional, and civic activities.

Possible explanations of "no response" tabulations on general public questionnaire

Several possibilities arise when trying to determine the causes for "no response" tabulations. Some of these are of a purely mechanical nature, while others may have some significance in terms of survey instrument design and attitudes toward the study.

The first plausible mechanical-type explanation is that the questionnaire might have been too long to be completed in the allocated 20 to 45 minutes. However, there did not seem to be an appreciable increase in the number of "no responses" toward the end of the questionnaire. This suggests that the mechanical time-limit theory may not be viable, except for a limited number of respondents (particularly union members and adult education program groups).

Since a semantic approach was used, it is possible that the depth and understanding needed successfully to complete the questionnaire might have been too demanding for some of the respondents. One pattern indicated that triads of questions had approximately the same percentage of "no response" answers, suggesting that this section may not have been understood by a number of respondents.

Due to the length of the questionnaire, there was also the possibility that the respondents lost interest in a specific section of the questionnaire. This occurred in those sections which contained multiple listings of similar questions. The most notable occurrence of this was in question 1, which contained four sections. When the respondents neared the last section (C), the number of "no responses" increased significantly. The questions did not change, but they were being repeated for the 19th time, and the interest level could have declined. A further consideration is that the lower-intensity levels of material were not as graphically unique in terms of the visual perception required by the respondents.

Finally, the most plausible explanation is that the nature of the question was offensive or shocking to the respondent, and he was therefore reluctant to answer. In support of this, while it was pointed out that the differences in responses within a triad did not vary significantly, the differences that occurred were always in the third question of the group. This question was a query as to the respondent's feelings, knowledge, or perception of animal-human relations. This pattern repeated itself in questions 1 and 9.

In summary, it should be noted that no one explanation can account for every variation noted in connection with the "no response" phenomena. All four of the explanations should be weighed in trying to explain the condition.

A profile of respondents

All respondents were given a written and oral orientation to various "classes" of sex activities covered by the questionnaire. These definitions were based on the classification scheme used throughout this study. Respondents dealt with six different activity levels (as opposed to five classes in the standard scheme), as Class B was divided into two parts (called Activity B and Activity C) for the sake of simplicity. Class C became Activity D, Class D became Activity E, and Class E became Activity F.

REFERENCE CARD

Activity A. People engaged in a sex act with full exposure of all private sex organs.

Activity B. People engaged in sex play with private sex organs fully exposed but not in contact.

Activity C. People engaged in sex act, but no private sex organs exposed to viewer.

Activity D. People with all private sex organs fully exposed, but no sex activity shown or implied. (Detailed exposure of sex organs.)

Activity E. People fully nude. Typical nudist camp scenes—(no suggestion of sex activity or emphasis on the display of sex organs).

Activity F. People partially nude with no private sex organs shown—(no pubic area shown and not engaged in sex act).

Half of the respondents were between the ages of 26 and 45; 67% were males as compared to 31% females; and 2% were not indicated. Educational level was generally high, with 53% having attended at least some college and 26% having taken some graduate study. Most were married (70%). Although some respondents were from outlying communities, 88% were Denver residents. Fifty-one percent had an income between $7,000 and $15,000, and 24% had a family income before taxes greater than $15,000.

With the profile of respondents in perspective, the responses to the 14 different questions regarding sex-oriented materials take on added significance.

Perceptions of availability of sex-oriented materials

Question 1 measured knowledge on availability of sex-oriented materials in Denver. Each basic medium was measured in terms of (1) availability in medium by type of activity, and (2) sex partner variations in the activity, corresponding to "class" and "type," described in the earlier section on Methodological Plan.

In section A of question No. 1, responses were registered as to four levels of availability in Denver theaters, bars, arcades, and so forth for movies showing Activity A between partners of the opposite sex, partners of the same sex, and between humans and animals. The general consensus was that the heterosexual activities were more openly available. There was a generally high "no response" on the human and animals activity, possibly indicating a rejection of this sex activity by the respondents.

In section B of question No. 1 (movies purchased for use in homes, parties, etc.), the pattern continued as a linear decrease in perception of availability as the activity level increased. That is, materials depicting Activities A and B were perceived as highest in nonavailability.

Section C considered the availability of magazines portraying sex activities by the three types of partners (heterosexual, homosexual, animal-human). Again, the pattern held in terms of respondents' perception. A and B materials were generally thought to be less available than those depicting lower level activities, and heterosexual activities were considered more available than other types.

Photographs of sexual activity were also perceived as decreasing in availability toward the higher activity levels (A and B) and increasing as the level became less explicit.

Question No. 2 was also concerned with the availability of sex-oriented materials, specifically books whose main themes focused on sexual activities. Books whose content was consistent with "normal" sex activity were perceived as being more available (educational instructional books, male-female sex activities, prostitute activities). Objectionable material was perceived as not being nearly so available (lesbian activities, sex acts between adults and children, sex acts involving torture and punishment), although books on all subjects were perceived as being generally available in Denver. Less than 10% of the respondents felt that any specific subject was unavailable. General negative reactions were registered to sensitive subject materials (lesbian, sex with minors, sadomasochism) in the overall availability judgments. The least offensive book materials involved activities between heterosexual pairs and prostitutes.

Generally, all types of media were considered to have the same pattern of availability: Activity A was perceived as least available in all media, with increasing availability toward Activity F. Male homosexual, lesbian contacts, and animal-human activities were perceived as generally less available, particularly the latter activity.

Respondents were asked to give their impressions of availability of sex-oriented materials in nine other cities in comparison to Denver. Generally, respondents seemed to believe the availability of materials in Denver was the same as in Atlanta, Cleveland, Dallas, and Seattle. Salt Lake City was perceived as having materials less available generally. As might be expected, Los Angeles, Chicago, San

Francisco, and New York City were perceived higher in availability than Denver. Realistically, it is highly unlikely that respondents could know relative availabilities of materials in cross-city comparisons. However, they did show definite opinions in comparing Denver to other cities, as reflected in responses to this question.

In terms of respondents' perceptions of the changing availability of sex-oriented materials in Denver, two periods were measured: 6 months earlier and 2 years earlier. Fifty-two percent of the respondents felt that the materials were more available than 2 years earlier, while 37% felt they were more available than 6 months earlier. (Perhaps some questioned the impact of recent legislation as to its effectiveness in preventing sales of materials.) When reasons for the changes of availability were given, general feelings were that a "more permissive general society" had allowed for an increase in the availability of sex-oriented materials.

Availability of sex-oriented materials is popularly linked with a number of "evils" in mass media and from pulpits. Although true cause-effect relationships have yet to be established, question 9 measured perceived impact of the availability of sex-oriented materials on 20 different behavior patterns (both communitywide and personal). Generally, no consensus of opinion emerged in cause-effect perceptions as recorded by the respondents. However, they tended to equate availability of sex-oriented materials with increases in sex education, sexual frustration, Puritanism, sex information, sex crimes, sex before marriage, masturbation, wife-swapping, and heavy petting. Availability of materials was equated with a slight decrease in censorship. Bimodal distributions (increases and decreases) in responses were given with respect to the effect of sex education, censorship, Puritanism, and sex information. Thus, there was little agreement as to either positive or negative effect.

Normal distributions, centering on the "has no effect" response, occurred for responses to understanding oneself, incest, homosexuality, juvenile delinquency, spreading of venereal disease, sex with animals, prostitution, illegitimate children, and religious values. Apparently respondents were realistically aware that cause-effect relationships between sex-oriented materials and these types of behavior are more complex than the simple availability of materials. Behavior of each type must be dependent upon more complex causal factors influencing individuals. In summary, respondents seemed to regard sex-oriented materials as tied to individual behavior rather than as effectors of broad social norms and behavior patterns.

Perceived offensiveness of various sex activities

Question 2a measured perceived offensiveness of nine different sex activities. A "highly offensive" rating was given by respondents to bestiality (60%) and sadomasochism (50%); male homosexual activities (35%); and female lesbian activities (33%).

This would appear to validate the preceding statements regarding the offensive (sensitive) subject themes and the resulting perception of their availability.

Although basic buying patterns of sex-oriented materials may or may not shift according to class or type of material bought or type of consumer, such shifts may be perceived by the general public. Consequently, question 3 listed 14 stereotypes (occupational, educational, age, and sexual orientation) which, while not mutually exclusive types, are popular "labels" for individuals.

Perhaps because of the length of the question (four degrees of likely purchases for each of the 14 types of persons for each of the six defined types of sexual activity), the results were largely inconclusive. However, some generalizations are possible. As might be anticipated, "sexual deviants" and "sexual impotents" were perceived as being "very likely" purchasers of all types of materials. In addition, those with less education (high school drop-out and laborer) and younger-aged persons (teenagers and young adults) were perceived as generally "likely" or "very likely" purchasers for most types of materials; older and more educated persons were not considered as potential customers. In an interesting contrast to results of the in-store observations, "married people" were consistently rated as low potential purchasers for all types of materials.

Some general shifts occurred in perception of potential purchasers in an inverse relationship to the activity level of material; that is, the lower-level materials (E and F) were thought more likely to be purchased by all 14 types (with the noticeable exception of "old people" who were considered not likely to be purchasers of any type of activity level).

Seeking information as to why people might buy the materials, question 12 responses (open-end) showed no clear-cut perception of reasons for purchasing sex-oriented materials, although the lower levels of activity (E and F) were equated with "pleasure" more frequently than were higher levels.

Questions 4, 5, and 6 all related to perceptions of legality in selling sex-oriented materials. Measuring the knowledge of sales of sex-oriented materials to both adults and minors under 18, responses to question 4 revealed a lack of knowledge on the part of respondents concerning the specific laws in effect in Denver. In fact, current laws (not rigidly enforced) prohibited the sale of sex-oriented materials depicting any activity above the E level. However, 33% of the respondents felt that materials depicting Activity D were legal for adults; all activities of lower levels were considered legal by more than 50% of the respondents. With respect to sales to children, 62% felt F-level materials would be legal to sell to minors; 41%, E-level; and 22%, D-level. Beyond that, the basic consideration was that all materials would be illegal for minors. The overall conclusion is that the respondents were basically not knowledgeable with respect to the specifics of current laws in effect in the Denver area. Materials on Activities A, B, and C were perceived as illegal for sale to children. D, E, and F materials were considerably less objectionable for consumption by minors, but only F-level material was perceived as fit for minors by over half of the respondents.

If individuals were allowed to develop a law (question 5) governing the sale of sex-oriented materials, over half of the respondents would allow sales of all types of activities (55% would allow sales of A-level materials to adults). This percentage was the minimum restrictive response, as respondents apparently felt that adults should be allowed to purchase the materials if they wanted them.

In contrast, sales of materials to children would be more restricted. However, 54% would allow E-level materials to be sold to children, and 64%, F-level. Interestingly, 25% of the respondents would allow sale of A-level materials to children. Even with respect to this generally sensitive issue (sales of sex-oriented materials to children), respondents would be more liberal than they perceived present laws.

Respondents were asked to record perceptions of acceptability by the "general public" concerning sales of sex-oriented materials (question 6). Apparently respondents generally felt that the general public's attitudes were more conservative than their own. In contrast to 55% of the respondents who would personally allow A-level materials to be sold to adults, 75% felt that the general public would not accept sale of A-level materials to adults. Seventy-two percent felt B-level materials would not be acceptable, and 57% said sale of C-level materials were not acceptable by the general public.

In summarizing the overall perceptions of legality for the sales of sex-oriented materials (questions 4, 5, and 6), respondents generally felt that adults could handle the materials on a personal option basis. However, the definite feeling emerged that minors should be more restricted in their ability to purchase such materials than adults. Thus movie rating scales, which prohibit children from entering movie theaters showing films of certain rating levels, may, in fact, reflect the public's desires for prohibiting children's consumption of sex-oriented materials.

Another question raised by the results from these three questions is whether a majority of the people really feel that highly restrictive laws should be in effect and enforced for sex-oriented materials. Perhaps individuals who write laws and those who lobby for them have strong personal feelings toward the materials and are imposing their feelings on others through prohibitive measures.

Seven specific "influencing groups" which might be effectors of tighter controls on the sale of sex-oriented materials were rated (question 10) in terms of whether respondents felt these groups would be for or against tighter controls.

In descending rank order, the following groups were rated as being disposed toward tighter controls on the sale of sex-oriented materials: church groups, local authorities, state authorities, citizens groups, the general public, the United States Congress, and smut dealers. Interestingly, "smut" dealers were perceived as being unlikely to advocate tighter controls on the sales of sex-oriented materials. However, a realistic marketing strategy for these individuals might be to keep such materials shrouded in a cloak of illegality, thus enhancing appeal of the materials to the curious. Curiosity can be an important motivator for consumption.

In question 11 the respondents were required to rank order the same groups, this time in terms of each group's potential effectiveness in creating tighter controls on the sale of sex-oriented materials.

Backing up the perceptions shown in question 10 the descending order of "expected effectiveness" was: local authorities, church groups, citizens groups, state authorities, U.S. Supreme Court, U.S. Congress, and "smut" dealers. Interestingly, national authorities were considered likely to be relatively ineffective in comparison to local groups.

Actual familiarity with sex-oriented materials

Question 13 asked whether respondents had actually seen sex-oriented materials of the different activity levels and types. The response rate was low for this question, probably because of the sensitivity of question and the fact that its position at the end of the form meant it was never reached by slower respondents.

However, 59% of the respondents had seen (at least once) Activity A materials. The overall rate of exposure to materials increased as the level of sex activity decreased to a high of 63% for Activity F.

An interesting shift occurred in exposure to C-level materials. Most respondents had seen materials depicting Activities A and B (the more explicit materials) only two times or less; for Activity C, recorded exposure shifted, as most respondents admitted to seeing these materials more than twice. Perhaps individuals "self-police" or censor their own activities in terms of exposure. Initial exposure might be accidental or based on curiosity; knowing what is involved in materials of these types, the individual then restricts his future exposure (for any number of reasons, such as offensiveness, embarrassment, etc.). Further, actual accessibility to materials may be a factor, as movies depicting Activities A and B are typically less available than other materials.

Seemingly, the admitted rate of exposure to materials correlated to answers in question 13a on what activity levels are considered "pornographic" by respondents. The major shift to "nonpornographic" judgment occurred with C-level materials.

As materials became less "pornographic" (as defined by respondents) there was a corresponding increase in exposure (of respondents) to the materials.

When materials are not obviously of one activity level or another ("stag" films are unquestionably A), then other judgments may be used by respondents. Thus, contemporary novels such as *Portnoy's Complaint* or *Myra Breckinridge* may have other "socially redeeming" aspects which allow the explicitness of Activity A descriptions to be accepted.

Personal behavior in terms of purchasing, as examined in question 14, correlates with the preceding analyses of attitudes and behavior. A major shift occurred in regard to C-level materials in respondents' stated purchase behavior. For levels A and B there was relatively little acknowledgement of purchase (15% and 18%, respectively), but 29% of the respondents admitted to purchasing C-level materials; 35%, D-level; 39%, E-level; and a notable 65% for F-level. An obviously sensitive question, the answers are thought-provoking when the general type of respondent is considered.

Although the comments on results of the questionnaire cannot be used to draw any specific conclusions, they do offer interesting insights as to how people may perceive different aspects of sex-oriented materials and their users. Similar research, using careful sampling techniques and with slightly redesigned questions based on experience in this study, could possibly shatter a number of popular myths surrounding sex-oriented materials.

The number of possible cross-comparisons of data generated by the questionnaire is enormous. However, because of limitations in time, staff, and money, extensive cross-comparisons were not made. Further, the limited number of respondents in some groups would make statistical comparison by groups mean-

ingless. However, some limited comparisons of responses were performed, both between sample groups and between demographic variables.

Four questions (5, 6, 13a, and 14) were examined with cross-comparisons and each is independently examined below. All figures are given in percentages with many totals of less than 100% due to incomplete questionnaires.

Question 5 allowed respondents to express how they would structure a law with regard to the sale of each type of material to adults and to children. Table 21 compares responses by sex (male/female) for the liberal church group. Without calculating tests of significant difference, the high similarity in responses easily can be noted. Consequently, for this group the respondent sex demographic was not important.

Shifting to a comparison of responses by age range between groups and by age range within groups, Table 22 lists the percentage responses. Obviously, age may have been an important variable in the responses, as there were very high differences between the age ranges within test groups.

Comparing the liberal church members in the 26-35 age group to the college students in the 26-35 age group, there appears to be a significant difference between the two groups in their response to allowing sales of materials depicting Activity A to adults as well as to children (see Table 22). In both instances, the liberal church tended to be more willing to allow sales to both adults and children. Generally, this pattern was repeated for levels B, C, and D for both adults and children. In all instances, the liberal church members appeared to be more permissive in their attitude toward allowing sales of sex-oriented materials in general. This difference continued through F-level material, as far as sales to children were concerned. Attitudes toward sales of E and F materials showed less of a percentage difference between the student group and the church group.

Another comparison of interest is the response pattern of the 36-45-year-olds in the liberal church group with the 36-45-year-olds in the businessmen's civic organization. A- and B-level materials were generally felt to be objectionable for sale to both adults and children by the businessmen's civic group. This varied considerably from the attitude of the liberal church group, who generally felt that sales of A- and B-level material should be allowed to both adults and children. The permissibility of sales of C, D, E, and F materials to adults showed little difference. However, the two groups varied significantly in their response pattern to sales of C, D, E, and F materials to children. The liberal church group continued to be more permissive in their attitudes toward sale of the materials.

Another cross variable analysis is possible, based on the demographic "income range." Table 23 presents the percentage responses of two subgroups according to income of family unit for the test groups of liberal church and college students.

Responses to the permissibility of sales of A, B, and C materials to adult consumers were consistent between major groups and showed no significant differences. Some percentage of differences occurred in the response patterns to the three lower levels of material (D, E, and F). When analyzing the responses to the legality of making the various types of material available to children, there were differences occurring in all types of activity. These differences showed up in a random pattern and no group seemed to be consistent in its divergence.

Moving to a cross variable analysis of responses to question 6, all nine groups are considered (Table 24).

Table 21

QUESTION 5 BY GROUP AND SEX

Type activity	Adult/ child	Response	Liberal Church Males N = 62	Liberal Church Females N = 82
A	Adult	Allow	79.7%	82.1%
		Not allow	12.5	8.3
		Undecided	1.6	7.1
	Child	Allow	46.9	52.4
		Not allow	32.8	31.0
		Undecided	14.1	14.3
B	Adult	Allow	84.4	88.1
		Not allow	9.4	4.8
		Undecided	3.1	3.6
	Child	Allow	46.9	57.1
		Not allow	34.4	26.2
		Undecided	14.1	11.9
C	Adult	Allow	89.1	86.9
		Not allow	3.1	4.8
		Undecided	3.1	2.4
	Child	Allow	60.9	73.8
		Not allow	21.9	9.5
		Undecided	9.4	10.7
D	Adult	Allow	89.1	91.7
		Not allow	4.7	3.6
		Undecided	1.6	1.2
	Child	Allow	71.9	79.8
		Not allow	17.2	8.3
		Undecided	4.7	8.3
E	Adult	Allow	93.8	96.4
		Not allow	3.1	—
		Undecided	—	—
	Child	Allow	85.9	86.9
		Not allow	6.3	3.6
		Undecided	3.1	4.8
F	Adult	Allow	95.3	90.5
		Not allow	1.6	6.0
		Undecided	—	—
	Child	Allow	90.6	85.7
		Not allow	4.7	7.1
		Undecided	1.6	3.6

It is interesting that different test groups all perceived the general public's acceptability of the sale of sex-oriented materials as generally more conservative than their own.

One of the most interesting questions about sex-oriented materials involves the definition of "pornography." Since there are no standard definitions available, such definitions are necessarily personal. Question 13a sought respondents' definition of "pornography" by asking for reactions to each type of activity. Although this question appeared near the end of the lengthy questionnaire form, the number of respondents completing this question was generally high in all groups, although three low response exceptions were those of union members, adult

Table 22

QUESTION 5 BY AGE AND GROUP

5. If you had the power to develop a law on the sale of sex-oriented materials, please indicate which types listed below you would allow. Please refer to your card for descriptions of the various activities.

Type activity	Adult/ child	Response	Liberal church			Business civic organization			College students	
			19-25 N = 26	26-35 N = 54	36-45 N = 34	36-45 N = 31	46-55 N = 36	55-over N = 41	19-25 N = 43	26-35 N = 47
A	Adult	Allow	85.7%	92.6%	73.5%	25.8%	8.3%	5.1%	79.1%	55.3%
		Not allow	11.4	1.9	5.9	61.3	86.1	74.4	14.6	31.9
		Undecided	2.9	3.7	11.8	9.7	5.6	2.6	2.3	10.6
	Child	Allow	45.7	55.6	55.9	—	2.8	18.0	16.3	12.8
		Not allow	40.0	22.2	23.5	93.6	94.4	79.5	67.4	80.9
		Undecided	14.3	20.4	11.8	3.2	—	2.6	16.3	6.4
B	Adult	Allow	94.3	94.4	79.4	22.6	8.3	5.1	79.1	59.6
		Not allow	5.7	1.9	2.9	64.5	86.1	74.4	16.3	29.8
		Undecided	—	3.7	8.8	9.7	5.6	2.6	4.7	10.6
	Child	Allow	45.7	59.3	61.8	—	—	2.6	20.9	14.9
		Not allow	34.3	18.5	26.5	93.6	97.2	79.5	62.8	78.7
		Undecided	14.3	20.4	5.9	3.2	—	—	16.3	6.4
C	Adult	Allow	97.1	98.1	76.5	32.3	19.4	5.1	88.4	68.1
		Not allow	—	—	2.9	58.1	75.0	71.8	9.3	21.3
		Undecided	—	—	8.8	6.5	5.6	5.1	2.3	8.5
	Child	Allow	74.3	72.2	67.7	3.2	5.6	2.6	30.2	21.3
		Not allow	8.6	9.3	14.7	90.3	88.9	76.9	58.1	72.3
		Undecided	11.4	14.8	5.9	3.2	2.8	2.6	11.6	4.3
D	Adult	Allow	94.3	96.3	82.4	41.9	27.8	15.4	86.1	80.9
		Not allow	2.9	1.9	5.9	45.2	69.4	61.5	11.6	12.8
		Undecided	—	—	5.9	9.7	2.8	5.1	2.3	6.4
	Child	Allow	71.4	81.5	76.5	9.7	13.9	12.8	46.5	36.2
		Not allow	14.3	7.4	14.7	83.9	80.6	74.4	46.5	57.5
		Undecided	8.6	9.3	2.3	3.2	2.8	—	7.0	6.4

Table 22 (cont'd)

Type activity	Adult/ child	Response	Liberal church 19-25 N = 26	Liberal church 26-35 N = 54	Liberal church 36-45 N = 34	Business civic organization 36-45 N = 31	Business civic organization 46-55 N = 36	Business civic organization 55-over N = 41	College students 19-25 N = 43	College students 26-35 N = 47
E	Adult	Allow	97.1	98.2	91.2	61.3	58.3	38.5	95.4	89.4
		Not allow	2.9	1.9	—	29.0	27.8	35.9	4.6	6.4
		Undecided	—	—	—	6.5	13.9	7.7	—	4.3
	Child	Allow	88.6	90.7	79.4	19.4	33.3	30.8	60.5	48.9
		Not allow	2.9	5.6	5.9	71.0	50.0	51.3	32.6	42.6
		Undecided	5.7	3.7	5.9	6.5	11.1	2.6	7.0	8.5
F	Adult	Allow	97.1	96.3	85.3	74.2	75.0	41.0	100.0	95.7
		Not allow	—	3.7	8.8	16.1	13.9	30.8	—	2.1
		Undecided	—	—	—	6.5	11.1	5.1	—	2.1
	Child	Allow	91.4	90.7	82.4	48.4	58.3	30.8	69.8	68.1
		Not allow	—	5.6	11.8	38.7	30.6	46.2	23.3	23.4
		Undecided	5.7	3.7	—	9.7	8.3	2.6	7.0	8.5

Table 23

QUESTION 5 BY GROUP AND INCOME

5. If you had the power to develop a law on the sale of sex-oriented materials, please indicate which types listed below you would allow. Please refer to your card for descriptions of the various activities.

Type activity	Adult/ child	Response	Liberal church $7-10,000 N = 46	Liberal church $10-15,000 N = 39	College students $7-10,000 N = 31	College students $10-15,000 N = 33
A	Adult	Allow	26.1%	81.6%	58.1%	60.6%
		Not allow	54.4	7.9	35.5	30.3
		Undecided	—	7.9	6.5	9.1
	Child	Allow	21.7	55.3	9.7	6.1
		Not allow	54.4	26.3	90.3	84.9
		Undecided	2.2	15.8	—	9.1
B	Adult	Allow	19.6	81.6	61.3	60.6
		Not allow	76.1	7.9	32.3	30.3
		Undecided	—	7.9	6.5	9.1
	Child	Allow	32.6	57.9	9.7	12.1
		Not allow	17.4	26.3	90.3	78.8
		Undecided	—	15.8	—	9.1
C	Adult	Allow	32.6	81.9	77.4	66.7
		Not allow	21.7	7.9	22.6	27.3
		Undecided	—	7.9	—	6.1
	Child	Allow	28.3	65.8	74.2	78.8
		Not allow	30.4	21.1	19.4	9.1
		Undecided	—	13.2	6.5	12.1
D	Adult	Allow	23.9	86.4	80.7	72.3
		Not allow	28.3	7.9	12.9	24.2
		Undecided	—	5.3	6.5	3.0
	Child	Allow	4.4	13.2	74.2	51.5
		Not allow	4.4	81.6	25.8	33.3
		Undecided	—	5.3	—	15.2
E	Adult	Allow	21.7	97.4	90.3	87.9
		Not allow	73.9	—	6.5	12.1
		Undecided	—	—	3.2	—
	Child	Allow	30.4	89.5	45.2	45.5
		Not allow	21.7	7.9	51.6	42.2
		Undecided	—	—	3.2	42.1
F	Adult	Allow	39.1	97.4	100.0	97.0
		Not allow	30.4	2.6	—	3.0
		Undecided	—	—	—	—
	Child	Allow	32.6	94.7	71.0	63.6
		Not allow	30.4	5.3	29.0	21.2
		Undecided	—	—	—	15.2

education program, and military (the latter group was not asked question 13a, as it was added after administration of the questionnaire to that group).

Table 25 presents percentage responses by group to "pornographic" versus "nonpornographic" perceptions. It is assumed that while media presentation may have some effect on perceptions (pictures of Activity B may be "worse" than printed stories of Activity B), a broader perception may depend on *what* is presented rather than in which medium it is presented.

Table 24

QUESTION 6 BY GROUP

6. In the question above we tried to get your opinion on what you would allow for legal sale. We realize, of course, that the general public's attitudes may be different. Please show below which of the following the majority of the general public probably considers acceptable for sale.

Type activity	Adult/ child	Response	Liberal church	College student	Right-wing conserv.	Liberal civil rights	Union members	Bus. civic organ.	Women civic organ.	Military	Adult educ. program
A	Adult	Acceptable	12.2%	8.2%	85.0%	10.3%	13.5%	5.0%	– %	17.2%	29.4%
		Not accept.	79.7	87.8	–	79.3	56.8	79.3	93.8	69.0	41.2
		Unconcerned	4.7	4.1	15.0	6.9	2.7	6.6	–	3.5	17.7
	Child	Acceptable	2.0	1.0	5.0	3.5	51.4	.8	–	–	11.8
		Not accept.	89.9	96.9	90.0	93.1	21.6	86.8	93.8	89.7	76.5
		Unconcerned	3.4	2.0	5.0	–	2.7	1.7	–	–	–
B	Adult	Acceptable	14.2	14.3	85.0	13.8	18.9	5.8	–	20.7	29.4
		Not accept.	77.7	80.6	–	72.4	54.1	78.5	93.8	65.5	47.1
		Unconcerned	5.4	4.1	15.0	10.3	2.7	5.8	–	3.5	11.8
	Child	Acceptable	3.4	1.0	5.0	3.5	16.2	–	–	–	11.8
		Not accept.	91.2	95.9	90.0	93.1	59.5	86.8	93.8	89.7	70.6
		Unconcerned	2.7	2.0	5.0	–	5.4	1.7	–	–	5.9
C	Adult	Acceptable	38.5	36.7	25.0	24.1	–	14.9	18.8	41.4	35.3
		Not accept.	49.3	56.1	50.0	55.1	70.3	68.6	75.0	44.8	23.5
		Unconcerned	8.8	7.1	25.0	17.2	8.1	6.6	6.3	–	29.4
	Child	Acceptable	8.1	7.1	10.0	6.9	16.2	2.5	6.3	6.9	23.5
		Not accept.	84.5	88.8	75.0	89.7	56.8	84.3	87.5	79.3	64.7
		Unconcerned	4.1	4.1	15.0	–	5.4	1.7	6.3	3.5	–
D	Adult	Acceptable	38.5	53.1	25.0	41.4	–	24.8	43.8	55.2	35.3
		Not accept.	50.7	40.8	45.0	34.5	70.3	52.1	50.0	37.9	35.3
		Unconcerned	7.4	6.1	30.0	17.2	5.4	14.1	6.3	3.5	11.8
	Child	Acceptable	12.8	8.2	15.0	17.2	27.0	9.9	12.5	17.2	11.8
		Not accept.	79.1	87.8	70.0	72.4	48.7	73.6	81.3	72.4	70.6
		Unconcerned	4.1	4.1	15.0	3.5	5.4	6.6	6.5	3.5	–

Table 24 (cont'd)

E	Adult	Acceptable	62.2	72.5	45.0	55.2	–	55.4	62.5	69.0	47.1
		Not accept.	22.3	19.4	30.0	17.2	73.0	20.7	25.0	24.1	23.5
		Unconcerned	12.8	8.2	25.0	24.1	5.4	14.9	12.5	3.5	11.8
	Child	Acceptable	24.3	26.5	20.0	27.6	32.4	29.8	25.0	27.6	17.7
		Not accept.	65.5	66.3	60.0	58.6	40.5	47.1	68.8	62.1	58.8
		Unconcerned	6.1	7.1	20.0	6.9	2.7	12.4	6.3	3.5	–
F	Adult	Acceptable	73.0	86.7	45.0	65.5	8.1	66.1	87.5	75.9	64.7
		Not accept.	10.8	5.1	25.0	13.8	62.2	9.9	6.3	17.2	11.8
		Unconcerned	11.5	8.2	30.0	17.2	2.7	13.2	6.3	3.5	5.9
	Child	Acceptable	44.6	49.0	35.0	44.8	46.0	47.1	43.8	44.8	47.1
		Not accept.	38.5	40.8	50.0	37.9	27.0	29.8	50.0	41.4	35
		Unconcerned	11.5	10.2	15.0	13.8	2.7	11.6	6.3	6.9	

Table 25

QUESTION 13a BY GROUP

13a. Please tell us which of the following you consider to be pornographic:

Type activity	Response	Liberal church	College student	Right-wing conserv.	Liberal civil rights	Union members	Bus. civic organ.	Women civic organ.	Military*	Adult educ. program
A	Pornographic	23.7%	61.2%	90.0%	10.3%	51.4%	76.0%	50.0%	–	11.8%
	Not pornograph.	52.7	30.6	–	65.5	–	4.1	25.0	–	23.5
	No opinion	13.5	7.1	10.0	3.5	–	.8	18.8	–	5.9
B	Pornographic	26.4	55.1	90.0	13.8	2.7	75.2	50.0	–	5.9
	Not pornograph.	49.3	37.8	–	55.2	2.7	5.0	37.5	–	29.4
	No opinion	13.5	6.1	10.0	10.3	–	1.7	12.5	–	5.9
C	Pornographic	10.1	34.7	80.0	6.9	13.5	66.1	43.8	–	17.7
	Not pornograph.	70.3	56.1	10.0	72.4	40.5	14.9	50.0	–	23.5
	No opinion	8.8	8.2	10.0	–	8.1	.8	6.3	–	–
D	Pornographic	7.4	22.5	75.0	–	16.2	46.3	31.3	–	–
	Not pornograph.	73.0	71.4	15.0	79.3	37.8	33.1	62.5	–	41.2
	No opinion	8.1	5.1	10.0	–	8.1	.8	6.3	–	–
E	Pornographic	4.1	7.1	45.0	–	21.5	19.8	93.8	–	5.9
	Not pornograph.	78.4	86.7	30.0	79.3	32.4	52.9	6.3	–	29.4
	No opinion	6.1	5.1	25.0	–	8.1	7.4	–	–	5.9
F	Pornographic	2.7	3.1	35.0	–	27.0	14.9	93.8	–	11.8
	Not pornograph.	80.4	93.9	50.0	72.4	27.0	61.2	6.3	–	29.4
	No opinion	6.7	2.0	15.0	–	8.1	4.1	–	–	–

*Question not on form for this group.

As established in earlier analyses, the trend to use level C as a breaking point in perception continues. Liberal church members, college students, and women's civic organization members all shifted to "nonpornographic" as the majority response at C level. In contrast, right-wing conservatives labeled all levels "pornographic," except F. The businessmen's civic organization was slightly more liberal, with a majority allowing level E as "nonpornographic."

A majority of the liberal civil rights organization members would not label any activity level as pornographic, while a majority of the union members and adult education program groups were unable to agree on any "pornography" definitions.

Overall, the results of the preceding evaluations raise important questions about the *Gallup Opinion Index* responses (July 1969, Report No. 49). Gallup's lack of definition perhaps necessarily biased the responses. Certainly, "pornography," "obscene materials," and other general titles can be defined only by the individual, and perceptions of what level of sex activity is "pornographic" do vary considerably.

An important question concerning sex-oriented materials is whether people really know what is available. If they have purchased the materials (Table 26), then they obviously know what is available. Responses to question 14 (Have you ever purchased _____ ?) clearly showed a generally wide acquaintance with the materials. "Yes" responses to purchase of A-level materials indicated surprising purchase rates. Although this was a highly sensitive question, likely to be answered hesitantly by many respondents, the patterns of admitted purchase were relatively high for some groups and correspondingly low for others.

It must be concluded that a larger percentage of respondents were aware of the materials than popularly believed. ("Only 10% of the population has any idea of the existence of these materials" according to the Denver wholesalers and members of law enforcement agencies.) Realistically, the admitted purchase figures were probably understated; therefore, the percentage of people who have actually purchased these materials could be raised.

Again, in light of responses to the Gallup poll people either were lying or were using their own personal definition of "pornography." The admitted purchases belied the negative responses. Perhaps a hypocrisy exists between what one publicly states and what one privately does. Such contrasts are not uncommon when consumer behavior is analyzed in depth.

Further insight into the community's response to sex-oriented materials was expressed in interviews with local law enforcement personnel and judicial members (legal guardians). They stressed the lack of any clear-cut definitions or strategies for dealing with sex-oriented materials. In fact, police records of pornography arrests for the 6 months preceding the study showed: February–0; March–14; April–3; May-1; June–0, and July–0.

Interviews with vice squad members revealed that they did not view pornography as a major problem in Denver, certainly not on the same level of importance as drug traffic. Action by the vice squad is taken on pornography only when complaints are received. According to these personnel, not many people complain.

Based upon responses received in this phase of the study, more research clearly is needed to provide a better, more meaningful picture of attitudes, opinions, and practices of the general public with respect to sex-oriented materials.

Table 26

QUESTION 14 BY GROUP

14. Have you ever purchased any materials of any type (magazines, movies, etc.) which stress the following sex orientations? Refer to your card for description of activities.

Type activity	Response	Liberal church	College student	Right-wing conserv.	Liberal civil rights	Union members	Bus. civic organ.	Women civic organ.	Military	Adult educ. programs
A	Yes	18.2%	13.3%	– %	24.1%	27.0%	8.3%	18.8%	17.2%	23.5%
	No	70.3	86.7	95.0	65.5	27.0	69.4	81.3	75.9	5.9
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	–	8.1	1.7	–	3.5	5.9
B	Yes	20.3	17.4	5.0	17.2	32.4	9.9	18.8	27.6	17.7
	No	67.7	82.7	90.0	65.5	29.7	68.6	75.0	65.5	11.8
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	3.5	5.4	1.7	–	3.5	5.9
C	Yes	39.2	41.8	15.0	34.5	13.5	14.1	12.5	37.9	17.1
	No	48.7	58.2	80.0	51.7	8.1	65.3	81.3	55.2	11.8
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	–	27.0	1.7	–	3.5	5.9
D	Yes	46.0	37.8	20.0	34.5	37.8	22.3	25.0	48.3	23.5
	No	42.6	62.2	75.0	55.2	8.1	57.0	68.8	44.8	5.9
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	–	2.7	1.7	–	3.5	5.9
E	Yes	47.3	49.0	30.0	31.0	27.0	30.6	31.3	41.4	23.5
	No	41.2	51.0	65.0	58.6	13.5	47.1	62.5	51.7	5.9
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	–	5.4	1.7	–	3.5	5.9
F	Yes	68.2	92.9	50.0	48.3	48.7	52.1	50.0	82.8	23.5
	No	19.6	7.1	45.0	41.4	–	27.3	43.8	10.3	5.9
	Prefer not to answer	0.7	–	–	–	2.7	1.7	–	3.5	5.9

THE DENVER STUDY IN RETROSPECT: A SUMMARY

This study was a systematic analysis of sexually oriented materials, retail outlets for these materials, specific and general consumption patterns, and selected community attitudes and actions in Denver. Primary information sources were used, except when specifically noted otherwise.

Although the analyses lack the depth which some would prefer, each of the areas examined in the study considered the most relevant information collected and revealed the major implications of each section.

An original classification was developed for analyzing the wide variety of materials and was used throughout the study as a standard basis of comparison. The five-by-five matrix classified materials and concepts by (1) "type" of partners involved in a sex activity, and (2) "class" by degree of exposure of sex organs and activities.

Types (y-axis) used were:

I. normal heterosexual partners
II. homosexual partners (female/female or male/male)
III. groups (more than two) heterosexual or homosexual
IV. no partner
V. animals, mechanical devices, or sadomasochistic

Class distinctions (x-axis) were:

A. people engaged in a sex act with full exposure of all private sex organs

B. people engaged in sex play with organs not in contact but fully exposed *or* people engaged in a sex act but no private organs exposed

C. people with private sex organs fully exposed ("medical" type detail) but no sex activity shown or implied

D. people fully nude but no suggestion of sex activity and no emphasis on display of sex organs

E. people partially exposed (breasts only) with pubic region hidden or obscured

All materials analyzed were designated by the appropriate type and class; for example, a typical stag movie would be I-A, while the centerfold of *Playboy* would be IV-E. No value judgment is implied in the classification scheme; only objective differences distinguish material contents in all media.

Sex-oriented materials available in Denver ranged from low-keyed Class E materials (found in many popular magazines) to explicit Class A presentations (stag films and mail order materials). Paperback books, magazines, and photo sets made up the bulk of materials sold "over the counter." These materials were generally the same as those available in New York City during the same time period, as observed in informal comparison surveys by both the project director and assistant director.

Actual content of materials varied considerably. Samples of paperback and hard-cover books ranged in complexity from a readability level easily understood by the average fourth grader (Gunning-Fog Index of 4.6 for *The Big Snatch*) to a more sophisticated style requiring the equivalent of a college education for easy comprehension (Gunning-Fog Index of 19.0 for *Portnoy's Complaint*). In textual form, Class A and B contents for all types were readily available. Many were

found in "class cover-up" materials (with art work or educational labels) openly available in regular bookstores or department stores.

In magazines, all types were presented in pictures, but Class B was the highest level activity openly available. Variations occurred in the intensity of activities shown, explicitness of detail of genitals, varying degrees of contact between model participants, use of color, and general orientation of activity (party scene, seduction, artist pose, etc.).

European materials available through the U.S. mail (Class A) varied most noticeably in camera techniques (close-ups) and in stress on showing the results of male orgasm.

Prices for sex-oriented materials were quite high in comparison to non-sex-oriented print materials (15¢ to 20¢ per page in magazines). From the producers' and sellers' viewpoint, the premium prices of the materials made them extremely profitable (usually double or triple the profitability of non-sex-oriented publications).

Advertising (within magazines and in mail brochures) for sex-oriented materials was usually of the "hard sell" type ("order immediately!!") with tantalizing promises of satisfactions to be received by purchasers. However, with the exception of the European brochures (Class A illustrations), mail-order solicitations merely hinted at explicitness and did not reveal anything not found within locally available magazines and books.

Overall, sex-oriented materials can probably best be viewed as substitute products which take the place of real sexual satisfactions. For some consumers (physically impaired and precluded from "normal" sexual relations) these products may offer the only means for such satisfactions; for others, the materials may simply satisfy curiosity, offer temporary substitute satisfaction, provide educational/instructional value, or provide self-stimulation or stimulation for a partner.

Twenty-one surveyed outlets for sex-oriented material (eight exclusively "adult" and 13 with isolated "adult" materials sections) were standard small business retail operations. They possessed most of the characteristics and inefficiencies of all small-scale operations. Internal operations were poorly structured; noticeable problems occurred in cash control; personnel problems were severe; and there was general lack of managerial knowledge.

The outlets were located (with two exceptions) in the downtown "core area," adjacent to the major retailing, financial, and governmental institutions. Clustering occurred near "striptease" bars and "skin flick" movie theaters.

Owner/managers indicated they catered to "consumer demands" when planning their inventories in order to insure continued success in sales. This was especially true of retailers who stocked sex-oriented materials as part of a larger bookstore operation; they noted that such materials "had to" be carried, due to demand.

Over 60% of local inventories were supplied by one area wholesaler who specialized in sex-oriented materials; some Class E materials were supplied by a second area wholesaler; and the remainder were ordered from out-of-State suppliers.

While no local production was uncovered, according to police records, some informal production of Class A materials did occur, although volume was apparently small.

For general consumption, sex-oriented materials could be purchased through the mail, in stores, and by personal contacts (for Class A). The first two sources were likely to be equal in volume, according to store owners, legal authorities, and postal officials. Annual over-the-counter retail sales were conservatively estimated at $1.25 million, with mail orders adding an equal amount. When additional sales of "low-keyed" Class E materials (available on most newsstands), theater tickets to "X" and "R" rated movies, and other materials of obvious sex-oriented content were added in, an annual retail sales estimate of $4.5 to $5 million seemed realistic for Denver.

The actual consumer of materials was the focus of a 1-week observation, through the cooperation of two store owners (one exclusively "adult" store and one "adult" section in a regular bookstore). A total of 2506 patrons were observed browsing and buying. Although a wide range of individuals were noted in terms of age, physical appearance, mannerisms, and probable income, occupation, and education, the largest identifiable group of purchasers and browsers was composed of white-collar clerks, businessmen, or professionals, who were over 30 years of age, Caucasian, and married.

Consumers and browsers tended to be nervous, especially in the store which included a sex materials section as a separate part of a regular bookstore. Customers tended to shop alone, speak in hushed tones (if at all), and act embarrassed when actually paying for the materials.

The incidence of repeat customers, as reported by store owners, negates the assumption that purchasing may be primarily due to curiosity. Repeat customers for products are obviously deriving some form of satisfaction, or they would not continue purchasing. However, some customers apparently refused to admit their desire for the product, as evidenced by numerous shoplifting incidents. Such incidents show conflict between the desire for the materials and the "fear" of buying them.

Overall, one can surmise that consumers of sex-oriented materials have motivations and purchasing behavior that are far more complex than for many other products of comparable price.

Community sensitivity to sex-oriented materials was measured in a questionnaire (open-end and forced choice) administered to nine groups. The total sample of 515 was composed of respondents from a liberal church, area university, right-wing conservative organization, liberal civil rights group, union membership, businessmen's civic organization, women's civic organization, military unit, and adult education program.

Those surveyed seemed more knowledgeable about the availability of sex-oriented materials than might be expected, and 65% admitted to having purchased at least Class E materials.

Since individuals define objectionable materials on a personal basis, opinion surveys are obviously misleading when the word "pornography" is used. To conclude that "XX% people find pornography on the increase" is a meaningless statement. Some persons feel slightly "off-color" greeting cards are pornographic, while others would allow full exposure of a sex act and still not label the presentation pornographic. Thus, the definition of "pornography" is purely connotative

and personal. Reacting to the classification scheme used in this study, respondents generally accepted Class C as pornographic, with all lower levels perceived as nonpornographic.

Reactions to various types of sex activities ranged from generally acceptable for heterosexual activities to highly unacceptable for sex acts with animals and children. Homosexual (male and female) activities were also considered generally unacceptable.

Respondents did not equate cause and effect relationships between the availability of sex-oriented materials and wife-swapping, masturbation, sex crimes, and other socially sensitive sexual activities.

Some sort of self-censoring behavior apparently was used by the majority of respondents, as over 50% admitted to having seen Class A materials at least two times or less, but exposure rates of greater than two times were very low for Class A, B, and C materials.

The majority of respondents perceived themselves as being more liberal than the "general public" in allowing the availability of sex-oriented materials. However, if respondents could structure laws, they would not allow the sales of any materials (except for some Class E) to children. The one issue involving sex-oriented materials which created the most universal concern was how the materials affect young people, particularly children. This study uncovered no real interest on the part of young people (under 30) in the materials and did not observe these individuals attempting to purchase the materials in stores. Possibly, adults' concern over children may be a cover-up for the adults' attitudes toward the materials.

THE CHANGING DENVER SCENE

The explicitness of picture materials on dealer shelves generally increased after the August field work period. During September and October 1969, magazine photos moved to Class B+, with models' faces just inches away from full genital contact. Male/female genital contact became more immediate, although aroused males were still not pictured in penetration positions. Hand contact by one model on another's genitals became commonplace in the magazines. However, in early October, the two-volume work, *Sex, Censorship and Pornography,* containing numerous Class A photos had not yet appeared on dealers' shelves. The local legal guardians were not being tested to the limit.

Another interesting change occurred in promotional efforts. Two exclusively sex-oriented materials stores began to advertise "magazines and books for adults only" in the amusement sections of Denver newspapers. Such direct, open advertisements had not been used previously.

In conclusion, one must say that "sex" is consumed within a community in numerous ways. For those individuals who for some reason desire such materials, they are readily available in several forms and in varying degrees of explicitness. It appears that use of such materials is more widespread than popularly assumed, primarily by middle-class consumers. However, use and interest are not openly discussed, which may reflect a degree of hypocrisy concerning the materials and the subject matter.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL PLAN FOR THE MARKET ANALYSIS

Methodology employed in the study used standard marketing research techniques (observation and interrogation) for the collection of primary data. However, numerous modifications and adaptations in methodology and instruments were necessary because of the lack of information relating to research studies dealing specifically with sex-oriented materials and the sensitivity of the subject matter. Whenever possible cross-check information was sought from more than one source.

The following information gives specific explanations of each methodological technique, preceded by an account of the staff orientation process and followed by an explanation of the time sequence in preparation, field work, and data analyses.

General orientation process

The sensitive nature of the subject material from the point of view of consumers and the apprehension of people actually engaged in marketing the materials caused by the present legal situation in Denver necessitated a series of actions to minimize bias.

Initially the project director informally contacted owners of two different retail outlets to solicit their cooperation and direction in establishing part of the study's format. Information gained from these individuals and from other sources (legal and professional) led to the adoption of an academic mask for Phase I of the study (analysis of retail operations and observation of consumers). The general statement was devised to lend academic validity to the study. The real purpose of the study was not revealed except to cooperating legal authorities and research personnel.

A general orientation meeting for the entire original staff outlined the strategies, methodologies, and personal considerations for the staff. In order to further protect the study all personnel were provided with general outlines, purpose statements, and letters of employment and were required to sign a secrecy pledge. Any individual problems or concerns of the staff were worked out in discussions with the project director. Particular emphasis was placed on the necessity for rapid, accurate data accumulation.

Instruments and techniques for data collection

Nine different general categories of information were examined to provide primary and secondary data for the study analyses. Following, each of these areas is examined in depth according to type of data sought, instruments used, staff, instructions, pretesting, control, and other relevant considerations.

Retail outlets–Number of outlets, locations, operations, and inventories

Two major purposes of the study involved: (1) a determination of all retail outlets selling sex-oriented materials in the core area[11] of downtown Denver, and (2) a comprehensive check of potential outlets along major retailing arteries throughout the city.

Instrument. The visual audit survey form was used to check all retail outlets surveyed. This instrument permitted an unannounced observation of operations, inventory, and consumers. It was developed to provide specific physical information about each outlet, with particular emphasis on the inventory of materials displayed.

Area coverage. Visual auditing of 100% of the downtown Denver core area was accomplished systematically by walking observers. The area was divided into four sections. Each section was systematically covered by observers in "figure-eight" walking patterns (to avoid arousing unnecessary notice). Other major retailing arteries not included in the downtown core area were covered on foot and by automobile, moving in a direct line down the streets.

Pretest. The visual audit form was pretested by the project director in each type of store featuring sex-oriented materials (exclusively adult stores and "adult section" in regular bookstores). The instrument was checked to determine completeness in obtaining all possible observations by unidentified observers. In order to prevent polluting the locations, the observers remained unidentified while in the outlets and did not communicate with clerks except for pricing information. The pretest determined that an informal communication system existed between the store owners and that it was necessary to keep the extent of the study undetected at this point.

Observer/Auditors. Two observer/auditors were used for the entire survey of outlets. Both were students in the School of Business at the University of Colorado. They had had retail experience and were "clean-cut" collegiate types.

Instructions to observer/auditors. A set of oral instructions was given to both auditors by the project director; each point was discussed fully until it was clearly understood. In addition, several forms were filled out for practice. After these instructions, both observers were sent to three different stores where they made independent observations and then cross-checked their tabulations for consistency. The major discrepancy appeared in the estimations of floor space, and a pacing system was developed to insure close approximations.

Controls. Visual auditors reported to the study office each evening upon completion of the day's assignment. In addition, they were instructed to call and report their position and any problems and/or unusual occurrences to the office at 9 a.m., 12 noon, and 3 p.m. Upon receiving visual audits, the field supervisor spot-checked two stores of each observer, including a rough visual audit to check against their work.

Institutions audited. Retail outlets for visual auditing were originally determined from listings in the Yellow Pages in the Denver metropolitan telephone directory of December 1968. Categories of stores included bookstores, newsstands, arcades, movies, and amusements. In addition, observers were instructed

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11. "Core" as defined by the Urban Research Corporation and Building Owners and Managers Association, and as originally defined by the Denver Regional Planning Commission.

to check out any retail outlet which might conceivably sell sex-oriented materials, using displays in store windows and inside the stores as indicators. Names and addresses of each store found in the telephone directory were listed on cards carried by the observers. All cards not accounted for through a store audit were returned with a notation with respect to the present facility of that address. (For example, some listed stores had been torn down to become parking lots.)

Ecological analysis of retail institution environments

Ecological analysis of surrounding areas of outlets selling sex-oriented materials in the Denver downtown core area and outlying retail sections was developed.

Instruments. Two techniques were used to determine ecological information: (1) maps and other materials as developed by the Denver Regional Planning Commission which gave detailed analyses of all coré-area institutions and traffic patterns; and (2) visual observation by a single observer for each block containing a retail outlet selling sex-oriented materials. This analysis included subjective observations as to general physical conditions, pedestrians, traffic patterns, and other physical observations. These visual observations were used as a control on the core-area map (1967 copyright) and provided other useful information for the ecological analyses.

Observer. The observer in this section of the study held an M.A. degree in sociology and was working toward a Ph.D. in personnel and psychology at Colorado State College.

Instructions to observer. The observer was given a detailed map of locations based upon the 100% survey of the retail outlets and was instructed in types of observations to make.

Control. The field supervisor spot-checked selected blocks for verification (one block with maximum change from map and one block with minimum change).

In-store observations—Consumers, browsers, purchasing patterns, internal operations, sales figures

Two store owners agreed to allow a Monday-through-Sunday (1-week) audit of consumers and browsers of sex-oriented materials. In addition to concern with consumers and browsers, the in-store observers also noted any information which would give insights into the internal operations of these two cooperating outlets.

Instruments. An observation sheet was developed to obtain the maximum amount of visual information which could be used to determine consumer characteristics and shopping behavior patterns. In addition to information on observable consumer characteristics (sex, dress, age range, alone or with others, etc.), blank sections were utilized whenever possible to record amount of purchase, type of purchase, and other information of potential value in consumer evaluation.

Pretest. The consumer observation sheet was pretested in two newsstand outlets in Boulder, Colorado. It was found adequate in terms of simplicity and speed for handling up to 10 consumers in an area at any given time.

Observers. Four observers made all of the approximately 2,800 observations during the period from Monday, August 4 to Sunday, August 10, 1969. Two student observers held bachelor's degrees in Business Administration from the

University of Colorado, another was a senior marketing major at the same university, and the project director served as the fourth team member. The student observers were selected on the basis of their marketing orientation, retail experience, and perceptive ability (as determined by the project director).

Instructions to observers. All observers were trained in the use of the observation form and were instructed in the purposes of the information. They received field training through a series of independent consumer observations in Boulder. Answers were cross-checked until generally accepted standards for the subjective portions of the observation sheet were agreed upon. In addition to observational duties, observers were briefed on the importance of "listening" to store owners and clerks in order to pick up any information about operations. Another task included the insertion of a post card asking for demographic data into each package of sex-oriented materials sold.

Returns were intended to provide a demographic cross-check with observational data. Each store accounted for the distribution of 250 post cards.

The observers covered store operations from opening until closing for the 7-day period. Two observers were assigned to permanent locations; the third observer acted as relief man; and the project director substituted during meal breaks.

Controls. At the conclusion of each day's observations, the data were scanned to check for inconsistencies between main observers and relief observers. At night each main observer debriefed his experiences of the day, using a tape recording unit, and included additional commentary on his observations. These debriefing sessions also provided for expansion of information picked up from other clerks and the owners. For purposes of statistical analyses of the observational data, the first day's observations were deleted from the rest of the data (since it was considered a field training period).

Sample stores. The two stores selected as the observation units were chosen because: (1) they represented the two basic types of retail outlets selling sex-oriented materials (as determined by a preliminary survey of the downtown area by the project director), and (2) the stores were located in different parts of the downtown core area (one near the financial district and one near the retailing/State government section). One store sold exclusively "adult" sex-oriented materials; the other contained an "adult" section as part of a very large general newsstand/bookstore. Thus, each store exhibited potential variations in internal operations, types of consumers, volume of sales, and other pertinent characteristics.

Coverage of observations. Observers were instructed to obtain as close to 100% observation of all individuals who showed more than a passing interest in sex-oriented materials (any individual who walked up to and began examining materials). The probability of obtaining an observation near 100% was high, as congestion rendered complete observation impossible on only a few occasions. When such congestion did occur, the observers were instructed to complete all observations in progress before continuing. Such instances were noted on the observation sheets as were a few other minor interruptions which occurred during the observation periods.

An unanticipated but very beneficial development occurred when the observers were given the authority by the store owners to actually make sales. This increased the precision in recording the type of materials purchased and their cost.

At one outlet, study observers had complete control over the cash register handling the sex-oriented materials. At the other outlet the study observers received information from the regular clerk when the observers themselves were not making sales.

Owner/clerks in retail outlets selling sex-oriented materials

Data were sought as to the experience and education of the owner/clerks; attitudes of these individuals toward their customers in terms of characteristics and shopping habits; perceptions of variations in purchasing patterns; information on suppliers and other members of the distribution system; information on sales volumes of sex-oriented materials; information about competition within the local area and with the other sources of supply including the U.S. mail; information about employees; sources of operating funds; and any other information that would assist in determining the business activities of the individual firms.

Instrument. The questionnaire for this section of the study was developed by two professors in the areas of marketing and finance and was designed as a guide for conversational interviewing. It was not given directly to the individuals being questioned.

Pretest. The instrument was pretested by two of the interviewers, including the project director. After the pretest session with the cooperating store owner, appropriate changes were made in the interview guide in order to solicit more cooperative responses from other owner/clerks.

Interviewers. Two interviewers operated as a team because of the conversational approach to the interview, as opposed to taking notes or using a tape recorder. Both interviewers were faculty members of the University of Colorado School of Business; one was an assistant professor of finance and the other an assistant professor of marketing. They were selected because of their academic background and because of their experience in dealing with businessmen.

Training. The interviewers assisted both in the development of the interview guide and in the pretest analyses. They were completely oriented to the study by the project director in order to assist them in probing for any other information not included directly in the interview guide sequence but which might prove valuable.

Instructions to interviewers of owner/clerks. The following guidelines were established for use with the owner/clerk interview form:

1. The form was to be used as a guide for conversation.
2. The instrument was not to be shown to persons being interviewed.
3. In conversations with the owner/clerk the interviewers were to probe but not to persist in obtaining information which had been determined in the pretest as sensitive to these individuals.
4. After completion of each contact, both interviewers were to compile answers to the questions and fill out an interview form for the respondent.
5. Because of the pretest and other information, it was determined that any one owner or clerk would be unlikely to give all the information required to complete the form. Therefore, interviewers were to compile as much information as possible from one individual and then combine this information with that

picked up from other individuals (clerks) associated with the particular retail operation under consideration.

Control. The use of two people facilitated the debriefing session for the interviewers. This debriefing session consisted of (1) filling out the interview form on the individual and (2) tape-recording any impressions and information picked up during the interview which might prove valuable to other areas of the study.

Sample of retail outlets. Through the cooperation of two owners of retail outlets, a complete list was made of all retail stores in the Denver area selling sex-oriented materials along with the owners of each of these stores. Contacts were made initially through the cooperation of the two owners who had given permission for observations. These interviews covered owners of approximately 75% of the retail operations and included the wholesale system in Denver (the only system within a six-State area). After interviews with the initial list of potentially cooperative owners, direct contacts were made with the other owners, some of whom cooperated.

Miscellaneous. In addition to the information received from direct interviews with store owners, some significant information was picked up by the observers in the two cooperating retail outlets in the observational part of the study. Such information was recorded in the debriefing sessions of the observers.

Visual observation of public movies—Reviews and observation of patrons

Analysis was made of so-called "adult movies" in downtown Denver theaters. Movies were reviewed from the point of view of plot, and scenes were rated on the study's objective classification of sex-oriented materials. A 1-day observation was conducted of patrons entering the largest downtown "girlie" movie theater. Reviews of the movies are primarily subjective in nature.

Instruments. Three different forms were used in this phase of the study: the visual audit observation form, used in analyzing the physical facilities of the retail outlets, was modified to provide information on individual theaters; a movie review form was developed to allow the viewer a brief summary of the movies; and the observation form, used in the retail outlets, was used to record information on patrons entering one of the movie theaters during a designated period of time.

Observer. The observer was an undergraduate business major, with a strong interest in the arts and in consumer behavior.

Controls. The Victory Theater in downtown Denver was selected for the only observation of patrons entering a theater because it was the largest downtown theater exclusively featuring "girlie" movies. The observer received the same instructions as those who made the visual audit of retail outlets and those who made consumer observations in the retail outlets. Modifications were made in the forms to adapt them to this particular phase of the study.

Objective analysis of printed materials

This section of the study determined measurable differences in writing quality between a selected sample of paperback sex-oriented content books and a selected

sample of hard-cover books of the "best seller" type typically found in department stores and normal bookstores. A sample of magazines purchased for study purposes in the Denver area and two popular mass media magazines were also analyzed.

Instruments. Three instruments were used in evaluating printed materials for the study: the Gunning-Fog Index; the Flesch Reading Ease Test; and a special form developed to evaluate the magazines collected during the study.

The Gunning-Fog Index and the Flesch Reading Ease Test measure the essential quality of readability in written material. These established formulas are based on the qualities of writing which show the highest correlation with levels of readability. In general, these two qualities are sentence length and word difficulty. The Gunning-Fog Index provides a grade-level of readership (the score shows the minimum grade level necessary for ease in readership of the material measured), while the Flesch Reading Ease Test gives a score which is related to a style description and an estimated school grade necessary for completion in order to understand the material. These two tests act as a check on each other and provide a control factor in analyzing the materials. While neither test is completely accurate, both are validated formulas frequently used in written communications, research, and analysis.

The instrument developed for analysis of magazines contained informational sections and evaluation of editorial comments in terms of the magazine's general approach, an overall evaluation section, and other aspects such as the use of humor and an analysis of the stereotyped situations and people presented in the magazine (musclemen, lesbians, students, etc.).

Sample selection. Books to be analyzed were selected from (1) popular or "best sellers" sold in local department stores (*Portnoy's Complaint, Myra Breckinridge,* etc.) and (2) a sample of 15 books representing the variety sold locally in retail outlets featuring sex-oriented materials, either exclusively or in an "adult" section. Paperbacks were selected by the project director to represent the basic types of materials currently carried in shelf inventories (August 1969) and to cover the basic areas of sexual orientation considered in the study and used in the classification developed for the study's analyses (heterosexuality, homosexuality (male and female), bestiality, pedophilia, sadomasochism, and a miscellaneous category including perversions and fetishes). The paperbacks were selected by their cover, the title, and the information printed on the back cover. The systematic sample for comparisons of readability level consisted of selecting page 49 from each book, or the first complete page appearing before page 49. Magazines used in this section were selected on the same basis as the paperbacks, that is, as representative of the materials being sold in stores and as complying with the objective classification scheme that was used in the study.

Reviewer. The materials were reviewed and the readability tests were applied by the individual who conducted the ecological survey (a sociology student from Colorado State College).

Control. Both the reviews and the use of the Gunning-Fog and Flesch indexes were checked by the project director.

General attitude questionnaire

Attitude measurement focused on three different groups concerned with the marketing of sex-oriented materials in the Denver area: legal guardians, self-appointed guardians, and the general public. A questionnaire was developed to attempt to measure the attitudes of these individuals toward sex-oriented materials, their knowledge of the availability of all types of sex-oriented materials in Denver, their perceptions of users, and their attitudes toward law. The questionnaire also was used to obtain an indication of actual use by respondents.

Questionnaire design. The questionnaire was developed by a team of three professors of marketing in the School of Business at the University of Colorado, all of whom were experienced in questionnaire design and other aspects of marketing research. The questionnaire was designed to measure differences in acceptance of various types of sex-oriented material and to determine in depth the knowledge and attitudes of respondents toward such materials.

Pretest. The original questionnaire design was pretested at the University of Colorado Denver Center in two night classes. Eighty students completed the original form of the questionnaire. The night students of the Denver Center typically were older, part-time students whose main concern was an 8-to-5 job somewhere in the Denver community. After the pretest several changes were made in the composition of the questionnaire to make completion easier for respondents.

Interviewers and administration of the questionnaire. The project director administered all group interviews. A systematic procedure was developed, including instructions, a period for questioning, and general orientation to the study. The self-administering questionnaire was given to groups and was preceded by formal oral instructions. When administered to three pilot study groups, the original questionnaire required 30 to 40 minutes for total completion. The modified questionnaire could be completed in 20 to 30 minutes.

Selection of groups (general public; legal and self-appointed guardians). Groups were selected on the basis of convenience and cooperation and by general types, including military, professional, blue-collar, student, religious, and political groups. The groups chosen provided a rapid, controlled means for selecting a cross-section of the Denver population according to age, income, occupation, and anticipated knowledge of variations in sex-oriented materials. Group interviews were preferable because of the time and cost limitations imposed upon the study, as the use of mail forms was considered too slow and personal interviewing too costly for this particular study. Nine groups were selected to give a wide range of age, incomes, and occupations (N = 515). The sample size was limited according to the available funds, cooperation of the different groups, and the time limitation imposed upon data collection.

Legal guardians were interviewed by the project director, but they did not fill out the questionnaire form. However, they indicated in the interviews their knowledge and attitudes toward sex-oriented materials. Because this group did not complete the questionnaire, direct statistical comparisons were not possible between legal guardians, self-appointed guardians, and the general public in terms of attitudes, knowledge, and use. However, subjective comparisons were possible and were valuable in the overall analysis of the study.

Control. The use of group interviews, standardized instructions, and administration to all groups by the project director insured a high degree of cooperation by the respondents.

Merchandise inventory

Means were developed for comparing sex-oriented products sold in the Denver metropolitan area in terms of product design, packaging, pricing, orientation/content, and costs.

Purpose. This inventory showed what was available in the Denver area during August 1969, and the differences that existed between these various products. The analyses, by their very nature, were subjective in many cases. Objective comparisons were made between aspects of the materials such as price premium per page.

Materials. The inventory included paperback books, hard-cover books, magazines, and photo sets, all selected in accordance with the objective classification system developed for the purposes of this study. All materials, with the exception of some Class A samples, were openly available in Denver and were purchased as part of the study.

Other sources and contacts

Miscellaneous contacts and sources added numerous important pieces of information which provided cross-checks on primary sources and added additional insight to study areas. A variety of interview questions was provided to the interviewers to insure systematic questioning. Responses were compiled in notes and debriefing sessions.

The following sources were tapped for this additional information:

Hotels. Interviews were conducted with housekeeping departments in a sample of major Denver hotels and motels (in the core area and in outlying areas) by one of the visual audit observers. Information included the amounts of sex-oriented materials left by guests and variations in volume left by type of guest.

Department stores. Book department buyers and salesclerks were questioned in Denver's two largest stores. They expressed opinions on consumer types for their hard-cover, sex-oriented materials and gave the values used by store buyers in censoring materials they select to sell.

Local media. Evaluation of attitudes and coverage by local media was made in terms of reactions to issues such as local censorship, state legislation, and nudism.

Movies (public). A listing of movies shown in Denver during the course of the study as well as contacts with movie critics and theater managers shed further light on the community adaptation level.

Taxi drivers and bellhops. Two cab drivers working for the study were undergraduate business students at the University of Colorado, and they systematically questioned other cab drivers and bellhops in hotels on the availability of Class A materials.

Private films. Analyses of Class A films from private owners were not made.

Visual audit (casual). Inventories were made of stores in New York City on Third Avenue, Lexington, and Broadway by two marketing professors who had developed the system used in the study for classifying sex-oriented materials.

Other sources. Information was gathered from fraternities, both college and adult (such as Elks Clubs, Veterans of Foreign Wars); private contacts with policemen and vice squad members; members of the military; "dealers" in Class A materials; and finally, an interview with Gwen Davis, author of *The Pretenders* (at that time the current No. 4 national best seller).

Chronological order of the research

The preceding research efforts were carried out during the months of August and September 1969. Planning efforts during July culminated in an orientation meeting of the research team on July 31, after which the research efforts were ready. The study's field office for coordination and implementation was established near downtown Denver on August 3. In-store observations began in the two cooperating stores on Monday, August 4 and continued through Sunday, August 10. August 11 was the observation period for an adult movie arcade. Simultaneously with the in-store observations, interviews were begun with owner/clerks in outlets selling sex-oriented materials. During this same period, the visual audit observations of all stores selling sex-oriented materials in the Denver area were conducted and completed. During the period from August 11 to August 16 other interviews important to the study were conducted with wholesalers, department stores, local media, local law enforcement authorities, hotels, and taxi drivers.

Group interviews sampling the knowledge and attitudes of the general public were conducted on August 17, 24, 25, 27, and 31 and September 2, 4, and 9. These interviews were conducted after the in-store observations and other field research in order to prevent pollution of these methodologies. For instance, the group interviews might have encouraged participants to visit stores that they would not otherwise have visited; or the group interviews might have offered a potential for a publicity leak which in itself probably would have distorted the results of the in-store observations. The period of August 18 to August 23 was used to finish all incomplete interviews and to recheck with individuals for other needed information.

Treatment of the data

After completion of field research on September 9, 1969, analysis of all materials and information collected was begun by the research team. Extensive use was made of the facilities of the computer center of the University of Colorado (Boulder) for compiling the results of observations and group interviews.

The results and relevant interpretations were presented specifically in this report. In some sections, more information was given with respect to specific research methodologies relevant to that section. Those explanations, together with the appendix, present a total picture of the methodologies employed.

Detailed coverage of the methodology used in this study may be found in the original report submitted to the United States Commission on Obscenity and Pornography on October 31, 1969. These volumes contain all forms used including audits, instructions, classification scheme, and questionnaires.

The Traffic in Sex-Oriented Materials in Boston

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PREFACE

This is the final report of a project undertaken by the Center for Criminal Justice, Boston University School of Law, for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. The undertaking was supported by way of contract between the Center and the Commission and was under the direction of M. Marvin Finkelstein, Deputy Director of the Center.

The project was concerned with an examination of the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented materials in the City of Boston and in developing preliminary information concerning the possible involvement of organized crime in the distribution of such materials. Since the area for investigation is often deliberately sheltered from public scrutiny, the report includes data, analyses, and conclusions obtained under a variety of methodologies. This required long and dedicated hours by the director and the staff of the project which were spent in devising and implementing a wide range of investigative techniques.

Mr. Finkelstein and I want to acknowledge the contributions of the entire staff of the Center without whose ideas and energies the work of the project would have been seriously inhibited. We wish particularly to acknowledge the contributions of Jack Levin, Robert Holz, Jeffrey Woolf, Betsy Brown, Jennifer Hodges, and Sherry Riffel, and accord special recognition to William Kuehn, whose commitment and selflessness were of inestimable value. In addition to the personnel of the Center, our appreciation is extended to Neil Eddington, Department of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, and the various law enforcement agencies and public officials in Massachusetts and elsewhere who were most cooperative and helpful, with special thanks to the City of Boston Police Department. Similarly, we wish to acknowledge the invaluable assistance which the Commission has accorded to us throughout the duration of this project and to

acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to its executive director, W. Cody Wilson, and to a member of its staff, Lenore Kupperstein.

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INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, traditional criteria for the public dissemination of sex-oriented material have undergone substantial review and amendment; the process is not yet complete. Long-held values and their translation into positive law have been challenged within the judicial processes and elsewhere in an effort to expand the outer limits of social controls in this area. That such effort has been partially successful, at least, is demonstrated by the extent to which sexual candor to a degree impossible just a few short years ago has been incorporated into motion pictures, live theatrical productions, and reading material for mass distribution through existing "legitimate" outlets. Not surprisingly, however, spokesmen for the established communications media rarely extend their defense of explicit depictions of sexuality beyond the context of the vehicle in which it is employed (that is, it should be used if "it fits"). The implicit constraints of "artistic integrity," "realism," or "enlightenment" would place the use of such depictions in the service of larger ends rather than as an end in itself. Rarely does anyone in these quarters publicly urge that the unrestrained commercial exploitation of sex is, per se, a valid business interest. "Taste," therefore, remains a central issue in public discussions and, while definitions vary widely, it is rarely abandoned by media spokesmen as a purported consideration in their work.

In addition, the relaxation of controls in the area of sex-oriented material has given rise to the creation of a new national industry which specializes in the exploitation of erotic material solely for commercial purposes. The only industry-wide criteria which play a major role in the production and distribution of such material are in the area of consumer preferences and the threat of legal sanctions. "Will it sell?" and "Can we get away with it?" are the fundamental concerns. Any effort to suggest a relationship to "art," "literature," or "science" respecting their material is most likely a defense to legal action and little more. The social value of such material is less likely to be defended in terms of any relationship to higher literary ends but rather for the sexual gratification it may provide the consumer. The fact that it sells is its own argument for a secure place in the free market.

Without question, the growth of this industry has been remarkable. The annual volume of sex-oriented ("pornographic") material has been variously estimated at $500 million to $2 billion.[1] Even at the lower figure, it is clear that an industry of considerable size, scope, and economic strength has developed.

The most visible component parts of this industry, the aptly named "adult bookstores," have established themselves in many sections of America and have exhibited a growth rate of explosive proportions. It is reported that New York City now has upwards of 200 such bookstores; that in Los Angeles, the number has increased from nine to 90 in just a few years; that Atlanta has more than 12;

1. *New York Times,* February 22, 1970, p. 1.

and that in the last year, six new adult bookstores have opened in Houston.[2] San Francisco now has close to 50 adult bookstores, whereas only six stores selling questionable material of this type existed in 1958.[3]

In spite of the many questions and public policy considerations which have been generated by this phenomenon, empirical data concerning the practices and participants involved in the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented material remains extremely limited, and available descriptive information is fragmentary at best. The instant study of adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented materials in the city of Boston seeks, therefore, to provide a fund of descriptive data which, while limited to one particular urban marketplace, may contribute to a greater understanding of this national phenomenon.

Terminology

The words "obscene" and "pornographic," with their legal/valuational underpinnings, will not be used in this report except where necessary to reflect a legal definition or value judgment. Instead, the material involved in the adult bookstore traffic will be referred to as "sex-oriented." Further identification will be made by division along functional lines: "soft-core," "hard-core," and "borderline." Although possibly approximating legal, moral, and aesthetic definitions in certain instances, the foregoing categories, as used in this report, are determined solely by Boston marketing practices at any given point in time. Accordingly, material which is openly displayed and sold with equanimity is designated as "soft-core." Material which is distributed through under-the-counter or underground channels only is characterized as "hard-core." Material which may from time to time be openly displayed and sold but which is vulnerable to police action is considered "borderline." Obviously, the content level of each category will vary with changes in local law enforcement and marketing practices.

"Under-the-counter" refers to sales of hard-core material within the adult bookstores. "Underground" refers to the sale of hard-core material through outlets other than the adult bookstores.

Methodology

The procedures followed for the collection of data utilized in this report include (1) interviews conducted with law enforcement officers and other public officials; (2) interviews conducted with participants in the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented material; (3) interviews conducted with members of the press and academic researchers; (4) examinations of various public records relating to business units in Boston; (5) periodic on-site inspections of adult bookstores; (6) searches of the files of the major Boston newspapers; (7) review of arrest records compiled by the Vice Control Unit of the Boston Police Department; (8) search of records maintained by the Boston Municipal Court; (9) criminal records searches conducted by the Department of Probation, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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2. Ibid.
3. Inspector Peter Maloney, San Francisco Police Department, "History of Pornography in San Francisco" (unpublished memorandum, November 1969).

1. Interviews were conducted with police officials, public prosecutors, elected officeholders, and other public officials having relevant information about the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented materials in Boston. Such individuals represented governmental agencies at the local, State, and Federal levels.

2. Interviews were conducted with representatives of eight adult bookstores in Boston. Of these, three are clerk-managers and five are owner-operators. In addition, the owner-operator of an adult bookstore located in a Boston suburb was interviewed. Information from this interview together with material derived from an interview with an individual involved in the production of "soft-core" and "borderline" material in Boston will also be incorporated where appropriate.

In our sample two respondents have been connected with the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented material for more than 6 years and three for less than one year. The majority have been in this business for more than 3 years.

Four respondents are married. Three are admitted homosexuals.

In most cases, initial contact was made by telephone and interview appointments scheduled at that time. Three interviews were arranged through introductions provided by other respondents.

All interviews were conducted by a single staff member. Most respondents were suspicious and reserved at the outset. One demanded to see proof of the interviewer's university affiliation. Although remaining guarded in their responses to questions deemed "too personal," respondents generally tended to be open and candid in most areas. Greatest resistance was encountered in areas requiring identification of individuals by name or information relating to the financial and organizational aspects of the business.

Only three potential respondents refused to be interviewed. Each of the three had recently suffered major legal setbacks (two were incarcerated when the requests were made) and cited these as reasons for refusing to cooperate.

Open-ended interview schedules were employed to allow for maximum flexibility in pursuing areas of particular interest and in avoiding those with a high threat potential. The length of interviews ranged from one-half hour to over 4 hours and, with three exceptions, were conducted in the respondent's place of business. A respondent's apartment, a restaurant, and a cocktail lounge were the sites for the remaining three interviews.

3. Contact was made with members of the press and academic researchers likely to have information concerning the subject of our inquiry. These include journalists who have prepared feature stories on Boston's adult bookstores and persons involved in the scholarly analysis of the traffic in sex-oriented material and in related areas.

4. Public records and documents pertaining to the adult bookstore business were examined. Included are business registration records maintained by the Boston City Clerk, corporation records kept by the Commonwealth Department of Corporations and Taxation, information concerning coin-operated amusement machines ("peep shows"), and real property ownership from the Licensing Division and Assessing Department, City of Boston, respectively.

5.(*a*) Periodic on-site inspections of the Boston adult bookstore sample were made by members of the staff. Descriptive data gathered during the early stages (such as location, size, media type) were recorded on a standardized schedule. Continuing informal on-site inspections were conducted to provide more extensive information and to record trends in business practices.

(*b*) Systematic observations of the bookstores were also employed to elicit data of a quantitative and qualitative nature regarding the consumer population.

6. Newspaper libraries and indexes were surveyed for a period covering at least 5 years for all items bearing on the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented materials and the participants therein. Newspapers examined include the *Boston Globe, Herald-Traveler* and *Record-American,* the *New York Times,* the *Providence Journal,* and the *Los Angeles Times.*

7. The Vice Control Unit of the Boston Police Department furnished the project with a record of all bookstore-related arrests for obscenity offenses between January 1, 1968 and March 27, 1970.

8. The records of the Boston Municipal Court covering the period between January 1, 1965 and December 31, 1969 were searched, and all dockets involving obscenity-based proceedings (with the exception of proceedings involving the use of obscene language) were noted. Virtually all obscenity arrests under Massachusetts law which are made in the "Combat Zone" (where the vast majority of Boston's adult bookstores are located) would be reflected in the records of the Boston Municipal Court. Accordingly, it is believed that the collected data approaches a census of all such arrests made during this period.

Persons convicted in the Boston Municipal Court may appeal to the superior court and obtain a trial de novo as a matter of right. Where such right was exercised by persons convicted for violation of obscenity laws, follow-up searches were conducted through the records of the superior court and relevant data was recorded.

9. Pursuant to Massachusetts law governing the confidentiality of criminal records and authorization provided by the Commissioner of Probation, criminal records were furnished for all persons known to the project to have participated in the Boston adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented material since January 1, 1965. Criminal records were also obtained from the appropriate agency in the State of Rhode Island where necessary to supplement available data.

THE ADULT BOOKSTORE

Definition

There are presently in the city of Boston 13 retail outlets which *specialize* in the sale of sex-oriented material to "adults only." These stores and their predecessors, commonly referred to as "adult bookstores," comprise the core sample for this study. Although material of the type sold in the adult bookstores has been and may continue to be available through other kinds of retail outlets such as general bookstores, joke shops, stationers, smoke shops, and other retail establishments that engage in the sale of reading material, the overwhelming bulk of the sex-oriented material (as defined earlier) which is openly marketed in Boston flows through the 13 adult bookstores. Such sales as are made through other retail outlets tend most often to be of the mildest material, and incidents of sale or possession of legally objectionable material (as reflected in arrest records) are isolated and infrequent—rarely more than one over the 5-year span. Moreover, the sex-oriented material which is stocked is a minor supplement to the normal stock in trade of the store and is not dominant. In contrast to the adult bookstores,

clearly demarcated and identifiable zones for "adults only" material are not in evidence.

Not all adult bookstores in our sample are exclusively devoted to the sale of sex-oriented material. Common to all, however, is an extensive stock of sex-oriented material displayed and sold in a segregated area, which is clearly defined for "adults only."

Seven stores sell sex-oriented material only. Two stores sell a smattering of popular paperback books and periodicals, merged with the adult material. In these nine examples, the entire interior of the store is restricted to adults only.

The remaining four stores carry merchandise and services which are accessible to all members of the public (such as popular paperbacks and periodicals; tobacco, newspapers, periodicals, and paperbacks; small appliances, tobacco, newspapers, and periodicals; amusement machines, lunch counter) but which incorporate well-defined "adults only" sections.

The increase in the number of adult bookstores in Boston has been steady and persistent. In each year since 1961, when only one significant outlet for sex-oriented material existed, at least one new adult bookstore has commenced operation. As indicated in Figure 1 one new outlet opened in 1962, one in 1963, one in 1964, one in 1965, two in 1966, two in 1967, four in 1968, one in 1969 and one in 1970. Although management changes have occurred in various stores, only two physical outlets, out of the 15 which have been in business during the period starting in 1962, have closed—one in 1968 and one in 1970. The success of adult bookstores in Boston, when measured by life span and failure rate, must be regarded as excellent, particularly in the light of national figures for failure rates of small businesses which show that of all retail establishments, bookstores evidence the second highest rate of failure.[4]

These figures are all the more impressive in view of the possibility that at least one of the two stores depicted in Figure 1 as having closed (Store No. 10) may be more reflective of a change in business site than of a permanent termination of operation.

The Combat Zone

The heaviest concentration of adult bookstores, 10 out of 13, is in and adjacent to an area of downtown Boston which is locally known as the "Combat Zone." Like its counterparts in other cities, the Combat Zone has achieved a notoriety, at least partially founded in reality, as the place to go for the kinds of illicit goods and services less widely available elsewhere. For soldiers and sailors on leave, or tourists and locals attracted to the mock excitement and the dim glitter of the demimonde, the Combat Zone is perceived as "where the action is."

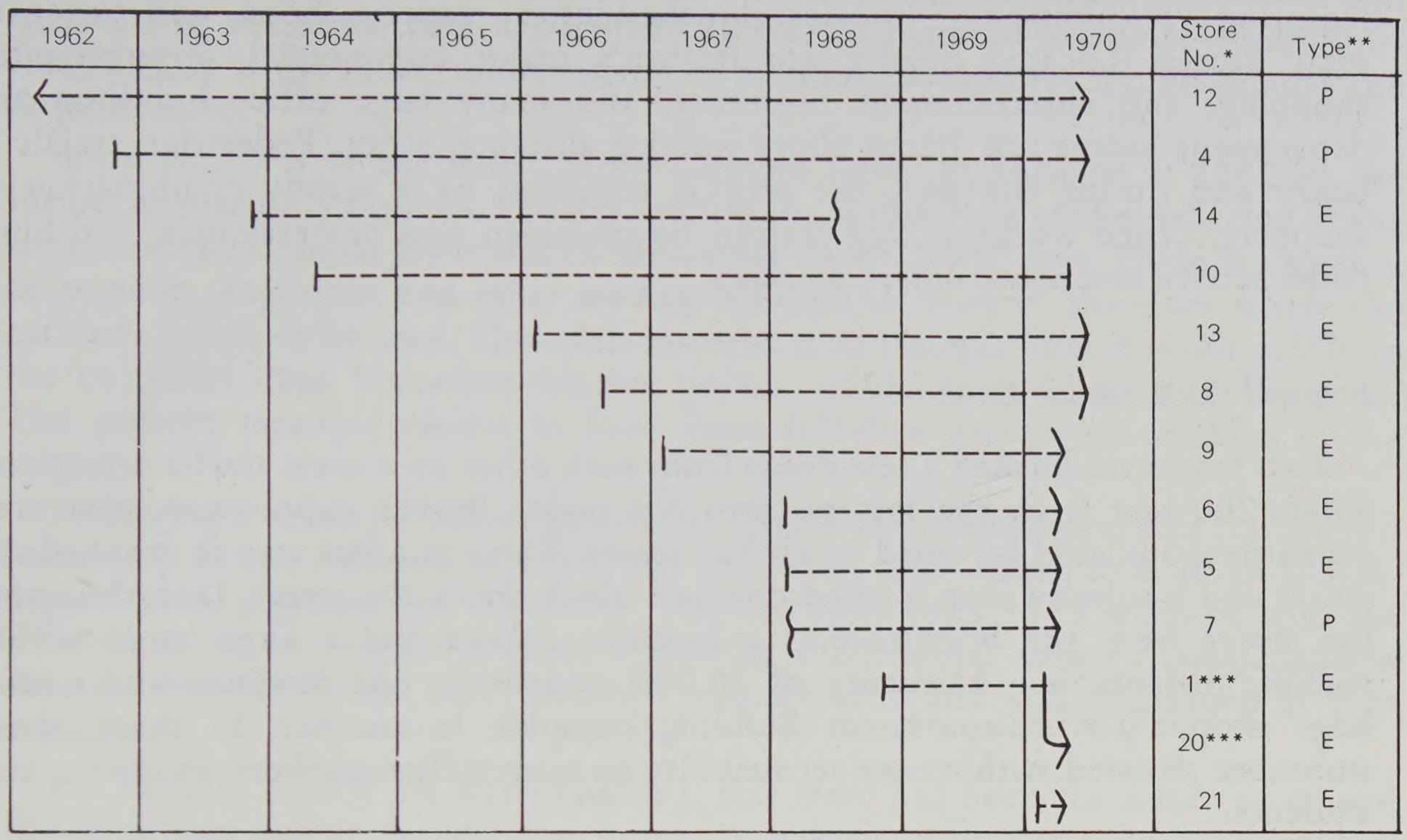
Traffic in drugs, prostitution, and stolen goods is believed to prevail in this area. Its denizens are society's marginal members who are tolerated and/or who thrive in an atmosphere of borderline and prohibited activities—the derelict, alcoholic, prostitute, pimp, and fast-buck artist. The crime rate in the Combat Zone is one of the highest in Boston.

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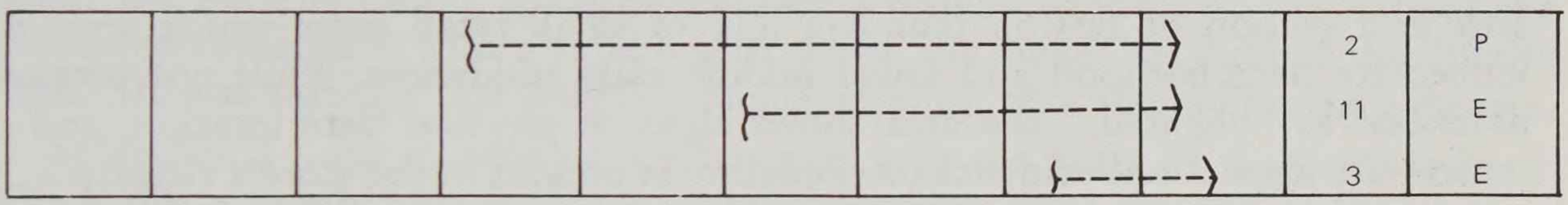
4. *Dun and Bradstreet Reference Book* (June 1969), p. 6.

Figure 1.
Boston Adult Bookstores: Business Life

Combat Zone Stores:



Stores Outside Combat Zone:



| The date of store's commencement or termination of business is well established.

⟩ The date of store's commencement or termination of business is approximate.

* Store numbers are arbitrary and bear no relationship to chronology or any other store characteristic. Numbers range from 1 to 21. Store Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are not true adult bookstores and have been eliminated from the sample.

** Stores are classified by type. Stores which are exclusively zoned for adults only are indicated by the letter "E." Stores which are only partially zoned for adults only are indicated by the letter "P."

*** Store No. 20 succeeded Store No. 1 at the same address.

Encompassing the two or three blocks of Washington Street to the north of Eliot and Kneeland Streets and its feeder side streets the Combat Zone is an admixture of sleazy hotels, nightclubs, and lounges, motion picture theaters featuring "sexploitation" movies, luncheonettes, variety shops, and inelegant retail stores. Located nearby are Boston's major commercial, governmental, shopping, and entertainment resources, and many large office buildings and department stores are but a short walking distance away. Pedestrian traffic is heavy and during the day, the area is traversed by a steady combination of shoppers, office workers, well-dressed businessmen and professionals, and blue-collar service and construction workers.

Beyond the Combat Zone

Two stores are located a few doors from each other on a main traffic artery and about 200 feet from the intersection of a major Boston expressway in an area primarily populated by small retail businesses. There is a bus stop in front of the stores and a subway stop located one-half block down the street. Directly across the street from the bookstore is a business college and a large bank; within walking distance is a university of 30,000 students in one direction and a new, large shopping-office-apartment building complex in another. In short, these stores are situated within easy accessibility to many office workers, shoppers, and students.

The last store is situated on a business street some distance from the downtown area in a section of Boston that is a mix of small retail units which serve the immediate neighborhood and lower middle class residences. While not properly described as "blighted," the area shows signs of physical deterioration, and on several site inspections evidence of vandalism is present in the store's vicinity.

Descriptions and histories

The following are brief descriptions of the 16 adult bookstores which have operated in Boston since 1962. These descriptions, in conjunction with Figure 1, are intended to provide an introductory overview of the development of the adult bookstore industry in Boston, and its prime participants, to the present time. Individual stores are in chronological order of appearance on the Boston scene.

Store No. 12 occupies a small area (approximately 15 X15 feet) in the front portion of an amusement center also housing coin-operated amusement machines and a lunch counter. It is segregated from the rest of the establishment by wooden panels about 5 feet in height. Entry is gained through an opening in the partition next to an elevated cashier's booth.

This outlet is believed to be the first in Boston to feature adult material and has been in operation since the 1950's. The outlet was operated by its founder, formerly in real estate and motion picture theater management (described by his wife as the person most responsible for "opening Boston up" to adult material), until the end of 1962, when his agreement with the owners of the amusement center was terminated. No positive identification has been made of the present operators of the outlet. Whether this outlet has been in continual, uninterrupted

operation since the early 1960's has not been determined, although it is believed that such is the case.

It is located several blocks away from its nearest Combat Zone competitor and is closest to the downtown department stores. Its material is almost wholly soft-core, and it is the most "inoffensive" of all adult bookstores in and around the Combat Zone.

Store No. 4 is in the midst of the Combat Zone. Established in 1962 by the former owner of Store No. 12 after leaving the amusement center, it is one of the largest of the Combat Zone stores, measuring about 20X40 feet. There is a section of popular magazines and other reading material in front of the store where the cashier's booth is located. The adult material is so arranged that it is not visible to the customer until he enters the rear portion of the store where it is displayed. The present manager claims to have three full-time employees working in the store.

Following a series of obscenity-related arrests, the original operator transferred ownership of the business in 1967. His successor, who claims to hold an M.B.A. degree from a prominent university, ran the store until 1969 when he sold the store back to its original owner. Following the original owner's incapacitation shortly thereafter, his wife assumed management and still continues in that capacity.

For reasons which are undetermined, this store has been the target of several fire-bombings during the last two years. To help deter further occurrences of this kind, the present owner recently removed a display window on one side of the store and replaced it with a solid barrier which the owner has dubbed the "Berlin Wall." It was through this window, facing an alley, that the bombs were thrown.

Store No. 14 was located on a side street near the heart of the Combat Zone. Originally a family-owned liquor store in business since the end of Prohibition, sex-oriented material (soft-core) was introduced in the early 1960's, presumably to supplement sagging revenues from liquor sales. After the propriety of such a combination was challenged by the authorities, the owner, late in 1963, disposed of his liquor stock and converted the premises into an adult bookstore which remained in business until 1968. The site is now occupied by a nightclub in which the former bookstore owner is believed to have a financial interest.

Store No. 10 was the second of three adult bookstores established by the former liquor merchant previously mentioned in connection with Store No. 14. First opened in 1964, it was located on the edge of the Combat Zone closest to the "legitimate" business section. Selling sex-oriented material exclusively, it was acquired in 1968 by a Providence-based company which is active in distributing adult materials to bookstores in Boston and elsewhere. The Providence organization controls a number of Boston bookstores. The store closed during January 1970. A sign on the door attributed the closing to the loss of their lease.

Store No. 2 is located outside of the Combat Zone in the immediate vicinity of small office buildings and businesses with bus and subway stops located near-by. The store's stock consists primarily of newspapers, popular magazines, paperback books, and tobacco products. A small section in a rear corner of the store is segregated for the display of a small quantity of adult magazines, limited to approximately 15 titles.

The store was purchased in 1965 by the present owner, who had been a real estate salesman and the owner of a table and chair rental business. Unhappy with the credit and collection problems experienced in his last endeavor, he purchased the subject store in order to be in a "cash business."

The store is open 18 hours a day, 7 days a week. The owner stresses that he is a "hard-working man."

He claims that sex-oriented material was first introduced by the former owner and that he continued to stock such material.

This store is of secondary importance in the total flow of adult material in Boston.

Store No. 13 is located at the lower perimeter of the Combat Zone and is approximately 20X30 feet in size. It was established early in 1966 and is believed to have the heaviest volume of business of any single outlet in Boston.

The founder is the son of a former nightclub operator reputed to be the first in Boston to introduce "gay" bars and shows featuring female impersonators, and has long-established roots in the Combat Zone.

In 1968 the owner expanded his enterprise to include two corporations involved in the distribution of sex-oriented materials and later created two corporations involved in the production and publication of such material. In late 1969, a modeling agency was added to the list of enterprises controlled by this individual. The various corporate arms described above are housed on the upper floors of the four-story building in which the retail outlet is located.

The owner is also believed to have close ties to distributors in New York City and Baltimore and may have a financial interest in several adult bookstores in Los Angeles. Although distributing to other stores in Boston, no known affiliation exists with any other local outlet.

The various enterprises employ 16 persons. The retail outlet is staffed by two full-time employees and is managed by the owner's son.

This store is regarded as one of the most aggressive of all the adult bookstores and has exercised a strong leadership role in pricing and in material content. It is reported that, due to heavy police and judicial pressures which have been imposed on the owner, he sold his retail outlet to concentrate on his other ventures. Recent observations of the store, however, indicate no change in personnel.

Store No. 8 was opened in 1966 and is the third of the adult bookstores established by the former liquor merchant (Stores No. 14 and No. 10 were the other two). Located in the Combat Zone, it is typical in size and appearance, having a raised cashier's booth near the entrance and material displayed on wall racks and free-standing racks.

Like Store No. 10, this store also is believed to have been conveyed to the Providence organization sometime in 1968.

This store also contains seven "peep show" machines.

Store No. 9 was founded early in 1967 and is located on the lower periphery of the Combat Zone near a busy intersection in an area containing some of Boston's leading entertainment facilities. It is somewhat smaller than the other Combat Zone stores and is usually staffed by one employee.

There are two "peep show" machines in this store.

This store is noteworthy as the first retail outlet founded in Boston by the Providence organization, previously mentioned in connection with their acquisition of Stores No. 10 and No. 8 in 1968.

Store No. 9 has experienced frequent police action.

Store No. 6 is located on a side street in the center of the Combat Zone. It is of moderate size, approximately 15 X 30 feet, and advertises "magazines, records, books and films—new titles every day."

The store came into being in 1968 and is operated by an individual who also owns an adult bookstore in neighboring Cambridge and a company that distributes sex-oriented materials. It is believed that a "peep show" establishment which has recently opened in the Combat Zone, the first of its kind in Boston, is also owned by this individual. He is also reputed to have financial interests in other Combat Zone establishments.

Store No. 5 is located on the lower periphery of the Combat Zone about two blocks from its nearest competitor. Of all the stores in this area, it has the least busy location—in terms of daytime pedestrian traffic. It is small, about 10X30 feet, with books displayed in wall racks visible from the street and magazines displayed so as to be visible only from within the store. At one end of the store there are two peep show machines which can be operated by any customer with 25¢. There are two full-time employees in the store.

The store is owned by the Providence organization which owns five stores in Boston and has been open since early 1968.

Little is known about Store No. 11, which is located outside the Combat Zone in another section of the city. It is surrounded by various stores and office buildings on a main street. It was in business at the beginning of the study and continued operation at the time of this writing. Inasmuch as the store never registered to do business in Boston, the exact date of opening could not be determined, but it is believed that the store has been in operation since 1967. It is known to be owned by the Providence organization, whose employees from its other stores are used to staff it. The present manager refused to be interviewed, claiming over the telephone that no "adult" material has been displayed since police action was taken against them early in 1970. This claim was proven false by subsequent site inspections. The closest competition is Store No. 2 which is located less than one-half block down the street. However, due to the extremely limited stock carried by Store No. 2, the meaningful competition is negligible.

Store No. 7, which is located in the heart of the Combat Zone, is not registered as an on-going business in any official records. However, this store (which sells tobacco goods, small appliances, and records in the front section and adult literature in a carpeted, well-lighted rear section) is owned and operated by an individual who, together with his brother, is reputed to have financial interests in several Combat Zone lounges.

In operation since 1968, this store has been closely associated with Store No. 6, and it is believed that they may be operated in tandem.

Store No. 1 was open from late 1968 until February 1970. It was small in size, approximately 30X15 feet. From the street it was difficult to tell if it was open or closed, as nothing was displayed in the window and the store's name was displayed solely on the door, covering an area about 2 X 10 inches. It was located in the Combat Zone next door to a store owned by a competitor. As it was a small

store, there was only one employee present at any given time. It was owned by an individual who owned another larger store (No. 4) about two blocks down the street. After transferring Store No. 4 back to its original owner, he also closed Store No. 1 and opened up a new one (No. 21) on a street closer to the business district.

Store No. 3 is also located outside of the Combat Zone. It is in an area of one- and two-storey high business structures. There is a subway line and bus stop in front of it. This store is about 15X40 feet with an office in the rear. In the front windows are displayed a few "mild" books and magazines. A life-size, inflated female "doll" is exhibited in the interior of the store and is immediately visible to all who enter. The material is well-displayed on wall racks as well as racks down the middle, and novelty items (jokes) are displayed in glass showcases. The store is staffed by the owner, who has no other employees, and his brothers, who fill in when he cannot be present. It should be noted that he came into the business through the encouragement of one of his brothers who operates a similar store in a suburban community. The store opened in the summer of 1969. Due to the isolated (in terms of competition) location of the store, the prices are two to three times higher than the stores in the Combat Zone.

The operation of this store appears to be somewhat haphazard. A midday site inspection revealed that the store was closed for a period of at least 2 hours. A sign on the door read "back in five minutes."

Store No. 20 is the fifth and most recent adult bookstore established by the Providence organization. It occupies the space previously held by Store No. 1. Its personnel and stock are basically the same as that of Store No. 10. It opened in early 1970 and has a cold, stark appearance which gives the impression of a temporary operation. Included in this store are eight "peep show" machines.

Store No. 21 is one of the most inviting-looking stores in the city, with display windows revealing the interior of the store as well as displaying some "mild" material. It is located on a side street connecting the Combat Zone with the more "respectable" business districts. The nearest competition is about one block away. There are four individuals connected with the operation, which was incorporated early in 1970 by the former owner of Stores No. 1 and No. 4. All of these are in official positions within the corporate structure. There is no indication that this store is in any way connected with other stores in the city.

The growth of the adult bookstore business in Boston since 1962 has been marked by a number of striking characteristics.

The 16 adult bookstores which have been in business in Boston since 1962 (13 remain), with a total business life of almost 60 years, have been established, acquired, and operated during their lifetimes by only 10 individuals or business units. Like the stores themselves, the individuals who have figured prominently in the adult bookstore business in Boston have displayed remarkable staying powers. Of the 10 individuals or business units referred to above, only one, the former liquor merchant, is known to be no longer associated with the adult bookstore business. All the others who entered the business since 1962 as owner-operators remain involved at the present time.

A turning point of sorts was reached early in 1967. Of the seven adult bookstores in existence at that time, not one is known to have had any organizational affiliations with companies primarily engaged in the wholesale distribution of

sex-oriented material. However, following the establishment of Store No. 9 by the Providence organization, the pattern began to change. The Providence organization continued to expand its ownership of retail bookstores, acquiring or establishing a total of five in 1967 and 1968. Store No. 13 added a distributing component in 1968 and Store No. 6, also distributing, came into being. At present, seven (and possibly eight) of 13 stores are controlled by distributors. Of the five stores that appear to be independent of distributors, only one (Store No. 3) is operated by an individual who entered the business after 1967. It should be noted that this store is the most remotely located of all the Boston bookstores and is a considerable distance from the Combat Zone.

The trends toward control by distributors and toward restriction of access against independent retailers have been accompanied by a tendency away from stores which sell both adult material and other merchandise in demarcated areas. Although most of the early sex-oriented material was introduced in stores of this type, only one of the four presently in existence was founded after 1965 (Store No. 7). Moreover, except for Store No. 7 (whose connection with a distributor has been rumored but not ascertained), each of the seven adult bookstores in Boston which is distributor-controlled is designated in its entirety for adults only, while of the five stores which are independently operated only two are of this type.

Physiognomy

Unlike most "legitimate" retail establishments, the adult bookstores make virtually no effort to create an attractive, inviting appearance. With the exception of the most recent store to open (Store No. 21), which is freshly painted and carpeted, they are uniformly drab and bleak. At best, they are clean and neat but no more than functional. At worst, they are littered and more than slightly reminiscent of a poorly managed rummage sale. Interior lighting is generally dim to adequate and is provided by bare lightbulbs or fluorescent fixtures. Very few stores are brightly lighted. Several stores have music from radios tuned to stations featuring popular or "rock" music. The music appears to be related more to the tastes of the clerks than to an effort to establish a particular mood in the stores. The stores are generally small and are furnished with little more than the barest essentials—free-standing racks, wall racks, and tables—giving even long-established stores a sense of impermanence. Most of the stores have elevated cashiers' stations and are equipped with mirrors placed so as to give the clerk a view of all portions of the store. Two stores are now equipped with wall-mounted television cameras that continually scan the interior.

The stores' exteriors are plain and lack any adornment. No neon signs are used, although one store displays a small electric sign in its window. In some cases, store names are prominently displayed on large, painted signs mounted on the building's facade above the display windows. No store bears a name that even remotely suggests the contents of the material which is stocked, and one store exhibits no name whatsoever. Advertising is minimal and limited to an occasional paper sign indicating that a "clearance sale" is in progress. Those stores which feature so-called "peep shows" (discussed in another section) have, from time to time, posted paper signs to that effect.

Window displays are casual in their arrangement and are sparse. Material which is displayed represents the mildest portion of the range which may be carried in the interior. Explicit or particularly provocative material is excluded.

Barriers are generally placed at the rear of the display windows so as to prevent an unobstructed view of the interior. Where a clear view is possible, the merchandise inside the store is arranged so that the "stronger" material faces inward and only the "milder" material is visible from the street.

All stores prominently display signs limiting access to persons 21 years of age or older (under Massachusetts law, a person of 18 years is considered an adult). Most stores display such signs at the entrance, although a few have posted them in interior areas where they are visible to persons entering the store.

The overriding physical characteristic of Boston's adult bookstores is one of anonymity. Although importance may be attributed to situating the store in a favorable location, efforts to stand out within such a location are conspicuously absent. Not one store can be described as "eye-catching." If anything, they tend to merge with and even recede into their surroundings. Three factors contribute to an understanding of this phenomenon. First, notwithstanding the apparent stability of the adult bookstore business, owners and operators tend to "run scared." Expressions of displeasure with the unsettled state of the law and concern over their continued vulnerability to police action are frequent among booksellers, and their activities are coupled with an awareness that an unfavorable judicial opinion could result in an abrupt impairment or termination of their businesses. Under such circumstances, a reluctance to spend money on fixtures and improvements is not surprising.

Second, booksellers emphasize their conviction that persons interested in the possession of adult material will seek it out and purchase it in any physical setting. The appearance of the store is rarely mentioned as an important element of the business.

Third, operating in an unobtrusive manner is seen as a defensive measure against action by the authorities. In "an open letter to all new dealers and bookstores," circulated by one of the largest distributors of sex-oriented materials in the East, four "simple rules" are set forth to minimize the possibility of legal entanglements and to "afford you a healthy successful business venture." After noting that the legal issues will remain unresolved for some time ("This fact we must all recognize and learn to accept"), the letter goes on to urge booksellers to avoid the sale of sex-oriented materials to minors and to establish a mutually cooperative relationship with local authorities; in reference to the present discussion, the distributor stresses that booksellers "do not display openly sex-oriented merchandise in windows or where an unwilling public must be exposed to same" and "do not 'push,' hustle or pander your wares to the public."

The last two rules reflect a recognition that excessive boldness in promoting the merchandise or the stores may serve to generate pressures from the public that may be translated into action by law enforcement agencies. In Boston, several dealers indicated that they exercise great caution in arranging their wares for public display, avoiding displays which are graphic or enticing out of fear that they may subject themselves to charges of pandering. One reported that he was warned by law enforcement officers that too prominent a display of his "adults only" sign could result in the bringing of such charges.

Capital–Rent

In the course of our interviews, we asked the booksellers how much capital was required to open such a business. There was much variance in the responses; however, most of the replies fell within the $20,000 to $25,000 range. One store owner, whose store was located outside the Combat Zone, claimed to have needed only $5,000 to open. When questioned as to how the necessary capital was raised, two respondents answered, "savings." One claimed to have obtained a bank loan. The other respondents either refused to comment or, in the case of employees, were not in possession of the information which was requested.

When probed as to the difficulty of obtaining financial aid from lending institutions, three respondents claimed that there is no discrimination by banks based on the nature of their business (adult bookstores). One stated that following heightened police action against adult bookstores, banks are more unapproachable than during "normal" conditions. The remaining five respondents lacked information in this area inasmuch as they had no contact with lending institutions.

All of the respondents claimed to rent rather than own the premises in which their stores are located. Subsequent examination of public records did not disaffirm such claims. No specific pattern of ownership of real property was noted, the various buildings being owned by a number of different realty corporations and trusts.

With one exception, respondents did not believe that differential (higher) rents are being charged because of the nature of their business. One, the manager of a newly opened Combat Zone store, alleged that such a practice exists, claiming that the rent fixed for his store is twice as high as it would be ordinarily.

Employees

Most of the adult bookstores in Boston have several employees. In one case the owner runs his store single-handedly. Employees are generally recruited informally. Four stores recruited their present employees solely through contacts with friends and acquaintances. Three stores recruited in this manner but also used newspaper advertising. Because employment in an adult bookstore is both risky (having a high arrest potential) and low-paying (clerks are paid $2.00 to $2.50 per hour), newspaper advertising is not especially productive. The vast majority of those replying to an advertisement refuse to accept employment in a bookstore upon being apprised of the foregoing. At least one bookstore operator has been accused by former employees of deception in not advising them that arrests of clerks are commonly made.

One store owner claimed to have included his employees as corporate officers or directors in order to give them a meaningful commitment to the business.

Most clerks are young males, usually in their twenties and of the "drop-out" or "drifter" type. Criminal records for petty offenses are prevalent (see Chapter VI). Female personnel are the exception, although they have been observed in three stores. Only one store, however, appears to make a practice of staffing itself with young female employees. It is also the only store with a plexiglass-enclosed cashier's station. Female personnel in the other two stores (two individuals) are middle aged and are believed to be members of the owners' families.

No black employees have been observed in any of the bookstores.

During the period of this inquiry, a wide range of media type and content were observed in Boston's adult bookstores although no individual stores specialize. Pictorial content included nude females posing alone, with their pubic regions obscured or covered (as in *Playboy*); figure studies of nude or semiclad males; completely nude males and females in outdoor settings usually engaged in recreational activities with no suggestion of sex play; couples, heterosexual and homosexual (male and female), engaged in sex play suggestive of the full panoply of sex acts both "natural" and "unnatural" but short of actual genital-genital or oral-genital penetration (males are not shown in a full state of arousal); models as in the foregoing but featuring groups, rather than couples, in a variety of sex play combinations; and nude females in reclining postures with legs spread widely apart so as to permit full and explicit exposure of the pubic region (so-called "spreaders"). There is no indication that explicit pictorial representations of actual rather than suggested or simulated sexual penetration are or have been sold openly in the stores. Pictorial material suggesting sexual relations between humans (usually female) and animals also have been noted.

Much of the material discussed above is often enhanced for various special consumer interests by the incorporation of such props as whips, chains, and leather garments.

Textual material is virtually unlimited in the scope of its contents depicting in the most graphic terms every form of sexual activity.

At any given time, however, the variety of materials offered for sale may be adjusted in response to recent law enforcement and judicial action. For example, when an arrest occurs in one of the bookstores, the news spreads very rapidly through the Combat Zone and beyond to all the other local stores, and the particular titles which were involved in the arrest are rapidly removed from the shelves of the other stores. They may, of course, reappear when the booksellers feel that the "heat is off." In 1968, "spreader" magazines were the subject of heavy police action which resulted in numerous arrests. By late 1969, when this inquiry was commenced and while these arrests and lower court convictions were still under review by the appellate courts, "spreader" magazines, exhibiting "spread shots" on the covers, had reappeared in the adult bookstores and were being openly sold and displayed. However, when the United States Supreme Court denied certiorari in these cases in December 1969 and police action against these magazines was accelerated, they were again removed from the stores and have not returned thus far—at least in their original formats.

In addition to pocketbooks and magazines, which comprise the major portion of merchandise, the bookstores also stock such items as sex-oriented tabloids, calendars, playing and greeting cards, posters, placards, comic books, photo sets, novelties, devices, and 8-mm. motion picture film. Several stores also have coin-operated "peep shows."

Sophisticated or "artistic" erotica is seldom seen in the bookstores. The material is simple, crude, and direct in its appeal.

Magazines and higher priced books are wrapped in cellophane by the retailer to prevent customers from perusing their contents. Only a limited stock of merchandise, primarily paperback books, is available for browsing.

Since 1965 most arrests in the Combat Zone bookstores, as revealed by the records of the Boston municipal court, have been based on magazines (55.6%). Only 4.8% of arrests have involved books, with none occurring since 1966. For a full breakdown of arrests for the various media between 1965 and 1969, see Table 1.

Peep shows

Four adult bookstores currently feature "peep shows." All such stores are located in the Combat Zone and all are owned by the Providence organization. In addition, one store which exhibits "peep shows" exclusively and sells no merchandise of any sort recently commenced operation in the Combat Zone. This store is said to be owned by the individual who operates Store No. 6.

"Peep shows" are a relatively new phenomenon on the Boston scene. In late 1969, only one bookstore had "peep show" machines (two in number) and advertised them in the interior of the store as the "First Peep Show in Boston—25¢." By May 1970, the three remaining Providence-owned stores had introduced such shows—the three stores containing two, seven, and eight machines, respectively. The store featuring "peep shows" exclusively is believed to have first appeared around April 1970 and contains 10 viewing machines plus a conventional motion picture projector and screen.

Table 1

MEDIA TYPE INVOLVED IN POLICE ACTIONS (ARRESTS) BY YEAR

Media type	Year					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Magazine	7 77.8%	2 50.0%	3 75.0%	18 54.6%	5 38.5%	35 55.6%
Pamphlet	— —	— —	1 25.0%	11 33.3%	3 23.1%	15 23.8%
Book	1 11.1%	2 50.0%	— —	— —	— —	3 4.8%
Photo set	1 11.1%	— —	— —	4 12.1%	— —	5 7.9%
Film	— —	— —	— —	— —	4 30.7%	4 6.3%
Combination	— —	— —	— —	— —	1* 7.7%	1* 1.6%
Total	9 100.0%	4 100.0%	4 100.0%	33 100.0%	13 100.0%	63 100.0%

*Film and magazine.

All bookstore "peep show" machines are coin operated. The machines in the "peep show" store are activated by switches which are controlled by the clerk from the cashier's station. In all cases, machines allow convenient viewing by only one patron at a time and cost 25¢ for film sequences having a duration of approximately two minutes.

Films may be in color or black-and-white and are generally of poor production quality. A large proportion of the machines are usually broken and inoperative.

Each machine contains seven separate film segments, each costing 25¢ to view. By and large, the bookstore "peep shows" are fairly "mild." Most feature a girl in the process of removing her clothing. Pubic areas are obscured. The films in the "peep show" store are somewhat more explicit and include total nudity. Films of nude males are also featured. For $1.50, one can view a three-and-one-half minute film projected on a wall screen at the rear of the store which, according to a clerk, shows a girl in a "spread" position who is "playing with herself."

A clerk in a store which has two "peep shows" estimates that about one of 10 shoppers views a film.

An examination of the application for a license to introduce the first "peep show" in Boston reveals that it was not filed by the bookstore owners but by a Maryland attorney (long active in the representation of distributors of sex-oriented materials) for an individual with a New York City address, thereby suggesting the possibility of syndication.

Under-the-counter sales

Of the bookstore personnel interviewed, only one implicitly admitted that he sells hard-core material. He claimed that there is material which he sells to his regular customers and friends that he would not dare display in the store. Other respondents, although denying that they sell such material, suggested that it was available in other stores if one knew the "right" person. Another respondent, who had experienced very little adverse police action (and who was perhaps resentful of other stores who had greater sales due to their willingness to stock "riskier" materials than he had), asserted that anyone who sells material under-the-counter should be arrested, since by the very nature of the sale he is admitting its illegality.

An official who is knowledgeable in this area believes that there has been a diminution of under-the-counter sales recently. Following the incarceration of several bookstore operators early this year, a higher degree of caution has been exercised by dealers. In the past, however, hard-core films and sexual devices were comparatively easy to obtain by way of under-the-counter purchase.

At the present time, it is very difficult to purchase under-the-counter materials in the bookstores unless one is known personally by the store manager or clerk.

Although arrests for the sale of hard-core, under-the-counter materials have taken place recently, it appears that these sales were initiated and consummated by the clerk or manager dealing for himself. In one case involving obscene playing cards, the store owner is said to have reacted with outrage at the clerk's misconduct.

Seasonal sales patterns

Only two booksellers were not able to note seasonal trends in the sale of sex-oriented materials. One represented the most remotely located Boston store and the other, a store in a suburban community. All others interviewed indicated that sale levels tend to fluctuate in seasonal patterns. There was, however, little consistency in the patterns cited or in the explanations therefor. One stated that his highest sales are during the winter months and reasoned that the cold weather encourages an increase in reading. Two claimed that sales accelerate prior to Christmas, when the area benefits from an influx of holiday shoppers (one of these also commented that the worst sales period coincides with Lent). One bookseller said that the summer months are the worst for business, because so many of his customers are away on vacation. On the other hand, three booksellers argued that business is adversely affected during the winter months, because the cold weather inhibits shoppers. The weeks preceding the filing of income tax returns was cited by one bookseller as a particularly depressed sales period.

Pricing and profits

Pricing policies vary according to the location of the particular store. Those in the heart of the Combat Zone, where competition is heaviest, normally sell their "fresh" merchandise at the publisher's cover price. From time to time, however, merchandise may be marked below the cover price to meet competition from other stores. Material which can be found in all the stores and which has been available long enough for consumer interest to lag may be substantially reduced in price to make room for new merchandise.

Stores on the fringe of the Combat Zone where competition is somewhat lighter tend to maintain the cover prices in most cases. Stores in outlying areas, removed from all competition, are able to price material as high as two or three times the publisher's cover price. Adhesive price stickers are placed over the original cover price for this purpose and cannot be removed without obliterating the original price.

Most respondents claimed to employ a standard markup for the various types of material stocked. However, two stated that magazines provide greater price flexibility than books and allow for a higher markup. One stated that he is able to mark up material appealing to homosexuals as a rate higher than that for any other merchandise stocked. Another disagreed, alleging that in his store homosexual material has the lowest markup.

Generally, material obtained through distributors costs the retail bookseller two-thirds of the item's cover price. Material obtained directly from publishers is purchased at one-half of the cover price.

Prices in the stores range from under $1 for adult tabloids and soft-core "girlie" magazines to about $20 for a 200-foot, 8-mm. reel of black-and-white film. Magazines may sell for as much as $12.50, but most are between $2 and $5. Paperback books containing color photographs retail for $3 to $4. Paperback books which do not contain photographs range in price from $1 to $2.50.

Packages of sex-oriented greeting cards with color "spreaders" retail for about $15. Playing cards range from $3 to $5 and with "spreaders" from $7.50 to $10.

Estimating profits for an adult bookstore is difficult. Booksellers refused to discuss matters concerning finances and would not yield any information on that subject. However, notwithstanding the difficulty in obtaining accurate, reliable information from participants and other sources, it would appear that sizable profits can be made in this business. In 1969 a Boston newspaper carried a feature story which included an assertion that one of the smaller Combat Zone stores had a net profit of $60,000 in the previous year after paying its corporate officers salaries of $25,000 each.[5]

Using data derived from systematic observations of the bookstores (see later section on the consumer) persons having knowledge of Combat Zone business costs (rent) and other sources, it was possible to make rough projections concerning estimated annual sales volume, overhead, and net profit for an average Combat Zone bookstore. These projections, admittedly crude and somewhat speculative, are completely consistent with the figures cited in the newspaper article referred to above and suggest that annual net profits in the area of $50,000 to $100,000 may not be unrealistic.

THE CONSUMER

Profile

Procedure. In order to develop quantitative data concerning consumers of sex-oriented material, systematic observations were undertaken of 10 adult bookstores in Boston. The observations, totaling 14 hours, were conducted by two researchers on three separate weekdays in the latter part of May 1970. Bookstores were observed for one-hour periods from positions on the street that permitted a view of shoppers as they entered and exited from the stores and of the interior cashiers' stations. All observations were made between 10 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. Weather throughout the observation periods was uniformly sunny and warm with temperatures between 70° and 80°. Every Combat Zone bookstore was observed for least one hour, except Store No. 9 which is not susceptible to observation from the street. Four stores were observed for two hours. Store No. 11, located outside the Combat Zone, was observed for one hour.

Data was recorded for all shoppers entering or leaving the stores during the observation periods and included estimated age, sex, race, manner of dress, whether a purchase was made, and whether the shopper entered the store alone or in a group. Informal observations concerning the behavior patterns of shoppers were also recorded. For example, did the shopper go directly into the bookstore or did he linger outside, walk back and forth prior to entering, or give any indication of "anxiety" or "hesitancy" before going into the store.

Age estimates are in the following three groupings: 20 to 29 years; 30 to 39 years; and 40 years and over. Notations concerning attire are grouped as follows: coat and tie (including individuals wearing suits or sport jackets—five individuals wearing dress shirts and ties but no jacket are included in this category); casual (including individuals wearing sport jackets but no tie, sport shirts and slacks, Levi's, sweaters, and "hippie" attire); work clothing (including uniforms, overalls,

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5. Boston *Herald Traveler,* June 29, 1969.

work boots, steel helmets, tool belts, and work shirts); military (those in military uniforms regardless of branch of service or rank); and disheveled (may include any of the above but extremely disheveled and suggesting that the wearer may be a derelict).

Persons observed entering or leaving the stores are referred to as "shoppers." Persons known to make or not make a purchase are referred to as "buyers" and "non-buyers," respectively.

Results and discussion. During the 14 hours of observation, 493 shoppers were observed entering or leaving the adult bookstores, or an average of 35.2 shoppers per hour. Of these, 470 (95.4%) were whites, 12 (2.4%) were blacks, and 11 (2.2%) were Orientals. (The very low percentage of blacks in the sample population is underscored by the findings of a California survey which reported that none of the "sex shops" located in Los Angeles in 1967 was situated in a black or Mexican-American section.[6]) Accurate identification of culturally distinguishable groups, such as Latin Americans, could not be made.

Only one female, a non-buyer in her fifties, was observed among the 493 shoppers in the bookstores. This corroborates information provided by almost all booksellers interviewed to the effect that females comprise a miniscule portion of their customers. (Only one bookseller differed, estimating the percentage of female customers as high as 10%.) For purposes of further analysis, the female shopper has been excluded, resulting in an adjusted sample of 492 male shoppers.

A strikingly small number of shoppers entered or left the stores in groups—a total of 22 individuals (4.5%) of 492 male shoppers. No group was larger than two persons (there were 11 pairs), and each was uniform with regard to age and dress. Of the 11 pairs observed, six consisted of men in their twenties (11.5% of all shoppers in their twenties), two were in their thirties (4.5% of all shoppers in their thirties), and three were in their forties (2.0% of all shoppers in their forties), reflecting a greater tendency among younger shoppers to enter the stores in the company of others than among older shoppers who were overwhelmingly solitary in their shopping pattern.

As can be seen in Table 2, the coat and tie group comprised 251 (51.1%) of all shoppers; the casually dressed group consisted of 187 (38.0%) shoppers; the work clothing group, 36 (7.3%) shoppers; and the disheveled group, 16 (3.2%) shoppers. There were only two shoppers, or 0.4% of the total, who were in military uniforms. In terms of age, those individuals aged 40 or more comprised 300 (61.0%) of the sample of shoppers. Those in their twenties and thirties made up 104 (21.9%) and 88 (17.9%) of the sample, respectively.

Of the sample of 492 males, 455 (92.5%) were positively identified as buyers or non-buyers. It could not be positively determined whether the remaining 37 shoppers (7.5%) did or did not make purchases due to temporary obstructions of the observers' views resulting from street conditions, such as vehicular or pedestrian traffic.

An analysis of the ages and dress styles of these 37 shoppers revealed that, in age and dress, they are markedly similar to the group of 455 shoppers on whom we possess specific data. For this reason we assume that these 37 shoppers would

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6. Office of the Attorney General, State of California, "A Report to the California State Legislature on Obscenity," April 6, 1967, p. 70.

be distributed evenly throughout our total sample. Excluding them from subsequent analyses should not, therefore, affect our findings.

In order to define more clearly the type of shopper who frequents the adult bookstore, we further analyzed the sample with regard to the frequency of purchases for the various dress and age groupings (see Table 3).

Table 2

SHOPPERS IN ADULT BOOKSTORES: AGE AND ATTIRE

Attire	Age			
	20's	30's	40 and over	Total
Coat and tie	22 4.5%	41 8.4%	188 38.2%	251 51.1%
Casual	75 15.2%	35 7.1%	77 15.7%	187 38.0%
Work clothes	2 0.4%	11 2.2%	23 4.7%	36 7.3%
Disheveled	3 0.6%	1 0.2%	12 2.4%	16 3.2%
Military	2 0.4%	— —	— —	2 0.4%
Total	104 21.1%	88 17.9%	300 61.0%	492 100.0%

Table 3

BUYERS IN ADULT BOOKSTORES: AGE AND ATTIRE

Attire	Age			
	20's	30's	40 and over	Total
Coat and tie	9 5.6%	13 8.0%	67 41.4%	89 55.0%
Casual	20 12.3%	16 9.9%	22 13.6%	58 35.8%
Work clothes	1 0.6%	2 1.2%	8 5.0%	11 6.8%
Disheveled	— —	— —	3 1.8%	3 1.8%
Military	1 0.6%	— —	— —	1 0.6%
Total	31 19.1%	31 19.1%	100 61.8%	162 100.0%

Of the 455 known buyers and non-buyers among all stores, 162 (35.6%) persons made purchases, while 293 (64.4%) made no purchases. Within particular stores at a given hour, the percentages ranged from 22.6% (low) to 60.9% (high).

Information contained in Table 3 reveals that by age grouping the largest percentage of all buyers (61.8%) was 40 years and over. By attire, the largest percentage of all buyers (55.0%) was wearing coats and ties.

When considering age and attire, Table 3 shows that the 40-years-or-older group wearing coats and ties accounted by far for the largest percentage of purchases (41.4%), followed by the 40-years-and-over group wearing casual attire (13.6%).

While age and attire groups are not represented equally among all potential buyers, subsequent purchases by specific age and attire groups appear to be closely related to the total number of individuals of similar attire and similar age observed entering the various stores. In other words, while a total of 21.1% of our sample of shoppers were men in their twenties, 19.1% of the buyers were also in their twenties. The same proximal relationship was found also to exist for men in their thirties and forties. In terms of type of attire worn, the buyers are markedly similar (in terms of their proportions) to the sample of total shoppers. While 51.1% of the shoppers were observed wearing coats and ties, 55% of the buyers wore coats and ties as well. Thirty-eight percent of the shoppers were dressed casually, and 35.8% of the buyers were dressed casually. The striking similarity between the total sample of shoppers and subsequent buyers in terms of both age and attire indicates that the proportion of buyers of sex-oriented materials is almost equivalent to the proportion of shoppers in each group of our sample.

This section compares buyers and non-buyers. It is included in order for the reader to more fully understand the relationship between the buyer and non-buyer in terms of the variables of age and attire for both of these groups.

Table 4 presents a comparison of buyers and non-buyers in terms of the ages of men in both of these known groups. Inspection of this table reveals that the largest group of *known buyers* was comprised of men 40 years and older (22.0%), whereas 14% of the buyers were men in their twenties and thirties. The non-buyers consisted of 39.4% men 40 years and older and of 25.1% 20- and 30-year-olds. Across all age groups, the buyers made up 36.0% while the non-buyers made up 64.0% of all buyers and non-buyers. These data confirm that approximately one-third of the men in a given age group will make purchases once they have entered an adult bookstore.

Table 4

COMPARISON OF BUYERS AND NON-BUYERS BY AGE FOR ALL ATTIRE GROUPS

Buyers			Non-buyers			
Age			Age			
20's	30's	40's	20's	30's	40's	Total
31	31	100	65	49	179	455
6.8%	6.8%	22.0%	14.3%	10.8%	39.4%	100.0%

Table 5 is based on a comparison of buyers and non-buyers in terms of the attire worn by both groups. In other words, of the 226 buyers and non-buyers wearing coats and ties, 39.3% made purchases, while 60.7% did not. Of the 178 casually dressed buyers and non-buyers, 32.5% were observed to make a purchase while 67.5% did not. For the 35 men observed wearing work clothes, 31.4% bought material and 68.6% bought nothing. Of the 14 disheveled shoppers, 21.4% were found to buy something while 78.6% did not make a purchase. Of the two men observed entering the bookstores wearing military attire, one was found to make a purchase while the other did not. Inspection of Table 5 confirms once again that the proportion of purchases an individual in a given attire group will make is roughly one-third of the proportion of similarly dressed individuals seen entering an adult bookstore.

Table 6 is included to provide both a comparison and summary presentation of the data presented in Tables 4 and 5. As shown by the data in this table, the largest number of buyers are the 40-year-old men wearing coat and tie, followed by the 40-year-old casually dressed group, and the 20-year-old casually dressed men. The smallest number of buyers in our sample were men in their twenties wearing work clothes and military men in their twenties. Similarly, the largest group of non-buyers consisted of men in their forties dressed in coats and ties and casually dressed 40- and 20-year-olds. The smallest number of non-buyers consisted of the following groups: 20-year-old men in work clothes; 20-year-old men in military dress; and 30-year-old men who were dressed in a disheveled manner.

The findings reported above indicate that the primary shopper (browser) and buyer in the adult bookstores observed during the indicated observation periods is a "white-collar type" in his forties or fifties (very few shoppers in their sixties were observed in the stores). Viewed as a whole, the sample of 492 male shoppers suggests a representation of white "middle America." Very few extremes in physical appearance were observed. No persons with pronounced physical

Table 5

COMPARISON OF BUYERS AND NON-BUYERS BY ATTIRE FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Attire	Buyers	Non-buyers	Total
Coat and tie	89 39.3%	137 60.7%	226 100.0%
Casual	58 32.5%	120 67.5%	178 100.0%
Work	11 31.4%	24 68.6%	35 100.0%
Disheveled	3 21.4%	11 78.6%	14 100.0%
Military	1 50.0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
All groups	162 35.6%	293 64.4%	455 100.0%

Table 6

COMPARISON OF BUYERS AND NON-BUYERS BY AGE AND ATTIRE

Attire	Buyers			Non-buyers			
	Age			Age			
	20's	30's	40's	20's	30's	40's	Total
Coat and tie	9	13	67	10	21	106	226
	4.0%	5.8%	29.6%	4.4%	9.3%	46.9%	100.0%
Casual	20	16	22	50	18	52	178
	11.2%	9.0%	12.4%	28.1%	10.1%	29.2%	100.0%
Work	1	2	8	1	9	14	35
	2.9%	5.7%	22.8%	2.9%	25.7%	40.0%	100.0%
Disheveled	–	–	3	3	1	7	14
	–	–	21.4%	21.4%	7.2%	50.0%	100.0%
Military	1	–	–	1	–	–	2
	50.0%	–	–	50.0%	–	–	100.0%

handicaps were observed, nor were any whose appearance could be characterized as "grotesque." (However, one bookseller has reported that a "significant" percentage of his customers are disabled or deformed.) Attire, even among the casually dressed, was quite ordinary. Of the entire sample, only five individuals were dressed in "hippie-like" garb. Only nine men had beards. Long hair was not common.

Shoppers in the 40-years-and-older group displayed a far greater tendency to enter and leave the stores without loitering outside than did those in their twenties. They did not tend to deliberate or hesitate before entering the stores and conveyed the general impression of having made a decision to shop prior to coming in close proximity to the stores. They also tended to remain within the stores for longer intervals than did younger shoppers and, after emerging, departed from the vicinity quickly and decisively.

A far greater proportion of shoppers in their twenties tended to linger and deliberate before entering the stores. Some walked back and forth in front of the stores, occasionally crossing the street before entering. Their demeanor suggested a higher proportion of "impulse shopping" in this group than in the 40-and-older group.

However, notwithstanding the differences between age groups in regard to the level of impulsiveness or predetermination exhibited in their shopping patterns, *once inside the store* each of the groups displayed the same ratio of buyers to non-buyers.

Descriptions of the consumer population provided by booksellers are quite consistent with the findings which emerged from the store observations reported above. According to the respondents, customers are predominantly over 30 years of age, with the bulk in their forties and fifties. None reported a significant interest in their material among younger males. (With the exception of one or two borderline cases, no juveniles have been observed in any of the adult bookstores and there is little evidence to suggest that sales to juveniles occur with any frequency. Whether this reflects a lack of interest among youth or the strict

enforcement of the minimum-age rules by booksellers is unknown.) Customers are described as white-collar, primarily, and several booksellers stated that many of their customers are professionals and business executives.

All dealers acknowledged that a sizable percentage of their customers are homosexual, but only one would venture a guess as to the amount. He estimated that they make up about 40% of the total.

Most of the stores claim a steady clientele who buy material regularly, as well as transients who rarely come in more than once. Many of the steady customers buy large quantities of material, sometimes as much as $50 to $100 worth at a time. Since they have frequented the stores for extended periods of time, they know the delivery schedules of the various titles and publishers and usually shop soon after new titles are brought in.

It appears that steady customers are a large enough factor in the adult bookstore business to dictate much of the industry's style. For example, the prompt delivery of new issues and titles (as soon as, or before, other stores get them) is of paramount importance to the bookstore operator. His steady customers are able to recognize new material immediately and will shop elsewhere, if necessary, in order to obtain it. Books or magazines that are not sold within 90 days after their first apperance in Boston are considered "stale," and prices are slashed for clearance. Moreover, steady customers are very reluctant to purchase material featuring models whom they recognize from previous titles or issues. They constantly demand new faces and the industry treats this demand as a high priority.

Although the customer will purchase whatever is available, constant pressure is exerted for "rougher" material. Publishers and distributors, intent upon gaining a competitive advantage, may respond to consumer interests by circulating "harder" material to local booksellers notwithstanding its vulnerability to local police action. The bookseller must then decide whether to offer such material for sale or to return it. One knowledgeable source, commenting on the "plight" of the bookseller in deciding whether to introduce stronger material stated: "How far is his position from the physician who prescribes a newly marketed drug? He receives numbers of drugs from various pharmaceutical houses. He is told that they have certain capabilities and he assumes what he's told is correct. But what happens in a case like Thalidomide? A dirty sex book is like a bookseller's Thalidomide."

Two booksellers noted fads among consumers and estimated that they run in cycles of approximately four a year. Recent fads have been accompanied by requests for material depicting incest, sex between humans and animals, and sadomasochism.

Most booksellers stated that location is an important element in operating a profitable business. Most lamented the proximity of competing bookstores. Others stated that it is preferable to be located away from "rough" sections, which could intimidate potential customers, but not sufficiently close to "respectable" business districts as to encourage an unfavorable police and citizen reaction. Most indicated that a location near public transportation and/or office buildings, where many potential customers work, is highly desirable.

Nervousness and timidity are seen as being more prevalent in the stores among transient shoppers than among steady customers. In order to put customers at ease,

all but one of the booksellers claimed to maintain a substantial social distance, collecting payment and bagging merchandise without looking directly at the customer. Interaction between customers is minimal and only rarely do they engage in conversation. Customers have been observed to read over other customers' shoulders while at the same time thumbing through material which they may have in their hands in an effort to gain as much coverage of the store's merchandise as possible.

In addition to being exceedingly impersonal, the atmosphere in most stores conveys a sense of authoritarianism. The elevated cashier's booths, mirrors, and television cameras tend to place the customer on notice that he is regarded as someone who cannot conduct himself properly in the absence of continual observation. Clerks employ techniques for the management of browsers which would cause havoc in a "respectable" retail establishment. For example, when a person is caught reading for extended periods of time rather than browsing, or thought to have browsed for too long a period of time, he is frequently embarrassed and humiliated by the clerk who may accuse him of being sexually involved with himself or too imbecilic to comprehend the posted time limits or other restrictions on browsing. Customers who are treated in such a manner tend to respond submissively.

Booksellers who also carry general merchandise state that most of their customers who buy the sex-oriented offerings know where they are and proceed directly to them without pausing to peruse the general merchandise to conceal their intentions.

All but two respondents identified shoplifting as a problem. Most frequently taken are the smaller items, particularly pocketbooks. In terms of content, two reported that "gay" material is most often stolen. The other respondents had no opinion. One identified businessmen as the most frequent offenders. Most viewed shoplifting, in large measure, as a product of customer reluctance, caused by embarrassment, to bring his selection to the clerk for purchase.

None of the respondents had ever requested police action in connection with shoplifting. One respondent, when asked how shoplifters are handled, replied: "We break their hands."

DISTRIBUTION AND PRODUCTION

Distribution

Booksellers varied widely in their estimates of the number of distributors of adult material who service the Boston area. The lowest number (two) was mentioned by the manager of a store controlled by the Providence organization who is not likely to have extensive contacts with other distributors. The highest figure (50 to 60) was reported by the owner of an independent bookstore in a suburban community. It is believed that this figure also includes publishers with whom the dealer has contact and is a grossly inflated estimate of distributors only. The owner of a small store with an adult books section estimated that about five distributors service the area. Three respondents refused to answer the question and three confined their replies to "many." Based upon an analysis of all data which was gathered on this subject, it is believed that the area is serviced by a minimum of six to 10 distributors and that the actual number may be larger.

Five of the stores contacted obtained their material exclusively from distributors. Of these, four are controlled by distributors, and one is a small independent with an adult section who purchases solely from the Providence organization, claiming to prefer the convenience of such an arrangement. Four stores (all independents) purchase from both distributors and publishers. One of these buys most of his material directly from publishers. Because he is located outside the Combat Zone and a considerable distance from competition, the price advantage gained in buying from publishers outweighs the competitive advantages derived from dealing with distributors (such as quick delivery of new titles, immediate access to advanced material).

Three distributors operate out of the Boston area and appear to furnish the bulk of sex-oriented material which is available through local adult bookstores. In addition to distributing material to the entire adult bookstore population, each also operates its own outlets in Boston. The advantages of such an arrangement are evident. Not only does the distributor enlarge and secure the wholesale market for his material, but he can also operate his retail outlet with a higher profit margin than can his independent competitors. These three combine to control seven or eight Boston adult bookstores.

The largest (at least in terms of outlet ownership) is an organization based in Providence, Rhode Island. It has been in business for at least 10 years and was the earliest and largest distributor of sex-oriented material to Boston. It is known to supply material to bookstores throughout Rhode Island and Massachusetts but there is no indication that its activities extend significantly beyond the New England region nor that it is engaged in the production of material. Since early in 1967 when it founded its first retail outlet in Boston, the Providence organization has expanded its control of local outlets and now operates a total of five. Each store is under the management of one individual, but employees tend to circulate among the five stores. One individual oversees the operation of all the Providence-owned stores.

During 1967 the Providence organization also established a Boston based distribution business and storage center to facilitate its local activities.

The largest Boston based distribution enterprise was established in 1968 and is an outgrowth of a retail store which was opened early in 1966 (Store No. 13). Conducting business under two corporate structures, this enterprise has grown impressively in a short period of time and is regarded, together with the Providence organization, as the most important distributor to the Boston adult bookstores. A recent raid by law enforcement officers of this enterprise's warehouse revealed the presence of about 100,000 magazines.

Much of the material distributed by this enterprise is produced by its other corporate arms. In addition, material is obtained from publishers, especially two prominent firms in Baltimore and New York City. It is also believed that this enterprise and a New York publisher may jointly control several Los Angeles bookstores.

Shipment is made by truck and bus, the latter when quick delivery of small quantities is required. Air freight is no longer a favored means of transporting merchandise due to the high rate of pilferage and seizure experienced. A shipment worth $2,300 was recently lost when a handler at the airport, who claimed to have accidentally torn open a carton, reported his findings to the police.

The third distributor active in Boston is also the owner of an adult bookstore in the Combat Zone (Store No. 6) and one in Cambridge, Mass. It is alleged that he also controls a second Combat Zone store. Although regarded as a relatively minor figure by law enforcement officers, basis exists for believing that his operation is more extensive than acknowledged. A single shipment from California, addressed to his Boston bookstore, was intercepted at Logan Airport and found to include 134 cartons containing a total of 26,800 magazines.

Competition between distributors servicing the Boston area is heavy and is focused on pricing, willingness and ability to provide legal assistance and payment of fines, quality and variety of merchandise, and prompt delivery of new titles. Rumors abound that strong-arm methods (or the threat thereof) have been employed to expand control over existing markets or to acquire new ones. While no hard evidence has been adduced to verify any of these allegations, it is believed that they are not entirely without foundation and that "muscle" may indeed be used from time to time.

The extent to which the independent stores are "controlled" by specific distributors is unknown. Indications are that most of them deal with a number of distributors and that the Boston adult bookstore business, although moving in the direction of oligarchic control, retains some characteristics of the free market. According to one source, the influence of the Providence organization in the Boston marketplace is decreasing among independents due to the poor quality of its materials. However, since this merchandise tends to be cheaper, there is still a considerable quantity of it in the independent stores. That some fluidity remains is evidenced by the fact that the largest Boston based distributor is known to service adult bookstores in Providence.

Retail outlets purchase materials on an "open shipment" basis, enabling them to return unwanted merchandise to the distributor within a reasonable time for full credit. Distributors generally ship materials of the type which the bookseller has indicated he desires rather than by an order for a specific title. Respondents who have found it necessary to return merchandise to distributors experienced complete cooperation in such transactions.

One bookseller, a relative newcomer, complained that before he "learned the ropes," he was "burned" several times by distributors who furnished him with outdated merchandise which he was unable to sell.

One of the two Boston-based distributors is known to ship materials outside the immediate area on a major scale. In a recent raid on his warehouse, an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 books and magazines were found packaged for shipment to retail outlets in cities throughout the United States. Although the largest distributor in Boston operates on a national scale, Federal officials regard this operation as being of secondary importance in the national distribution of sex-oriented materials.

Until 1968 no firms in Boston were known to be using the mails for the transportation of sex-oriented materials. Now, both Boston-based distribution companies engage in the mail-order sale of such materials. One advertises its offerings in adult magazines and solicits inquiries. An interested reader may fill out a coupon attesting that he is over 21 years of age and submit it, together with $1. Once on file, the reader need not submit additional certifications of age for subsequent orders. In return, the reader receives an illustrated catalog. No material is sent to a prospective customer in the absence of a request for same.

Very few complaints have been lodged with postal authorities concerning the mail-order activities of the two Boston firms in view of the fact that they do not engage in unsolicited circularization.

Production

Boston's most prominent distributor is also Boston's only major producer of adult materials, publishing both sex-oriented magazines and paperback books. Distribution is handled by his own firm and covers his own as well as other local retail outlets. Material is also produced for national circulation.

Particularly provocative material which may be produced is believed to be restricted for distribution outside of the Boston area. Recently, a series of paperback books containing photographs was shipped to a distributor in Cleveland, Ohio for restricted circulation in other parts of the country. Due to a mix-up, some of the material was shipped to a large number of retail outlets in Boston and resulted in the arrests of several booksellers, much to the chagrin of the publisher.

In addition to whatever "legitimate" functions which it may perform, a modeling agency which was recently established by the publisher is used in the recruitment of models for the books and magazines which are produced. Knowledgeable sources claim that finding models in Boston who are willing to pose for such photographs is not easy. According to one estimate, fewer than one out of 20 applicants will consent to be photographed in this manner. Models are said to represent a cross-section of the female population and include students and "ordinary" working girls. Models are paid $40 per session (one hour and 15 minutes) and girls are seldom used for more than one or two sessions. Because consumers will not purchase material featuring girls whom they have seen before, a constant effort is made to find new girls to pose. Inasmuch as hundreds of photographs can be taken of a model during a single session, her potential can be fully exploited without recourse to additional sessions. If the model is exceptionally attractive, she may be asked again. Different wigs and settings are employed to alter her appearance.

Prostitutes are not likely to model inasmuch as they can earn considerably more money in other endeavors.

A high percentage of male models, even those shown in heterosexual activities, are said to be homosexual.

"Quality" in a picture magazine is said to depend largely on good models and photographic reproduction. The process of preparing a magazine for publication seems somewhat unsystematic. As one individual, familiar with production practices, described it, photographs are collected and examined and when the best which are available are chosen, "[they] kind of put things together in a slapdash manner . . . and sort of throw together a book."

Magazines are designed to go as far as the law will allow and are rather artfully produced to suggest as much as possible without going beyond the bounds of legal permissibility. In determining what can or cannot be shown, one individual stated that the decision is made "'by the grace of God and hope that [they are] not going to get anybody in trouble."

Method and procedure

The sample for this investigation of adult bookstores in Boston from 1965 through 1969 consisted of a total of 13 such establishments. Specific information regarding the histories, number of arrests, number of specific charges, personnel, and so on was obtained for these bookstores from records on file in the Boston Municipal Court and the Suffolk Superior Court, public business records and documents pertaining to the bookstores, as well as information obtained through interviews with public officials, bookstore personnel, and others. For purposes of analysis and because the records of the Boston Municipal Court are available in a relatively complete fashion only since 1965, the data to be reported are based on information from January 1, 1965 through December 31, 1969. In addition we have attempted, where possible, to include data from the first quarter of 1970 for as many of the measures as possible, thereby bringing the findings up to date. The 1970 data was obtained from arrest records furnished by the Boston Police Department, Vice Control Unit. A copy of the data collection inventory is included in the appendix to this report.

Results

Over the 5-year period from January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1969, there were 63 arrests for obscenity-related offenses in adult bookstores recorded by the Boston Municipal Court. By year, the greatest number was in 1968 (33), the least in 1966 and 1967 (four arrests each). (See Table 7.) The mean number of arrests for any one year in this 5-year period was 12.6.

During the first quarter of 1970 there were a total of 14 arrests involving Boston bookstores dealing in adult material.

When the arrests are examined by month of occurrence, the following is observed. Seventy-five percent of all arrests over the 5-year period took place during the first 6 months of each year (January-June). Further, 7 months (January, February, March, April, May, October, November) accounted for 54 (87%) of all arrests made. If one were to assume that the time of year at which an

Table 7

ARRESTS IN ADULT BOOKSTORES FOR OBSCENITY-RELATED OFFENSES RECORDED BY THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT BY YEAR

Year	Arrests	
	N	Percent
1965	9	14.3
1966	4	6.3
1967	4	6.3
1968	33	52.4
1969	13	20.7
Total	63	100.0

arrest was made was "normally" distributed, then these same 7 months should have accounted for only 58% and not the 87% obtained.

A closer examination of the monthly breakdown of arrests indicates that the greatest percentage of arrests occurred during the month of April (19%) followed by May and January (13%), February (11%), and October (10%). (See Table 8.)

In contrast to the winter-spring figures, a sharp drop in arrests occurred during the summer months. There were only four arrests made in June over the 5-year period, and no arrests were made during the months of July and August with only one arrest being made in September. This summer season (June-September) accounted for only 8% of all arrests made over the entire 5-year period.

The fall months (October-December) accounted for 24% of the arrests: October (10%), November (8%), and December (6%). The figures for 1970 indicate that there were two arrests in January, five in February, and seven in March.

These findings appear to indicate that arrest rates are related to the time of year. Although no firm causal relationship has been adduced, the falloff in arrests during the summer months coincides with the period in which consumer interest and bookstore sales are reported at their lowest level.

Over the 5-year period, three stores (5, 9, and 13) experienced 55.55% of all individual arrests (arrests of individuals on specific dates in specific stores). The

Table 8

ARRESTS BY MONTH, BY YEAR

Month	Year					Total	
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	n	Percent
January	1	2		5		8	13
February	2			4	1	7	11
March				8		8	13
April	3		3	4	2	12	19
May	2	2		4		8	13
June				2	2	4	6
July						0	—
August						0	—
September					1	1	1
October				4	2	6	10
November				2	3	5	8
December	1		1		2	4	6
Total	9	4	4	33	13	63	100

other 10 stores which were open at some point during the period covered, and which were in the jurisdiction of the Boston Municipal Court, accounted for only 44.44% (see Table 9). Since the first of these three "hard hit" stores did not open for business until early in 1966, it might be more appropriate to compare their arrest rates to the other stores for the 4 years between 1966-1969. Examination of that data reveals the following: these three stores accounted for 65% of all arrests made during that 4-year period, while the remaining 10 stores accounted for 35% of all arrests during that same period.

The 1970 figures show two, one, and zero arrests, respectively, for these stores (5, 9, 13), with their total percentage reduced to 21% of all arrests. The stores which have been subject to the greatest amount of police action in 1970 are the five owned by the Providence organization. These five stores accounted for 71% of all 1970 arrests.

There appears to have been an increase in police action against bookstores located outside of the Combat Zone area. Five (36%) of the 1970 arrests took place in two stores so located.

In an effort to more accurately assess possible differential police action among the various stores in our sample area, we have graphically depicted both the individual arrest rate (the number of separate individuals arrested in a given store on a given date divided by the number of months in the particular 6-month period

Table 9

NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN SPECIFIC STORES BY YEAR

Store	Year					Total	
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	n	Percent
1					1	1	1
2						0	—
4	2	2	1			5	8
5				5	3	8	13
6				3	3	6	10
7					1	1	1
8				4	1	5	8
9			2	12	1	15	24
10	3			2		5	8
11						0	—
12	1					1	1
13		2	1	6	3	12	19
14	3			1		4	7
Total	9	4	4	33	13	63	100

the particular store was open), and the store arrest rates (the number of separate days within a specific 6-month period when an arrest or arrests took place within a given store divided by the number of months in the particular 6-month period the particular store was open) for two store groupings: the "hard hit" and the "less frequently hit." It is interesting to note that among the "hard hit" are the first two stores which were opened by the Providence organization plus the store owned by a major Boston producer-distributor of adult material. The "less frequently hit" are represented by five of the remaining 10 bookstores in the sample.

(A reduction of the sample of "less frequently hit" stores from 10 to five is necessitated by a number of factors. Three of the 10 are not directly within the Combat Zone area. Two of the 10 (which are located in the Combat Zone) do not have sufficiently precise known dates of operation and for that reason could not be included in comparison with the three "hard hit" stores. It should be noted, however, that these two stores for which specific data were not available had the lowest arrest rates of any of the 13 stores in our sample. The disparity between the "hard hit" stores and the "less frequently hit" would have been even wider with their inclusion in the "less frequently hit" group.)

In examining the individual arrest rates it can be seen that while arrest rates followed basically the same patterns over the 4-year periods for the two groups, the "hard hit" stores consistently experienced higher rates than the "less frequently hit."

The greatest number of arrests (33) was made in 1968, the majority of which were for possession (18), which was followed by sale (10), sale and possession (4), and sale to a minor (1).

Of the nine arrests in 1965, four were for possession, four for sale, and one for sale to a minor. Only four arrests were made in 1967, three for sale and one for sale and possession. Five of the 1969 arrests were for possession, while eight were for sale.

The breakdown by offense for the 5-year period indicates that almost equal numbers of arrests were made for sale (28, or 45%) and possession (26, or 41%), followed by possession and sale (5, or 8%), sale to a minor (2, or 3%), and possession and sale to a minor (2, or 3%). (See Table 10.)

The 1970 figures reveal 12 arrests for sale (86%), one for possession, and one for sale and possession. This higher percentage of arrests for sale is possibly explained by the correspondingly high arrest rate for clerks, as it was usually managers or owners who were charged with possession. Also, since the majority of arrests were made in the stores owned by the individuals who are seldom, if ever, present in their stores, clerks were the only persons who could be arrested on the premises.

To put the various charges made over the 5-year period in perspective, Table 11 gives the breakdown of those arrested by occupational position. It should be noted that although corporations are not subject to arrest, proceedings which were commenced against corporate bodies are included to present a complete picture of police actions against adult bookstores.

During the 5-year period, clerks were involved in 52% of all police actions against bookstores, the highest percentage for any occupational role group. Following the clerk group was the officers-present group (which includes managers, owners, and corporate officers who participate in the on-site operation

Table 10

ARRESTS (CHARGE) BY YEAR

Charge	Year					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Possession	4	1	—	18	5	28
	44%	25%	—	55%	38%	45%
Sale	4	1	3	10	8	26
	44%	25%	75%	30%	62%	41%
Sale to a minor	1	—	—	1	—	2
	12%	—	—	3%	—	3%
Possession and sale	—	—	1	4	—	5
	—	—	25%	12%	—	8%
Possession and sale to a minor	—	2	—	—	—	2
	—	50%	—	—	—	3%
Total	9	4	4	33	13	63
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 11

ARRESTS OF INDIVIDUALS IN SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL ROLES BY YEAR

Occupational Role	Year					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Clerks	5	1	3	17	7	33
	56%	25%	75%	52%	54%	52%
Officers* present	1	3	—	8	4	16
	11%	75%	—	24%	31%	26%
Unknown	3	—	—	1	—	4
	33%	—	—	3%	—	6%
Corporation	—	—	1	7	2	10
	—	—	25%	21%	15%	16%
Total	9	4	4	33	13	63
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Officers, while including corporate officers, is not limited to them. The category also includes managers, owners, and any others with a proprietary interest in a business.

of the store), which was involved in 26% of the actions. There were no arrests of corporate officers or owners who were not present in the daily operations of their stores. A total of 10 (16%) police actions were initiated against corporate bodies.

In 1970, 79% of the arrests involved clerks. The other arrests included a manager and an owner.

That the highest percentage of arrests involved clerks is to be expected, since they have the most public exposure and spend the greatest amount of time in the stores of all the occupational role groups. The figures for the 5-year period bear out the contention that chance of arrest is inversely related to an individual's status in the hierarchy of the business.

A single arrest may result in the lodging of more than one charge against the offender, each charge, or "count," arising out of and constituting a legally separable offense. Counts of obscenity-related offenses are broken down in Table 12. The police, who are the complainants, determine the number of counts to be lodged for each arrest.

The 63 arrests made during the 5-year period gave rise to 106 counts or charges, the greatest percentage of which (51%) were for arrests involving possession of obscene material, followed by those involving sale (43%), and sale to a minor (6%).

A comparison of the number of counts (Table 12) and the number of arrests (Table 10) reveals that, on the average, there were almost twice as many counts charged against individuals as there were arrests (63 arrests and 106 counts); in other words, each arrest incident resulted in approximately two counts.

For example, while possession accounted for 28 (45%) arrests, it counted for 54 (51%) counts. Sale, which accounted for 26 (41%) arrests, accounted for only 46 (43%) counts. On the other hand, sale to a minor, which accounted for only two (3%) arrests, accounted for six (6%) counts.

In 1970 a total of 27 counts were brought against the various defendants as a result of 14 separate arrests. Seventy-one percent of the arrests involved two counts, one arrest involved three counts, and four arrests involved only one. Sale accounted for 12 arrests and 24 counts; the other three counts were for the two possession arrests.

Although there appears to be a lesser relationship between the total and adjusted count rates than between the individual and store arrests, the "hard hit" stores have consistently higher rates in all figures than the five "less frequently hit" stores—with the single exception of the adjusted count rate for the first period of 1967. In fact, it appears that the "hard hit" stores have, in most

Table 12

NUMBER OF COUNTS BY YEAR

Offense	Year					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Possession	8	2	1	32	11	54
	44%	33%	14%	63%	46%	51%
Sale	9	2	6	16	13	46
	50%	33%	86%	31%	54%	43%
Sale to a minor	1	2	—	3	—	6
	6%	33%	—	6%	—	6%
Total	18	6	7	51	24	106
	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%

periods, adjusted count rates of roughly two times those of the "less frequently hit" group. From these figures it can be seen that not only did the "hard hit" stores experience higher individual and store arrests, but when they did, they were charged with more counts than were the "less frequently hit" stores.

As in the case in any post hoc survey, it is exceedingly difficult to impart casual explanations to findings. This problem is particularly severe with regard to our finding of apparent differential police action directed toward some of the adult bookstores in our sample. We have attempted, however, to interpret these findings based both on the quantitative data available as well as on some intuitive and, hopefully, educated analyses.

Although the "harder hit" stores all are linked to distributors of sex-oriented material, this fact alone cannot account for their relatively higher rate of police action inasmuch as three of the five stores in the "less frequently hit" group have also had affiliations with distributors for portions of their business life between 1965 and 1969. However, the three "hard hit" stores are the keystone stores of the two major distributors operating in Boston and are most often regarded by law enforcement officials and others as being "leaders" in the adult book business in Boston. Two of the stores are the first which were founded by the Providence organization and marked the entry of that group into the Boston retail marketplace. The third, operated by a local producer and distributor, is the busiest and most aggressive of all local bookstores. That these three are perceived as the most visible representatives of the power centers in the business and as vanguards in the potential local expansion of the retail adult book industry may serve to clarify this pattern of differential police action.

The second possible explanation may be related to the geographic distribution of the stores. The three stores which have experienced the most extensive police action during the 5-year period are all situated at the lower periphery of the Combat Zone on, or very close to, a major artery for vehicular traffic passing through the downtown area and offering visibility and easy accessibility to persons not entering the Combat Zone. Because of its proximity to a number of important "legitimate" entertainment and dining resources, the area attracts large numbers of persons, especially during the evening hours, who would not normally frequent the inner areas of the Combat Zone and whose first contact with stores of this type is likely to be made at that time. The differential pattern of police activity may also, therefore, suggest that containment of adult bookstores in the central areas of the Combat Zone is a priority of law enforcement practices. (Store No. 12, located on the upper perimeter of the Combat Zone and not included in this sample for lack of precise dates of operation, has experienced a low rate of police action. This seeming discrepancy can be explained by the fact that this store carries the most innocuous material of any store located in the Combat Zone—of a type not likely to provoke a heavy police response—and not truly comparable with the three at the lower periphery.)

From plea to disposition

All defendants involved in the 63 obscenity-related offenses during the 5 years covered by the study entered pleas of "not guilty" in the Boston Municipal Court. However, a review of findings in the Boston Municipal Court revealed that 52

defendants (76%) were found guilty, whereas only seven defendants (17%) were found not guilty.

Examined by year of the trial (which in almost all cases was concurrent with the year in which the charges were lodged), it appears that some correlation exists between heavy police action and high rate of conviction. In 1968, 91% of 33 defendants (the highest single-year total) were found guilty. In 1969, 76% of 13 defendants were found guilty. In 1965, 67% of nine defendants were convicted. Four defendants in the years 1966 and 1967 were convicted at rates of 50% and 100%, respectively (see Table 13).

Our 1970 statistics show eight guilty findings, one case dismissed without a finding, four cases continued to a later date, and one case having different findings for separate counts.

Of the 53 cases during the 5-year period where a finding of guilt was determined, 35 (66%) involved a fine only, 12 (23%) involved incarceration only, and 6 (11%) involved both. While in the early years covered by the study (1965-1967) only one case resulted in a disposition of incarceration, 47% of the 1968 cases and 27% of the 1969 cases resulted in a disposition of incarceration as full or partial sentence (see Table 14).

Of the nine cases before the Boston Municipal Court in the first 3 months of 1970, where a guilty finding was rendered, three were given fines only, five were sentenced to periods of incarceration, and one received both a fine and incarceration. (Note: it must be kept in mind that a fine or sentence to a period of incarceration in the Boston Municipal Court is often not carried out, as the defendant is able to request a trial de novo in the Suffolk Superior Court which then negates the finding and sentence of the lower court.)

The majority (63%) of the 41 cases in which a fine was levied carried fines of $51 to $100 per count. Fines of over $100 but not more than $250 per count were given in 5% of the cases, $251 to $500 in 15% of the cases, and $501 to

Table 13

FINDINGS IN THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT BY YEAR OF TRIAL

Finding	Year of trial					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Guilty	6 67%	2 50%	4 100%	30 91%	10 76%	52 76%
Not guilty	2 22%	2 50%	— —	2 6%	1 8%	7 17%
Placed on file	1 11%	— —	— —	1 3%	1 8%	3 5%
Different for separate counts	— —	— —	— —	— —	1 8%	1 1%
Total	9 100%	4 100%	4 100%	33 100%	13 100%	63 100%

Table 14

DISPOSITION TYPES FOR ALL CASES INVOLVING GUILTY FINDINGS IN THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT BY YEAR OF TRIAL

Disposition type	Year of trial					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Fine only	6 100%	1 50%	4 100%	16 53%	8 73%	35 66%
Incarceration only	— —	— —	— —	11 37%	1 9%	12 23%
Fine and incarceration	— —	1 50%	— —	3 10%	2 18%	6 11%
Total	6 100%	2 100%	4 100%	30 100%	11 100%	53 100%

$1,000 in 12% of the cases. Only 5% of the cases (all of which occurred in 1969) carried fines higher than $2,000 per count (see Table 15).

The four fines meted out in 1970 varied greatly. One amounted to $50, another to $100, a third to $500, and the fourth to $2,500 per count.

Figures relating to periods of incarceration determined in the Boston Municipal Court are given in Table 16.

As can be seen from Table 16, of the 18 cases involving periods of incarceration, 66% carried sentences of 3 months, 6% were given 6 months, and 22% were

Table 15

AMOUNT OF FINE PER COUNT IMPOSED BY THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT BY YEAR OF TRIAL

Amount of fine	Year of trial					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
$51-$100	5 83%	— —	1 25%	14 73%	6 60%	26 63%
$101-$250	— —	— —	— —	2 11%	— —	2 5%
$251-$500	— —	— —	3 75%	2 11%	1 10%	6 15%
$501-$1,000	1 17%	2 100%	— —	1 5%	1 10%	5 12%
$1,001-$2,000	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— 0%
$2,001-$5,000	— —	— —	— —	— —	2 20%	2 5%
Total	6 100%	2 100%	4 100%	19 100%	10 100%	41 100%

Table 16

LENGTH OF INCARCERATION PER COUNT IMPOSED BY THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT BY YEAR OF TRIAL

Length of incarceration	Year of trial			
	1966	1968	1969	Total
3 months	1 100%	10 72%	1 33%	12 66%
6 months	– –	1 7%	– –	1 6%
1 year	– –	3 21%	1 33%	4 22%
Indefinite	– –	– –	1 33%	1 6%
Total	1 100%	14 100%	3 99%	18 100%

given 1 year, per count. In only one case, occurring in 1969, was an indefinite sentence imposed.

In 1970, three 6-month, two 3-month, and one 2½-year sentences were imposed, per count, upon the various defendants.

As has been noted earlier, individuals found guilty in the Boston Municipal Court may request a trial de novo in the Suffolk Superior Court. Over the 5-year period studied, the majority (40 out of 53 or 75%) of the defendants found guilty in the Boston Municipal Court requested such a trial (see Table 17). All convictions resulting in periods of incarceration were appealed by the defendants to the Suffolk Superior Court.

Of the nine guilty findings in 1970, six were taken to the superior court for a trial de novo.

Speculating that those in higher occupational positions (officers) might request a trial de novo more often than those in lower occupational positions (clerks), the data for appeals to the superior court was analyzed (see Table 18).

As can be seen from the table, clerks (79%) were somewhat less likely than officers (92%) to request further trials subsequent to their disposition in the Boston Municipal Court. Of the eight guilty findings levied against corporate bodies, half were taken to the superior court.

Of the 40 cases brought to the Suffolk Superior Court during the 1965 to 1969 period, 25% were found guilty, 20% were found not guilty, and almost half (48%) are still pending (see Table 19). While all cases heard in the first 3 years studied produced not-guilty findings, this pattern reversed in 1968. Of the cases originating in the Boston Municipal Court in 1968, those which have been tried in the superior court have resulted in guilty findings.

Although none of the six 1969 requests has been decided to date by the court, charges have been dropped in one of those cases.

All of the cases coming from the 1970 Boston Municipal Court dispositions are pending as of this writing.

Table 17

REQUESTS FOR A TRIAL DE NOVO BY YEAR OF TRIAL IN THE BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT

Request status	Year of trial in BMC					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Yes	4	2	3	25	6	40
	67%	100%	75%	84%	55%	75%
No	2	—	1	5	5	13
	33%	—	25%	16%	45%	25%
Total	6	2	4	30	11	53
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 18

REQUESTS FOR A TRIAL DE NOVO BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Request status	Occupational role		
	Clerk	Officer present	Total
Yes	22	12	34
	79%	92%	84%
No	6	1	7
	21%	8%	16%
Total	28	13	41
	100%	100%	100%

Table 19

SUPERIOR COURT FINDING (BY YEAR OF BOSTON MUNICIPAL COURT TRIAL)

Finding	Year of trial					
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Guilty	—	—	—	10	—	10
	—	—	—	40%	—	25%
Not guilty	4	2	2	—	—	8
	100%	100%	67%	—	—	20%
Pending	—	—	1	13	5	19
	—	—	33%	52%	83%	48%
Other	—	—	—	2*	1**	3
	—	—	—	8%	17%	7%
Total	4	2	3	25	6	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Appeal withdrawn.
**Charges dismissed.

Profile: By occupational role

Sample. The sample consisted of 67 participants associated with the "adults only" bookstore business in Boston during the period from January 1, 1965 through March 26, 1970. The selection process involved (1) identifying the participants by occupational role (such as clerks, owners, managers, corporate officers) and (2) securing their criminal records.

Procedure. The same methodological approach was used in collecting data for this section as for the section on adult bookstores and the law. To obtain data on the criminal histories of each person in the sample, the total list of participants was submitted to the Probation Department of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Searches were conducted for each person, and criminal records were obtained for those offenses occurring under Massachusetts law as recorded by the Probation Department. (Arrests are recorded on criminal records only when they resulted in court action.) In addition, names of individuals residing in Rhode Island with business dealings in the Boston marketplace were submitted to the Rhode Island Bureau of Probation and Parole, so that complete criminal records for all participants could be obtained.

The sample of 67 participants consisted of 65 males and two females representing the total range of occupational roles connected with the adult bookstore business. Fifty-four percent were clerks, 25% were owners and managers active in the on-site operation of the stores, and 7% were owners or corporate officers absent from the business premises. Thirty-four of the sample members had been married at some time. Ages of participants ranged from the twenties to the seventies. Specifically, 39% were in their twenties, 15% in their thirties, 22% in their forties, 6% in their fifties, 9% in their sixties, and 1% in their seventies. Ages were calculated as of April 1, 1970. Inasmuch as some members of the sample may be no longer associated with the adult bookstore business, the reported age figures may be somewhat exaggerated toward the upper age brackets. This is more pronounced in the "clerk" group, due to the higher rate of transiency which that group has exhibited, than in the representatives of the other occupational groupings, whose members tend to exhibit a greater degree of occupational stability.

Results and discussion. Information obtained in the present investigation indicates that one-quarter of the sample members have been arrested for juvenile offenses. Similarly, as shown in Table 20, a sizable minority of the sample population has been arrested for adult offenses (40%), excluding obscenity and motor vehicle violations.

Sex offenses accounted for a small proportion of the adult arrests reflected in the sample, with only three persons (4.0%), all clerks, having had prior arrests for such offenses. One involved a charge of rape, another involved an arrest for the commission of an unnatural act and contributing to the delinquency of a minor, and the third was based on charges of indecent exposure and lewd and lascivious behavior.

Thirty-one percent of the sample members had been arrested at least once for possession of obscene materials and 54% had been arrested for the sale of obscene materials (see Table 21).

Table 20

ADULT CRIMINAL RECORD (ARRESTS)

Status of record	n	%
Record	27	40%
No record	40	60%
Total	67	100%

Table 21

RECORD OF ADULT ARRESTS INVOLVING SALE AND POSSESSION OF OBSCENE MATERIAL BY OFFENSE

Status of record	Offense			
	Sale		Possession	
	n	%	n	%
Arrest record	36	54%	21	31%
No arrest record	31	46%	46	69%
Total	67	100%	67	100%

The sale of obscene materials to minors accounted for only a small proportion of arrests. Only 5% of the sample had been arrested for this offense.

Fines for obscenity offenses have been frequent. Our data indicate that 48% of the sample members had received fines for obscenity-related offenses. Sentences including incarcerations for obscenity offenses were represented to a similar extent, with 49% having been sentenced to incarceration for obscenity-related offenses. (It should be noted that throughout this section, all data relating to the dispositional stage of a criminal proceeding were derived from lower court determinations which are, of course, subject to subsequent judicial review and amendment.)

For purposes of analysis, participants in the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented material were grouped by occupational role: (1) bookstore clerks, (2) bookstore managers, owners, and corporate officers who are present in the store during its daily operation, and (3) bookstore managers, owners, and officers not present in their stores. Although the researchers attempted to classify each of the 67 participants in one of the three categories, role identifications could not be made for nine. Accordingly, the data in the following tables are based on a sample of 58 and not on the total of 67 participants.

As shown in Table 22, the clerks tended to be younger (in their twenties) than members of the other occupational role groups. Also, a smaller proportion of clerks was married or had been married than members of the other groups. Only 28% of the clerks, as compared with 53% of the officers-managers present and 40% of the officers-managers not present, were married at some time in their lives. (These percentages reflect *minimal* marriage rates.)

The presence of juvenile as well as adult criminal arrest records (excluding motor vehicle and obscenity-related offenses) was greater among clerks than among managers, owners, and officers. Twenty-eight percent of the clerks had juvenile arrest records and 47% had adult arrest records (see Tables 23 and 24). Together, the members of the other two occupational role groups had juvenile and adult arrest records at a rate of 9% and 32%, respectively.

Arrests and convictions for obscenity-related offenses varied substantially between clerks and managers-officers. To illustrate, only 25% of the clerks but

Table 22

AGE GROUP BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Age group	Occupational role			
	Clerk	Mgr./officer		Total
		Present	Not present	
20's	19	5	–	24
	52%	28%	–	42%
30's	5	3	–	8
	14%	18%	–	14%
40's	6	4	3	13
	17%	24%	60%	22%
50's	1	2	–	3
	3%	12%	–	5%
60's or older	4	–	–	4
	11%	–	–	7%
Un-known	1	3	2	6
	3%	18%	40%	10%
Total	36	17	5	58
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 23

JUVENILE ARREST RECORD BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational role			
	Clerk	Mgr./officer		Total
		Present	Not present	
Arrest record	10	2	–	12
	28%	12%	–	21%
No arrest record	26	15	5	46
	72%	88%	100%	79%
Total	36	17	5	58
	100%	100%	100%	100%

53% of the managers-officers present had been arrested for possession of obscene materials. None of the managers-officers who were not present in their stores had been arrested for this or any other obscenity-related offense. In comparing the conviction figures for clerks and managers-officers with their arrest figures (see Tables 25 and 26), it can be seen that, although clerks stand a lesser chance of being arrested for possession of obscene materials, they are more frequently convicted, if arrested, than are managers-officers.

In sharp contrast to the arrest breakdown for possession of obscene materials are the figures for sale of these materials (see Table 27).

Although clerks are arrested only half as frequently as managers-officers for possession of obscene materials (Table 25), the arrest pattern is reversed for the offense of sale (see Table 27). This can be partially explained by the fact that clerks spend greater amounts of time actually selling materials than manager-officer types.

Table 24

ADULT ARREST RECORD (EXCLUDING OBSCENITY ARRESTS) BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational role: Clerk	Mgr./officer: Present	Mgr./officer: Not present	Total
Arrest record	17 47%	5 29%	2 40%	24 41%
No arrest record	19 53%	12 71%	3 60%	34 59%
Total	36 100%	17 100%	5 100%	58 100%

Table 25

RECORD OF ARRESTS FOR POSSESSION OF OBSCENE MATERIAL BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational role: Clerk	Mgr./officer: Present	Mgr./officer: Not present	Total
Arrest record	9 25%	9 53%	– –	18 31%
No arrest record	27 75%	8 47%	5 100%	40 69%
Total	36 100%	17 100%	5 100%	58 100%

Table 26

RECORD OF CONVICTIONS FOR POSSESSION OF OBSCENE MATERIAL BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational role: Clerk	Mgr./officer Present	Total
Conviction	8 89%	7 78%	15 83%
No conviction	1 11%	2 22%	3 17%
Total	9 100%	9 100%	18 100%

Table 27

RECORD OF ARRESTS FOR SALE OF OBSCENE MATERIAL BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational Role: Clerk	Mgr./officer Present	Mgr./officer Not present	Total
Arrest record	29 81%	7 41%	— —	36 62%
No arrest record	7 19%	10 59%	5 100%	22 38%
Total	36 100%	17 100%	5 100%	58 100%

Convictions for the sale of obscene material are higher for managers-officers than for clerks, the reverse of convictions for possession. One hundred percent of the managers-officers arrested were convicted, whereas only 76% of the clerks were so adjudicated (see Table 28).

There were only three arrests for the sale of obscene material to a minor. All three of these arrests involved bookstore clerks.

In regard to penalties imposed by the courts for obscenity-related offenses, clerks were fined proportionately less than managers-officers but received more dispositions including incarcerations. Examining the number and dollar amount of fines charged to individuals for obscenity-related offenses by the various lower courts, we see the following: a total of 43 fines were charged to 21 separate clerks. Eight managers-officers were assessed at a total of 34 fines. Not only was the manager-officer group given proportionately more fines per person, it was also assessed fines involving higher dollar amounts (see Table 29).

The figures cited in Table 30 indicate the number of times dispositions, including incarceration, were imposed by the courts for obscenity-related offenses on the two occupational groups who experienced guilty findings in their cases.

Table 28

RECORD OF CONVICTIONS FOR SALE OF OBSCENE MATERIAL BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Status of record	Occupational Role: Clerk	Mgr./officer present	Total
Conviction	22 76%	7 100%	29 81%
No conviction	7 24%	— —	7 19%
Total	29 100%	7 100%	36 100%

Table 29

TOTAL AMOUNT OF FINES (IN DOLLARS) FOR OBSCENITY-RELATED OFFENSES BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Total amount of fines	Clerk	Mgr./officer present	Total
$0-50	2 10%	— —	2 7%
$51-100	5 23%	— —	5 17%
$101-500	9 43%	2 25%	11 38%
$501-1,000	1 5%	2 25%	3 10%
$1,001-5,000	3 14%	1 12.5%	4 14%
$5,001-10,000	1 5%	1 12.5%	2 7%
Over $10,000	— —	2 25%	2 7%
Total	21 100%	8 100%	29 100%

As can be seen by referring to Table 30, all of the managers-officers (100%) who received dispositions which included periods of incarceration received at least two such dispositions, whereas only 63% of the clerks experienced multiple dispositions of this type. This suggests that members of the officer-manager group are more likely to receive jail sentences and that they are more likely to receive more than one such sentence than are clerks. In turn, this finding reflects the fact that the officers-managers, as individuals, tend to remain in the adult bookstore business longer than the clerks.

Table 30

NUMBER OF DISPOSITIONS INCLUDING INCARCERATIONS FOR OBSCENITY-RELATED OFFENSES BY OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Number of dispositions including incarcerations	Occupational role: Clerk	Mgr./officer present	Total
1	11	—	11
	37%	—	33%
2	6	2	8
	21%	50%	24%
3	6	1	7
	21%	25%	21%
4	—	1	1
	—	25%	4%
5 or More	6	—	6
	21%	—	18%
Total	29	4	33
	100%	100%	100%

As indicated in the section on the adult bookstore, 10 individuals have emerged as major figures in the establishment, ownership, and operation of adult bookstores in Boston. Of these 10, 50% are of Italian extraction, 20% are Greek, 20% are Jewish, and 10% (one individual) fall into an "other" category. Of the 45 individuals employed as clerks and managers since 1965 who have been identified by name (corporate officers and family members of the owner group are not included), approximately 18% are believed to be of Italian extraction, none are Greek, 7% are Jewish, and 75% are "other." In the "other" group, Anglo-Saxon names predominate.

Consistent with traditional patterns in the management of small retail businesses, at least one-half of the 10 individuals mentioned above incorporate members of their families in the active operation of their businesses (corporate officers who are family members but who are not known to play an active role in the enterprise are excluded). Family participation exists in the following five groupings: husband and wife; husband, wife, and son; father and son; and brothers.

Views and perceptions

Not unexpectedly, all the respondents took issue with the obscenity laws and their enforcement. They described them as "hypocritical," "vague," "unfair," "ambiguous," "unjust," and "obscene." One respondent said the laws are particularly unfair to booksellers. Another felt that this is not an appropriate area in which the law should "meddle." "Evil is in the eye of the viewer, not the courts," he reasoned. Still another respondent argued that suppression of such material is a "Nazi, witch-hunt tactic."

Many of the bookstore operators interviewed had tried to find guidelines by examining the laws themselves. All but two of the respondents were familiar with local statutes and judicial interpretations thereof to some extent. Three of the respondents kept elaborate files of newspaper articles and court decisions dealing with pornography; one of them, commenting on judicial interpretations of "obscenity," characterized them as ambiguous and unfair in that they make it difficult to determine what can and cannot be sold. This respondent said that because of recent court decisions, he has had to remove so much material from his shelves that his customers are complaining.

Of the two respondents who claimed no knowledge of the laws and court cases, one sold only mild "girlie" type magazines and the other had been in business less than 6 months. The latter had been arrested but said that inasmuch as his employer pays his legal expenses, he is not overly concerned.

Only one respondent stated that his knowledge of the laws and court decisions is of significant value in selecting merchandise for sale. Two felt that the laws and decisions are so vague and ambiguous that it is impossible to use them as effective guidelines. The remaining respondents claimed to take them into account as much as possible, with the qualification that this is not very much. Booksellers agreed that little could be ascertained in advance of an arrest, since no concrete guidelines have been established.

Most of the respondents had contacts with lawyers, mainly because of their arrests and court cases. Three sought legal advice to ascertain what could be sold under current statutes and court decisions. In their view, this was to no avail because the laws and decisions are too vague to furnish concrete standards or guidelines. As one respondent said, "Lawyers can't help, the police won't help; only the judge in each case is responsible for the determination; only he can make it."

Almost all the booksellers interviewed complained of what they perceived to be police "harassment." All but one of them complained of alleged pilferage of the stock and/or name-taking with threats of arrests. One store employee said simply that there is a severe theft problem, while another said that both plainclothesmen and uniformed police make selections and have them bagged only to walk out without paying. He did not interpret these activities as having any lawful purpose. He added that, although he has never been arrested himself, the police come in frequently (sometimes as much as twice a week), asking his name, address, and his position in the store and suggesting that if he remains in the business he will probably be arrested. Although he has stayed in the business, he claimed he has not yet been arrested. A bookstore operator, confirming these allegations, said that this type of action makes it difficult to keep clerks. He felt that the police are trying to close down the stores by harassing the clerks so much that those who own stores will not be able to hire personnel.

On the other hand, two store operators said they have relatively good relations with the police. One said that his store is located in a deteriorated neighborhood and that the windows of his store (as well as the stores nearby) are broken almost monthly. He said the police are cooperative in alerting him when this happens. The other operator attributed his good relationships to his own cooperation in voluntarily removing merchandise from the shelves when there is reason to believe that such material may subject him to arrest.

Booksellers also complained of harassment from the news media and from citizens. Of these, harassment from the news media was deemed the more severe. Several store operators noted that photographers from one of the major Boston newspapers were photographing clerks and customers in the stores. Although the photographs have not been published to date, the picture-taking intimidated customers and was viewed as a form of harassment.

Another respondent's store was the target of an attack by a local radio talk show host who had purchased material, described and condemned it on the air, and urged that his listeners express their indignation by deluging the dealer with telephone calls and mail. Although the dealer was quite pleased to obtain such good advertising, he was annoyed by the considerable bother it caused him.

Harassment from private citizens and citizen groups has been felt by all but one of the store operators interviewed. The one exception avoids such treatment because he is not centrally located and because the material he sells is limited to soft-core material. The others, however, reported several types of harassment. The least threatening type reported by three respondents took the form of telephone calls, mainly from "religious fanatics" and sexual deviants. The former were usually followed up by a mailing of religious literature. The latter were generally obscene phone calls. One respondent said he was bothered by a citizen who repeatedly tried to buy material in order to make a citizen's arrest. This person was recognized and asked to leave the store every time he came in. Another respondent suggested that citizen harassment, particularly telephone calls, was greatest following newspaper publicity arising out of an arrest or a feature story describing the bookstores.

A local bank is said to have discontinued the account of one of the stores in the aftermath of a well-publicized court action.

Citizen harassment seemed mainly directed at the stores rather than the families of the store operators. Only one operator indicated any evidence of negative social pressure on himself or his family. In this case, the young daughter of an operator was teased and ostracized by her schoolmates following the arrest and conviction of her father. Although the girl expressed a desire to transfer to a private school, the teasing subsided and she was able to remain at her original school.

The majority of the respondents blamed harassment on politicians. They inferred that it picked up prior to elections and fell off afterwards. One respondent singled out the Nixon administration's "Southern strategy" and suggested that harassment would continue as long as he is in office and youth had no voice in politics. Another felt that recent building construction in the Combat Zone, which hurts his business by diverting pedestrians across the street, is a manifestation of official harassment.

All but one respondent claimed that their occupation was well known to their families and friends and that they had experienced no resultant disapproval or personal discomfort. Only one respondent, a clerk, kept his occupation secret out of fear that his family and friends, if they knew, would strongly disapprove.

As a group, booksellers tended to dissociate themselves from the material which they sold and from the customers who purchase it. The manner in which they identified their own roles in the business was calculated to preclude any suggestion of personal involvement with the material or customers. The material

was treated either with cold indifference as a profit-producing commodity not unlike snow tires or plumbing supplies or with a cynical humor that sought to convey the bookseller's recognition of the material's intrinsic triviality.

Similarly, customers are discussed with entrepreneurial detachment or with a patronizing air, bordering slightly on disdain. One employee expressed the latter sentiment as follows:

> "I'm not saying we're great social heroes, but I do honestly feel that we're serving . . . a need . . . the sexual fulfillment of a lot of very frustrated people. I'd certainly rather have them sneaking into our store buying this literature . . . and going home and masturbating than going and peeking in bedroom windows or attacking little girls.
>
> "I don't think that we're preying on sick minds anymore than a physician preys on a sick mind."

Noticeable in some bookstore personnel was a tendency to project an image that would counterbalance the presumably unfavorable stereotypes which their connection with the adult bookstore business might evoke in the interviewer. Accordingly, several booksellers (particularly clerks and minor, independent bookstore operators) sought to emphasize personal attributes that established an identity apart from the world of adult materials. One insisted that he is a "hard-working man" whose sale of sex-oriented material is incidental to the primary function of his business. Another stressed his academic accomplishments and his earlier career in an "establishment" occupation. A clerk made every effort to introduce discussions of French philosophy, a subject of which he claimed some knowledge. One employee clearly articulated this sentiment in a statement which, while typical only for a minority of booksellers, reflects those views very well: "I have succeeded in divorcing myself entirely from [certain phases of the bookstore business] and the less I know what happens on Washington Street and in those two or three blocks, the happier I am. I walk there in the morning and I walk away at night and I don't go back."

Most bookstore operators expressed no personal criteria for excluding material from their stores stating that within legal limits of permissibility they would sell whatever their customers want. A few, however, indicated that certain material is sufficiently offensive to them as to warrant its exclusion. Subjects mentioned in this category included incest, animal-human sexual relations, and sex play involving a child.

Several attitudes or "styles" emerge from the group of participants who are active in the adult bookstore traffic in sex-oriented materials. Their differing educational and cultural levels, personal histories, and occupational roles contribute to the variations in the manner in which they represent themselves and their work to outsiders. They are, however, linked to one another by a common willingness to engage in a quasi-legitimate activity of which frequent police contact is a predictable consequence. Moreover, and of the greatest importance, the present participants in this business, particularly the operators of bookstores, seem to be drawn to this endeavor *because* of its vulnerability to police action; for it is this very vulnerability that ensures to the participants the high profits resulting from the creation of what is tantamount to a black-market monopoly. It is a business which, for all intents and purposes, is open only to the relatively small

number of individuals who are prepared to regard police and court action as a necessary and acceptable business cost and are temperamentally qualified to function efficiently in such a context. One bookstore owner candidly acknowledged that he favored the continuation of obscenity laws "because they keep the competition out." Others have stated that well-publicized arrests are among the industry's best forms of advertising and usually result in an increase in sales volume.

Accordingly, statements of dismay over the manner in which booksellers are treated by the law can be misleading if accepted at face value without further qualification. In the last analysis, it is only when police and court action result in the imposition of sanctions which, in degree, exceed the tolerable costs of doing business that the response may indeed reflect a true sense of indignation.

APPENDIX A

OUTSIDE SITE INSPECTION – RETAIL STORES

Date:
Time:
Observer:
Name of store:
Address of store:

1. Ecological characteristics:
   A. Type of area:
   (residential) (manufacturing – light or heavy) (entertainment)
   (retail) (offices) (wholesale) (warehouses) (tourist)
   B. General condition (appearance of):
      I. Building: (clean) (average) (dirty)
      II. Area: (clean) (average) (dirty)
   C. Business (type) bordering it:
      I. Right:
      II. Left:
   D. Proximity to public transportation:
      I. Subway:
      II. Bus stop:
      III. Taxi stand:
   E. Type of street:
      I. Main: (one-way) (two-way)
      II. Side: (one-way) (two-way)
      III. Alley
   F. If one-way, side of street
   (according to direction of traffic): (right) (left)
   G. Entrance on: (street)
   (arcade) (other – specify)

2. General appearance of store (describe):
3. Size of store (estimate):
4. Merchandise displayed in window:
   A. None
   B. Media
   C. Content
   D. Other
5. Merchandise advertised on exterior or window:
   A. None
   B. Media
   C. Content
   D. Other
6. Is advertised material actually carried in store? (Is it representative of store's stock?):
7. Special sales, "come-ons," etc. (specify):
8. Is interior of store visible? (fully) (partially) (no)
   A. What is the general appearance? (well organized, neat) (fairly well organized, relatively neat) (poorly organized, messy)
   B. How is the merchandise displayed? (wall racks) (tables) (combination of above) (other – specify)
9. A. "Adults only," "Over 21," etc., sign: (large, visible) (small, visible) (no sign)
   B. How many signs?
   C. Where located?
10. Other comments:

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS: BOOKSTORE OPERATORS
AREAS OF INQUIRY

1. How long has the store been in business?
2. Who started the business? The present owner?
3. Did he purchase an ongoing business or establish a new one?
4. How much capital is necessary to open or purchase such a business?
5. How was capital raised?
6. Were/are loans difficult to obtain to finance such a business?
7. Is the business a single proprietorship, partnership, or corporation?
8. Does the operator own or rent the building?
9. If he rents, who is the landlord?
10. Is a differential (higher) rent charged due to the nature of the business?
11. Is location important for the business?
12. In what way? How and why was this present location chosen?
13. How many people are employed in the store? Full time/part time?

14. How are such employees selected?
15. On what basis are retail prices established? (Markup?)
16. Is it different for different types of media?
17. If so, which are most profitable? Least profitable?
18. What types (appeal) and media sell best?
19. Where does the store obtain its merchandise? Distributor(s) or publisher(s)?
20. How did he come to use or find his sources?
21. How many distributors/publishers regularly service the Boston area?
22. Who are they? Where are they located?
23. Is there much competition between distributors/publishers?
24. If competition exists, why does he use his particular sources?
25. How is merchandise delivered (mail, bus, truck, salesman, etc.)?
26. Does he buy on consignment or outright?
27. Are there "tie-ins" on buying?
28. Does he solicit mail order business?
29. Does he accept mail orders?
30. If so, what percent of his business is mail order?
31. What type of advertisement does he use (media, yellow pages, etc.)?
32. Does he specialize in kind (appeal) and media? What kind (appeal) and media?
33. What are his criteria, if any, for what material he will offer for sale? Display?
34. Is he familiar with local statutes, ordinances on obscenity? Constitutional court opinions?
35. Does he take these into account?
36. Does he consult with lawyers? How often? For what purpose?
37. What are his views on obscenity laws? Why?
38. Who makes up his clientele? Who buys what?
39. Has he seen trends in type and media available? What are they?
40. Has he seen trends in type and media desired by customers? What are they?
41. Is the business seasonal?
42. Is there much competition from other stores? From sources other than stores?
43. Is there much competition from other sources such as mail order establishments?
44. Where else can such material be obtained?
45. What business and/or personal relationships exist between bookstore owners?
46. Has he experienced harassment by the police? How often? What type? What were/are the consequences?
47. Has he experienced harassment by others? Who? How often? What type? Consequences?
48. Is harassment seasonal? If so, why?
49. Is there much shoplifting?
50. If so, what is most frequently taken?

51. Do the police cooperate to help decrease shoplifting, or prosecute offenders?
52. What did he do (occupation) prior to his present business?
53. How did he get into his present business?
54. Is he married?
55. Does he have children? How many?
56. Do his neighbors, friends, or relatives know the nature of his present business?
57. If so, is there social pressure on him? His wife? His children?
58. If so, what kind of pressure?
59. Does it seriously affect him or his family? How?
60. Is this his only business or source of income?
61. If not, what other business or income does he have?
62. Does he like his business? Why or why not?
63. Approximately how much does he (*a*) gross (*b*) net per year?
64. Have threats or strong-arm tactics been employed against him? By whom? For what reasons?

APPENDIX C

MEASURES: RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

1. Date of the offense
2. Location (i.e., what store) of the offense
3. Occupational role of the offender in the store
4. Specific offense
5. Number of counts per arrest
6. Media type involved in offense
7. Plea in Boston Municipal Court
8. Finding in Boston Municipal Court
9. Disposition type in Boston Municipal Court
10. Amount of fine, if any
11. Length of incarceration, if any
12. Whether "appealed" to Superior Court
13. Plea in Superior Court
14. Finding in Superior Court
15. Disposition type in Superior Court
16. Amount of fine, if any
17. Length of incarceration, if any

APPENDIX D

MEASURES: PARTICIPANT PROFILE

1. Sex
2. Occupational role in the marketplace

3. Age, computed as of April 1, 1970

4. Marital status: whether or not the individual had been married at some point in his/her life

5. Juvenile record

6. Number of juvenile crimes against the person, both arrests and convictions

7. Number of juvenile crimes against property, both arrests and convictions

8. Number of juvenile motor vehicle violations, both arrests and convictions

9. Number of juvenile drunkenness arrests and convictions

10. Number of juvenile arrests and convictions concerning the possession or sale of obscene material

11. Number and total monetary amount of fines assessed against the individual for juvenile offenses concerning the possession or sale of obscene material

12. Number of incarcerations experienced as a juvenile for all categories of offenses

13. Number of incarcerations experienced as a juvenile for offenses concerning the possession or sale of obscene material

14. Adult record: whether or not the individual had an adult record

15. Number of arrests and convictions for adult crimes against the person

16. Number of arrests and convictions for adult crimes against property

17. Number of arrests and convictions for adult drunkenness

18. Number of arrests and convictions for adult sex offenses (excluding sale or possession of obscene materials)

19. Number of arrests and convictions for adult motor vehicle offenses

20. Number of arrests and convictions for adult possession of obscene material

21. Number of arrests and convictions for adult sale of obscene material

22. Number of arrests and convictions for adult sale of obscene material to a minor

23. Number and total monetary amount of fines assessed against the individual for adult offenses concerning the possession or sale of obscene materials

24. Number of incarcerations experienced as an adult for all categories of offenses

25. Number of incarcerations experienced as an adult for offenses concerning the possession or sale of obscene material

The San Francisco Erotic Marketplace

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PREFACE

The present study was approved on January 30, 1970. However, the actual collection of data was not undertaken before February 15, 1970. In the following three and one-half months, data were systematically collected. All data collection was terminated on June 5, 1970. The final report was submitted to the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography on June 15, 1970.

INTRODUCTION

The present report contains a detailed summary of our research findings on the San Francisco erotic marketplace. The main objectives of the research study were as follows:

1. To determine the extent and nature of the distribution of sex-oriented material in San Francisco. (*a*) To map and describe the retail outlets where erotic material can be purchased and viewed. (*b*) To map and describe the motion-picture theaters which present films comprised mainly of graphic presentation of sexual activity. (*c*) To map and describe the wholesale and distribution system in sex-oriented material. (*d*) To determine, as best as possible, the actual dollar value

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and volume of the erotic marketplace in San Francisco. (*e*) To contrast our own observations with those of organizations advocating stricter censorship of erotic material. (*f*) To contrast our own observations with those of the San Francisco City Police Department's Vice Squad.

2. To describe and analyze the sociological and psychological attitudes, experiences, and behaviors of the consumer population of the San Francisco marketplace for erotic literature and films.(*a*) To undertake a descriptive mapping of the consumer population visiting various establishments throughout the city where erotic material is sold or can be viewed. (*b*) To obtain responses from the consumer population relating to attitudes and moral convictions regarding viewing erotic material. (*c*) To obtain in-depth interviews and/or detailed questionnaire data aimed at uncovering attitudes, past experiences, activities, and so forth of consumers of erotica.

In conjunction with 2*c* above, the study attempts to test the following two hypotheses about the consumer population:

Hypothesis 1. That male erotic material consumption is related to lack of access to suitable female sexual partners, or, more simply, the consumption of erotic material is a substitute for appropriate interpersonal sexual activity.

Hypothesis 2. That interest in erotic material is related to income and social upbringing. Individuals who were raised in the working class (or in other economic or cultural groups where traditionally strong taboos against sexual activity are evident) and have recently experienced upward economic mobility, but who still hold to (or have internalized) the taboos against sexual expression taught to them as children, will have both the economic means and the motivational predisposition to find involvement in the erotic marketplace rewarding (i.e., it is hypothesized that differential consumer patterns will emerge along racial and social class lines).

San Francisco: Ecological and demographic overview

The city of San Francisco is the nucleus of a large metropolitan area. Situated on the upper part of the rugged San Francisco peninsula, it comprises an area of 46.55 square miles of land. Bounded on three sides by water, it also covers a submerged area of 93.1 square miles; it is joined to the Marin peninsula section of the north by the Golden Gate Bridge and the East-Bay area by the Oakland Bay Bridge. In 1856 the city and county boundaries were made coextensive and have remained so ever since. In 1900, San Francisco served as the residential and employment center for the metropolitan area. At that time 66% of the area population resided in San Francisco. The city's importance as a residential center has declined since then, and by 1960 only 28% of the residents of the metropolitan area lived in San Francisco. The city has also declined relatively as an employment center in that it no longer provides the majority of jobs in the area. This shift in population from the central city to the suburbs is a nationwide phenomenon, not peculiar to San Francisco. However, certain specific features may further account for it such as the built-up character of the city and the very

small land area that it comprises, which is by far the smallest of any major political jurisdictions.

With almost 16,500 persons per square mile, San Francisco remains the most densely populated of all metropolitan area counties. This fact perhaps more than any other, when compared with other communities in the area, portrays its urban and central-city character and qualities as well as its dominance in the region.

The majority of people in San Francisco are white, but the proportion of non-white is increasing.

1960	Total	White	Negro	Other non-white
San Francisco	740,316	604,528	73,903	61,915

The chamber of commerce calculated a population breakdown in 1968 as follows:

Total	748,700	100%
White	547,400	73.1%
Negro	101,200	13.5%
Chinese	62,000	8.3%
Japanese	11,800	1.6%
Filipino	20,000	2.7%
Other	6,300	0.8%

The white population has been declining since 1945, and this trend is expected to continue. This development is due primarily to migration from the cities to the suburbs. At the same time the non-white population is increasing and has been doing so since the 1950's due to the increased migration of the non-whites to the city. The influx of non-whites into San Francisco has two main components which are independent of each other: one component consists of blacks who are migrating from other parts of the United States, chiefly the South and Southwest; the other consists of Chinese who are migrating to the United States from Asia and settling in San Francisco. The importance of the latter has increased in recent years since the adoption of the new national immigration laws.

However, there is little equilibrium between the outgoing white migration and the non-white immigration, as it is projected that the total population of San Francisco (which was 740,316 in 1960 and has been declining since 1945 when it was 827,400) will continue to decline through 1975. The 1970 population projection reads 711,274.

Major changes in the age structure of the population are also predicted for the next 5 years, which suggests that there has been a significant change in the age composition of the population since the 1960 census. In 1960, persons aged 20 to 44 comprised the largest age group in the city, with 247,721 people. The next largest group consisted of persons aged 45 to 64 (200,736), followed closely by persons under 20 (199,256). Persons aged 65 and over constituted the smallest age group, with only 91,603 people. By 1975 some of this regularity in the age structure will have disappeared and the major part of the population will be under 45, as compared to 60.5% in 1960.

The sex composition of the overall population in 1960 shows a preponderance of females: 377,178 females to 363,138 males, which shows a ratio of 96.3 males per 100 females. This ratio is expected to increase in favor of females in the next 20 years. However, the non-white section of the population shows a preponderance of males to females. There is no breakdown by sex of ethnic groups in the population.

In San Francisco, as in other major cities, the residential location of the non-white population has been restricted to well-defined areas of the city. Negro settlement patterns are much more segregated than those for other non-whites. The major areas in which they are concentrated are Hunter's Point, Potrero Hill, the Western Addition, the Upper Mission, and the Haight Ashbury. The Chinese and Asian population is concentrated primarily in Chinatown and the area along Grant Avenue. The San Francisco Chinatown constitutes the largest Chinese community outside of Asia. The Chicano and Filipino population is centered mainly in the Mission District. The average per-capita income in San Francisco is considerably higher than that of the rest of California or the United States. This in part can be attributed to a different occupational and industrial distribution of the labor force, as well as to a higher percentage of persons in the labor force. However, it does not indicate a more equitable distribution of total income; in the case of San Francisco, it means that a larger percentage of the income is controlled by a small proportion of the population. The shift in income distribution between 1950 and 1960 was considerable. In 1950 only 13.7% of the families in San Francisco earned over $7,000 per year; by 1960 22.6% had incomes over $10,000 per year. Despite these increases in 1960, 13.3% of the families in San Francisco lived in poverty and an additional 17.1% had incomes which indicated a condition of deprivation. The difference between white and non-white family income is also considerable. Of all non-white families in San Francisco 20.9% live on less than $3,000 a year, while only 13.5% of the total population have incomes under $3,000. The sections of the city which fall within the lowest category of income are Chinatown, South of Market, Western Addition, Hunter's Point, and South of Mission.

San Francisco's economic base is changing. Between 1958 and 1962, total employment in the city and county of San Francisco increased by approximately 20,000 persons. While manufacturing employment remained constant, finance, insurance, and real estate activity added 10,000 persons during this period, a growth of almost 25% for this category of employment. This is significant, for finance, insurance, and real estate, and other non-manufacturing activities play a more important role in San Francisco economy than in the State or national economies. The change in occupational employment during the decade reflected a shift in the demand for labor with more education and greater skills. There was a substantial difference in 1960 between the occupational distributions of white and non-white workers. Among male workers in San Francisco, craftsmen and foremen were the most numerous, accounting for 17.1% of all workers, followed by operatives (14.8%), service workers (13.8%), and professionals (12.8%); in the non-white category, however, service occupations account for 27.3% of all male employment, followed by operatives (15.6%), laborers (13.7%), and craftsmen (10.5%).

Contrary to national trends, San Francisco had an increase between 1950 and 1960 in persons with no education. This figure jumped from 1.9% of the adult population to 3.0%, a total of 14,000 persons divided equally between whites and non-whites. Although there are considerable discrepancies between white and non-white educational attainment, a greater percentage difference exists between the old and the young. In San Francisco the average level of education attained begins to drop rapidly between the ages of 55 and 65 for the total population, and between the ages of 35 and 44 for the non-white population.

San Francisco presents an overall picture of an urban center surrounded by smaller suburbs and counties. It is still the employment center of the area, although it has no longer retained its prominence as a residential area. It provides the entertainment facilities for the surrounding areas, and its urban character seems likely to ensure its monopoly of these services. It has a predominantly white population, though a growing black and Chicano population is noted. A specific character of the city is the large Chinese community.

Methods for observation of core areas

A 100% visual coverage was undertaken in six of the seven districts where the sale of erotic material was observed.[1] The researchers initially began walking the following 310 square block area of central San Francisco:

> Broadway (starting at Sansome Street) to Kearney Street. Kearney to Green Street. Green to Columbus Avenue. Columbus to Broadway. Broadway to Van Ness Avenue. Van Ness to Market Street. Market to Sixth Street. Sixth to Howard Street. Howard to Fremont Street. Fremont to Market. Market to Kearney. Kearney to Broadway. And finally, Broadway to Sansome.

The six core districts comprise an area of 182 square blocks and were the major focuses of our field observations. They are individually distributed as follows:

	Square blocks
Tenderloin	19
Mission/Market	48
Union Square	29
Chinatown	26
North Beach	14
Polk Street District	46
Total	182

When the observer encountered a retail outlet, arcade, or movie theater displaying erotic material, he entered the premises and made note of its physical dimensions, general condition, lighting, erotic material on display, and so forth. These data appear in detailed form in a subsequent section.

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1. The one movie theater in the Marina District was observed only after we learned about its existence from our developing contacts within the other six core areas.

Tenderloin area. The 17-block area located on the north side of Market Street constitutes the "red light" district of the city. The neighborhood is generally run down; it contains numerous tawdry bars, small grocery stores, cheap hotels, adult bookstores, and film rooms. The Tenderloin, as it is known, is also the center of the street prostitution traffic in the city. Male and female prostitutes—the former mostly white, the latter mostly black—can be found without difficulty at any hour of the day or night.

Property in the area is generally dilapidated, and there is a lack of insurance coverage due mostly to the unusually high rates of crime. This takes the form of both personal offenses (mugging, beating, and not infrequently, homicide) and property offenses (burglary, larceny, etc.). In addition, the area is a center both for the heavy drug traffic and for working-class teenage runaways who make their living from drug dealing, prostitution, and theft.

There is a preponderance of "gay" bars to be found in the Tenderloin, where behavior guaranteed to outrage the moral sensitivities of city or suburban dwellers is permitted to occur without undue harassment. On some nights during the week there are more transvestites than female prostitutes patrolling the streets.

And then there are the bookstores and sex film rooms—14 of the former and seven of the latter, in addition to two arcades. The majority of bookstores stay open into the early morning (16 hours a day, till 2 a.m.), while the film rooms close at midnight. These institutions constitute one of the more stable forms of organization in the community; they both influence and reflect the constantly changing street population of potential customers.

The area differs from the Lower Mission area in that it is not a "skid row" neighborhood, although it supports a fairly stable population of streetcorner men. At present the neighborhood is being torn down as part of the redevelopment program in the city, so that the appearance of large open parking lots has created a less enclosed environment.

The heart of the area is along Turk and Eddy Streets, both of which intersect Market. The majority of the adult bookstores and movie theaters are located on these two streets. Despite their generally rundown character these stores are well furnished inside and have a smart appearance from the outside, in direct contrast to other small stores in the area.

Mission and Market. This is a somewhat extended area, running directly parallel with Market from the East Bay Bus Terminal to Sixth Avenue, generally known as the Lower Mission. It is characterized by cheap rundown housing and accommodations, numerous pawn shops, secondhand rummage stores, cheap bars, hotels, and restaurants. A core area between Third and Fourth Avenues, and Mission and Market Streets, is the "skid row" area where in addition to the hotels and bars are located a large number of industrial warehouses and narrow side streets. Housing in the area is poor and mainly occupied by non-whites, especially Chicanos and Filipinos. The area sprawls over 24 blocks, and the outlets for erotic material are widely dispersed. Market Street, the main east-west street of the city, has a large number of general chain stores, shops, and office buildings interspersed with sex-movie theaters and adult bookstores. Also located in this area are four arcades with sex-movie booths, housed between low-cost restaurants. Market Street becomes more dilapidated at its western end; it is there that the majority

of the bookstores are located, as is the case with Mission Street. During the daytime this area is peopled mainly by tourists, shoppers, and businessmen, in contrast to evening, when the movie theaters and late closing shops attract a younger non-white population. In the evening there is a less apparent demarcation between Market Street and the Tenderloin, although the Lower Mission area retains its individuality as a poor non-white residential area.

Union Square. Union Square is the central square of the city. It is bordered on one side by the financial and administrative district and on the other by conventional theaters, expensive shops, and department stores. Its daytime population is composed mainly of businessmen, shoppers, tourists, panhandlers, and religious cultists. Its outer boundaries, Kearny and Taylor Streets, are the location of smaller adult bookstores and theaters. The area has seven sex-oriented retail outlets and two adult movie theaters. On the north side, the high-class hotels predominate. Although the south side of this area is adjacent to the Tenderloin it shows no continuation of Tenderloin characteristics—except that prostitutes can occasionally be found there. The area contains business offices, exclusive shops, restaurants, theaters, travel agencies, and so forth; but where it borders the Chinatown area there is a noticeable decline in these characteristics. The retailers of erotic material are found mainly on the boundary lines.

Chinatown. Chinatown is a community surrounded by other distinctive areas of the city. To the west it is flanked by hotels and tall apartment buildings. To the south lies the financial district. To the east of Chinatown are warehouses, produce centers, the freeway, and more high-rise apartments. To the north is the North Beach area of "topless," "bottomless," and live sex-show entertainment and of residences for the Chinese and Italian populations.

Grant Avenue is the main passageway through Chinatown and is the center of commercial activity in the community. Usually the streets are narrow; buildings on both sides are built close together and are generally low in height. There is considerable evidence, however, of new high-rise apartments in the process of construction. Generally on the floor levels of most buildings are found commercial establishments, gift shops, restaurants, and so on. Most of the upstairs levels are residences, though a few are offices of dentists, doctors, and lawyers.

Surrounding the core area of business and commerce are residential areas in the west around Powell Street, Columbus Street, and as far northeast as Van Ness. Most of the structures in the residential areas are flats and apartments. Chinatown is the most overcrowded neighborhood in the city. It contains both American-born Chinese and foreign-born immigrants who often do not speak English and have trouble obtaining employment. The area is a favorite location for tourists and consequently caters to that trade. There are seven adult bookstores in the neighborhood and no sex-film rooms.

North Beach. North Beach is the center for erotic entertainment in San Francisco. Here are located the "topless" and "bottomless" bars and clubs which cater to the erotic tastes of tourists and residents alike. In the past, this area provided the setting for the incipient "beat" movement of the fifties; now it is a hangout for members of the "hip" generation to gather socially, to buy and sell drugs, and to sell various art wares and literature. There are several jazz and night clubs on Broadway itself, the main street of the area; and a population of prostitutes, pimps, and hustlers always can be found in the streets. In addition, this

area contains three adult bookstores and five sex-oriented movie theaters. The North Beach area was formerly and to some extent still is the chief residential area for the Italian-American population of San Francisco. The overflow of Chinese-Americans into the area in recent years, however, has led to considerable conflict, particularly among teenage groups. The neighborhood is characterized by small businesses such as fresh produce markets, grocery stores, small restaurants serving Italian food, record shops, "hippie" businesses selling mod clothing, posters and buttons, and gift and artisan shops.

Polk Street district. This area has been somewhat artificially defined, in that it is not usually considered to be a self-contained neighborhood. However, there are two sex-movie theaters and six adult bookstores located in close proximity along Polk Street. A general observation of the area reveals that it is approximately two blocks wide and runs north from the Civic Center as far as Broadway. It consists partly of a residential area and partly of small shops, boutiques, and a few higher quality motels and restaurants. It is a middle-income area populated by whites. The styles of both private houses and apartments indicate a degree of fashion consciousness that has apparently been assimilated into the area as indicated by the presence of a homosexual movie theater, boutiques with certain clothing styles available and on display, and the clientele of the local coffee shops. The north end of the area merges into Nob Hill and Russian Hill, two high-income residential areas. They were not included in the defined area although architectural styles and boutiques are comparable in both areas. The seven sex-movie theaters in the Polk Street district are stylistically in keeping with the rest of the area.

The Marina. The Marina District of the city is situated on the waterfront near the Golden Gate Bridge. It is chiefly a residential area for young men and women affluent enough to live in one of the "better" parts of the city. The apartment houses are in excellent condition and the citizens are appropriately discreet. However, in the middle of the shopping area on Chestnut Street there is one movie theater which provides a steady supply of sex films interspersed with an occasional avant-garde film.

BOOKSTORES, ARCADES, AND MOVIE THEATERS

Characteristics of retail outlets

We observed 47 retail stores selling erotic material within the city limits of San Francisco. We excluded from our study the numerous outlets for magazines of the *Playboy* variety.

Of the 47 stores, 33 are exclusively bookstores, 10 are either cigar stores or newsstands, and four are classified as miscellaneous (that is, some other type of business, such as radio-TV repair, is the predominant interest). Stores in the last two categories (cigar store, newsstand, and miscellaneous) tend to have a section at the rear which contains pornographic material ranging from *Playboy*, or partial nudity publications, to material just short of hard-core (all private parts shown but no actual intercourse visible). The other 33 bookstores carry a range of material from partial nudity through hard-core (graphic portrayal of intercourse with detailed close-ups of penetration, oral-genital sex, etc.), which is sold over the counter in at least six different establishments.

The average bookstore is "adult exclusive" (N=25), well lighted (N=38), and acceptably maintained (N=23). The buildings and store fronts are usually of medium (N=23) to recent (N=18) date. Most of the stores have window displays (N=33), and on the average the material displayed therein is of a much milder variety than is available inside the store. Most sell paperback books (N=41) in addition to color and black-and-white magazines, and a few also offer cloth-bound sex-oriented books (N=7). "Sex manual" or educational material is on sale in about one-half of the stores (N=21), as are sex aids such as "love creams and oils," artificial penises and vaginas, dildoes, and related apparatus. Motion-picture films of the 8-mm. type are also available in about one-half of the stores (N=24), and about the same number also sell erotic still-photograph sets.

Material relating to group sex and "orgies" are available in the magazines carried by about one-half of the stores (N=26), as are depictions of pedophilia (N=27) and certain fetishes (N=15). Sadomasochism and bestiality, however, are offered in only a few establishments (N=9 and N=3, respectively.) Three of the stores cater predominantly to the male homosexual, but most other stores also carry a line of male nude magazines. Only nine stores do not carry any homosexual material. As might be expected, the majority of the models shown are white, with a few exceptions in which black males and females are shown. Almost no models shown are Asian.

About two-thirds (N=30) of the stores either wrap their magazines in cellophane or cover the genital areas of the cover models with patches (usually with price tags). The remainder (N=17) make no effort to restrict the view of their customers.

Most stores (N=42) are under 400 square feet in sales area. Twenty-seven of them display signs which either restrict entry to persons under 18 or 21 years old or else warn the unsuspecting customer that he will see material which "might be offensive" to him. In keeping with the small sizes of the stores, most (N=39) display between 200 and 300 different magazines, or fewer. The proprietors are usually male except in the stores which do not sell exclusively erotic material.

RETAIL OUTLETS OF EROTIC MATERIAL

N=47

Type of establishment	
Bookstore	33
Newsstand	6
Cigar	4
Miscellaneous	4
Total	47
Classification	
Adult exclusive	25
Adult section	13
No demarcation	9
Store conditions	
Well maintained	18
Acceptable	23
Mediocre	6

Lighting	
Well lighted	38
Adequately lighted	9
Media available	
Magazines, exclusively	6
Magazines and paperbacks	34
Magazines, paper, and hardbacks	7
Sexual education material	
Educational material (guides, manuals, etc.)	21
Motion pictures	
8-mm. films	23
8-mm. and 16-mm. films	1
Photographs	
Picture sets	23
Perversions	
Pedophilia	27
Sadomasochism	9
Other fetishes	15
Bestiality	3
Groups and "orgies"	26
Types of sexual activity	
People engaged in a sex act with full exposure of all private sex organs	4
People engaged in sex play with private sex organs fully exposed but not in contact	35
People engaged in a sex act, but no private sex organs exposed to viewer	16
People with all private sex organs fully exposed, but no sex activity shown or implied (detailed exposure of sex organs)	39
People fully nude. Typical nudist camp scenes (no suggestion of sex activity or emphasis on the display of sex organs)	17
People partially nude with no private sex organs shown (no pubic area shown and not engaged in sex act)	38
Heterosexual and homosexual activity	
Heterosexual only	9
Homosexual only	3
Heterosexual and homosexual	12
Heterosexual and lesbian	4
Heterosexual, homosexual, and lesbian	19
Race of models shown	
White only	24
White and Black	17
White and Asian	3
White, Black, and Asian	3
Patches, cellophane, etc., covering genitals	
No patches, cellophane, etc.	17
Patches only	4
Cellophane	11
Both patches and cellophane	15

Age of building	
Old	6
Medium	23
New	18
Age limitation signs	
18 and over	2
21 and over	21
Adult	4
No demarcation	20
Square footage of sales space (approx.)	
0-100 sq. ft.	6
101-200 sq. ft.	7
201-300 sq. ft.	12
301-400 sq. ft.	10
401-500 sq. ft.	5
500 sq. ft. plus	7
Number of different magazines on display (approx.)	
0-100	22
101-200	3
201-300	14
301-400	3
401-500	2
501-600	1
601-700	1
701-800	
801-900	
901-1,000 plus	1

Characteristics of arcades

Of the six arcades located in San Francisco, five are situated in the rear of lunch counters and the sixth in the rear of a photography shop. All the arcades contain adult sections with the appropriate sign of prohibition to patrons under 21. The arcades are housed in buildings varying in age (old building–3, medium-aged building–2, new building--1), but they are all well maintained, with one exception. The average floor space of these establishments, approximately 800 square feet, is generally far larger than that for other retail establishments dealing in erotic literature. The number of booths per arcade varies from 32 to 9; an average number of 17 was established. Half of the arcades deal solely in movies, while the other half sell erotic material in other media forms (magazines, paperbacks).

The cost of viewing films is either 10¢ or 25¢, the price being determined by the size of the screen rather than by content or length of the segment of film. They run from between 1 and 1½ minutes, and are 16-mm. color reels. Only one arcade limits its movies to the display of partial nudity with no sexual activity. Five show full exposure of models, and only two display material with full exposure and explicit sexual activity and contact between actors. One arcade shows solely female models, four show lesbian activity, and only one displays movies of heterosexual and lesbian activity. Both black models and white models are used in movies shown in three arcades; but in the other three, only white models appear in film material.

An analysis of the forms of sex-oriented behavior presented in the erotic literature sold in three of the arcades reveals a greater variety than noted for the films.

Pedophilial material was noted in one arcade, sadomasochistic material in two arcades, fetish-oriented material in three arcades, and collective-sexual material in two arcades. Sex play, complete nudity, partial nudity, and sexual contact between models were noted to be present in literature sold in the three arcades. Homosexual and heterosexual magazines were sold at all three arcades, and one also sold lesbian material. Only photographs of white models were available at one arcade, but at the other two both black and white models were represented in photographs. One of the arcade stores had a large stock of material covering over 300 different titles; however, the other two stores had a more limited selection and displayed less than 100 different titled items.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCADES

N=6

Type of establishment		
Lunchstand and pinball only		2
Lunchstand, newsstand, and pinball		3
Miscellaneous (photo shop)		1
Classification		
Adult exclusive		—
Adult section		6
Store conditions		
Well maintained		2
Acceptable		3
Mediocre		1
Lighting		
Well lighted		2
Adequately lighted		2
Poorly lighted		2
Media available		
Movies, magazines, and paperback books		3
Movies only		3
Motion picture films		
8-mm. films		—
16-mm. colored films		6
Perversions	Films	Magazines
Pedophilia	—	1
Sadomasochism	5	2
Other fetishes	—	3
Bestiality	—	—
Groups and orgies	1	2
Types of sexual activity		
People engaged in a sex act with full exposure of all private sex organs	5	—
People engaged in sex play with private sex organs fully exposed but not in contact	6	3
People engaged in a sex act, but no private sex organs exposed to viewer	—	—

	Films	Magazines
People with all private sex organs fully exposed, but no sex activity shown or implied (detailed exposure of sex organs)	–	3
People fully nude. Typical nudist camp scenes (no suggestion of sex activity or emphasis on the display of sex organs)	–	3
People partially nude with no private sex organs shown (no pubic area shown and not engaged in sex act)	6	3
Heterosexual and homosexual activity		
Heterosexual only	–	–
Homosexual only	–	–
Heterosexual and homosexual	–	1
Heterosexual and lesbian	–	–
Heterosexual, homosexual, and lesbian	–	2
Single female	1	–
Single female and lesbian	4	–
Single female, lesbian, and heterosexual	1	–
Race of models		
White only	3	1
White and Black	3	2
Patches, cellophane, etc., covering genitals (magazines only)		
No patches, cellophane, etc.		–
Patches only		1
Cellophane only		2
Both patches and cellophane		–
Age of building		
Old		3
Medium		2
New		1
Age limitation signs		
18 and over		–
21 and over		6
Adult		–
No demarcation		–
Square footage of area (including backrooms)		
0-100 sq. ft.		–
101-200 sq. ft.		–
201-300 sq. ft.		–
301-400 sq. ft.		–
401-500 sq. ft.		–
500 sq. ft. plus		6
Number of different magazines on display (approx.)		
0-100		5
100-200		–
200-300		1
300-400		–

Characteristics of movie theaters

We encountered 28 different motion picture establishments where one can view a range of sexual behavior from single female or male "beaver" films to graphic

portrayals of sexual intercourse and oral-genital sex. The usual film is a "split-beaver," a 10-minute "loop," or "featurette" (a 10- to 20-minute loop with more than one person) without sound, in color, and with zoom close-ups which give the viewer an unobscured and detailed view of female genitalia. Some of the theaters are presently showing sound movies (often the silent movies have a musical taped stereo accompaniment) and include a more graphic portrayal of sexual activity. The average theater is small, and approximately one-third of them (N=8) have a seating capacity of less than 50. Most of the theaters (N=21) have a seating capacity of less than 200; however, one (which is not exclusively an "adult" theater) has a capacity of 750. The average admission charge fluctuates according to the type and vividness of the show and what the traffic will bear,[2] but most charge between $3.00 and $5.00 a ticket. The majority of the theaters cater to a heterosexual audience, and only three or four theaters offer predominantly or exclusively homosexual material. Most of the theaters are in medium-old (N=14) or new (N=13) buildings, have signs restricting entry to persons of majority (N=23), and have female cashiers, who are visible to entering patrons in the foyer in half of the theater (N=13).

For a more detailed outline, see the following table.

MOVIE THEATERS

N=28

Age limit signs	
No sign	5
21 or over	15
18 or over	5
Adult and 21 or over	2
Adult and 18 or over	1
Condition of building	
Old	1
Medium	14
New	13
Other erotic material on sale	
Nothing for sale	22
Books for sale	3
Magazines and movies	1
Magazines, books, and movies	2
Type of sexual activity shown	
Homosexual	5
Heterosexual	22
Both	1

2. Our original observations, conducted in late March 1970, revealed that $4 and $5 were the most common movie theater admission charges (N=9). Our later observations (May 1970) showed that 19 theaters were then charging $5 while only three were still at the $4 admission figure. This suggests that there is a formal policy among theater owners to keep admission costs at a consensual level and to ensure some stabilization of prices throughout the city; this general policy agreement does not, however, extend to any controlled price fixing.

Seating capacities (approx.)	
Less than 50 seats	8
50 to 150 seats	4
150 to 200 seats	9
200 to 400 seats	6
400-plus seats	1
Admission charge	
$2.00 to $2.99	2
$3.00 to $3.99	3
$4.00 to $4.99	3
$5.00	19
$7.00	1
Sex of ticket salesperson	
Male	9
Female	13
Both	6

ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF EROTICA

Methods for interviewing merchants and distributors

Four members of the research staff (two men and two women) individually approached retail merchants of sex-oriented material within each of the six core areas. Each used a different style. One researcher posed as a graduate student interested in obtaining information about the erotic milieu for his dissertation, another as an overseas journalist writing a feature article about the entertainment industry in San Francisco, a third as a clinical psychologist interested in gaining a fuller understanding of the consumer population in order to understand the effects of erotic material on his clients, and the fourth as a research social scientist employed by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography involved in a study of the erotic marketplace in San Francisco. This last approach was employed only after one of the other approaches had failed to gain the merchant's cooperation.

An "overlapping" research design was constructed whereby individual merchants were approached, over staggered periods of time, by at least two members of the research staff using quite different initial approaches. Initially conceived as a method to gain information from individual merchants who were unwilling to discuss their retail businesses, this duplication of efforts served two purposes:

1. It allowed for possible personality clashes between interviewee and researcher.
2. As a cross-validation, it ensured accuracy of information obtained during a cooperative interchange between researcher and interviewee.

This cross-validation method was used in interviewing retail bookstore owners, sex theater owners and managers, distributors of sex-oriented literature, and arcade managers.

Our efforts were at first designed to gain information from merchants in each of the six core areas. Our attempts to interview bookstore owners were unsuccessful in two of these areas, Polk and Mission; sex theater owners and managers were uncooperative only in Chinatown. The arcades which we studied are located in only two of the core areas, because the other four areas contain no arcades.

Initially, 16 bookstore owners were contacted; out of these we were able to interview nine. Three of the interviewees were hesitant to offer the type of detailed information that we were seeking. Six others were more cooperative. Each researcher was equipped with a standard format of detailed questions to use while conducting interviews. The respondents, however, were not discouraged from elaborating on tangential areas not covered by the interview schedule. There was no written format for the theater owners, arcade managers, or distributors, but there was consistent agreement about the direction that questions were to take.

Adult bookstore owners

A general picture of the retail erotic literature business in San Francisco is gathered from an analysis of the interview data collected. It is apparent that an average gross of at least $75,000 per year is made by each bookstore, and several stores estimate grosses at over $100,000. With 47 bookstores located in the city, an estimated annual gross of $5,000,000 is conservative. The attractiveness of the financial rewards in the business is responsible for the involvement of the majority of owners. It is noteworthy that at least a third of present owners have worked at some time as clerks in similar stores, and took the opportunity of buying into a partnership or of sole ownership as soon as they could accumulate a minimum of capital. Profits to be made on the retail market are upwards of 100% per article and often soar to over 800%. The weekly budget estimates do not reveal any substantial overheads, and labor costs are rarely estimated at over 20%. Capital investment in the store itself does not appear to be generally substantial; the major initial investment is made in stock. Most owners arrange to restock at least every two weeks and take material from distributors on a no-sale return basis. Erotic literature is usually purchased from local distributors; but films and sexual paraphernalia are usually purchased directly from producers, and profits are consequently 20% higher on these articles.

There is a noticeable spirit of camaraderie among the store owners. As they know one another, they are loath to regard one another as competitors and will not indulge in any substantial price cutting. One store owner who has followed a policy of undercutting prices has been noticeably ostracized by the majority of owners. The legal risks involved in their business in no small way account for their general skepticism when asked to confide significant information. Although the majority of those interviewed were in favor of liberalizing the law against obscenity, they projected a fall in the profit margin for retailers if this was to occur and were therefore ambivalent in their support.

Interviews with bookstore owners

Part I. *Experience and education of owner*

1. *How did you get involved in adult bookstore business?* (A) By chance, arrived in California unemployed, a friend introduced him to the business after he came out of the military. Married. No college education, 27 years old. (B) Was a traveling salesman, became interested in sex-oriented literature as an artist. Holds an A.B. in Psychology and M.A. in English Literature. Married, 38 years old. (C) Greek immigrant, has been in the United States for 8 years. Took advertised job

as clerk and worked his way up to the ownership of the store. Married, aged 40-45 years. (D) Graduated from college with A.B. in Psychology and wanted to make money quickly and operate a shop. Presently working on a master's degree in Psychology and about to secure employment as an Educational Psychologist. (E) President of homosexual organization, decided to open the store to service the homophile community. College degree, unmarried, 45 years old. (F) Unemployed, needed a job after serious car accident. Became a clerk, and has worked his way up in the business. No college education. Married. 40 years old.

2. *How did you get into your present business*? (A) Had worked in a bookstore as a clerk and then bought into the business. (B) Worked as a clerk, then bought the store. (C) Worked as a clerk, then bought own store. (D) Wanted to make a good financial investment and was told this was the best. (E) Previously operated a mail order firm. (F) Worked as a clerk, then bought store.

3. *Has the store always been a bookstore*? (A) Yes. (B) No. (C) Yes. (D) Yes. (E) No. (F) Yes.

4. *Who owns the store*? (A) Partnership. (B) Proprietorship. (C) Proprietorship. (D) Proprietorship. (E) Corporation. (F) Partnership.

5. *How long have you owned it*? (A) One year. (B) Eleven years. (C) Six months. (D) Three years. (E) One year. (F) Three years.

6. *How much money was your original investment*? (A) $12,000. (B) $14,000. (C) $8,000-$10,000. (D) $5,000. (E) No data. (F) No data.

Part II. *Customer profile*

This section was designed to obtain a customer profile from the viewpoint of the owner.

1. *What percentage of your customers are regular*? (A) 25%. (B) 25%-50%. (C) 25%-35%. (D) 40%-50%. (E) 50%. (F) 70%.

2. *What percentage of customers are lookers? And what percentage of customers are buyers?*

	Look	*Buy*
(A)	60%	40%
(B)	could sell to anyone who had money	
(C)	no data	
(D)	50%	50%
(E)	80%	20%
(F)	60%	40%

3. *What percentage of your customers are:* (i) *under 18 years old?* (ii) *18-25?* (iii) *26-35?* (iv) *36-45?* (v) *over 45?*

	under 18	*18-25*	*26-35*	*36-45*	*45+*
(A)	–	30	10	20	40
(B)	–	10	25	45	20
(C)	–	10	30	40	20
(D)	–	10	20	50	20
(E)	–	–	20	55	25
(F)	–	20	20	35	45

4. *How would you estimate a racial breakdown of your customers?*

	White	*Black*	*Chinese + Japanese*	*Other*
(A)	75%	10%	10%	5%
(B)	50%-65%	no other data available		
(C)	70%	5%	10%	15%
(D)	70%	10%	10%	10%
(E)	90%	5%	–	5%
(F)	70%	5%	20%	5%

5. *Do customers shop in pairs, groups or alone?* (A) Mostly alone, tourists tend to shop in groups. (B) Mostly alone, unless military or tourists in groups. (C) Mostly alone, very few come in groups except tourists and orientals. (D) Mostly alone. (E) Alone. (F) Alone.

6. *Of your regular customers, how frequently do they visit the store?* (A) No data. (B) Once every two weeks. (C) No data. (D) Once every two weeks. (E) No data. (F) Every two weeks.

7. *Are there any seasonal variations in the type(s) of customer(s) you have?* (A) Not too much, except tourists in summer. (B) Great variation; in summer sales are far higher. (C) Better business in fall and summer–slow business around holiday time. (D) Great deal of variation–high summer sales. (E) Best business in summer. (F) Best business in summer.

8. *Are there any variations in the type of customer during different times of the day?* (A) Usually white collar workers come in at night or after work. (B) No data. (C) No variation. (D) No variation. (E) Yes, lunchtime and early evening, white collar workers. (F) Businessmen and tourists in day time, regular customers mainly night.

9. *What is the percentage of female to male customers?*

	Female	*Male*
(A)	2	98
(B)	5	95
(C)	10	90
(D)	15	85
(E)	1	99
(F)	5	95

10. *What is the approximate dollar sale per customer*? (A) $3-$4. (B) $3-$5. (C) $5. (D) $5—higher in summer, $7. (E) $5-$6. (F) $5.

11. *Do you have any requests for "hard core" material*? (A) Yes, 10-15 per day. (B) Yes, approximately 50 requests per day. (C) Yes, 20 requests a day, from tourists. (D) No data available. (E) Yes, approximately 10 requests per day. (F) Yes, approximately 10 requests per day.

12. *If someone wants hard core where can he purchase it*? (A) From owners store. (B) From owners store. (C) From owners store. (D) No data. (E) From owners store. (F) Owner doesn't sell it, refers customers to San Francisco Police Department.

Part III. *Distributors*

1. *Do you obtain all your materials from the San Francisco area suppliers*? (A) No data. (B) No. (C) Yes. (D) Yes. (E) No. (F) No.

2. *How many distributors are there in San Francisco*? (A) No data. (B) Approximately 10, but only 2 good ones. (C) Approximately 5. (D) 3. (E) 4. (F) 2 or 3.

3. *From where do distributors obtain their material*? (A) No data. (B) Some produce their own but the majority buy from producers. (C) Mostly from Los Angeles. (D) Los Angeles. (E) New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. (F) New York and Los Angeles.

4. *When do you pay your distributors for their deliveries*? (A) No data. (B) Immediate payment usually, sometimes credit. (C) Pay C.O.D. (D) Pays C.O.D. usually, although discount if cash payment immediately. (E) Immediately. (F) Immediately.

Part IV. *Sales*

1. *What percentage of the total sales are constituted by books, magazines, movies, others*?

	Books	*Magazines*	*Movies*	*Others*
(A)	65	25	10	—
(B)	25	25	10	40
(C)	20	50	20	10
(D)	15	60	20	5
(E)	15	70	10	5
(F)	25	60	10	5

2. *What were your approximate sales in 1969*? (A) No data. (B) Approximately $150,000. (C) No data. (D) Approximately $84,000. (E) No data. (F) Approximately $100,000.

3. *How much of your total sales is accounted for by the "secondary market"*? (A) None. (B) None. (C) None. (D) None. (E) None. (F) None.

4. *Who determines the markup on your merchandise*? (A) Owner on nonfranchised material. (B) Owner on nonfranchised material. (C) Distributor on

franchised material, owner on nonfranchised material. (D) Owner on nonfranchised material. (E) Owner on nonfranchised material. (F) Owner on nonfranchised material.

5. *Do you try to forecast sales to determine inventory needs? If so, how?* (A) No data. (B) Yes, by gauging tourist market. (C) Yes, by personal experience. (D) Yes, by personal experience, although often inaccurate. (E) Yes, by seasonal fluctuations. (F) Yes, by noting customer requests.

6. *What percentage of your monthly gross is accounted for by labor, rent, stock, overhead?*

	Labor	*Rent*	*Stock*	*Overhead*
(A)	no data available			
(B)	15	12	20	10
(C)	10	5	35	10
(D)	20	10	20	15
(E)	no data	no data	25	no data
(F)	10	3	no data	no data

7. *How do you keep track of your inventory?* (A) No data. (B) Running account, also annual inventory. (C) Running account, also periodic inventory. (D) Running account, and biennial inventory. (E) Running account. (F) Running account and annual inventory.

8. *What is the approximate value (at retail price) of your inventory?* (A) No data. (B) $7,000. (C) $3,500. (D) $6,000. (E) $30,000. (F) $3,000.

Part V. *Employees*

1. *How many people do you employ?* (A) No data. (B) 2. (C) 1. (D) 6. (E) 2. (F) 1.

2. *How many work 8 hours a day or more?* (A) No data. (B) 2. (C) 1. (D) 4. (E) 2. (F) 1.

3. *What methods do you use to find employees?* (A) No data. (B) Friends references. (C) Friends references. (D) Applicants. (E) Personal contacts. (F) Newspaper advertisements.

4. *What is the average wage you pay?* (A) No data. (B) $150 plus commission. (C) $150 plus commission. (D) $150 plus commission. (E) No data. (F) $150 (no commission).

5. *What was your turnover rate in employees in the last year?* (A) No data. (B) Same two employed. (C) One fired for theft. (D) Three. (E) Same two employed. (F) Same employee.

Part VI. *Sources of operating funds*

1. *How many times in the past 12 months has it been necessary for you to borrow operating funds?* (A) No data. (B) None. (C) None. (D) None. (E) Once. (F) Once.

An interview with an arcade manager

On Friday, June 12, 1970 at 11:15 a.m., an interview was conducted with the manager of an arcade on Market Street. He stated that he was willing to answer questions as long as they were not too involved or too lengthy. With this in mind, questions were asked that were specific enough to give us factual data without being particularly complex. The manager appeared to be quite relaxed and provided all the information requested.

The ownership of the arcade is in doubt at the present time since the will of the owner, who died about 6 months ago, is in probate. The manager was thus unable to answer any questions about the actual operation of the arcade (cost of films, operating costs, cost of initial set-up), because there is a business manager who handles those responsibilities. The only information obtained was that the films come from a Los Angeles firm that specializes in distribution. The manager said that the average weekly gross was around $2,000 (which includes the take from their six pinball machines). It should be pointed out that the movie machines have no devices for recording sales, so the honesty of the manager is crucial for tax purposes. In referring to the amount of sales from the magazine and paperback racks, he said that the money comes in almost solely from tourists and that he can't keep pace with the rate at which magazines are produced.

This arcade has been in operation for 10 years; it was one of the earliest outlets for erotic material in a kinetic form. The recent mushrooming of movie theaters has affected the business of the arcades negatively—the manager spoke of "neighborhood outlets popping up in the suburbs." The other trend that he spoke of was the increasing explicitness of the reels. While this arcade is the most conservative of those on Market Street (the business manager specifically orders only the single girl movies), he referred to a definite change of content that began around 18 months ago. He said that the movies now reveal much more of the female body and have more close-ups of the pubic area.

The conservatism of this arcade has negatively affected the customer flow, but it has allowed them to avoid being "busted" by the police in the past three years. Due to the fact that any customer who feels "offended" by the films can file a citizen's complaint, they make a narrow definition of "socially acceptable" for purposes of self-protection.

Comparing the legal status of his arcade and another one that shows vivid heterosexual films, he said that the other arcade has had a number of run-ins with the authorities while his own place has not. During the three years that he has been managing the arcade, he has never been arrested.

A breakdown of the data collected in the interview is as follows:

Ownership: Owner has died; his will is now in probate.
Length of operation: 10 years.
Original investment: Unknown.
How did the owner get into business: No information.
Customer breakdown:
Professional—60%
Tourists—30%
Military—5%
Deviants—5%

Racial groups:
White–75%
Black–15%
Other–10%
Sales:
$2,000 per week from movies and pinball machines[3]
$60 per week from magazines and books
Variations during the day: White collar businessmen during day; subterraneans at night.
Age of patrons: Predominantly middle-aged (between 30 and 45 years old).
Percentage of regular customers: 50%.
How often do they come in? Two times per week.
Male-female ratio: Only men are allowed to view films.
Most profitable times: The lunch hour and end of business day; weekends are very slow.
Operating expenses: No data.
Cost of new films: No data.
Distributor: Los Angeles distribution company.
Arrests: Never arrested during his 3 years as manager of the arcade.
Sensitivity to public opinion: The person who orders the films is careful to only order one-girl films, so as not to offend any of the patrons (they must rely on a definition of "socially acceptable" made by their patrons).

Interview with sex-movie theater owners

The sex-film business in San Francisco is estimated at $7,000,000 per year. Movie theaters are open for approximately 16 hours a day; the average ticket charge is $5. There are 28 theaters in the city, but only seven operate on a large scale.
Weekly gross: This varies–the bigger theaters make around $6,000 and the smaller, $4,000.
Film cost: $750 per week, unless the film is shown on a percentage basis, in which case an average of 50% is paid to the filmmaker. If the theater is operating on a percentage basis operating costs are higher. The going rates for a film are approximately $50-75 for a 10-minute loop, and $100-150 for a featurette (10- to 20-minute loop with more than one actor).
Estimated weekly budget: Rent $250. Projectionist $750 (there is a separate pay scale for projectionists of sex films). Employees $400. Management and miscellaneous $500. Advertising $500-750. Film $750. Total weekly expenses are approximately $3,500.
Additional costs: Legal fees cut heavily into profits. A lawyer for a case on an obscenity charge will call a retainer fee of $1,500. Frequent arrests can lead to smaller theaters' going out of business. Theater managers display definite feelings that the police are quite conscious that continual harassment can cause the smaller theaters to close up.
Chain theaters: Two of the large theaters in San Francisco are part of a large national chain of 48 theaters. One man manages both. The central offices of the chain are in New York. It is difficult to determine whether it is more profitable to

3. No method for recording amount of quarters.

manage a chain theater than to own a single theater. Benefits of the former are that pay is on a commission basis and that in the event of a police arrest all court and legal fees are paid by the firm, but the individual manager still bears the sentence and record if he is convicted.

Ticket costs: These depend largely upon what the general price in the city is. $5 is considered a good fee—high enough to make people aware of what they spend, yet not above the average income bracket.

Advertising: This has been brought to the level of a manipulative art. The local press is very tolerant of advertisements, and the editorial board is assumed by the theater owners to be fairly liberal, although within the last 6 months there has been greater censorship on behalf of the local press.

Selection of movies: This is left largely up to the personal discretion of the manager of a chain theater, and the independent owners have complete control over the decision as to what movies are shown. Most owners are concerned that the movie is at least defensible in the event that it should be seized by the police as obscene material, although there are certain owners who feel the police harassment is such that the substantive matter of the material is not considered when an arrest is made, and therefore they are prepared to show any material that has artistic merit. One of the theater owners interviewed has established a reputation as a good professional film maker and there is a tendency of local theater owners to show his films in preference to others. At his own theater he shows his own movies almost exclusively.

Theater owners: Those owners and managers who agreed to submit to interviews were enthusiastic to discuss their involvement in the business of erotic art. In contrast with the adult book store owners, these interviewees were much younger, between 25-35 years of age. They were concerned to see the business of erotic film making as part of a radical cultural change and political crusade, and their feelings towards censorship of sexual expression indicated they felt it was part of a conservative political program. They did not feel that they were in the business of "dirty movies" but rather involved in erotic art forms, the future of which they were optimistic about in that it would lead to freedom of expression in all areas of social life.

Sex films in San Francisco

In the last 6 months there has been a very noticeable change in the quality and substance of the movies shown at the adult sex movie theaters. Although the arrest statistics suggest that they have become more explicit in the character of what they portray, more significant changes are noted. There is now a clear dichotomy between the short one-reel stag movie and the feature length movie. The stag movies are usually of poor quality, lacking in any significant plot, with the actors and actresses showing very little emotional interaction with another. And the sets are simple, usually the interior of a house. The sound track of stag movies is most often canned music, and infrequently there is some basic dialogue. Film techniques used are of a poor professional standard, and there is little imagination shown in angle shots, and so forth. Frequently backstage activity is unintentionally caught in the camera, and there seems to be little or no attempt to touch up the final film.

On the other hand, the feature length erotic movies which have been shown in the city produced by local film makers display a high degree of professional competence. There is obviously considerable selection of actors, and there is a noticeable degree of emotional involvement between them. There is a plot and the location of filming is given much attention; for example, beaches, swimming pools, and pastoral scenes are often shown. The sexual intimacy between the performers in these features is usually heterosexual, involving oral-genital intercourse and conventional intercourse. Close-ups and zoom lenses are used to convey the texture of the action. Feature length films also use a documentary format, perhaps to minimize the possibility of police seizure of the film; but on the other hand, the films using this form have been educational, involving documentation of the freedom of sexual expression in Denmark and making a definite plea for the legalization of "pornography" in America. Material exported directly from Denmark is also shown, but the quality appears to be similar to that of the local stag movies, in which homosexual and bestial intercourse is implied if not portrayed. Interviews with the two largest theater owners in the city revealed that it is the feature length quality movie that is now commanding the market. Of necessity this requires an extensive capital layout for equipment, and consequently production costs are high. But these films are shown on a percentage basis and distributed throughout the country, and the returns are more substantial than those from stag movies. With the demand for quality erotic films, the film producer of necessity has to become a professional and carry a good staff team of photographers, editors, and sound-track mixers. It would appear from the San Francisco example that film producers who are involved in this sort of production are generally interested in the artistic value of erotic art rather than the quick profile gleaned from cranking a stag movie out in a basement.

Arcade movies

The movies shown in the arcades are 16-mm. color films without sound. They are offered in 1- to 1½-minute segments for 10¢ or 25¢, the price depending upon the size of the screen. The content of these films is varied, but the single-girl variety is the most predominant (80%). The others are mostly "heavy" heterosexual activity, with some lesbianism (5%). There is no evidence of any male homosexual activities being shown in the arcades.

The largest category of films, the single-girl "beaver" movies, represents 80% of the 40 or 50 film segments viewed at the various arcades. These films lack a clear-cut beginning or ending, but they do show some sort of progression. A typical film would run as follows:

A girl is in a bedroom or on a lawn fully clothed. She makes some provocative gestures at the camera and then begins to fondle her breasts. She takes one breast out and licks it, plays with it. *(time for another coin)* She then proceeds to wriggle out of her blouse and bra and fondles her breasts some more. Now her skirt comes off, and the vagina is massaged through the panties. *(another coin)* The movie resumes with her massaging herself. We zoom in for a closeup, then after some vacillation the panties come off. Now we get closeups of the clitoris. *(coin)* Now she is on the bed playing with her breasts and then directly down to her groin. A shot of her fingers rustling through her pubic hair, then

we pan down to the distended vagina. She rubs the orifice for a minute (careful not to insert the fingers) and then massages the lips. *(coin)* She now massages the lips (closeup for all this) and then rubs her clitoris. This goes on in alternating sequences for about 2/3 of the reel, then she rolls over and humps the bed. *(coin)* More closeups of her rubbing her vagina. At the end of this section, the movie ends and we see about five seconds of the beginning of the movie.

This type of movie, comparatively conservative by San Francisco standards, is the only type of erotica at two of the six arcades and the major part of the material offered at the other four.

The most vivid material presented in the arcades is of a heterosexual variety, including oral-genital and genital-genital contact. These represent 15% of the segments viewed and were exclusive to one arcade. Here we have some pretensions of a plot, but the main concern is content. A sketch of a typical one follows:

A girl walks along a street. Another girl comes along. They look at each other for a prolonged second and then walk down the street together and into an apartment. Up in the apartment they sit on a bed and start to indulge in petting, under the supervision of an evil-looking man. One takes off the other's blouse, and the section ends. On putting in another quarter we see one girl sucking the other's breast and taking off her panties. She commences to rub her genitalia and the nude girl now undresses the other one. Here the section ends. Another quarter, and they appear both nude this time and rubbing each other. They kiss for a few moments and then one girl slides down and sucks the other's breast. Then she slides down further and begins to kiss and fondle her vaginal area. After a few moments of this the section ends. In the next reel they are still engaged in cunnilingus, but now the cameraman has found an angle which exposes the tongue, the clitoris, and the vagina. The camera pans to the man who is rubbing his hands and then pulling at his moustache. He directs the girls to change positions which they do. The movie ends with the second girl performing cunnilingus on the first girl. The camera angle alternates from the pubic area to a shot of the first girl moaning.

Each of these sections lasted exactly 1½ minutes. Other plots were similar, beginning with the seduction and going on to sexual activity. One variation presented two girls using a vibrator on each other. Another variation showed a man seducing a girl and then performing cunnilingus on her. Another was of a man seducing a girl and then having intercourse with her. An interesting sidelight to this last movie was that when they were finished, the man wanted to make love to her again but she gently pushed him away, and the movie ended.

The remaining 5% of the films are of the two-girl variety with themes of sadomasochism and dominance-submission. These films, while more bizarre in theme, are softer than the heterosexual films as far as action close-ups are concerned. The physical beating is obviously faked, as is the alleged perverse relationship. A scenario for one of these two-girl films follows:

A woman about 35, dressed in her lingerie, is lounging in her bedroom. An innocent young girl (about 20) comes to the door—they speak (no sound). The young girl is won over and allows the older one to caress her breasts and kiss her neck. *(coin)* Movie resumes with the young girl beginning to undress—the

older one fondles her naked breasts. The woman hands her lingerie to the youngster and she puts it on. *(coin)* They sit on the bed and kiss; they recline and continue. We are shown some closeups of the oral sex that the woman performs on the girl. *(coin)* Then the younger one changes position and begins to kiss the elder's boots. She caresses the woman's inner thighs, and the older one feigns sexual excitement. *(coin)* The girl leaves our view for a moment, returning with a cup of coffee which she proceeds to spill on the older woman. This initiates the actual beating—which begins with some degree of vehemence, but subsides into love taps. This part of the show lasts about three segments, during which time we are shown close-ups of the younger girl's inner thighs and vagina—the areas where she receives the lashes. The woman rolls the girl over and beats her on the bottom. *End.*

Models

Our interviews with five sex movie theater owners revealed that underground newspaper advertisements are the most common method used to obtain male and female models to act in their films. The average model is between 21 and 30 years of age, and is paid approximately $50 per day of movie shooting. While many long-haired applicants apply for modeling and acting positions, the film makers are more inclined to select male actors with more conventional hair length. This discretion has become policy with most film makers, in compliance with audience distaste for long-haired models in the movies they pay to see. The majority of models apply as couples and are usually therefore sexually compatible, which results in a more realistic portrayal of sexual gratification.

Most of the models applying for jobs are white, with a few black (mostly male) and even fewer Asians (exclusively female). In more recent months models have become increasingly attractive. One theater owner reported:

> When we first started placing ads for chicks to make single chick movies, the average respondents were over 30, unattractive, and generally nothing special to look at. Now when we place an ad, most of the chicks and guys who apply for jobs are better looking than average.

When asked about the socioeconomic background of the actors, another theater owner commented:

> Most of the girls come from well-off middle-class families. They have gone to college, if not graduated. Their appearance in sex films is a way to show off their new-found sexual freedom. Dad is probably the real target if you want to get Freudian about it.

Following a personal introduction by a producer, one female model was interviewed by a (male) researcher and was both cooperative and informative in discussing her personal career.

An interview with a model

An interview was obtained with a model who has been involved in the erotic industry in many different capacities for 18 months. Mary, an attractive 25-year-old blonde (5'7", 130 lb.), was an anthropology major at U.C. Berkeley until she

dropped out of school in June 1969. She comes from an upper middle class family (her father was a dentist) and was raised in a small California town.

Her activities during the last year and a half have been diverse—she has modeled in a variety of films (sex and non-sex) and has also worked on the production staff of one of the companies in San Francisco that makes erotic films (some photographic, some sound work.) The kinds of sex-oriented modeling which she has done are varied: still photos, single-girl movies, lesbian and heterosexual films, all in varying degrees of vividness. She is a serious and sophisticated participant in the erotic industry, as evidenced by her concern with the aesthetics of erotica.

Her comments on the different types of movies are revealing: "The single-girl movies are the hardest because they are so obviously contrived. The appeal is base, as is the actual photographic presentation of the female body." She feels that these movies are relics of an earlier era, and is quite frank in saying that she welcomes their demise. The lesbian films, characterized as "two-girl movies" by Mary, can be genuine "if one is into that sort of thing"—the problem is that she is not, so these films don't interest her a great deal. "There isn't much that two girls can do on the screen," she says. "I have to fake it."

The heterosexual films that she has acted in fall into two categories: standard stag films, and ones that either contain the pretensions of a plot or of some social relevance. She is critical of the former on aesthetic grounds and criticizes those of the latter that depend on curious contrived plots (for example, the dissemination of aphrodisiacs without telling people). Mary's reaction to this type of film is based upon whether or not it was "fun to do." The others (those with a genuine plot and some social relevance) she finds aesthetically satisfying: "These tend to be demanding because the directors are more serious; the feeling I get is a positive, artistic one." She seemed particularly impressed with the artistic abilities demonstrated by one avant-garde film maker in the city.

Her feelings about the other models with whom she has had contact are varied. The males fall into two main categories: "those that can't get it on in front of a camera" and "those that do it to get laid." She has run into very few men who are as seriously involved as she is. Mary is particularly upset by the females who are unexcited by the men with whom they are to have sex and thus fake sexual excitement: "If they are modeling, they should do what they're paid for." She says that the few exhibitionist types which she has encountered in her wide range of film experience "are concentrated in the movies of bizarre sexual themes."

Most of the models are involved because "it's easy money." The pay is good, and most do modeling to get by: "The modeling scene in San Francisco is vastly different than that in L.A.—there are very few professional types here." She explained that most of the couples that do modeling get involved by answering ads regarding the use of their pads as sets.

Mary's concern now is whether or not the independent film makers will be able to withstand the inroads of Hollywood: "Nobody wants to see straight stag films—unless the little guys work towards a genuine eroticism they'll go under. Once the mystique involved in the Puritan outlook dies, something other than pure sex must be presented."

The wholesale distribution system

Method. Contact was made with one of the three distributors of sex-oriented material in San Francisco. The contact was established by introduction from one of the owners of an adult bookstore. The researcher posed as a foreign journalist, in view of the fact that the initial contacts had been made through reporters on the city's daily paper. Access to other distributors was unsuccessful, but the distributor who agreed to submit to an interview is considered by the majority of adult bookstore owners to operate the largest and best wholesale agency in the city. The researcher was granted an interview with the owner and was permitted to remain on the premises for 4 hours while retailers purchased material. Complete freedom to inspect the premises and material in the store was granted.

Agency layout. The distribution agency is located on a small side street, Sheridan Street, in the southwest section of the city near the freeway. It is an area of industrial warehouses, wholesale businesses, and small factories. The appearance of the distribution agency is misleading from the outside; it has only one access by a small black door, and the main body of the warehouse is at the back of the building. Interior furnishings of the office and layout of material is modern and tasteful. The office is carpeted, with low lighting, modern furnishings, and canned music playing continuously. Potential buyers are provided with free drinks and food. The area where the available material is displayed is set up as in a supermarket. There are two large rooms filled with wooden shelves and counters separated by aisles. A wire trolley basket is used to collect material within the shopping area. There is a check-out desk and till operated by a permanent staff member. Storage space is also being developed on the second floor.

Interview. The distributor emphasized that the interview was confidential and that the information given was not to be misused. The interviewee was a man of 47, who had been in the business for 6 months and was just beginning to build up a reputation. He described himself an ex-married man who has discovered that he finds men more attractive, sexually, than women. He enjoys the business of wholesale buying of sexually-oriented material and finds it challenging to predict market tastes. He also operates as a free-lance fashion designer.

The agency is open 6 days a week, and he personally supervises for 4 days a week. He has a staff of three other helpers.

The total stock held in his warehouse at the time of the interview (May 1970) was valued at the wholesale price of $50,000. Business was estimated at approximately four retail customers per day who spend an average of $250 each.

Payments can be made either by cash, check, or on a cash-on-delivery basis. Cash payments are encouraged by offering a 25% discount for this form of payment. A considerable amount of business, approximately a third of the total sales, are made in out-of-State mail orders, primarily in New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Washington. For the first two months of operating his business he arranged a 50% discount of transportation costs, if payment was made in cash within 7 days of delivery, but he has subsequently found that he can operate competitively even without this discount. He estimates that he makes a 20% profit on all material he sells to retailers, and that his annual gross is approximately $700,000. He purchases material twice a week personally from Los

Angeles and takes pride in his reputation of having the biggest selection of material in San Francisco. His customers are all known to him personally, and his deals are conducted socially.

His greatest profits are on franchised material, in contrast with the retailers whose profits are increased by nonfranchised material. Most first-run material is franchised. He was adamant in claiming that wholesale distribution is not the profitable business it is assumed to be. Production and retailing ends of the enterprise are accountable for at least a 200% profit each, while distribution renders only a 20% profit.

Verification of the retailer's profit was established by comparing the wholesale price per article with its retail value:

Color magazines at a retail cost of $3.65 are sold by distributors for $0.85.

Paperbacks at a retail cost of $1.50 are sold by distributors for $0.25 each.

Black-and-white magazines at a retail cost of $2.50 are sold by distributors for $0.50 each.

Hardback books at a retail cost of $12 are sold by distributors for $4.50 each.

The distributor purchases materials at the following rates:

Magazines of color photos retailing at $3-$4 for $0.60—when purchased in quantities of 5,000.

Pocketbooks with no photos retailing at $3 for $0.22—when purchased in quantities of 5,000.

The interviewee claimed that he dealt only in sexually-oriented material that was protected by the law; he had no desire to deal in illegal "pornographic" material, although the profits were attractive, as the legal risks were too great.

There is every indication that this agency will develop into a substantial organization within 6 months, as its reputation in the retail trade is excellent.

Estimated dollar value of erotica in San Francisco

Every indication points to the fact that the motion picture theaters gross approximately one-half of the dollar value of the entire San Francisco erotic marketplace. The distributors we have contacted, as well as other persons including the movie theater owners themselves, seem to substantiate this fact. Our data indicate that the theaters gross approximately $7 million a year in San Francisco. We can, therefore, make an educated estimate that the total value of erotic traffic for bookstores, arcades, and movie theaters is upwards of $16 million per annum. This estimate would place the average retail merchant's gross sales at about $150,000 per annum, the average arcade's gross sales at about $92,000 per annum, and the average motion picture theater's gross sales at about $250,000 per annum.

Our figures do not include an accounting of the gross receipts for mail-order houses, as we were unable to obtain adequate data on these operations. We could reasonably assume, however, that with a gross business of approximately $16 million being conducted through retail establishments, the mail-order business should be similarly successful—bearing in mind the individual market of tourists who have availed themselves of the extensive market for the purchase of erotic

material in the city and also the demand by small-town isolated stores in out-of-State areas. We also know at least one free-lance movie maker (of which there are many) who revealed grossing upwards of $250,000 last year through out-of-State film sales. It would be within conservative limits to add an additional $8 million for out-of-State and mail-order business emanating from San Francisco. We therefore would project a total gross sales of erotic material as being in excess of $24 million for the San Francisco area.

These figures do not, of course, include the numerous profits made by service firms involved in the production, advertisement, and distribution of erotic material or the countless employees and administrative personnel earning their livelihoods by maintaining these establishments.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD EROTICA

The political climate of San Francisco

California has been traditionally considered a place particularly fertile for extraordinary movements and passionate causes. Innovation and reaction of fierce intensity have marked the history of the State. The city of San Francisco has also reflected the same pattern of vacillation between cultural and social liberalism and conservatism. The city of San Francisco was first founded in 1835 and was largely supported by an agrarian market economy; however, within 14 years the discovery of gold in California transformed the agrarian scene to one of frantic activity, and San Francisco emerged as a large urban center. The gold rush of the forty-niners brought with it a temporary period of instability. The mining camps and free floating prospectors had little concern for the establishment of any concrete social order. Life styles were essentially individualistic, and a minimum of law enforcement was conducted by vigilante committees. Prospectors from the East and from out-of-State gradually settled permanently within the community, and the city established itself as an important residential and supply center. With the permanent settlement in the 1860's the city developed municipal government and began to exercise more official control over civic activities. However, the diverse immigrant population created a cultural and social environment that was in no way homogeneous. Bars and brothels were permitted to operate openly, the climate facilitated the presence of hobos sleeping out, and the development of port facilities around the Barbary Coast led to the establishment of a thoroughly cosmopolitan area. This development continued up until the last decades of the 19th century, when a nativist movement was established. The movement, known as the League of Deliverance, was characterized by its violent anti-Chinese activities. Enterprising businessmen championed the league and extended its activities to cover anti-labor union programs. The business control of city government facilitated their desire to tighten up on working class and immigrant activities. This was reflected in their campaigns against opium smoking, brothels, dockside bars, and dancing halls and in their extended persecution of labor unions. The censorious control exercised by businessmen in government and law enforcement was continued through the 1940's in an attempt to create a homogeneous population; and the coming of World War II, when the California coast was used as a base for the war against Japan, gave rise to a further impetus of the nativist

movement against the Asian population. The post-war decade in San Francisco was marked by a gradual slackening of the nativist sentiment, as the intellectual population of the educational establishments became disenchanted with McCarthyism and began a move for intellectual freedom. The move against intellectual censorship was directed toward a greater movement for nonconformity. The year 1957 marks the opening of the first adult book store in San Francisco, and beginning with this period one notes a move toward a more liberal ethic in the city. This was also the period of the "beat" generation, which originated as a movement in North Beach. By the mid-1960's the city had established itself as a mecca of the hippie movement and in time embraced movements of a more individualistic type. Movements for social, cultural, sexual, and political freedom of expression in the media were gradually fulfilled. The opening of the first "topless" bars took place in the city in 1965, and since then the increased demands for freedom of sexual expression have come to be manifest in the sizable business that is being operated today.

Private censorship groups have operated within the city throughout this latter period, but local press reports of their activities have been less than favorable, and the stigma of the "vigilante movement" is affixed to them. The general feeling of the population of the city toward the freedom of sexual expression is well reflected in their voting returns in 1968 on the Clean Amendment Act.

"Proposition 16" placed upon the November 1966 ballot in California provided an interesting opportunity to compare public attitudes toward sexual expression of San Franciscans with other Californians. The proposition was placed on the ballot through the efforts of the Californian League Enlisting Action Now, known as "Clean Incorporated." It had 10 sections, all of which were aimed at tightening up the substantive and procedural provisions of the State's obscenity law. Approval by the voters would have brought, inter alia, the following legal changes:

1. The "contemporary community standards" and "redeeming social importance" tests would have been repealed.
2. Jury trials would be required in obscenity cases unless waived by both defendant and the State.
3. Courts would have been denied the right to dismiss obscenity cases as long as reasonable men could differ as to whether the material in question was obscene.
4. Juries would have been given the exclusive authority to judge the common conscience of the community.
5. Individuals would be given the right to bring citizen's suits for impeachment against district attorneys who failed to remove from bookstores any publication which the citizens deemed obscene.
6. Local ordinances would be given precedence over State laws.

The final statement of the vote was obtained from the Secretary of State of California.

The proposition was defeated with 56% of the nearly 6,000,000 voters casting negative ballots (Yes: 2,533,921; No: 3,271,308). Although only 69% of the total eligible voters in California voted on Proposition 16, as compared with 79.19% overall who voted on November 8, 1966, San Francisco voted 72,295 in favor and 154,206 against. It was decided to compare the vote of San Francisco with that of

Orange County, a sizable county in Southern California which voted in favor of the proposition (189,676 in favor, 185,742 against). There were six other counties which endorsed the proposition: Alpine, Imperial, Inyo, Madera, Mono, and Riverside, but Orange County retained the largest positive vote. In San Francisco, approximately 33% of the voters voted positively and 67% voted negatively, a margin of 2 to 1. In Orange County approximately 50.6% voted "yes" and 49.4% voted "no," a margin of only 1.02 to 1 in favor. The percentage of eligible voters who voted in Orange County on the proposition was 74%, which compared well with 75% in San Francisco. Of the other counties which voted in favor of the proposition, Imperial County and Riverside County are also significant. In the former, 61% voted in favor out of a total ballot of 15,937, a ratio of 1.5 to 1 in favor; Riverside voted 53% in favor out of a total ballot of 122,103, a ratio of 1.03 to 1 in favor.

In none of the counties voting in favor of the proposition was the percentage of the majority vote as great as in counties voting against the proposition. Next to Marin County, which returned a negative vote by 68% of the voters, San Francisco returned the highest percentage negative vote (67%).

The return votes do not bear out the preballot Gallup polls which revealed that a full 77% of all Californians were in favor of more stringent legal regulations against obscenity. Whether this can be accounted for by the complex wording of the proposition or by the suggestion that the more restrictive elements of the population stayed at home on election day is not known. But it certainly appeared that emotive attitude tests relied upon by the various censorship groups do not accurately portray basic antilibertarian political trends. Despite Gallup polls taken in the city of San Francisco, the vote was substantially against any tightening of the laws regulating sexual expression. On this basis it was decided to utilize the above data as an indicator of San Franciscans' attitudes toward the freedom of sexual expression, rather than to conduct an independent poll of attitudes of the city population.

Organizations advocating stricter censorship of erotic material

Methods. Interviews were conducted with representatives of the American Opinion Library and the Citizens for Decent Literature; material published by these organizations was also examined, and a documentary filmstrip put out by the American Opinion Library was viewed. No in-depth analysis of the Citizens for Decent Literature organization was attempted, in view of the fact that its founder and national director has submitted an independent report to the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. The director of the Albany, California, branch of the American Opinion Library was interviewed and was very helpful in providing the information regarding their position. The national headquarters of the Citizens for Decent Literature in Los Angeles arranged an interview and provided literature pertinent to their position.

The American Opinion Library. The attitude of this organization toward erotica is inextricably bound up with its political views; consequently, the rhetoric used is of a conservative political nature. Specific information relative to the sex-oriented material available in San Francisco was not given, as the interviewee was not specifically informed. His knowledge of the material was based

mainly upon hearsay. The problem was frankly admitted that due to the addictive nature of the material it was an impossible task to research it, yet an intelligent discussion of it depended upon some acquaintance with it. Its nature was compared with radioactive fission, which must be examined by remote control.

In defining what constitutes "pornography" they are elusive and seek a wider definition than that offered by the *Roth-Alberts* decision. They stress gradations of erotic material ranging from descriptive handling of "normal" heterosexual behavior to graphic descriptions of "perverted" behavior. However, they are in favor of censorship of all erotic material, as they perceive a natural continuum from one category to another. It is with this premise that they have taken an aggressive stand against sex education in schools. This educational subterfuge was considered to generate a later demand by adults for obscene sexual material. By exposing children during a period of sex latency in kindergarten and elementary school to sex education, it is argued, an "abnormal" interest in sexual activities is aroused and experimentation is encouraged. Sexual education, when not accompanied by moral education, is considered to be prurient and generative of interest in sexual perversion. "Perversion" rather than "deviance" is stressed.

The implicit faith of the organization in American public opinion leads them to stress the aggressive marketing of sex-oriented material. Large-scale publishing houses and movie distributors were singled out for their vigorous advertising. Advertising by mail order was emphasized as being responsible for the majority of the market. On the specific details of the San Francisco market, the clientele were absolved from censure due to the extensive advertising seduction involved.

In their overall discussion of sex-oriented material, certain opinions seem to emerge consistently; that producers of erotic material are usually homosexual men, and that their audiences and readers are usually homosexuals, lesbians, or "perverts." The fantasies of sexual "perversion" that are provided in sex-oriented material are considered to titillate and relieve sexual tensions; but they are addictive, and the sexual appetite is only relieved by more and grosser perversion. By conceiving of the material as a form of masturbation, they vehemently condemn it as unhealthy and disgusting in that it provides a "perverted" sexual fantasy. The issue of "perversion" is central to their concept of erotica; the Marquis de Sade is deemed the "Saint of Pornography." All sex-oriented material is considered to end up in sadism, the complete antithesis of the values of the democratic Christian ethic. By conceiving of sex-oriented material as perverted and sadistic, they are able to define it in terms of political subterfuge by left-wing organizations. The interviewee concluded that divorcing sex from its Christian procreational function has become a key weapon in the undermining of societal structure; more imminently, its side effects in terms of illegitimacy and veneral disease create a social problem which is destructive of community cohesion.

Citizens for Decent Literature. This group is a citizens' group and a nonprofit organization. It started 12 years ago in Los Angeles, where its national headquarters is now located. Its main purpose is to educate the public to an awareness of the sex-oriented material in the mass media and to work for the enforcement of existing obscenity laws. They feel that existent laws on the statute books, if properly enforced, are quite adequate to effect control. The organization devotes its energies to involving the public in taking action when they feel sex-oriented material which violates their own community standards is being disseminated. The

suggested procedure for action is that a complaint should be made to local law enforcement officers to obtain a judgment as to whether the material in question has probable cause to be judged as pornographic. They are strongly opposed to any sensational censorious activities like picketing theaters and bookstores or holding public burnings of obscene material, and they stress the necessity of working strictly within the democratic legal process. They do not conceive of themselves as a censorship group, although they are aware that their public image is such. They hold censorship in a narrow regard, as it constitutes prior restraint which they are prone to see as clearly unconstitutional. However, constitutional protection is not assumed to cover obscene sex-oriented materials, and law enforcement officials are endorsed in their efforts to prosecute those dealing in it.

On the specific problem of sex-oriented material in San Francisco, they are concerned that the city is "wide open." They admit that, due to its cosmopolitan nature, it has a more liberal viewpoint that other California communities; but it has the added problem that court decisions made in the city concerning erotic material have tended to be more favorable to defendants than to prosecutors. This had led to a certain wariness by the police in initiating prosecution, as they feel their procedure for search and seizure is under too strict control and that the actual case too often revolves around procedural technicalities rather than the issue of obscene material.

The criteria they use to establish whether sex-oriented material is obscene or not is that of the *Roth-Albert* decision in 1957. The key point is whether or not the material goes substantially beyond the standards of the local community. They therefore feel strongly that each community should be able to set its own standards. The most effective way for this to be done is considered to be by a jury trial of each case, with the jury selected by both prosecution and defense to ensure judgment by a complete cross-section of the local community.

The organization stresses the correlation between violent sex crimes and exposure to sex-oriented material, and documents its argument by illustration of sex crime statistics in Denmark. They are, however, aware that their argument is subject to doubt, and they affirm their position by an appeal to common sense—that there is an obvious cause-and-effect relationship between indulgence in erotic material and habitual sex offenders. They stress that audiovisual reception of sex-oriented material is not a passive response—it involves erotic stimulation and the need to act out the erotic fantasy, thereby likening the audience involvement in the material to that of children watching violent television programs. The addictive nature of sex-oriented material is also emphasized. For this reason they are loath to conduct any extensive research operations into the material. For the same reason young people are deterred from joining the organization. Addictiveness is illustrated by the move from literary expressions of eroticism to visual media, which is deemed as more titillating and dangerous. The quality of material is considered to be becoming more explicit and "perverted" due to boredom with traditional heterosexual erotic subject matter. To this extent, it suggests a graduation of public taste to "perversion," which must be related to the addictive nature of the material.

Other concerns of the organization include the fact that the financial rewards of investment in the production and distribution of sex-oriented material are so attractive that organized commercial syndicates become involved in the business.

However, the basic concern of the organization is that public morality is being undermined and that in order to restrain this trend ordinary citizens must be galvanized into effecting action for the enforcement of law and order. Citizen support of the organization is already estimated as being considerable and effective, particularly insofar as articulate and professional citizens are utilizing their positions as community leaders to press citizen charges against erotic material and to influence public opinion toward stricter censorship.

Policy changes in the San Francisco police department

Recent months have witnessed some radical developments within the San Francisco police department which have had serious consequences, both in the attitude of the department towards the burgeoning marketplace of erotic materials and consequently for the industry itself. They have also severely hampered the progress of this study in obtaining interviews and information both from the police and from bookstore and theater owners.

For some time a leading San Francisco newspaper has been putting considerable pressure upon the mayor's office through editorials and feature articles which advocate police reform. Earlier this year the mayor requested the resignation of the police chief and appointed the deputy chief in his place with explicit instructions to reduce the crime rate by June 1 of this year. This act precipitated a major shake-up in the department, involving the reassignment of leadership positions in the key details (homocide, vice, burglary, etc.) and a series of retirements and promotions. Consequently, as can happen during the restructuring of any organizational bureaucracy, nobody knew what to expect—only that something would happen that had not been happening before.

It soon became very clear what was to happen. As the police bureaucracy became more streamlined, with more direct authority coming down from the chief's office, the vice squad opened up a campaign against the bookstores and film rooms that is still in effect. In this way the vice squad is clearly seen to be operating against the purveyors of erotica in the city (i.e. "doing its job") and by increasing the number of arrests, to be significantly reducing the crime rate in this area.

The results of these events for the study were twofold: first, considerable reluctance was manifested by all vice squad members approached for an interview, presumably because their basic job security had recently been threatened by the shifts in personnel and perhaps also because of a general resistance to civilians asking questions about police activities; and secondly, some reluctance was detected on the part of the bookstore and theater owners not already in court to be interviewed, on the grounds that any information revealed could only be used to incriminate them. A generally suspicious atmosphere therefore prevailed, and it was in this atmosphere that the study was conducted.

San Francisco police department: Vice squad

Method. Our initial attempts to gain access to information on the erotic marketplace from the San Francisco police department involved a graduate student of the School of Criminology, University of California at Berkeley, who

was also an Episcopal minister. His attempts to obtain interviews with members of the vice squad were unsuccessful, despite his prior personal contacts with many members of the San Francisco police force while serving as their chaplain in the military; his numerous efforts were thwarted by the police hierarchy.

After submitting a detailed "letter of purpose" and accompanying letters of reference, he was notified by the recently appointed police chief that no police time could be spared for interviews and that his request to review arrest records on adult movie patrons and theater owners was denied.

A further attempt to secure an appointment and interview with any representative of the San Francisco vice squad was singularly unsuccessful. Another researcher posing as a graduate student from the School of Criminology of the University of California at Berkeley, contacted one of the six senior members of the vice squad and arranged for a scheduled interview. Confirmation of the interview and permission were to be secured from the lieutenant in charge of the unit; however, this permission was not granted, despite telephone calls made to this effect every day for 2 weeks. Personnel were not available for comment at any time. After a period of 2 weeks, the researcher visited the office of the head of the vice squad and asked to see the lieutenant immediately on urgent business. Immediate access was granted and an impromptu interview was conducted despite the protestation that an indiscretion had been committed. The lieutenant was anxious that the interview be short and was unwilling to open any substantive information; therefore, only 20 minutes had passed before the interview was abruptly terminated by his request. Permission to meet and interview other staff on the vice squad was categorically refused.

Interview. The interviewee stressed that the market in erotic material in San Francisco was quite under control. Any sex-oriented material in circulation was not illegal; material classified as obscene and "pornographic" was subject to immediate seizure. The police problem in enforcement of the laws regulating obscene material is centered around the search and seizure procedure; he denied there was any problem in evaluation of the substantive matter. When questioned about the arrest statistics for obscenity, he denied that any statistics were available as there were no records kept.

He took the initiative in asking about the exposure the researcher had had to sex-oriented material and gave a series of graphic descriptions of animal-human oral-genital intercourse, and human defecation followed by copulation, which he claimed was the typical activity depicted in sex-oriented material. He further claimed that erotic literature and movies were all moving in the direction of grosser perversion; this trend was to be expected as the audience being catered to was a minority of perverts. He suggested that although patrons of adult book stores and sex-movie theaters might appear superficially as respectable married businessmen, they were in reality unintelligent perverts. He considered the market for sex-oriented material in San Francisco to be more perverted than in Los Angeles; although the "topless and bottomless" bars were worse in Los Angeles, the sex movies in San Francisco were the worst examples of obscenity in the country. He considered the aforementioned bars to be an intrinsic part of the sex-oriented industry in the city but was not willing to elaborate upon their clientele. Basically he considered the business to be an iniquitous financial exploitation of perverts who were vocal enough to have their "so-called" rights given

sanction. He was not willing to suggest a more censorious law against obscenity but was anxious that procedural regulations for search and seizure be less restrictive.

OBSERVATIONS OF CONSUMERS IN THE EROTIC MARKETPLACE

Methods for observing patrons at movie theaters, arcades, and adult bookstores

Bookstores. Observations were conducted at 11 San Francisco retail adult bookstore locations, totaling in excess of 950 detailed demographic consumer profiles. Our techniques for obtaining these findings varied according to the approval given by individual store owners. In cases where a cooperative relationship between our research staff and store owners was established, our observations were made on the premises. When merchants were reluctant, we were forced to observe patrons from sidewalk vantage points as they were entering and leaving the establishment.

Our observations were conducted over a 1-month period beginning in early April and ending on May 10, 1970. Observations were made during all business hours of the day and all days of the week. Efforts were made to balance the observation times spent at each location relative to the day and time of the week. Observations of bookstore patrons were recorded on a standard customer profile form which was also employed to obtain observational data at movie theaters and arcades.

Arcades. The research staff conducted in-store observations at all six San Francisco arcades as follows:

1. Seated as a regular lunch counter customer where it was possible to have the best view of other customers in the arcades.

or

2. In arcades without lunch counters, while browsing in the premises and playing the pinball machines.

In all, 367 individual observations were recorded in the arcades between April 1 and May 15, 1970.

Movie theaters. A total of over 3,160 consumer profiles were obtained by our research staff at three movie theaters in San Francisco.

Data collection was conducted over a 2½-month period from mid-March through late May 1970.

Observers were situated inside these theaters and were allowed full access to the premises.

Observer reliability. In order to ensure observer reliability for accurately judging a patron's racial group (i.e., whether he is Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino), we made efforts to select only researchers who were already familiar with those differences of physical characteristics, language, manner, and custom which are important for making such distinctions. Furthermore, we made sure our research staff had a high degree of consensus as to the ways in which they judged an individual's age and physical appearance.

Bookstore patrons

The typical adult bookstore patron is male (96.53%), white (76.95%), and between 25 and 36 years of age (26.32%), and he is most frequently dressed in business suit and tie (35.37%). Wedding bands were noted on 30.42% of the customers, while 32.21% were without bands. The typical customer was of average physical appearance (67.16%) and was alone (87.4%). The ethnic breakdown of the customers produced percentages which approximately mirrored the ethnic population percentages obtained from the 1968 estimates for San Francisco (i.e., white, 73.1%); black, 13.5%; Chinese, 8.3%).

An age breakdown by racial group distribution indicates that the modal white age group is slightly older, 36 to 45 (18.9%), than is the modal age group for overall bookstore patrons observed, 26 to 35 (26.32%). The black consumer population, however, has the youngest modal group concentration, 18 to 25 (5.3%), while the Chinese appear more evenly distributed within the 26 to 55 age group (4.6%).

Our in-store observations made it quite clear that the ratio of persons entering adult bookstores and persons purchasing erotic materials is approximately five to one. For example of 2,138 patrons observed entering three different bookstores on six different days only 458 actually made purchases of erotica. The remainder simply browsed and left.

During this period of observations few of the black customers purchased erotica; a higher percentage of Chinese and Japanese patrons purchased erotica, although their numerical representation was relatively small.

Customers who purchased erotica (regardless of racial differences) tended to be predominately middle-aged. Most shoppers entered alone, although Japanese tourists tended to enter in groups of two or three. Military personnel entered in groups as well but, unlike the Japanese tourists, seemed reluctant to actually make purchases.

One must therefore evaluate our observational data at bookstores with the distinction between those entering (about whom demographic observations were made) and the smaller subset who actually made purchases. This problem was not encountered in our observations at arcades and movie theaters, since all our observations were of actual consumers of erotica.

In one bookstore where we were allowed to make in-store patron observations, "hard-core" photograph sets were plainly displayed on the showcase beside the cash register. Of 167 patrons who made purchases of erotica during our observations, only 12 actually included this material in their purchases.

The store owner was questioned regarding this finding, and he verified that alghouth the material had been on public display for over a month prior to our observations, very few of his customers seemed interested enough to purchase it. While we were present most persons purchased less graphic material at a greater cost. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

Arcade patrons

The observations of the arcade patrons reveal a male clientele (female entrance is prohibited) concentrated between 21 and 45 years of age. Whites compose a

Table 1

OBSERVATIONS OF ADULT BOOKSTORE PATRONS

N=950

	N	%
SEX		
Male	917	96.53
Female	33	3.47
AGE		
-18	8	0.84
18-25	188	19.79
26-35	250	26.32
36-45	220	23.16
46-55	171	18.00
56-65	97	10.21
65+	16	1.68
RACE		
White	731	76.95
Black	122	12.84
Chinese	61	6.42
Japanese	10	1.05
Filipino	6	0.63
Other	20	2.11
DRESS		
Suit and tie	336	35.37
Blue collar	83	8.74
Military (uniform)	19	2.00
Casual (neat)	277	29.16
Casual (sloppy)	190	20.00
Hip	42	4.42
Other	3	0.32
APPEARANCE		
Above average	247	26.00
Average	638	67.16
Poor	65	6.84
WEDDING BAND		
Don't know	355	37.37
No	306	32.21
Yes	289	30.42
COMPANY		
Alone	831	87.47
Opposite sex	25	2.63
Same sex	94	9.89

larger percentage in arcades than they do in the general population (79.3% vs. 73.1%) while Asians are underrepresented there (6.0% vs. 12.6%). Black representation is slightly higher than in the whole population of San Francisco (14.7% vs. 13.5%). The distribution of race times age reveals an interesting contrast: the distribution for the whites ascends from N=49 (21-25 age group) to N=98 (26-35), levels to N=85 (36-45), then descends to N=48 (46-55); while the curve for blacks is highest in the 21 to 25 age category (N=28) and sharply descends in

Table 2

OBSERVATIONS OF BOOKSTORE PATRONS: RACE X AGE

N=950

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
0-18	2	3	1	—	1	1	8
	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	—	0.1%	0.1%	0.8%
18-25	126	50	9	1	1	1	188
	13.3%	5.3%	0.9%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	19.8%
26-35	178	43	15	4	2	8	250
	18.7%	4.5%	1.6%	0.4%	0.2%	0.8%	26.3%
36-45	180	14	14	5	1	6	220
	18.9%	1.5%	1.5%	0.5%	0.1%	0.6%	23.2%
46-55	147	8	14	—	—	2	171
	15.5%	0.8%	1.5%	—	—	0.2%	18.0%
56-65	83	4	7	—	1	2	97
	8.7%	0.4%	0.7%	—	0.1%	0.2%	10.2%
65+	15	—	1	—	—	—	16
	1.6%	—	0.1%	—	—	—	1.7%
Total	731	122	61	10	6	20	950
	76.9%	12.8%	6.4%	1.1%	0.6%	2.1%	100.0%

the next age bracket (N=14). The other ethnic groups exhibit a trend similar to the blacks, as their representation falls into the younger age brackets.

The dress of the patrons was basically split between shirt-tie and casual-neat categories, but this trait varied according to time of day and the day of the week. During the busiest hours of the business week (Monday through Friday, between 11:45 a.m. and 1:15 p.m. and around 5 p.m.), three-quarters of the patrons were dressed in a suit and tie. This tendency was balanced by observations made at other times during the week and on weekends, when 80% of the patrons were dressed casually but neatly. The "casual sloppy" dressers came in at various times but more often during the late evening and night hours. We observed no customers in military uniforms, very few in blue-collar dress (1%), and only 4% in hip clothing.

Only 5% of the patrons entering were "below average" in appearance (deformed, obese, disfigured) while 17% were "above average." Generally, then, the patrons were of average appearance or better. One-third wore wedding bands, a slightly larger group did not, and 30% were unidentifiable. One-half manifested a degree of familiarity with the premises, indicating their classification as a regular customer. (See Tables 3 and 4.)

Movie theater patrons

Our detailed observations of movie theater patrons indicate a preponderance of male (96.7%), white (69.7%) customers, the modal age group of which is 35 to 46 years (32.32%). The average customers observed were dressed casually but neatly (49.3%), (the second most popular attire was suit and tie—38.7%), were of average physical appearance (91.33%), and entered the theater unaccompanied (85.45%).

Table 3

OBSERVATIONS OF ARCADE PATRONS

N=367

	N	%
SEX		
Male	367	100.00
Female	0	0.00
AGE		
18-25	85	23.16
26-35	119	32.42
36-45	96	26.15
46-55	52	14.16
56-65	15	4.08
65+	0	0.00
RACE		
White	291	79.29
Black	54	14.71
Chinese	17	4.63
Japanese	4	1.08
Filipino	1	0.27
Other	0	0.00
DRESS		
Suit and tie	162	44.00
Blue collar	2	1.00
Military (uniform)	0	0.00
Casual (neat)	153	41.60
Casual (sloppy)	36	9.87
Hip	12	4.00
APPEARANCE		
Above average	62	17.00
Average	287	78.00
Below average	18	4.50
WEDDING BAND		
Yes	119	32.40
No	137	37.30
Don't know	111	30.30
REGULAR CUSTOMER (estimated)		
Yes	180	49.00
No	187	51.00
COMPANY		
Alone	367	100.00
Opposite sex	0	0.00
Same sex	0	0.00

Wedding bands were worn by 31.24% of the customers and not worn by 58.19%. Approximately one-third (32.53%) were silent during their transaction with the theaters' female cashiers, while the remaining 67% either greeted the cashier cordially or asked her about the length of the feature movie or both. We were able to estimate whether or not customers came to the theater on a regular basis by

Table 4

OBSERVATIONS OF ARCADE PATRONS: RACE X AGE

N=367

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
18-25	49	28	6	2	–	–	85
	13.4%	7.6%	1.6%	0.5%	–	–	23.2%
26-35	98	14	6	1	–	–	119
	26.7%	3.8	1.6%	0.3%	–	–	32.4%
36-45	85	8	2	1	–	–	96
	23.2%	2.2%	0.5%	0.3%	–	–	26.2%
46-55	48	3	–	–	1	–	52
	13.1%	0.8%	–	–	0.3%	–	14.2%
56-65	11	1	3	–	–	–	15
	2.9%	0.3%	0.8%	–	–	–	4.1%
65+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	291	54	17	4	1	–	367
	79.3%	14.7%	4.6%	1.1%	0.3%	–	100.0%

noticing their knowledge of the physical plan of the theater. We were also able to verify our impressions by asking the cashier whether or not she recognized individual customers as having been to the theater in the past.

The second most represented racial or ethnic group consisted of the Chinese (14.44%). This is an overrepresentation for an ethnic population which comprises only 8.3% of the total San Francisco population (1968 Census estimates). The modal age group of the Chinese also corresponds with that of white patrons (36-45 years). The attendance of black movie theater patrons was relative to their distribution in the San Francisco population (estimate 13.5%, 1968 Census). It was quite minimal (4.9%) and of a lower age group (25-35 years) than was true of the other patrons.

Our data also indicated that over 50% of the adult movie theater business is conducted during the 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. working day. This is in sharp contrast to general motion picture theaters which usually do not open their doors until 6 p.m. (See Tables 5 and 6.)

Comparison of observed patrons in bookstores, arcades, and movie theaters

While the arcades restrict admission to males only, the bookstores and movie theaters do not. However, attendance at movie theaters is almost exclusively male (96.7%). This figure is similar for bookstores (96.5%), based on our combined observations, numbering more than 3,100.

Arcade patrons and bookstore customers tend to be younger (26-35 years) than the movie-going audience (36-45 years).

While whites comprise at least 70% of customers at all three types of establishments, non-whites vary. Blacks show a higher attendance at arcades and bookstores than at the movies, while the Chinese, in contrast, favor the movie theaters over arcades and bookstores.

Table 5

OBSERVATIONS OF ADULT MOVIE PATRONS

N=2,791

	N	%
SEX		
Male	2,699	96.70
Female	92	3.30
AGE		
-18	0	0.00
18-25	316	11.32
26-35	785	28.13
36-45	902	32.32
46-55	545	19.53
56-65	218	7.81
65+	25	0.90
RACE		
White	1,946	69.72
Black	136	4.87
Chinese	403	14.44
Japanese	213	7.63
Filipino	34	1.22
Other	59	2.12
DRESS		
Suit and tie	1,078	38.62
Blue collar	44	1.58
Military (uniform)	24	0.86
Casual (neat)	1,376	49.30
Casual (sloppy)	164	5.88
Hip	99	3.55
Policeman	6	0.21
APPEARANCE		
Above average	97	3.48
Average	2,549	91.33
Poor	144	5.16
SILENT		
No	1,883	67.47
Yes	908	32.53
WEDDING BAND		
Don't know	295	10.57
No	1,624	58.19
Yes	872	31.24
REGULAR CUSTOMER		
No	2,150	77.03
Yes	639	22.90
COMPANY		
Alone	2,385	85.45
Opposite sex	169	6.06
Same sex	237	8.49

Table 6

OBSERVATIONS OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS: RACE X AGE

N=2,791

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
18-25	172	35	53	21	9	26	316
	6.2%	1.3%	1.9%	0.8%	0.3%	0.9%	11.3%
26-35	470	54	136	98	10	17	785
	16.8%	1.9%	4.9%	3.5%	0.4%	0.5%	28.1%
36-45	635	38	141	67	9	12	902
	22.8%	1.4%	5.1%	2.4%	0.3%	0.4%	32.3%
46-55	455	5	60	19	3	3	545
	16.3%	0.2%	2.1%	0.7%	0.1%	0.1%	19.5%
56-65	192	3	13	8	1	1	218
	6.9%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	7.8%
65+	22	1	0	0	2	0	25
	0.8%	0.0%	—	—	0.1%	—	0.9%
Total	1,946	136	403	213	34	59	2,791
	69.7%	4.9%	14.4%	7.6%	1.2%	2.1%	100.0%

Most movie theater patrons were dressed casually but neatly, while the average bookstore or arcade patron was dressed in business attire.

Appearance of wedding bands is equally distributed (approximately 31%) across all three settings.

Patrons of arcades invariably arrive alone. While solitary attendance is also predominant at bookstores and movie theaters, we occasionally observed couples and groups (especially Japanese tourists) at both bookstores and movie theaters.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON CONSUMER SAMPLES

Methods

In-depth questionnaire. The in-depth questionnaire was designed to cover four major interest areas concerning the consumers of erotica:

1. Demographic data
2. Past experience
3. Attitudes towards erotica
4. Behavior resulting from activity in the erotic marketplace.

We initially reviewed over 2,000 questions that had previously been asked by researchers on sexual behavior, attitudes, experiences, and so forth. We were aware that too lengthy a questionnaire would create problems as to likelihood of its completion, especially on a self-administrative basis. Our final product resulted in a 54-question format covering the four areas above. It was necessary, however, to add an extra 11 questions in order to gain the cooperation of the two owners in whose movie theaters we wished to have the questionnaire distributed. This section of 11 questions (Part 1) dealt with issues of special interest to businessmen, and therefore most were not tabulated and are not included in this report.

The questionnaire was pretested on a class of criminology students at the University of California (Berkeley), and several changes in wording eventually were made before it was administered at the movie theaters.

When our initial observation of the consumer population indicated a large percentage of Chinese, we decided to have the in-depth questionnaire translated into Chinese so as to facilitate data collection among those more literate in Chinese than in English.

Administration of in-depth questionnaire in the bookstores

We attempted to obtain a random sample of respondents to the in-depth questionnaire at six bookstores in these core areas—the Tenderloin, Mission and Market, Chinatown, and Union Square. Members of our research staff were situated inside the stores (with the exception of the Chinatown store, whose owner was unwilling to cooperate). An effort was made to obtain a random sample by approaching every third person leaving the store.

Various approach techniques were tried; for example, graduate student, psychological research worker, and foreign journalist. In the main, however, our efforts in this direction did not meet with much success from those patrons over 40 years old who we approached. As a result, our sample does not indicate a random distribution of questionnaires accepted and is skewed downwards in age based upon data gathered from in-store observations of patrons conducted simultaneously.

When a person agreed to complete the questionnaire, he was asked to accompany the researcher to a table at a neighborhood luncheonette, or, if the store owner was cooperative, in a back room of the store. The questionnaire was filled out by the researcher, who asked the repondent for the answer to each question and filled them in himself. The questionnaire was administered during a 6-week period from early April to the middle of May 1970.

Administration of in-depth questionnaire in the movie theaters

In the two theaters whose questionnaires were distributed our research staff were given full employee privileges.

In Theater A, where the self-administered in-depth questionnaire was displayed next to the cash register, and access to the questionnaire was not dependent upon the presence of a researcher, a total of 800 questionnaires were removed by patrons. Of these 190 were returned either by mail or in person (a questionnaire return box was in the theater lobby) at a later date. The questionnaires were available for completion for a 2-month period from early April to late May 1970. During the time that the questionnaire was displayed, our staff made numerous observations of patrons at the same movie theater.

In Theater B our research staff employed a different tactic. Here we did not allow patrons freely to remove the in-depth questionnaires. We randomly selected every third person leaving the theater and approached him with the questionnaire. Patrons were asked to complete it before leaving; if they seemed reluctant they

were told that the management would appreciate their responses and would provide them with a free pass to the theater. During the period in which we administered the in-depth questionnaire accurate records were kept of all persons entering the theater. Persons who refused to complete the questionnaire were also recorded. When a patron refused, we waited for three more people to leave and then approached the last one. The questionnaires were completed in a private office with only one person at a time allowed in. The random sample resulted in 61 questionnaires being completed out of a total of 139 persons approached. The data were collected in an 8-day period late in May of 1970.

Demographic data from in-depth questionnaire of bookstore patrons

Our staff attempted to select a large random sample of bookstore patrons who would complete our in-depth questionnaire. However, we were able to obtain only 29 willing respondents. Bookstore patrons were extremely reluctant to cooperate, and the refusal rate was therefore high (approximately 150 persons were approached and asked to complete the questionnaire). Middle-aged patrons were particularly unresponsive; as a result, our efforts did not produce a sample representation of the demographic data obtained during simultaneous observations of customers.

The refusal rate was non-randomly distributed among those approached, as more middle-aged and older male patrons refused. Our data, therefore, show a higher concentration of young, less educated, less affluent patrons, and a higher percentage of females than would be expected from our observational data.

Bearing these discrepancies in mind, we chose not to utilize the information gained from these interviews as a basis for inference. We present them solely for your review in the following tables. (See Tables 7 and 8.)

Demographic data from self-selected sample of movie theater patrons to in-depth questionnaire

Our in-depth questionnaire data on 190 movie theater patrons yielded a high concentration of married (58.4%), male (94.1%), white (83.2%) respondents. Age distribution was concentrated more heavily in the 26 to 35 age range (34.2%) than in the next two age groups, 36 to 45 (23.7%) and 46 to 55 (20%).

Black respondents tended to be younger, with nine of 12 respondents in the 26 to 35 age bracket, while whites were less heavily concentrated in this age group, with 48 of 158 respondents.

The majority of respondents had graduated from college (25.8%) or attended graduate school (25.8%). Only 17.9% of the total sample had not attended any college, and most of these had graduated from high school.

The major occupational classification of our respondents was: white-collar (24.2%), semi-professional (24.2%), professional (16.3%), and managerial (9.5%).

Yearly income revealed a modal group of 38 respondents (20%) who earned $20,000 and over in 1969. The second most heavily concentrated income group was $11,000-$12,999 with 24 respondents earning $13,000 per year and above. Only 23.7% earned less than $9,000 and of these only 5.8% earned less than $5,000 last year. (See Tables 9 and 10.)

Table 7

RESPONSES OF RANDOM SAMPLE BOOKSTORE PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE (DEMOGRAPHIC DATA)

N=29

	N	%
SEX		
Male	24	82.4
Female	5	17.6
RACE		
White	19	65.5
Black	3	10.3
Chinese	3	10.3
Japanese	3	10.3
Filipino	—	
Other	1	3.4
AGE		
21-25	10	34.5
26-35	10	34.5
36-45	6	20.7
46-55	2	6.9
56-65	1	3.4
65+	—	
EDUCATION		
8-12yr.	19	65.5
13 yr.	—	
14 yr.	2	6.9
15 yr.	2	6.9
College grad.	5	17.2
Grad. school & above	—	
N.R.	1	3.4
OCCUPATION		
Professional	2	6.9
Managerial	2	6.9
Semiprofessional	2	6.9
White collar	8	27.6
Artisan	—	
Blue collar (skilled)	4	13.8
Blue collar (unskl.)	9	31.0
Student	2	6.9
Housewife	—	
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	10	34.5
Married	11	37.9
Separated	—	
Divorced	8	27.6
Widow	—	
YEARLY INCOME		
0-$4,999	6	20.7
$5,000-$6,999	4	13.8
$7,000-$8,999	9	31.0
$9,000-$10,999	1	3.4
$11,000-$12,999	4	13.8
$13,000-$14,999	1	3.4
$15,000-$16,999	3	10.3
$17,000-$19,999	—	
$20,000+	—	
N.R.	1	3.4

Table 8

RESPONSES OF RANDOM SAMPLE BOOKSTORE PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=29

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
21-25	7	2	1	–	–	–	10
	24.1%	6.9%	3.4%	–	–	–	34.5%
26-35	7	–	–	2	–	1	10
	24.1%	–	–	6.9%	–	3.4%	34.5%
36-45	3	–	2	1	–	–	6
	10.3%	–	6.9%	3.4%	–	–	20.7%
46-55	1	1	–	–	–	–	2
	3.4%	3.4%	–	–	–	–	6.9%
56-65	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
	3.4%	–	–	–	–	–	3.4%
Total	19	3	3	3	–	1	29
	65.5%	10.3%	10.3%	10.3%	–	3.4%	100.0%

Comparison of self-selected sample to observational data on movie theater patrons

We left a total of 800 in-depth questionnaires (70 of which were in Chinese) at an accessible place in Theater A. All were removed by patrons, and 190 were filled out and returned.

The demographic data from these questionnaires compare relatively favorably with our observed data on movie theater patrons. For example, males comprise 94.1% of the in-depth questionnaire respondents and 96.7% of the theater patron observations. The predominant racial group in both cases is white, but the relative number differs. Questionnaire respondents include a higher number (83.2%) of whites than in observations which indicated 69.7% white movie theater patrons. Blacks show a more compatible appearance in the two populations (6.3% on questionnaire, 4.8% on observations).

The most striking racial underrepresentation is among the Chinese and Asians in general. Chinese comprise 14.4% of the observed patrons but only 2.6% of the questionnaire respondents. This discrepancy is primarily the result of two factors: (1) their general reluctance to be questioned about their behavior, and (2) their ever-present fear that Government immigration agencies might be sponsoring information requests.

Age distribution is somewhat discrepant between the two samples. People who completed the questionnaire were more heavily concentrated in the 26 to 35 age group (34.2%) than were the observed patrons (28.1%). A smaller concentration of 36- to 45-year-olds in the questionnaire data (23.7%) than in the observational results (32.3%) was also noted. While these findings seem contradictory, we noted that a less dissimilar distribution between the two populations could be achieved by combining the percentage distribution for 26 to 35 and 36- to 45-year-olds in both samples. By using this method, we obtained 60.5% of observed patrons and

Table 9

RESPONSES OF SELF-SELECTED SAMPLE OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE (DEMOGRAPHIC DATA)

N=190

	N	%
SEX		
Male	180	94.1
Female	8	4.2
No response	2	1.7
RACE		
White	158	83.2
Black	12	6.3
Chinese	5	2.6
Japanese	2	1.1
Filipino	2	1.1
Other	7	3.7
No response	4	2.1
AGE		
21-25	24	12.6
26-35	65	34.2
36-45	45	23.7
46-55	38	20.0
56-65	13	6.8
65+	2	1.1
No response	3	1.6
EDUCATION		
8-12 yr.	34	17.9
13 yr.	16	8.4
14 yr.	24	12.6
15 yr.	16	8.4
College grad.	49	25.8
Grad. school & above	49	25.8
No response	2	1.1
OCCUPATION		
Professional	31	16.3
Managerial	18	9.5
Semiprofessional	32	16.8
White collar	46	24.2
Artisan	8	4.2
Blue collar (skilled)	15	7.9
Blue collar (unskl.)	13	6.8
Student	4	2.1
Housewife	2	1.1
No response	21	11.1
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	52	27.4
Married	111	58.4
Separated	4	2.1
Divorced	17	8.9
Widowed	1	0.5
No response	5	2.6
YEARLY INCOME		
0-$4,999	11	5.8
$5,000-$6,999	11	5.8
$7,000-$8,999	23	12.1
$9,000-$10,999	18	9.5
$11,000-$12,999	24	12.6
$13,000-$14,999	7	3.7
$15,000-$16,999	18	9.5
$17,000-$19,999	18	9.5
$20,000+	38	20.0
No response	22	11.6

Table 10

RESPONSES OF SELF-SELECTED SAMPLE OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=190

AGE	RACE							TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	No response	
21-25	20	1	–	–	2	1	–	24
	10.5%	0.5%	–	–	1.1%	0.5%	–	12.6%
26-35	48	9	2	1	–	3	2	65
	25.3%	4.7%	1.1%	0.5%	–	1.5%	1.1%	34.2%
36-45	39	1	2	1	–	2	–	45
	20.5%	0.5%	1.1%	0.5%	–	1.0%	–	23.7%
46-55	35	1	1	–	–	1	–	38
	18.4%	0.5%	0.5%	–	–	0.5%	–	20.0%
56-65	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
	6.8%	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.8%
65+	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
	1.1%	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1%
No re-	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	3
sponse	0.5%	–	–	–	–	–	1.1%	1.6%
Total	158	12	5	2	2	7	4	190
	83.2%	6.3%	2.6%	1.1%	1.1%	3.7%	2.1%	100.0%

57.9% of respondents in the combined 26 to 45 age grouping. The distribution for persons 46 to 55 years old are proximate: 20.0% on the questionnaire and 19.5% from observational data.

It should be noted that our observations of movie theater patrons were not all obtained at the same theater in which the questionnaire was displayed. Population differences at the three theaters where observations were made and variations among customers according to time of day and day of week may have been responsible for many of the differences between observed and received information.

In addition, we did not plan our patron observations to coincide with the full period during which questionnaires were displayed. We initially collected a significant amount of data on movie theater patrons one month prior to our display of the questionnaire.

In an attempt to eliminate the methodological difficulties encountered at Theater A, we conducted a controlled random sample administration of the in-depth questionnaire at Theater B under more favorable experimental conditions. Observations were made of all patrons entering the theater during the period our questionnaire was being administered. Additional detailed observational data were recorded about all patrons approached by our research staff to complete the questionnaire. Questionnaires were completed on the premises. The combined data follow.

Patron observations during administration of in-depth questionnaire to random sample

Patron observations were made simultaneously with our selection of the random sample in Theater B. During this 8-day period, 369 patrons were observed entering the theater. These patrons were predominantly male (98.1%), white (73.4%), and aged 36 to 45 years (35.8%). Most were dressed in business suit and tie (53.9%), and wedding bands were observed on 31.7%.

These data compare favorably with our previous movie theater observations of 2,791 patrons.[4] (See Tables 11, 12, and 13.)

Table 11

OBSERVED POPULATION DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	N=2,791	N=369
	%	%
SEX		
Male	96.7	98.1
Female	3.3	1.9
*RACE		
White	69.7	73.4
Black	4.8	3.8
Chinese	14.4	19.5
AGE		
18-25	11.32	10.80
26-35	28.13	20.10
36-45	32.32	35.80
46-55	19.53	27.60
56-65	7.81	4.90
65+	0.90	0.80
**DRESS		
Suit and tie	38.60	53.90
Blue collar	1.58	0.80
Military (uniform)	0.86	—
Casual (neat)	49.30	42.00
Casual (sloppy)	5.88	2.40
Hip	3.55	0.50
Other	0.21	0.30

*The slightly higher percentage of Chinese patrons observed entering Theater B may result from its close proximity to Chinatown.

**The higher percentage of patrons dressed in business attire may be accounted for by Theater B's location (adjacent to the San Francisco commercial district) and the fact that the random sample was conducted during the hours of noon to 9 p.m. for 8 days.

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4. These 2,791 observations were obtained prior to the administration of the random sample and do not include the 369 observations in Theater B.

Table 12

OBSERVATION OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF RANDOM SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

N=369

	N	%
SEX		
Male	362	98.1
Female	7	1.9
AGE		
18-25	40	10.8
26-35	74	20.1
36-45	132	35.8
46-55	102	27.6
56-65	18	4.9
65+	3	0.8
RACE		
White	271	73.4
Black	14	3.8
Chinese	72	19.5
Japanese	6	1.6
Filipino	2	0.5
Other	4	1.1
DRESS		
Suit and tie	199	53.9
Blue collar	3	0.8
Military (uniform)	0	—
Casual (neat)	155	42.0
Casual (sloppy)	9	2.4
Hip	2	0.5
Other	1	0.3
APPEARANCE		
Above average	63	17.1
Average	286	77.5
Poor	20	5.4
SILENT		
No	227	61.5
Yes	142	38.5
WEDDING BAND		
Don't know	102	27.6
No	150	40.7
Yes	117	31.7

Demographic data on patrons approached to complete in-depth questionnaire for random sample

During the 8-day period when our staff conducted the random sample experiment, we approached every third person leaving the theater and requested him to complete the in-depth questionnaire. Efforts were made to comply with this format except when the privacy of the previous respondent (engaged in completing the questionnaire) might be sacrificed.

Table 13

OBSERVATION OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF RANDOM SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=369

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
18-25	27	4	5	1	2	1	40
	7.3%	1.1%	1.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%	10.8%
26-35	48	7	15	2	–	2	74
	13.0%	1.8%	4.1%	0.5%	–	0.5%	20.1%
36-45	104	1	25	1	–	1	132
	28.2%	0.3%	6.8%	0.3%	–	0.3%	35.9%
46-55	74	2	24	2	–	–	102
	20.1%	0.5%	6.5%	0.5%	–	–	27.6%
56-65	15	–	3	–	–	–	18
	4.1%	–	0.8%	–	–	–	4.9%
65+	3	–	–	–	–	–	3
	0.8%	–	–	–	–	–	0.8%
Total	271	14	72	6	2	4	369
	73.4%	3.8%	19.5%	1.6%	0.5%	1.1%	100.0%

The demographic data obtained from those patrons approached to complete the in-depth questionnaire compare remarkably well with our observations of entering patrons. For example, a racial breakdown indicates 73.4% white, 3.8% black, and 19.5% Chinese in the overall observations of Theater B patrons, while those approached for the random sample comprised 74.1% white, 2.9% black, and 18.7% Chinese. A similar correspondence was noted on age groupings: 10.8% at 18-25, 21.1% at 26-35, 35.8% at 36-45, 27.6% at 46-55, and 4.9% at 56-65, as compared with 5.0% at 18-25, 20.9% at 26-35, 43.2% at 36-45, 25.9% at 46-55, and 3.6% at 56-65.

The two groups also correlated well on sex, dress, physical appearance, and presence of wedding bands. Detailed tables on patrons approached for the random sample follow. (See Tables 14 and 15.)

Demographic data from random sample respondents to in-depth questionnaire

In general our 61 respondents to the random sample questionnaire were similar in demographic characteristics to the 139 patrons approached. The differences that appear between these two sets of data result from the following factors:

1. Chinese patrons were more reluctant to comply with our request; only five out of 26 people approached agreed to do the questionnaire.

2. Blacks tended to be extremely cooperative. For example, all four who were approached agreed to complete the test vehicle. Therefore, the percentage of black respondents on the random sample in-depth questionnaire (6.6%), was higher than their representation (2.9%) in the overall number approached. In addition, the older patrons tended to be somewhat more reluctant to complete the questionnaire than their younger counterparts. When we compared the ages of random sample respondents to the observational data tallied for each of them

Table 14

MOVIE THEATER PATRONS APPROACHED FOR RANDOM SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

N=139

	N	%
SEX		
Male	136	97.8
Female	3	2.2
AGE		
18-25	7	5.0
26-35	29	20.9
36-45	60	43.2
46-55	36	25.9
56-65	5	3.6
65+	2	1.4
RACE		
White	103	74.1
Black	4	2.9
Chinese	26	18.7
Japanese	3	2.1
Filipino	1	0.7
Other	2	1.4
DRESS		
Suit and tie	75	54.0
Blue collar	—	—
Military (uniform)	—	—
Casual (neat)	60	43.2
Casual (sloppy)	1	0.7
Hip	2	1.4
Other	1	0.7
APPEARANCE		
Above average	25	18.0
Average	109	78.4
Poor	5	3.6
SILENT		
Yes	23	16.5
No	116	83.5
WEDDING BAND		
Don't know	38	27.3
No	50	36.0
Yes	51	36.7

prior to their approach by the researcher, we noted an error of 8% (five respondents of 61 were misclassified according to age on the observation data collection sheet)—the most frequent error involved persons whose real age fell within one year of the age groups' cut-off points, that is, between 35 and 36 years. An observer error would therefore place the person in a lower or higher age group than his actual age warranted. Since we were able to verify observer error on these data, we can assume that a similar 8% error may have been operating with regard to all of our observational data presented (for bookstores, arcades, and theaters).

Table 15

MOVIE THEATER PATRONS APPROACHED FOR RANDOM SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=139

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
18-25	4	1	1	—	1	—	7
	2.9%	0.7%	0.7%	—	0.7%	—	5.0%
26-35	13	3	10	1	—	2	29
	9.4%	2.2%	7.2%	0.7%	—	1.4%	20.9%
36-45	48	—	12	—	—	—	60
	34.5%	—	8.6%	—	—	—	43.2%
46-55	31	—	3	2	—	—	36
	22.3%	—	2.2%	1.4%	—	—	25.9%
56-65	5	—	—	—	—	—	5
	3.6%	—	—	—	—	—	3.6%
65+	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
	1.4%	—	—	—	—	—	1.4%
Total	103	4	26	3	1	2	139
	74.1%	2.9%	18.7%	2.2%	0.7%	1.4%	100.0%

Our random sample of respondents to the in-depth questionnaire is characterized as male (96.7%), married (57.4%), white (78.8%), aged 36 to 45 years (36.1%), college graduate (32.8%), occupation professional and white-collar (26.2% and 23.0%), with a yearly income of over $12,000 on the average and over $20,000 as the most frequent response (21.3%). (See Tables 16 and 17.)

Rationale for combining self-selected and random sample responses to in-depth questionnaire

The data presented above for the 61 respondents to the random sample in-depth questionnaire, while representative of the controlled observational data compiled during its administration, did not yield a number great enough for involved cross-tabulations.

The data obtained from the self-selected in-depth questionnaire, on the other hand, while not as strongly representative of observed theater patrons, does afford the possibilities for detailed analysis due to its more substantial size.

The research staff discussed the possibility of providing both samples in an effort to gain a larger and more representative N for purposes of analysis. The final decision to pool the data was made after a detailed examination showed a minimum of discrepancy across the two samples. The following section presents these data in detail.

IN-DEPTH RESPONSES FROM COMBINED CONSUMER SAMPLE

Combined sample responses to in-depth questionnaire

Demographic data. Our combined samples of movie theater patrons at both theaters (N=251) reveals the following demographic characteristics: male 95.2%,

Table 16

RESPONSES OF RANDOM SAMPLE MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE (DEMOGRAPHIC DATA)

N=61

	N	%
SEX		
Male	59	96.7
Female	2	3.3
AGE		
21-25	8	13.1
26-35	15	24.6
36-45	22	36.1
46-55	9	14.8
56-65	7	11.5
65+	—	—
RACE		
White	48	78.8
Black	4	6.6
Chinese	5	8.2
Japanese	—	—
Filipino	—	—
Other	4	6.5
EDUCATION		
8-12 yr.	9	14.8
13 yr.	4	6.6
14 yr.	4	6.6
15 yr.	9	14.8
College grad.	20	32.8
Grad school & above	15	24.6
OCCUPATION		
Professional	16	26.2
Managerial	11	18.0
Semiprofessional	5	8.2
White collar	14	23.0
Artisan	3	4.9
Blue collar (skilled)	2	3.3
Blue collar (unskl.)	6	9.8
Student	2	3.3
Housewife	—	—
No response	2	3.3
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	20	32.8
Married	35	57.4
Separated	—	—
Divorced	4	6.6
Widowed	2	3.3
YEARLY INCOME		
0-$4,999	8	13.1
$5,000-$6,999	—	—
$7,000-$8,999	5	8.2
$9,000-$10,999	8	13.1
$11,000-$12,999	5	8.2
$13,000-$14,999	4	6.6
$15,000-$16,999	6	9.8
$17,000-$19,999	6	9.8
$20,000+	13	21.3
No response	6	9.8

Table 17

RESPONSES OF RANDOM SAMPLE MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=61

AGE	RACE						TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	
21-25	7	1	–	–	–	–	8
	11.5%	1.6%	–	–	–	–	13.1%
26-35	9	2	2	–	–	2	15
	14.8%	3.3%	3.3%	–	–	3.2%	24.6%
36-45	18	–	3	–	–	1	22
	29.5%	–	4.9%	–	–	1.6%	36.1%
46-55	8	1	–	–	–	–	9
	13.1%	1.6%	–	–	–	–	14.8%
56-65	6	–	–	–	–	1	7
	9.8%	–	–	–	–	1.6%	11.5%
Total	48	4	5	–	–	4	61
	78.7%	6.6%	8.2%	–	–	5.5%	100.0%

female 3.9%; white 82.1%, black 6.4%, Chinese 4.0%; ages 21 to 25 12.7%, 26 to 35 31.9%, 36 to 45 26.7%, 46 to 55 18.7%, 56 to 65 8.0%; education 8 to 12 years 16.7%, 13 to 15 years 29.2%, college graduate 27.5%, graduate school and above 25.5%; occupation professional 18.7%, managerial 11.6%, semi-professional 14.7%, white-collar 23.9%, blue-collar 14.4%; single 28.7%, married 58.2%; income less than $5,000 7.6%, $5,000 to $8,999 15.6%, $9,000 to $12,999 22%, $13,000 to $19,999 23.6%, and over $20,000 a year 20.3%.

These data support our findings that the most frequent patron of the erotic marketplace has the following attributes: he is male, white, between the ages of 26 and 45 years, married, college educated, and is employed in a white-collar position with an average income of $12,000 yearly or more. (See Tables 18 and 19.)

Past experience of respondent. The results of our sample indicated that the most frequent age at which a respondent first had intercourse with the opposite sex was 17 to 18 years (21.5%). A sizable percentage, however, did not engage in intercourse until after the age of 19 (24.4%). A further analysis by race indicates that noticeable differences exist between whites, blacks, and Chinese. The blacks showed the earliest experiences with sex, the Chinese the latest, and the greatest concentration of whites first experienced intercourse at ages in between those of the other two groups. These data suggest that many individuals who comprise the erotic consumer population have, during their development, deferred sexual gratification. (See Table 20.)

As might be expected, masturbation was discovered early as a substitute for sexual intercourse. Our consumer sample indicated a modal age of 10 to 12 years for first masturbation to orgasm; and judging from their responses on another index they very often (33.1%) utilize magazines or books as an aid to achieving orgasm.

Almost one-half of the respondents indicated that they had had intercourse with fewer than 20 different persons in their lifetimes.

Table 18
RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLES OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE (DEMOGRAPHIC DATA)

N=251

	N	%
SEX		
Male	239	95.2
Female	10	3.9
No response	2	0.9
AGE		
21-25	32	12.7
26-35	80	31.9
36-45	67	26.7
46-55	47	18.7
56-65	20	8.0
65+	2	0.8
No response	3	1.2
RACE		
White	206	82.1
Black	16	6.4
Chinese	10	4.0
Japanese	2	0.8
Filipino	2	0.8
Other	11	4.4
No response	4	1.6
EDUCATION		
8-12 yr.	43	16.7
13 yr.	20	8.0
14 yr.	28	11.2
15 yr.	25	10.0
College grad.	69	27.5
Grad. school & above	64	25.5
No response	2	0.8
OCCUPATION		
Professional	47	18.7
Managerial	29	11.6
Semiprofessional	37	14.7
White collar	60	23.9
Artisan	11	4.4
Blue collar (skilled)	17	6.8
Blue collar (unskl.)	19	7.6
Student	6	2.4
Housewife	2	0.8
No response	23	9.2
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	72	28.7
Married	146	58.2
Separated	4	1.6
Divorced	21	8.4
Widowed	3	1.2
No response	5	2.0
YEARLY INCOME		
0-$4,999	19	7.6
$5,000-$6,999	11	4.4
$7,000-$8,999	28	11.2
$9,000-$10,999	26	10.4
$11,000-$12,999	29	11.6
$13,000-$14,999	11	4.4
$15,000-$16,999	24	9.6
$17,000-$19,999	24	9.6
Over $20,000	51	20.3
No response	28	11.2

Table 19

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLES OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE X AGE

N=251

AGE	RACE							TOTAL
	White	Black	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Other	No response	
21-25	27	2	–	–	2	1	–	32
	10.8%	0.8%	–	–	0.8%	0.4%	–	12.7%
26-35	57	11	4	1	–	5	2	80
	22.7%	4.4%	1.6%	0.4%	–	2.0%	0.8%	31.9%
36-45	57	1	5	1	–	3	–	67
	22.7%	0.4%	2.0%	0.4%	–	1.2%	–	26.7%
46-55	43	2	1	–	–	1	–	47
	17.1%	0.8%	0.4%	–	–	0.4%	–	18.7%
56-65	19	–	–	–	–	1	–	20
	7.6%	–	–	–	–	0.4%	–	8.0%
65+	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
	0.8%	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.8%
No re-	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	3
sponse	0.4%	–	–	–	–	–	0.8%	1.2%
Total	206	16	10	2	2	11	4	251
	82.1%	6.4%	4.0%	0.8%	0.8%	4.4%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 20

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE (#3) X AGE AT FIRST INTERCOURSE WITH OPPOSITE SEX (# 18)

AGE	RACE		
	White	Black	Chinese
0-10	6	4	1
	2.4%	1.6%	0.4%
11-12	15	3	–
	6.0%	1.2%	–
13-14	28	4	–
	11.2%	1.6%	–
15-16	43	2	–
	17.1%	0.8%	–
17-18	49	–	1
	19.5%	–	0.4%
19-20	23	–	3
	9.2%	–	1.2%
21-25	27	–	2
	10.8%	–	0.8%
25+	1	1	1
	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%
Never	8	1	–
	3.2%	0.4%	–
No response	6	1	2
	2.4%	0.4%	0.8%

In addition, movie theater patrons exhibited a noticeably higher degree of social mobility than might be expected in the general population, for the following reasons:

1. Most patrons are from the white-collar, semi-professional, managerial, and professional classes.

2. A sizable number listed their fathers' occupations as having been less prestigious than their own. For example, 25% of those who listed their present occupations as professional indicated blue-collar occupational status for their fathers. This same trend was evident among the patrons of managerial status and even more pronounced for the mass white-collar customers. (See Table 21.)

These findings, along with the previously outlined information on prior sexual experience, lend support to our secondary hypothesis—that interest in erotic material is related to income and social up-bringing. Individuals who were raised in the working class (or in other economic or cultural groups where traditionally strong taboos against sexual activity are evident) and who have recently experienced upward economic mobility, but who still hold to (or have internalized) the taboos against sexual expression taught to them as children, will have both the economic means and the motivational predisposition to find involvement in the erotic marketplace rewarding. Thus it is hypothesized that differential consumer patterns emerge along racial and social class lines.

Attitudes toward erotica. Respondents overwhelmingly (88.8%) stated that they never felt guilty when viewing erotic material. Most respondents felt strongly about their right to view sex movies and were willing to defend that right, if need be, in court. For example, respondents at both theaters voiced strong sentiment (72.1% and 52.5%) on this issue. In addition, many patrons stated that they were willing to testify in court on behalf of the management of these two theaters (43.2% and 24.6%). Thirty-five respondents included their names, telephone numbers, or addresses to be used for this purpose by the theater's management.

Most patrons prefer not to see sex films which contain any sociopolitical comments. (See Table 22.)

Over 70% felt that some type of age restriction should be placed on the viewing of erotic material depicting sexual intercourse.

Sadomasochism was the most distasteful type of sexual behavior to our respondents (12.0%), followed by homosexuality (9.2%) and pedophilia (2.0%). (Not all respondents answered this question and 10% disapproved of more than one of these sexual activities.)

Most patrons stated that their sexual partners were aware that they attended movie theaters where sexual relations are illustrated (51.8%). Of the 38.6% who answered "no" to the above question 18.7% felt that their sexual partner would be indifferent if she discovered that they attended. But 11.2% perceived that a strong reaction of disapproval would be forthcoming. Analyzing these data by race and income revealed that the concentration of a perceived negative response on the part of their sexual partner was highest among whites (10.4%) and among high-income (over $20,000 a year) patrons (4.8%). (See Tables 23 and 24.)

Behavior and erotica. Our primary hypothesis was to investigate whether lack of access to females is a motivating force behind consumption of erotic material.

Table 21

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLES OF MOVIE THEATER PATRONS TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION X HIS FATHER'S OCCUPATION

N=251

RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION									
	Prof.	Manag.	Semi-prof.	White collar	Artisan	Blue c. skilled	Blue c. unskl.	Stu-dent	No re-sponse	Total
Professional	10 4.0%	6 2.4%	4 1.6%	8 3.2%	—	4 1.6%	8 3.2%	—	7 2.8%	47 18.7%
Managerial	5 2.0%	7 2.8%	3 1.2%	6 2.4%	—	4 1.6%	2 0.8%	—	2 0.8%	29 11.6%
Semiprofessional	7 2.8%	6 2.4%	4 1.6%	6 2.4%	—	4 1.6%	6 2.4%	—	4 1.6%	37 14.7%
White collar	3 1.2%	5 2.0%	5 2.0%	15 6.0%	1 0.4%	16 6.4%	9 3.6%	—	6 2.4%	60 23.9%
Artisan	4 1.6%	4 1.6%	—	—	—	2 0.8%	1 0.4%	—	—	11 4.4%
Blue collar skilled	1 0.4%	2 0.8%	3 1.3%	2 0.8%	—	5 2.0%	2 0.8%	—	2 0.8%	17 6.8%
Blue collar unskilled	1 0.4%	—	1 0.4%	1 0.4%	—	4 1.6%	9 3.6%	—	3 1.2%	19 7.6%
Student	3 1.2%	—	—	2 0.8%	—	1 0.4%	—	—	—	6 2.4%
Housewife	—	1 0.4%	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 0.4%	2 0.8%
Total	38 15.1%	32 12.7%	21 8.4%	44 17.5%	1 0.4%	40 15.9%	40 15.9%	—	35 13.9%	251 100.0%

Table 22

COMBINED SAMPLE OF RESPONSES TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I

Do you like to see sex films which contain a social political comment?

Theater A	N=190		Theater B	N=61	
Yes	No	No Response	Yes	No	No Response
70	102	18	19	37	5
36.8%	53.7%	9.5%	31.1%	60.7%	8.2%

Would you be willing to defend your right to see sex movies in court?

Theater A	N=190		Theater B	N=61	
Yes	No	No Response	Yes	No	No Response
137	46	7	32	22	7
72.1%	24.2%	3.7%	52.5%	36.1%	11.5%

Would you be willing to testify on behalf of the_____theater in court?

Theater A	N=190		Theater B	N=61	
Yes	No	No Response	Yes	No	No Response
82	90	18	15	34	11
43.2%	47.4%	9.5%	24.6%	55.7%	18.0%

If Yes on the above, would you leave your name and phone number or call the_____ theater at a later date and leave your name and number?

Theater A N=190	Theater B N=61
Number who said "yes"	Number who said "yes"
26	9

Table 23

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: RACE (#3) X PARTNER'S REACTION (#27a)

REACTION	RACE		
	White	Black	Chinese
Strong approval	9	–	2
	3.6%	–	0.8%
Slight approval	6	–	1
	2.4%	–	0.4%
Indifference	39	4	1
	15.5%	1.6%	0.4%
Slight disapproval	17	1	–
	6.8%	0.4%	–
Strong disapproval	26	–	1
	10.4%	–	0.4%
Partners vary	1	–	1
	0.4%	–	0.4%
No response	108	11	4
	43.0%	4.4%	1.6%

Our findings do not support this contention. On the contrary, only an insignificant number of respondents (6.8%) indicated that they were not presently having sexual relations with anyone. A third (35.1%) stated that their sexual relations were limited to only one person with whom they were presently living. However, the majority of movie theater patrons (49%) indicated that they were having sexual relations with several persons both in and out of their households.

Table 24

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: YEARLY INCOME (#5) X PARTNER'S REACTION (#27a)

INCOME	PARTNER'S REACTION						
	Strong approve	Slight approve	Indif-ferent	Slight disap.	Strong disap.	Partners vary	No re-sponse
0-	2	1	6	1	1	—	8
$4,999	0.8%	0.4%	2.4%	0.4%	0.4%	—	3.2%
$5,000-	2	1	4	—	1	—	3
$6,999	0.8%	0.4%	1.6%	—	0.4%	—	1.2%
$7,000-	3	—	4	—	1	—	20
$8,999	1.2%	—	1.6%	—	0.4%	—	8.0%
$9,000-	—	1	6	2	3	—	14
$10,999	—	0.4%	2.4%	0.8%	1.2%	—	5.6%
$11,000-	2	—	8	5	3	—	11
$12,999	0.8%	—	3.2%	2.0%	1.2%	—	4.4%
$13,000-	—	—	2	1	—	1	7
$14,999	—	—	0.8%	0.4%	—	0.4%	2.8%
$15,000-	—	1	2	2	2	1	16
$16,999	—	0.4%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.4%	6.4%
$17,000-	—	—	3	2	4	—	15
$19,999	—	—	1.2%	1.2%	1.6%	—	6.0%
$20,000+	—	3	5	5	12	—	26
	—	1.2%	2.0%	2.0%	4.8%	—	10.4%

Frequency of intercourse was also high for the majority of the respondents. Most stated that they had intercourse twice a week or more.

In addition, we noted that a significant degree of promiscuity was evident in our respondent population. Most had had intercourse with two or more different persons during the last year. More than half of the married men responding were included in this category.

Therefore, rather than lacking access to suitable females, the patrons who responded to the questionnaire seemed to be leading active and varied sexual existences. (See Tables 25 and 26.)

Over half of the respondents (54.6%) stated that since viewing erotic material their own sexual relations have become more enjoyable. Only two respondents (0.8%) stated that viewing erotica had had a negative effect on their sexual relations. Also, 78.5% stated a belief that sex-oriented material made men want to do new things with their wives.

When asked why they viewed erotic material, the patrons most often gave the response "for entertainment only" (44.6%), while 35.9% said that they do so to get new ideas about sexual matters. A cross-check of this response verified that 87.6% of the respondents agreed that sexual materials are educational. 35.1% stated that viewing sexual material was satisfying as an end in itself, while another 24.3% said they viewed erotica "just to pass the time." Respondents often gave several responses to this question.

Presence of movie theater patrons in bookstore consumer population. We attempted to cross-check the activities of movie theater patrons in other facets of the erotic marketplace. Our data revealed that 71.3% of our respondents also purchased erotic material at bookstores. Their frequency of purchasing, however,

Table 25

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: MARITAL STATUS (#7) X AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE DURING LAST YEAR (#21)

STATUS	AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE						
	3x/wk	2x/wk	1x/wk	1x/2wk	1x/mo	Less	No response
Single	17	18	6	9	4	10	8
	6.8%	7.2%	2.4%	3.6%	1.6%	4.0%	3.2%
Married	37	62	17	14	8	3	5
	14.7%	24.7%	6.8%	5.6%	3.2%	1.2%	2.0%
Separated	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
	0.8%	0.8%	–	–	–	–	–
Divorced	6	9	–	1	1	1	3
	2.4%	3.6%	–	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	1.2%
Widowed	1	–	–	2	–	–	–
	0.4%	–	–	0.8%	–	–	–
No response	1	1	1	–	–	–	2
	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	–	–	–	0.8%

Table 26

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: MARITAL STATUS (#7) X HOW MANY PEOPLE HAD INTERCOURSE WITH LAST YEAR (#22)

NUMBER	MARITAL STATUS					
	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	No response
1	5	51	1	2	–	1
	2.0%	20.3%	0.4%	0.8%	–	0.4%
2-5	22	51	–	3	1	–
	8.8%	20.3%	–	1.2%	0.4%	–
6-20	15	14	1	11	1	–
	6.0%	5.6%	0.4%	4.4%	0.4%	–
21-100	9	1	–	1	–	1
	3.6%	0.4%	–	0.4%	–	0.4%
101+	3	–	–	–	–	–
	1.2%	–	–	–	–	–
Can't say	11	9	1	2	–	1
	4.4%	3.6%	0.4%	0.8%	–	0.4%
No response	7	20	1	2	1	2
	2.8%	8.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.4%	0.8%

was irregular, while their attendance at movie theaters was more predictable, as 35.8% of them attended at least once a week.

Interestingly, it was found that married men spend their money more often at theaters (31.2% attend adult movies once every two weeks or oftener), while only 7.2% indicated that they frequently purchase erotic literature at bookstores and other outlets. (See Tables 27 and 28.)

In addition, 39.5% stated that they had spent $100 or more during the past year on erotic materials. Also, the average consumer indicated a fairly recent involvement (3 to 4 years) in the erotic marketplace.

Table 27

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: MARITAL STATUS (#7) X FREQUENCY OF ATTENDING EROTIC FILMS (#32)

STATUS	FREQUENCY						
	1+/wk	1/wk	1/2 wk	1/mo	1/2-3 mo	1-2/yr	Never, no response
Single	9	17	10	11	13	6	6
	3.6%	6.8%	4.0%	4.4%	5.2%	2.4%	2.4%
Married	23	28	27	29	21	7	11
	9.2%	11.2%	10.8%	11.6%	8.4%	2.8%	4.4%
Separated	1	1	—	1	—	—	1
	0.4%	0.4%	—	0.4%	—	—	0.4%
Divorced	3	5	4	3	2	2	2
	1.2%	2.0%	1.6%	1.2%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
Widowed	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	—	—	—	—
No response	—	1	1	—	1	—	2
	—	0.4%	0.4%	—	0.4%	—	0.8%

Table 28

RESPONSES OF COMBINED SAMPLE TO IN-DEPTH QUESTIONNAIRE: MARITAL STATUS (#7) X FREQUENCY OF BUYING EROTICA (#30)

STATUS	FREQUENCY				
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	No response
Single	10	22	23	13	4
	4.0%	8.8%	9.2%	5.2%	1.6%
Married	18	47	56	18	7
	7.2%	18.7%	22.3%	7.2%	2.8%
Separated	1	2	—	1	—
	0.4%	0.8%	—	0.4%	—
Divorced	—	11	6	2	2
	—	4.4%	2.4%	0.8%	0.8%
Widowed	2	—	—	1	—
	0.8%	—	—	0.4%	—
No response	—	2	1	—	2
	—	0.8%	0.4%	—	0.8%

DISCUSSION

The industry in erotic materials in the city of San Francisco is estimated at a gross value of $24 million per annum. This amount is divided among approximately 200 persons, including theater owners, bookstore proprietors, arcade managers, wholesale distributors, publishers, and producers. Although many of these businessmen maintain normal working relationships with one another, they remain essentially independent operators in the field. We were unable to uncover any evidence whatsoever of the presence of syndicate or "Mafia" control of the enterprises.

While those interviewed on this subject expressed the belief that organized crime was in part responsible for the traffic in erotic materials in New York City,

they emphatically denied any such involvement in the retail businesses in San Francisco. As far as the processes of production and printing are concerned, they could offer no information other than to suggest that these would be the most likely parts of the industry to be open to the control of organized crime. Incidentally it should be noted that the methods of transacting business in the arcades (coin-operated viewers, no cash receipts) would lend itself more readily to illicit operation. Most of the production and printing industires are situated in Los Angeles.

The argument is often advanced that the distribution and consumption of erotic material, considered by a vocal minority of the community to be obscene, is directly contrary to the expressed standards of that community. While this may be true elsewhere, the available evidence suggests that it does not hold for San Francisco. In this city certain groups are constantly urging that the community should have the right to determine the degree of tolerance to be extended toward sex-oriented material and that the community has a duty to prevent any attacks upon its standards of public morality. Freedom to read and view erotica that is "without redeeming social value," it is argued, does not have constitutional protection. However, the responses to questionnaires from movie theater patrons reflect an overwhelming majority opinion that the United States Government has no right to censor adult entertainment. We have also noted that San Francisco voting patterns on the Clean Amendment Bill of 1966 indicate a lack of support for any further government control or censorship of sexual expression. We can conclude that if patrons of establishments retailing erotic material are opposed to censorship and if the general public is also opposed to any increased censorship, then the contemporary community standards of San Francisco allow for a great latitude of freedom for sexual expression. Parenthetically it should be pointed out that San Francisco has traditionally enjoyed a reputation as a "liberal" environment for a wide range of sexual persuasions. For example, the current trend of "topless" and "bottomless" nightclub entertainment originated in San Francisco. In addition, the city has for some time been remarkable in its relatively permissive attitudes toward homosexuals and as a result boasts a large and flourishing "gay" community. This community is serviced by movie theaters and bookstores in much the same way as is the "straight" community. However, it is believed by some, notably the San Francisco police department and their political and ideological supporters, that both the aforementioned nightclub entertainment and the presence of relatively large numbers of homosexuals are conducive to the prevailing mood of moral laxity in the community. Thus, they are equally considered to be part of the erotic marketplace. In other words, the official definition of the constituents of the erotic marketplace has been extended beyond the provisions of the law to the activities of all "sexual minorities" who in the light of current law-enforcement practices must be considered to include all those whose public sexual practices do not conform to the normative standards of official authorities.

Perhaps the most significant fact to emerge from this study is that the majority of consumers of erotica are middle-class, middle-aged, white males. The modal age group (57%) noted was between 26 and 45 years of age, with 20% in the 46 to 55 age group. Eighty-four percent of the consumers had been to college; the predominant percentage (53%) had graduated. Only 16% had had less than high school education. Occupational data revealed the largest single group (23.9%) to be mass

white-collar workers (sales and service personnel, office staff and clerks); 18.7% were professionally employed, 14.7% in semiprofessional work (social workers, teachers, etc.), and 11% in a managerial staff or business ownership category. In all, a total of 69% of consumers were either white-collar workers, managerial staff, professionals, or semiprofessionals. Data returned from observation of and interviews with patrons of theaters, arcades, and bookstores revealed that over 70% of the consumers were white and approximately 95% were male. Interviews with patrons also demonstrated that at least 58% were married and 20% were single.

Responses to questions about the occupations of the patrons' fathers and education, as an indicator of social mobility, revealed a definite trend. While 25.5% of those interviewed had graduate education, only 7.6% of their fathers had gone beyond their first college degree. While another 27.5% of the patrons had finished college, only 14.3% of their fathers had. Of 18.7% of patrons in the professional class, 15.1% had fathers in the same class; of 11.6% in managerial work, 12.7% had fathers in that class; of 14.7% in the semiprofessional class, 8.7% had semiprofessional fathers; of 23.7% white-collar workers, 17.5% had white-collar fathers; of 6.8% skilled blue-collar workers, 15.9% had fathers in that class; and of 7.6% unskilled workers, 15.9% had unskilled fathers. These figures are significant, even allowing for the broad national trend toward increased education.

These data strongly indicate the validity of the original hypothesis that consumption of erotic materials is related to traditional working-class taboos regarding sexual behavior that have been transmitted to an upwardly mobile middle class. In addition, it would appear that only members of the middle class have either the time or the money necessary to maintain regular access to outlets of erotica, whose working hours are organized around the leisure potential of the middle-class businessman.

An interesting note is the total absence of military servicemen in the samples taken, suggesting a preference by them for more active sexual diversions such as bars, clubs, and prostitutes.

Certain sources have suggested that the audience of erotica is essentially comprised of "perverted," "sick" individuals. It is interesting to note, however, that a considerable majority (62.5%) of movie theater patrons described themselves as totally heterosexual, 18.7% as heterosexual with slight homosexual tendencies, 14.5% as heterosexual with strong homosexual tendencies, and only 2.3% as exclusively homosexual. In addition, when asked an open-end question as to what kinds of sexual behavior they most disapproved of, the largest group of respondents (12.0%) listed sadomasochism; 9.2% homosexuality; 2.8% bestiality, pedophilia, and sodomy; and 8% noted a combination of all these. However, in response to a similar question as to what types of sexual behavior they were interested in experimenting with, 6.8% said group sex orgies, only 2.0% said sodomy, and 0.4% (one person) said sadomasochism. No replies indicated a desire to engage in bestiality or pedophilia. These percentage preferences are reflected by the content of the movies, the majority of which contain admittedly explicit depictions of sexual activities between members of the opposite sex. Therefore we can conclude that even by the professed standards of the San Francisco police department, the usual content of erotic movies does not deal with deviant sex; it merely renders more graphically behavior which in other media remains subliminal. The etymological definition of the word "obscene" is, after all, "off stage."

It is conceded, however, that if erotic stimulation per se is included in the category of "deviant" sexual activity, owing to its presentation of sexual activity divorced from either procreation or sex in marriage, then such activity could justifiably be labeled "deviant." Here again the issue is one of values.

It is also claimed by those who would impose stricter censorship on the reading and viewing activities of their fellow citizens that erotic material is "addictive." By this they presumably mean that the pleasures obtained from indulging oneself in erotica become gradually satiated and a thirst for more explicit and "depraved" material inevitably develops. We feel this theory to be untrue for the following three reasons.

1. The trend towards the use of the film medium for the purposes of entertainment, education, and communication is a product of this audio-visual age and is not in any way related to personal taste as such. This would explain both the decrease in book sales and the increase in movie attendance at the erotic marketplace.

2. Most "addictions" are simultaneously experienced as biophysical necessities. We have no evidence from our collected data suggesting that this phenomenon is found among consumers of erotica. For example, questions pertaining to frequency of attendance at movie theaters yielded the following responses: 14.7% more than once a week, 21.1% once a week, 17.1% once every two weeks, 17.5% once a month, 14.7% once every few months, and 6.0% once or twice a year.

3. Our data suggest that people attend erotic movies and read erotic literature for the purposes of entertainment (44.6%), education (35.9%), satisfaction (35.1%), and just to pass the time (24.3%). (Some subjects made more than one response each.) These answers do not seem to suggest that people attend sex movie theaters for reasons other than those given by regular movie patrons. They certainly do not suggest "craving," "need," or "addiction"—although such descriptions may apply to an undetermined minority for whom sex movies are the sole form of sexual stimulation.

It is widely believed that there is a high correlation between consumption of erotica and the incidence of sex crimes. One example that is frequently cited in this context is that of Denmark where, it is alleged, the removal of all forms of censorship of erotic materials was followed by an increase in the incidence of violent sex crimes. Other than the statement of this statistic there has been no scientific attempt to produce causative evidence for the phenomenon. It is our belief that there is no directly discernible relationship between consumption of erotica and the committal of violent sex crimes—many of which, it should be remembered, take place when one or both parties is under the influence of alcohol. We would cite the following additional reasons:

1. It is pertinent at this point to raise the fundamental question of what in fact is a "sex crime," that is, who provides the definition and makes the arrest. Many States in this country still maintain laws prohibiting oral-genital sex between man and wife, so that such acts legally fall within the definition of a sex crime even though the enforcement of such laws is nonexistent. It is apparent that sex crimes are still a matter of social rather than legal definition in the ways that the law is applied, since the decision to prosecute remains in the hands of the police department and the district attorney's office.

2. Crime statistics for San Francisco in 1968 regarding sexual offenses reflect either the practice of differential law enforcement, or traditional differences in

cultural attitudes and behavior, or both. Together with our own statistical data, they certainly point to the negation of the argument that consumption of erotica leads to violent sex crimes. For, inasmuch as the Chinese are represented disproportionately in the data regarding theater and bookstore patronage, their contribution to the number of sex offenses is nonexistent. On the other hand, the percentage of blacks represented in the crime statistics for sexual offenses is relatively high, whereas their observed consumption of erotica is disproportionately low. This tendency may be due to the differences in stability of their respective life styles and to the consequent likelihood of complaint and arrest in each case. It is also possible that the typical black potential customer is unable to afford the prices required either at movie theaters or bookstores, which would also explain the greater incidence of black patrons at arcades. On the other hand, economic insecurity is also prominent among the Chinese. For example, the residential neighborhood surrounding the core area of Chinatown has a rate of male unemployment (11.6%) equally as high as that of the predominantly black section of the city. Furthermore, the Chinese population in this area has the greatest concentration of families with incomes under $4,000 annually in the entire city. Therefore, economics cannot be the sole factor which deters people's participation in the erotic marketplace.

3. In any attempt to correlate the phenomena of perception with the phenomena of behavior, it is necessary to examine exactly what is being perceived. In this context it should be stressed that the content of the large majority of sex movies and books is nonviolent. There is, of course, a small percentage of sadomasochistic material, although our interviews reveal that it is decreasing. There is more violent sexual activity both suggested and portrayed on television, in the theater, and in general motion-picture theaters. Forty-eight percent of our respondents claimed that as a result of attending sex movies they were able to enjoy sex more with their own wives, thus suggesting that for the largest single number of respondents the function of sex movies was to improve their sex lives at home and was not generative of anti-social activity.

Films that were viewed by the researchers at two of the movie theaters featuring material produced by the more avant-garde producers indicated a movement away from the traditional emphasis placed upon detailed close-ups of genitalia and sex play and a trend toward a more artistic and sensual portrayal of the human body.

Politically, the issue of the erotic marketplace is a rich source of possible votes for anyone seeking election to public office. Any statement relative to this topic is guaranteed to receive publicity. In addition, it happens that many of the movie theater owners are supporters of the antiwar movement and the radical left. They therefore view their constant harassment by the police and the courts as a form of overt political persecution. This belief is borne out by the fact that in most instances, the content of the litigation has been concerned not with the definition of obscenity but with the rights of the police to confiscate erotic material and the rights of the defendants to a fair hearing.

The foregoing makes it apparent that what we are confronted with is a profoundly moral issue; and as with similarly profound moral issues in the past, it will not be resolved through any political expediency. Briefly stated, the issue is whether or not the state has the right to require the maintenance of arbitrary

moral standards by means of the censorship of materials designed for public consumption. Thus the question is raised of what is harmful to the "public good" and of who has the power to make such a decision on behalf of others. Traditionally, Western cultural values have not included the pursuit of eroticism for its own sake; thus, any individual whose public identity was based upon a sexual commitment to the world was automatically defined as a deviant. Around these identities minority-interest groups arouse, publicly condemned as immoral, antisocial, and decadent. Those who were unable so to define themselves and yet wished to participate unobtrusively were forced to pursue their goals alone, feeling all the guilt associated with their ambivalent role. This situation is still true for many people; but as a result of the revolution in sexual consciousness that has been gathering momentum in recent years, there has been a breakdown in conventional sexual taboos—particularly among young people, who no longer require the traditional outlets for sexual fantasy.

It has been convincingly argued that these outlets were indirectly responsible for the maintenance of a monogamous family structure. Recent trends in the production of erotica suggest that this no longer holds, in that an increasing number of young people are seriously committed to a social renaissance of erotic behavior as a life style. If it is true that the choice of available life styles is dictated largely by the media then, as regards appropriate sexual behavior, there are two possible alternatives which in the final analysis are by no means dissimilar. For it can be argued that erotic literature and films are merely "acting out" the promises implied in the standard billboard or television commercial advertisement. The objection to erotica then becomes essentially ideological, in that gratification is neither earned nor deferred. It seems, therefore, that the erotic marketplace is but one part of the continuous conflict of values that is the definitive feature of American society.

Some Observations on Characteristics of Patrons of Adult Theaters and Bookstores

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This report is concerned with characteristics of customers of movie theaters and bookstores which offer sexually explicit materials in a number of communities in the United States. The study was undertaken in order to explore these characteristics at a time when public interest in them seems to be at an all-time high.

The proliferation of these materials may have many meanings and implications. The content of sexually explicit publications and movies presumably reflects their creators' impressions of what consumers want, and the expansion of the market suggests that it is increasingly meeting some of these needs.

THE PROBLEM

There can be many interpretations of the significance of the current rate of growth of "adult" movies and publications. In this report, the term is used in a specific and restricted sense, and is defined as material which has explicitly sexual content but does not significantly include such dimensions as style and thematic or character development or is not part of an established artist's cycle of development. Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint*, for example, which explicitly presents detailed accounts of a variety of kinds of fornication and masturbation, is not classified as adult in the context of this report, any more than would James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Similarly, Ken Russell's film, *Women In Love*, which includes scenes of fornication and two men wrestling in the nude, would not be considered

adult, as the term is applied in this report, any more than would Luis Bunuel's heavily fetishistic film *Belle de Jour.*

Sexually explicit material may or may not be perceived as being evocatively erotic, and it is possible for what is perceived as evocatively erotic not to be sexually explicit. Some students of film believe that one of the most erotic scenes in the medium's history is the discussion between a nurse and her patient, in Ingmar Bergman's *Persona,* of the nurse's sexual encounter on a beach with two men. The camera shows only the faces of the two women, one talking and the other listening, yet some people feel that this scene is evocatively erotic without being sexually explicit.

It is relatively easy to determine whether a book, magazine, or piece of short fiction should be classified as "adult," as the term is used in this report. Classifying films is more difficult because of the number of established directors and actors who have been making films with substantial amounts of explicitly sexual content. Such films may be released by prominent distributors and featured at general release theaters.

An additional dimension is provided by films which purport to be educational and/or satirical in intent but which have heavily explicit sexual emphases. *Without A Stitch,* for example, deals with a woman with sexual problems. The "gynecological psychiatrist" who treats her uses oral stimulation of the patient as part of his therapy. Many kinds of "perversion" are also shown in the course of the film. *Without A Stitch,* however, is playing at general release rather than adult theaters in several of the cities studied, and its audiences would therefore not be among those studied for this report.

Whatever conclusions may be inferred from the current interest in adult materials, it is important to identify some parameters of their audiences, and this study was undertaken in order to determine some of these characteristics.

ADULT THEATERS

Adult theaters are those theaters which present films which, according to the definition above, are explicitly sexual in content but which do not include such dimensions as style and thematic or character development or are not part of an established artist's cycle of development. Such theaters are informally identified as "pantie houses," "shooting galleries," "skin houses," sex theaters, "grind houses," sexploitation and exploitation houses, and so forth. They are usually distinct from art theaters, which play foreign films or classic or specialized and cinematically sophisticated films by American directors. Consumers are generally attracted to art theaters because they present reruns of famous or historically important films by directors or with stars whose work is important, promising, or established; the names of the actors in adult movies are seldom of importance, and the only director who has established a significant reputation in Russ Meyer. His name is sometimes used on marquees and posters and is given a star billing before the title of the film (e.g., "Russ Meyer's ——————————").

The principals may be anonymous or use pseudonyms; most films show few or no introductory credits. Many are 16-mm. rather than the conventional 35-mm. film. Many of films are silent, and others have a narrator instead of a dialogue.

Print quality is often quite poor, and delays may occur while film is spliced or reels changed.

Adult films differ from underground films, which tend to represent a very personal statement by a director who seeks to communicate an artistic, social, or political experience, often without regard to the income he may derive from the product. Makers of adult films may have a special interest in their themes but seem to be motivated primarily by money.

The fare at adult theaters is less concerned with "perversions," less explicit, and more moralistic than "stag films," which may show bestiality, coitus, cunnilingus, fellatio, anal intercourse, and other forms of sexual contact. Stag films, however, are usually show privately or to closed audiences and are not available to the general public.

Adult films are sometimes cautious about presenting full nudity, except in situations involving lesbian or homosexual encounter. Presentation of actual sexual penetration may be restricted to programs which are said to have educational or scientific significance.

During 1969 some 230 adult films were distributed, as compared to the 254 theatrical films released by the principal Hollywood distributors. Every 20th American theater is primarily devoted to adult films, although attendance at these theaters is probably less than 5% of the approximately 1,010,000,000 annual total. A number of California producers have established the Adult Film Producers Association, which has its own seal of approval.[1]

Advertising materials in front of and in the lobbies of adult theaters usually consist of glossy still photographs of scenes and performers which are behind glass, although some theaters display placards in the outer lobby. A conventional theater may become an adult theater by specializing in adult films, but some theaters have been built in the last few years specifically to present adult films.

An adult theater usually has no external identification as such. Its appearance, name, marquee, and outside advertising may resemble those of a conventional theater. The box office or some of the placards or stills, however, carry a statement of a minimum age required for entrance, or a phrase such as "Adults only."

The theaters are usually located in a business area or theater district. If there are several adult movie houses in a community, they tend to cluster in sections which may be experiencing accelerated social disorganization. In some communities, such as Los Angeles, adult theaters tend to be decentralized, but in others they are near convention hotels.

Some adult theaters, especially those with a low admission price, may show double or even triple features, and a few are open all night. Some theaters also have a live stage show in addition to a film. Advertisements in newspapers or in the theater lobby may use specialized phrases like "Frisco girls," "High color," or "Clinical," which convey specific meanings to patrons.

An adult theater may be quite explicit in its advertising. One theater chain runs, in a very respectable newspaper, an advertisement which states that ". . . The United States Supreme Court ruled 'A man in his own home has the right to view any film he chooses, even if it is obscene.' Our theaters, we believe,

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1. The figures on film production and audiences mentioned in this report are derived from industry sources.

will serve the same purpose as the privacy of your own home. We believe you have the right to see the type of films we are now showing" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1970). Other theater advertising notes that a film was " . . . forced to leave San Francisco – yet we do not feel it offends community standards . . . we are defending your right to see it."

Most adult films are shown at exclusively adult theaters. In smaller communities, a theater may present conventional films during the week and have an adult film at one or two showings, usually late on Friday or Saturday night. Other theaters may show conventional films for 3 weeks and adult features for the fourth week of every month. In such cases the adult films are clearly announced as such by a phrase such as "an adult film," and moviegoers in the community generally seem to be aware of the changes in program.

Titles of some representative adult movies being presented during the period studied are *Teenie Tulip, Street Rack, Sharlene and Her Loves, Horny Hobo, Los Angeles Stewardesses, Miniskirt Love, Boom-Boom Town, Cherry, Corporate Queen, Two Way Split, Shameless Desire, Here's Pussy, How To Do Anything With Girls, My Body Hungers, Please Love Me, Naked Angels, Pit Stop, I Wish I Were In Dixie, A Woman for All Reasons, Shameless Desire, Frenchette, To Hex With Sex,* and *The Mafia Girls.*

ADULT BOOKSTORES

Adult bookstores are stores which are exclusively or significantly devoted to the sale of photographic or print materials which are adult in the sense of the definition in the introduction. During the last few years there has been a large increase in the number of such stores commensurate with the increase in adult theaters. Although it is impossible to compare the number of adult and conventional bookstores (due to a lack of reliable information on conventional book distribution procedures), there can be little doubt that adult stores are demonstrating a more rapid growth rate than their conventional counterparts.

In addition to books, adult stores sell photographs, movies, sex tabloids, sex manuals, monographs, and magazines. These materials are usually on racks, shelves, or tables in accordance with some simple classification scheme, often based on subject matter. Nudism, group activity, homosexuality, and sadomasochism are representative categories. Some stores keep material dealing with more unusual activities in the rear.

Paperback novels sold in adult stores tend to have provocative titles, art work, and cover illustrations. Traditional literary elements are subordinate to explicit sexual descriptions. Although efforts have been made to define such novels as "medium-core" rather than "hard-core" pornography, the distinction is difficult to sustain (Gordon and Bell, 1969).

Among the novels on sale during the study period were *Tomcat, AC-DC Wife, New Meat, King Stud, Come Again, Give It To Me Hard, Nylon Party, Swap Street, Sex Life Of Cleopatra, Sailor 69, Appointment for Sex, Trick Baby, Hung Up on Sex,* and *The Orgy Game.*

Like their counterparts in adult movies, authors of adult fiction tend to use pseudonyms. Those authors who do use their own name have become well known

among fans of adult fiction (such as Alex Trocchi). A few publishers have also developed followings—the Olympia Press, for instance—but many shun publicity.

Photographers who prepare the stills and illustrate the magazines sold in adult stores, like the authors, seem to be more interested in explicitness than in aesthetic considerations. In addition to individual photographs and packets of prints, some stores sell novelty items such as playing cards with various kinds of sexual content, electric vibrators, records, and "swinger" directories.

The photographers who contribute to adult magazines, like the authors, tend to be anonymous or to use pseudonyms. Conventional sex-oriented men's magazines (such as *Playboy*) feature work by prominent writers and photographers who use their own names. The conventional magazines usually avoid showing genitalia or sexual contact.

Adult magazines, in contrast, appear to have few restrictions on content. Some of the titles of representative magazines sold during this period are *Shocker, Thigh High, Niftie, Latent Image, Sizzle, Raw Flex, Girls, Jay Bird Journal, Blackmale, Banned, Rome, Night Out, Pussy Willow, Sin and Sigh, Ecstasy, Female Impersonator, Celluloid Capers, Personal Approach, Gemini,* and *Youth in Art.*

A number of adult bookstores have an "arcade," which is a row of jukebox-like peep show machines. The typical machine runs a six- or eight-part film, each part of which usually costs 25¢. The subjects of the films include a nude woman showing her genitalia, a man and woman or two women and a man engaging in some form of sex activity, or two women engaging in sexual contact. Each segment usually runs for 1 or 2 minutes. Some people may enter the bookstore primarily to view the peep show, which some stores sell for home viewing.

In addition to stores which carry only adult materials, many communities have general bookstores which have a substantial section devoted to adult materials. Some of these stores have added a line of adult materials during the last few years.

Unlike conventional bookstores, a number of adult stores do not have names. They may simply have a sign reading "Books," "Adult books," or "Books—magazines." In the window or door or just inside the entrance, a sign may read "Adults only" or set a minimum age for entrance. The furnishings are usually less attractive than those in a conventional bookstore. Adult stores are more likely than conventional establishments to have a cashier or manager sitting on a raised platform from which he can view the entire store. Mirrors, signs, and other techniques to counter shoplifting are more frequent here than in conventional bookstores.

METHOD

Observations were made on a variety of demographic and behavioral characteristics of persons paying admission to adult film theaters and making purchases in adult bookstores in a number of communities.

For purposes of consistency with the observations on customers of movies, it was decided to record the characteristics of persons who had not merely entered but had actually made a purchase in an adult bookstore. This was determined by whether they carried a bag or package out of the store.

Persons patronizing adult movies and bookstores were observed in a number of communities selected in order to provide a range of urban settings with widely

varying characteristics. Patrons of theaters and bookstores were observed in each of the following communities:

These communities were selected because they offered a considerable range of size and geographic, cultural, ethnic, and socioeconomic characteristics. In each community there was at least one adult movie theater or bookstore.[2]

During a pilot study a checklist was developed for key characteristics which lent themselves to categorization by observation of persons entering adult theaters and bookstores.[3] These characteristics included age, ethnicity, sex, companions, socioeconomic class, appearance, costume, scrutiny of advertising material, and nervousness. Observations were made at various times of the day on different days of the week, in order to sample time and day variables.

The establishments studied were all on relatively busy streets on which there were other retail establishments and considerable foot and vehicular traffic. The observer was able to sit in a parked car or stand nearby and make appropriate observations relatively easily and unobtrusively.

Stores and theaters tended to be located near parking facilities, and, in larger cities, also near public transportation. As a result, access to these stores and theaters was relatively easy for the consumer. The anonymity represented by a heavily trafficked area could be a factor which encouraged patrons of these outlets.

The observations were made during the winter of 1969-1970. Winter is generally the slowest time of the year for attendance at movies and purchases at retail bookstores; thus the characteristics of the patrons observed may be those of a

Table 1

BOOKSTORE AND THEATER PATRONS

Community	Number of moviegoer observations	Number of bookstore patron observations
New York—midtown area	1,000	300
New York—outlying neighborhood	400	——
New York—suburban city	500	——
Los Angeles, Calif.	600	300
Chicago, Ill.	600	300
Detroit, Mich.	——	300
Atlanta, Ga.	400	300
Kansas City, Mo.	500	300
Springfield, Mass.	500	——
Amherst, Mass.	500	——
Total	5,000	1,800

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2. The theaters and bookstores were all within the midtown sections of the communities studied, with the exception of the outlying neighborhood and suburban city subareas in New York. The outlying neighborhood theaters were in Brooklyn and Queens and the suburban city was Hempstead, in Nassau County. In several larger cities a subsample of theaters showing homosexual films was included. Prices charged in the theaters studied ranged from 99¢ to $5.

3. Grateful acknowledgement is made of the valuable assistance provided by Lawrence A. Gooberman of the City University of New York in preparation of the checklist used in the study. Mr. Gooberman made many useful suggestions and conducted most of the observations of moviegoers in the New York area.

group which is highly motivated. Observations would have to be made at other times of the year and in a variety of settings in order to determine any seasonal differences in characteristics of the customers.

RESULTS

Age and ethnicity

Information on age and ethnicity is set forth in Table 1. Since many jurisdictions prohibit the attendance of persons under 18 at adult movies and bookstores, it was important to determine the extent to which such youths were actually consumers. The 19 to 27 age group represents the young adults who are presumably at their most sexually active (Kinsey 1948, p. 220). The 28 to 40 age bracket consists of adults who presumably have established their families. Middle age is represented by the 41 to 60 age group, and the group over 61 could be expected to be the least sexually active.

Ethnicity was divided into "oriental" (Japanese and Chinese), "black," "Spanish-American" (Mexican-American, Puerto Rican), and "other white."

The audience for adult movies was relatively old in comparison to that for ordinary entertainment films. The 16 to 24 age group accounted for almost half of admissions to conventional movie theaters (Yankelovich, 1968). It is possible that over 60% of admissions to such theaters are of persons under 30. The only theater where the majority of customers at adult movies were under 27 was in a college town (Amherst). This theater's program changed every week, and an adult film was shown approximately every third or fourth week. The community has three other conventional theaters, so the high proportion of young people in the sample was not due to a lack of other options.

When the mean for all theaters is taken, a substantial majority (69%) of the customers fall in the 28- to 60-year-old range. Theaters located in or near an area with a large population of retired or unemployed persons tended to have more persons in the over-61 group. One theater which charged $2 admission had a special 75¢ rate for "golden agers." In general, older patrons tended to visit movies on weekdays rather than weekends.

Some of the theaters featured homosexual films primarily or exclusively. Their titles and newspaper and display advertising ("the homosexual classic . . . all male") made the homosexual theme quite clear. The age distribution of persons attending those films did not differ significantly from customers at heterosexual films.

Bookstore customers tended to be younger than moviegoers. (There were more people in the 19 to 27 and 28 to 40 age group and fewer persons in the 41 to 60 and over-61 age brackets.)

Every adult bookstore had a sign or placard which cautioned, "Be 21 or begone," "Adults welcome," "Persons over 18 welcome," or a similar phrase. Because there was no cashier selling tickets, it was more difficult to determine whether age was checked as systematically as it was in movie theaters. At half the stores at least one person was asked to produce proof of age, and .5% of those who attempted to enter were refused admittance because of age.

Table 2

AGE AND ETHNICITY OF PATRONS, BY LOCATION

	Age Group					Ethnicity			
	-18	19-27	28-40	41-60	61+	Oriental	Black	Spanish-American	Other white
THEATER LOCATION									
New York – midtown	–	19%	34%	38%	9%	6%	12%	10%	72%
New York – neighborhood	1	19	26	43	11	3	12	16	69
New York – suburb	–	14	44	38	4	1	6	4	89
Los Angeles, Calif.	–	15	30	40	15	5	11	7	77
Chicago, Ill.	–	17	29	42	12	1	19	–	80
Atlanta, Ga.	–	23	37	36	4	–	24	–	76
Kansas City, Mo.	–	17	26	47	10	–	12	–	88
Springfield, Mass.	–	14	28	47	11	–	10	2	88
Amherst, Mass.	–	64	15	21	–	1	9	–	91
Mean of theaters	–	23	30	39	8	2	13	4	81
BOOKSTORE LOCATION									
New York – midtown	–	41	32	28	1	2	13	8	77
Los Angeles, Calif.	–	33	35	30	2	2	12	8	78
Chicago, Ill.	–	35	45	19	1	–	10	1	89
Detroit Mich.	–	38	42	19	1	–	21	–	79
Atlanta, Ga.	–	34	43	23	–	–	22	–	78
Kansas City, Mo.	–	32	39	28	1	–	11	–	89
Mean of bookstores	–	36	39	24	1	1	15	2	81

Note. – All figures are in percentages which may not total 100 because figures have been rounded off to the nearest digit.

All of the theaters had a sign reading "Adults only," "Persons over 18 only," "Persons Over 21 only," or a similar statement. In addition, some had a sign reading "You must have positive proof of age," or "Birth certificate not acceptable as proof of age," or similar legends which meant that the document presented as proof of age had to contain a photograph or description of the bearer. Because the theater ticket or admission had to be purchased before the customer entered, there was a clear opportunity for the cashier to check the age of a potential customer.

The cashier appeared to be asking 5.5% of those entering movie theaters questions related to proof of age. This includes one theater where for two days every single patron was required to document his age regardless of his apparent age. One man who appeared to be about 55 was not admitted to this theater because he could not confirm his age.

Of the total number of persons seeking to buy tickets, .75% were unable to do so because they could not demonstrate acceptable proof of age.

In the same community a movie theater may set a minimum age for admission and a bookstore may require a different one. If there is such a difference, the age cited by the bookstore is usually higher. In New York, for example, where the law provides that adult material may be purchased by persons over 17 years of age, many theaters require their patrons to be 18, but nearby bookstores specify 21 as the minimum age for entrance.

It is also possible that two bookstores or movie theaters in the same community may have different minimum age requirements. One New York theater has a posted minimum age of 18; the very next theater on the same block requires that a patron be 21 years of age.

Ethnicity does appear to be related to attendance at homosexual films. In those communities with at least one theater featuring homosexual films, the audiences at such films were predominantly white. Overall, less than 4% of the attendance at homosexual films, consisted of black, oriental, or Spanish-American patrons. Similar observations could not be made at bookstores, which tend to offer varied fare and are relatively unlikely to stress homosexuality.

A number of adult theaters are located in transitional sections of the community either near a run-down business district on a street with several bars or in a business district which is between a marginal non-white residential area and a white middle-class residential section. Such a situation (as in the New York–neighborhood and Kansas City locales) is almost equally accessible to white and black patrons from the immediate area. Whites, however, are heavily overrepresented in the audiences of such theaters.

Another tendency is for the black and Spanish-American patrons of both films and bookstores to be younger than their white counterparts. Approximately half the black and Spanish-American patrons were in the 19 to 27 age category, although this age group accounted for only a small proportion of the white patrons. Younger blacks and Spanish-Americans also tended to be overrepresented among bookstore customers in the 19 to 27 age range.

Orientals, blacks, and Spanish-Americans tended to spread their attendance at adult movies and bookstores throughout the days of the week and times of day to a greater extent than did whites, who tended to concentrate attendance during and just after working hours and who were underrepresented on weekends. For

the minority group patrons, use of these facilities seems to be distributed over working hours as well as leisure time.

SEX AND GROUPINGS OF PATRONS

The gender of the patrons at theaters and bookstores was observed, and, in addition, an effort was made to assess the seeming heterosexuality of each person, primarily in terms of nonpossession of overt characteristics of homosexuality. Although gender observations may be fairly reliable, speculations on the presence or absence of homosexual traits are clearly very chancy and should be regarded as such.

In addition, a count was made of whether each person came alone, as a member of a male-female couple, as a member of a group consisting of two or more males, or as a member of a group of two or more male-female couples. A summary of this material is set forth in Table 3.

Attendance at adult movies is overwhelmingly a male activity. When a woman attends, she does so as part of a single couple or, far less likely, as a member of a group of male-female couples. The only observed group of three women entered a theater and left in about 10 minutes looking irritated. From their remarks it was clear that they had erroneously assumed they were going to a conventional movie. Only a few women in the total sample entered by themselves and stayed for the film.

Table 3

SEX AND GROUPINGS OF PATRONS, BY LOCATION

	Sex		Grouping				
	Male	Female	1M	1F	1M 1F	2 + M	2 + MF Couples
THEATER LOCATION							
New York – midtown	99%	1%	91%	–	2%	7%	–
New York – neighborhood	99	1	84	–	2	14	–
New York – suburb	95	5	88	–	6	3	3
Los Angeles, Calif.	98	2	96	–	2	2	1
Chicago, Ill.	99	1	96	–	1	2	1
Atlanta, Ga.	99	1	95	–	2	3	–
Kansas City, Mo.	99	1	94	–	2	4	–
Springfield, Mass.	97	3	79	–	5	16	–
Amherst, Mass.	87	13	70	–	25	4	1
Mean of theaters	97	3	88	–	5	6	1
BOOKSTORE LOCATION							
New York – midtown	100	–	98	–	–	2	–
Los Angeles, Calif.	99	1	96	–	–	4	–
Chicago, Ill.	98	2	95	–	–	5	–
Detroit, Mich.	99	1	97	–	–	3	–
Atlanta, Ga.	99	1	94	–	–	6	–
Kansas City, Mo.	98	2	96	–	–	4	–
Mean of bookstores	99	1	96	–	–	4	–

Male-female couples tended to go to the less expensive movies. White patrons were most likely to be found among customers of a college town theater (Amherst) in the 19 to 27 age group, patrons of a suburban theater (New York–suburb) in the 28 to 40 age bracket, and moviegoers in a moderately sized industrial city (Springfield) in the 28 to 60 age categories.

Groups of two or more male-female couples were significant components of the audience (3%) only on weekends in the suburban community. Several seemed to be somewhat defensive about their moviegoing. It is possible that the size of the group provided a dimension of support for an activity which was regarded with ambivalence. One group of three couples at the suburban theater did not know where to enter, and a male member of the group said, "It's to the right." One of the women accusingly replied, "Oh, you've been here before," and the man looked quite flustered. Other groups conveyed the feeling of being on a lark.

An average of 2% of the patrons of adult theaters in large cities consisted of male-female couples, three-fourths of whom were oriental, black or Spanish-American. Only three male-female couples visited theaters showing homosexual films. The all-male group viewers attracted by such films (5% of the total number of viewers at homosexual theaters) were white.

Group attendance on the part of two or more men tended to be favored by blacks or Spanish-Americans primarily in the 19 to 27 age group. Group viewing of all kinds was more likely to occur weekends and evenings. Probably the most significant aspect of group attendance at adult movies was its infrequency. More than four-fifths (88%) of the audience was comprised of single males, whereas 94% of audiences at conventional theaters consists of groups. Spot-checks were made at conventional theaters in the communities studied and most of the group attendance consisted of male-female combinations.

More than 99% of the customers at the movies appeared, on the basis of visible cues, to be heterosexual. This was true even at those theaters which featured homosexual films. This finding may reflect inadequacies in the observation procedures, the "peacock revolution" in men's fashions, or other factors (Winick, 1969). It is also possible that the increasingly strong homosexual element in some recent Hollywood films (*Easy Rider, Midnight Cowboy, The Boys in the Band*) is making specialized films less attractive to homosexuals.

Bookstore patrons appeared to be as overwhelmingly heterosexual as adult moviegoers. Very few women entered or made purchases in adult bookstores, and those who did tended to leave the store more quickly than did males. Some observers suggested the possibility that customers buy materials for women, or for joint male-female perusal.

The representative bookstore customer is a man shopping alone. From 2 to 5% of the patrons come in groups of two or more. Non-whites are particularly likely to enter in groups.

CLASS AND APPEARANCE OF PATRONS

An effort was made to estimate the socioeconomic status of customers of adult movies and bookstores and to classify their costume and appearance.

Costume was divided into four cagetories: business attire (white-collar), work clothes (blue-collar), casual (informal or sports attire), and military. Observers

were alert to accessories such as briefcases, lunch boxes, work shoes, and work-calloused hands as cues for costume. Costume is closely related to the classification of socioeconomic status. The status division (lower, middle, upper middle) was attempted very tentatively on the basis of a combination of cues, including reading and other material carried, gait, grooming, and accessories such as hats, umbrellas, scarves, and gloves. This inspection approach to socioeconomic status is not at all the traditional sociological measuring and weighing of a number of carefully selected factors (Warner, 1949). The approach, however presumptuous, was attempted only because of the importance of the variable.

Few problems were posed by the tripartite division of appearance into "conventional," "hippie," or "impaired." The term "hippie" was used not to connote a life style but to describe a generalized appearance. A person was classified as a "hippie" if he had an appropriate combination of long hair, face hair, boots, campaign hat, beads, headband, American Indian or military jacket, and similar clothing or accessory items. The impaired category was for people who were deformed, handicapped, disabled, or obese.

There was clearly a very substantial overlap among the variables of class, costume, and appearance, but there was an attempt to separate them. Table 4 summarizes the data.

Theaters located in metropolitan business areas tended to attract patrons who work in or pass by the area—businessmen, salesmen, out-of-town conventioners, white-collar workers, and members of similar groups which could be labeled as "middle-class." A theater in a neighborhood where there is a large number of lower-class residents draws its clientele primarily from that population.

The typical moviegoer in a big city is middle class. Upper middle-class persons were heavily represented in the suburban theater studied, probably reflecting the substantial upper middle-class population of the area. In metropolitan theaters showing homosexual films, upper middle-class patrons accounted for 41% of the admissions. The price of admission to homosexual films is 60% to 100% more than to heterosexual features, so there may be a self-selection of customers who can afford the higher prices. Why homosexual films should charge a higher admission is not clear.

Very few upper middle-class patrons were observed attending a New York neighborhood theater; most of this theater's patrons were drawn from a decaying lower-class residential area. There were also very few upper middle-class patrons at the theater in the college community perhaps because the students, who represented the largest single group in the audience, were members of a subculture that blurs hierarchical class distinctions.

In a community where admission prices to adult theaters vary, lower-class patrons tended to visit theaters which charge less. Middle-class and upper middle-class customers patronized the higher priced theaters. The theaters differ only in that the more expensive establishments are likely to have first-run films. The difference in time between a first and second run is about 2 months, and about 4 months may elapse between a first and third run. A second- or third-run film may cost as little as 40% to 50% of the first-run admission.

The closer a theater is to the central business district of a city, the more likely customers are to wear business clothes. Smaller communities and those with a tradition of relaxed living tend to have patrons in casual costumes. Work clothes

Table 4

CLASS AND APPEARANCE OF PATRONS, BY LOCATION

	Class			Appearance			Costume			
	Lower	Middle	Upper Middle	Conventional	Hippie	Impaired	Business	Casual	Work	Military
THEATER LOCATION										
New York – midtown	25%	69%	6%	98%	1%	1%	57%	33%	11%	–
New York – neighborhood	62	38	–	98	1	1	21	57	22	–
New York – suburb	12	40	48	99	1	–	46	48	6	–
Los Angeles, Calif.	31	64	5	97	3	–	31	67	2	–
Chicago, Ill.	27	54	19	97	3	–	61	29	9	1
Atlanta, Ga.	23	49	18	92	8	–	58	38	4	–
Kansas City, Mo.	19	69	12	93	4	–	37	53	10	–
Springfield, Mass.	31	61	8	94	6	–	15	62	21	2
Amherst, Mass.	34	66	–	82	18	–	10	84	5	1
Mean of theaters	29	57	14	95	5	–	39	50	10	–
BOOKSTORE LOCATION										
New York – midtown	59	38	2	95	2	3	17	43	39	1
Los Angeles, Calif.	44	44	12	97	3	1	34	36	29	1
Chicago, Ill.	39	37	14	99	1	–	39	38	23	–
Detroit, Mich.	38	49	13	97	2	–	30	39	30	1
Atlanta, Ga.	35	64	1	94	6	–	14	48	38	–
Kansas City, Mo.	41	52	7	98	2	–	22	41	37	–
Mean of bookstores	44	47	8	96	3	1	26	41	33	–

are often worn by audiences in theaters servicing poorer districts, probably because their audiences live in the immediate area. Customers in business and work clothes usually attend the movie during a break in the work day or at its end.

Some theaters only open in the late afternoon, while others are open all day. They may charge the same price all day, especially if the picture is a first-run feature. If there is a price differential by time of day, the price is likely to increase as the day progresses. At one theater which escalates prices more rapidly than most the morning price is $1. It becomes $1.25 between 11 and 12, $1.50 from 12 to 1, $2 from 1 to 2, and $2.50 after 2 p.m.

Weekend moviegoers were more likely to wear casual clothes than those attending on weekdays. Casual clothes were more likely to be worn by black and Spanish-American patrons than other whites. They were also more frequently found among younger rather than middle-aged or older fans. Persons in military costume represented less than 1% of the total sample. It is possible that some military personnel who were out of uniform may have been counted as civilians.

The appearance of all but a small proportion of the moviegoers was conventional. Hippie attendance was relatively infrequent, except in communities where there appeared to be a substantial population of college students. Those relatively few impaired patrons tended to be in the older age groups. Lameness seemed to be the most commom impairment.

Customers of adult bookstores were not appreciably different from moviegoers in terms of appearance, although they wore work clothes more frequently. Moviegoers were more likely to be in casual costume than bookstore patrons.

BEHAVIOR OF PATRONS

A notation was made if a patron who entered either kind of establishment appeared to study bookstore windows or the advertising matter outside movies. It was also possible to identify some patterns of conflict about entering the place. The findings with respect to these variables are presented in Table 5.

A person "scrutinized" the material outside a theater if he spent more than 10 seconds looking at it. In the pilot study there was a fairly bimodal distribution of time devoted to display scrutiny and 10 seconds appeared to be a reasonable cutoff point. This time period allows a potential moviegoer to orient himself and check the time of the next showing. If he spent more than 10 seconds looking at the materials outside the theater, he was classed as a scrutinizer.

There is no consistent relationship between the volume of persons attracted by the advertising material outside the theater and the proportion who buy tickets. The theaters with the largest number of paying customers probably have comparatively few patrons who study the display photographs. Most customers of the busiest theaters appear to have made the purchase decision before approaching the theater.

There are less successful theaters which attract many people who loiter or linger in front, look at the material outside, and then do not buy a ticket. Military personnel were overrepresented among scrutinizers who did not buy tickets (of the persons in military attire who scrutinized the material outside, less than one-fifteenth bought tickets).

Table 5

BEHAVIOR OF PATRONS, BY LOCATION

	Scrutinize Outside Display		Demeanor	
THEATER LOCATION	Yes	No	Normal	Conflicted
New York – midtown	17	83	80	20
New York – neighborhood	15	85	86	14
New York – suburb	2	98	76	24
Los Angeles, Calif.	19	81	82	18
Chicago, Ill.	23	77	77	23
Atlanta, Ga.	13	87	84	16
Kansas City, Mo.	9	91	81	19
Springfield, Mass	19	81	92	8
Amherst, Mass.	26	84	88	12
Mean of theaters	16	85	83	17
BOOKSTORE LOCATION				
New York – midtown	40	60	95	5
Los Angeles, Calif.	29	71	95	5
Chicago, Ill.	24	76	96	4
Detroit, Mich.	32	68	97	3
Atlanta, Ga.	27	73	98	2
Kansas City, Mo.	11	89	93	7
Mean of bookstores	27	73	96	4

An average of slightly more than one-sixth of the persons purchasing tickets scrutinized outside display materials. In order to determine how this compared with patrons of ordinary movies, spot-checks were conducted at several theaters showing conventional films. About one-third of the patrons at conventional theaters studied display materials for more than 10 seconds.

Although conventional theaters do much more advertising in daily newspapers, they are much more likely than adult theaters to draw patrons in groups, for one person might encourage his companion to attend a particular film and partially rely on the display material for this purpose. Patrons at conventional theaters were also more likely than adult moviegoers to be waiting outside the theater for a companion or date to arrive and to have time to study these displays.

Whether or not a patron stopped to look at a display appeared to be related to the extent to which the decision to attend the theater had been made before arriving there. The smallest proportion of scrutinizers was found in a New York suburb, where most customers would have presumably selected their destination before leaving home. The largest proportion of scrutinizers was in a college town which had considerable group attendance and where the decision to attend the theater seemed rather spontaneous. Downtown theaters probably attracted some scrutinizers who had come to the area and then selected a theater.

In general, theaters which charged less admission tended to have more substantial and conspicuous displays and to attract many persons who did not buy tickets. The more expensive theaters had the least conspicuous displays and a relatively small proportion of scrutinizers. It is probable that the expensive first-run theaters have more regular customers than other establishments.

Very few youths under the admission age were observed studying the outside display materials. It appears unlikely that the theater displays were attracting young people who are not already aware of the existence of adult movies.

Theaters featuring homosexual films appeared to attract a high proportion of scrutinizers in comparison with actual customers. Pedestrians who stopped and studied the advertising material may have been curious about homosexuality or have had a more personal involvement with the subject. It is possible that photographs of homosexuality can attract many persons, but only a small proportion of them will pay to see a film on the subject.

Bookstores do not have displays outside on the street, but most have windows in which representative materials are placed to attract the passerby and convey some notion of what is within. It was impossible to estimate whether purchasers of bookstore materials scrutinized window materials, because of the problem involved in keeping such records. Therefore, the base used in Table 5 for bookstore patrons was the number of persons entering the store rather than the number emerging with a package.

Significantly more bookstore patrons than moviegoers were likely to pause and study the outside display for more than 10 seconds before entering the establishment. Buying reading material is probably more of an impulse activity than attending a movie, which requires more time, and those entering a bookstore were probably responding to display material more spontaneously than were moviegoers.

The wide range in the number of persons who scrutinize window displays in bookstores may reflect factors such as the volume of traffic on a street, a store's established reputation as a center for adult material, the community's climate of opinion, and similar considerations.

Spot-checks were conducted outside a sample of conventional bookstores in the communities studied in order to determine what proportion of their patrons spent more than 10 seconds looking at the window. A range of 5% to 37% was found, with a mean of 22%. Using this dimension of scrutinization customers of adult and conventional bookstores seemed to be within a comparable range.

During the pilot phase of the study a pattern of conflicted behavior was noticed among a number of movie customers. Systematic observations were made on the manner in which the patron handled the purchase of an admission. Normally the patron approached the box office and bought a ticket without uneasiness or special precautions or concern. Spot-checks at conventional theaters suggested that most customers follow this normal pattern.

Approximately one-seventh of the movie patrons manifested conflicted behavior, which could be categorized into two basic types: "anxious" and "rapid." The anxious demeanor conveys uneasiness about the prospect of being observed while entering the theater. This uneasiness could also reflect inhibitions or ambivalence over the decision to buy a ticket. Some anxious patrons uneasily dawdled near the theater, looked around nervously, and then bought a ticket. Others looked to either side out of the corner of their eyes, and some lowered their heads. Some gave the impression, by looking at newspapers or watches in an exaggerated casual way, that they were just killing time or waiting to meet someone. There were customers who walked past a theater, stopped, appeared to reconsider, and then returned to the box office. Many anxious moviegoers kept

their heads down when paying for an admission and minimized eye contact with the cashier.

The rapid behavior pattern consisted of approaching and entering a theater at an extremely fast pace. It was probably intended to minimize the likelihood of recognition by others. The customer making a rapid approach began walking quickly some distance from the theater, often as much as 100 feet away. He often turned sharply at a 90-degree angle, directly opposite the cashier. This pattern of purchasing tickets often involved possession of the exact price of admission in order to avoid waiting for change. It also minimized scrutiny of the advertising material outside the theater, except in cases where the person studied the material, left, and then came back to the theater and made a rapid entrance.

Approximately 60% of the conflicted patrons behaved in an anxious way and the other 40% manifested the rapid pattern. In general, the rapid approach was more likely to be found in the larger midtown areas. The anxious procedure tended to characterize smaller communities.

Theaters showing homosexual films were patronized by clients who reflected the highest proportion of conflicted behavior (32%). This is presumably a function of the ambivalence with which homosexuality is still regarded by many elements in our society.

Although the suburban theater studied had the highest incidence of conflicted behavior, this was probably because attendance at adult movies was regarded there with more ambivalence than was the case in larger communities where such theaters were more commonplace.

The range in the incidence of conflicted behavior found in the various communities suggests that patrons' perception of the degree of public acceptance of their moviegoing varies in different areas. Over 80% of the patrons with a rapid or anxious demeanor were middle-class or upper middle-class whites. Minority-group and lower-class patrons displayed relatively little conflicted behavior, perhaps reflecting differences in cultural norms. Almost every anxious and rapid client was by himself and not a member of a group.

Some theaters appeared to be aware of the conflicted nature of a number of patrons, judging from their box office layouts. In some theaters the box office is inside the lobby and not immediately visible from the street. In other theaters part of the box office is on the sidewalk and the rest is in the lobby thereby enabling the customer to enter the lobby to purchase a ticket.

A smaller proportion of bookstore patrons than moviegoers reflected conflicted behavior. This may be true because the moviegoer has committed himself by purchasing a ticket; the bookstore patron has not necessarily decided to buy anything. However, a number of patrons displayed uneasiness and conflict inside a bookstore. Such actual or potential consumers may look down, seem jumpy, or otherwise convey uneasiness.

Customers inside a bookstore tended to be quiet and to avoid contact with one another. The patron of an adult bookstore has a more visible presence than does the moviegoer. In most adult theaters, however, the customers tend to sit further apart than do moviegoers at conventional theaters. Presumably in deference to their patron's interest in anonymity, some more expensive adult theaters keep the lights dim for a few minutes after the program ends, so that it is possible to get outside before the lights go on.

DISCUSSION

The 28- to 60-year-old male appears to be the dominant patron of adult movies and bookstores. Bookstore customers tend to be younger and of a lower socio-economic class than moviegoers, perhaps reflecting such factors as the lower cost of bookstore materials, their greater relevance to some form of sexual rather than fantasy outlet, differences in aesthetic modalities, differences in response to words and pictorial images, a book's ability to be passed along to other people or to "turn on" a sexual partner, the greater sexual explicitness of bookstore materials in comparison with movies, and older customers' embarrassment about being seen in a bookstore.

The bookstores and movie theaters in this study all had some warnings about a minimum age for admission. Although movie theaters seemed to be more diligent in checking age, the presence of a box office provided a natural opportunity to do so. Bookstores tended to set a higher age for admission than did movie theaters.

One issue which could focus attention on admission practices of adult movies and bookstores is the fairly common practice of setting minimum ages higher than that required by a State's obscenity statute relating to children. Proprietors of these establishments appeared to justify the practice by saying that it permits them to remain within the law even if they have inaccurately estimated a young customer's age. Another reason is that establishment of age limits higher than the legal requirements could minimize community and religious opposition to the establishment.

Although there is a long tradition of confirming a person's right to disseminate information, there is a growing interest in the correlative right to receive information. In a landmark case the Supreme Court provided a strong rationale for the unfettered right to receive information (*Lamont* v. *Postmaster General,* 1965). It is possible that a young person who is above the minimum age specified by a State statute but below the age required by an adult movie or bookstore could challenge the discrepancy and question the role of a businessman to perform this kind of social control function. The Supreme Court ruling dealt with the power of a government agency (the Post Office), but the same principle would probably be relevant to a private business which serves the general public.

The likelihood of some court examination of the legality of current procedures for rating films, and differing minimum ages at which the "X" rating applies, could focus attention on the theater or bookstore's right to impose a higher age for admission than is set by law. It could also focus attention on the issue of the bookstore's tendency to specify a higher minimum age than do movie theaters, and the reasons for such a discrepancy.

A relatively small number of patrons were observed entering both a movie theater and a bookstore in the same community. Such customers tended to be in the younger age groups, when there may be a more generalized interest in sexually explicit materials than in later years. The older customer may have settled on one or another format for sexually explicit content and become a more or less exclusive fan of it. Preferences at different ages may reflect factors such as the person's type and frequency of sexual outlet, life style, leisure activity, marital status, family situation, other mass media activity, need for closure, and the like.

In this study, each patron was given equal weight. However, in any study of consumers of a product, it is important to assign different weights and meanings

to subgroups. A purchaser of sexually explicit materials may be doing so for the first time, or he may be a "regular" who goes to every movie or stops at the bookstore each Friday lunch hour, someone who used to be a heavy user but is now only an occasional user of these materials, a heavy user who used to be an infrequent customer, an opinion leader who likes going to a movie on opening day and discussing it with others, a person who enjoys such materials alone and furtively, someone who has or has not learned of these materials from peers, or someone with other characteristics which lend themselves to exploration. If a typology of users of these materials is hypothesized and confirmed, it can help to make generalizations about their functions and consumers more meaningful than the unidimensional, "either-or" kind of statement which is often made.

The behavior and appearance of most patrons seemed to be fairly conventional. Adult bookstores and movie theaters often had an even more muted quality than traditional establishments, perhaps because they are run with the awareness that some law enforcement activity is possible and efforts are made to minimize occasions for police intervention. Another reason might be that patrons do not wish to call undue attention to themselves. No male customer was observed leaving an adult establishment with his fly open, although the wearing of winter clothing may have made such a circumstance less likely to be perceived than at other times of the year.

Advertising and promotional activities of adult bookstores and movies tend to be conventional. A few stores may advertise in sex tabloids, and theaters run advertisements in various publications. Many customers seem to be attracted by the traditional external signs and marquees. Others have previously made the decision to enter the store or theater. The decision to enter a bookstore could be reinforced for some patrons by the obviously temporary nature of the establishment. It may lack a name, have makeshift fixtures, wrap materials in a plain paper bag, and otherwise convey the impression of being ready to close on short notice.

For a minority of customers, especially those who are from the white middle class, adult bookstores and movies pose conflicts. These patrons are attracted by the establishments but are sufficiently uneasy as to manifest nervousness. If adult materials become more generally accepted, the incidence of visible discomfort among patrons should decline.

Another development which could ease anxiety, at least among moviegoers, is a possible increase in group viewing. When people see a movie together, it is likely to become an acceptable subject for discussion. The ability of adult movies to attract an audience, including a number of dating or married couples, in suburban and college communities where the population is largely white middle class suggests that some elements in the society which have been uneasy about sexually explicit materials could be modifying their attitudes. At the moment, group attendance at movies or in bookstores is not important in terms of numbers. The typical patron is clearly a solo male who seems typical of his community or area and does not appear deviant or marked by stigmata.

The general public seems to be very curious about homosexuality, at least in terms of looking at promotional material outside theaters, but the paying public for homosexual films seems to be relatively small as compared to the size of the audience for heterosexual films. The theme of homosexuality appears to be of minimal interest to minority-group patrons. It is interesting to note that the

audience for adult homosexual films is very similar to the audience for adult heterosexual movies in the same community.

Most groups in the population seem to be represented in the audiences for adult materials. The movies and publications find audiences in many different settings. It is possible that these materials have different meanings for the subgroups in their audiences or for the same person at different times. The same material could serve as a spur to coitus, a stimulus to masturbation, an object for sublimation, or an occasion for fantasy for one person on different occasions. Obviously the same material could have differing meanings for a wealthy 21-year-old man and a poor 65-year-old man.

The opening and evident success of so many adult bookstores and movies in recent years could lead to an increase in the number of publishers and movie producers servicing these markets. Such an increase may bring about more competition and lowering of prices for these materials on the retail level. A price decline might lead to changes not only in the size but perhaps also in the composition of audiences for adult materials. Such considerations, along with the rapid changes in attitudes, values, and sex roles, would suggest the desirability of reassessing the parameters of the audience for adult materials in the next few years.

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A Study of Consumers of Explicitly Sexual Materials

Some Functions Served by Adult Movies

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This report presents interviews with consumers of explicitly sexual materials. A previous report (Winick, 1971) defined such content in terms of movies, photographs, books, magazines, and peep shows and set forth some characteristics of audiences in a number of urban areas throughout the United States. This report identifies some of the functions which appear to be served by these materials as determined by intensive personal interviews with persons who had just seen an explicitly sexual movie. In this report, such movies are referred to as "adult" movies.

THE PROBLEM

Most studies of consumers of adult materials have used "captive" subjects (often students) who were shown various erotic stimuli and then asked to respond to or rate or rank them. Such studies have the inherent weakness of an artificial situation in that there is no way of knowing whether the persons interviewed would actually be interested enough in the stimulus materials to pay for them. Interviewing self-selected audiences of persons who had actually paid to see a movie is a more realistic approach to clarifying what these materials mean to their consumers. There is no substitute for the perceptions and reactions of consumers who, in the realities and possible embarrassment of a marketplace situation, have selected a particular product and manifested sufficient motivation to pay for it.

Policy toward use of adult sexual movies, photographs, and print materials depends on full understanding of the functions they serve and the circumstances under which they meet various needs in a real life situation. Exploration of such needs and functions must consider the possibly great divergence between results obtained in an artificial laboratory situation and what occurs in a natural setting (Hovland, 1959). Although there are substantial methodological problems involved in any attempt to examine the reactions of self selected audiences for commercial films and related media, the problems are soluble (Winick, 1963).

Interviewing consumers of adult materials—or of any situation involving payment for some form of symbolic or actual sexual gratification—has many inherent difficulties (Winick, 1962a). Such an interview is potentially threatening to the interviewee. Yet progress in the study of deviant behavior can occur only if we face some of the hard questions which have been asked about the sources of our data on deviant population (Polsky, 1967).

METHOD

This pilot study was undertaken in order to explore some of the determinants of consumer behavior with respect to adult movies. In order to open up the subject for future studies, every effort was made to tap a wide range of kinds of consumers and areas.

A total of 100 interviews with patrons of heterosexual adult movies was conducted. Of these, 45 were in New York, 15 in Chicago, 20 in Atlanta, 10 in Kansas City, and 10 in Los Angeles. A quota sample was taken which roughly followed the characteristics of audiences for sexually explicit movies as these had been defined in a previous study (Winick, 1971). The characteristics of the sample interviewed for the current study are set forth in Table 1.

Ideally, interviews also would have been conducted with patrons of adult bookstores. A number of efforts were made to interview persons who had made a bookstore purchase. The refusal rate was so high that there was a question about how representative the interviewees might be of the total universe of bookstore customers. The bookstore interviews were not pursued.

For this report, interviews were conducted with men who had just seen an adult movie. The interviewer left the theater at the end of a movie and struck up a conversation with a potential interviewee. If the latter appeared at all responsive, the interviewer suggested having coffee or other refreshments at a nearby shop.

A total of 270 were approached in order to get 100 interviews. It is certainly possible that the persons who participated in the interviews were atypical in some ways, but only large-scale sample studies can determine whether this is so. The interviewer would maintain a general conversation, but its major emphasis was on the interviewee's response to and perception of the movie which he had just seen. The conversation also touched on other adult movies, books, and leisure or recreational or media preferences, how the consumer had heard about the movie, and similar information. The interviews averaged about one hour in length.

The interviewer could provide appropriate "probes." The interviewer did not identify himself as such, nor did he refer to a guide or schedule or take notes during the contact. At the conclusion of the discussion, after leaving the interviewee, the interviewer made notes on what had been said. A content analysis

Table 1

PERSONS INTERVIEWED IN TERMS OF THEIR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (N = 100)

AGE	*Number*
19-27	29
28-40	35
41-60	36
61+	—
ETHNICITY	
Oriental	—
Black	—
Spanish American	7
Other White	93
CLASS	
Lower	25
Middle	65
Upper Middle	10
COSTUME	
Business	31
Casual	61
Work	8
APPEARANCE	
Conventional	92
Hippie	8
Impaired	—

was then conducted in terms of themes. A related technique had previously been employed in a study of another emotionally freighted subject: how prostitutes' clients perceived the prostitutes and themselves (Winick, 1962b).

This technique was employed because it had the advantages of the "stranger on a train" approach, in which the respondent feels free to discuss personally involving material with someone whom he does not expect to see again. Its nonclinical, noninstitutional quality would appear to maximize self-expression without suggesting any specific emphases or the production of specific kinds of responses in order to please the interviewer (Winick & Holt, 1962).

The technique might be called a "discussion interview." It has the merit of encouraging the respondent to concentrate on a specific experience he has undergone in the immediate past, in the manner of the focused interview (Merton, Fiske, & Kendall, 1956). It avoids the hazard of making the respondent an "expert" who discusses adult movies or books in general.

It is unlikely that the relatively small number of interviews conducted in the current study have opened up all the dimensions of consumers' responses to and perceptions of adult materials. This should be regarded as a pilot effort, to be followed by more substantial surveys. Future studies might also include interviews with patrons of homosexual movies, women, orientals, blacks, and men over 61. Representatives of these groups are not included in the present study because of difficulties in getting such subjects to agree to be interviewed.

RESULTS

Patterns of use

What were the patterns of attendance at adult movies of the persons interviewed? There were "heavy users" (15), defined as persons who attended such movies once a week or more. There were "regular users" (37), defined as persons who went less than once a week but more often than once every two months. Other viewers (23) were classified as "occasional" if they attended in some pattern but less frequently than every two months, and "spontaneous" (18) if they saw the movies on no systematic basis. No information could be obtained on the frequency of attendance of seven of the persons interviewed.

There was a tendency for the more frequent customers to be older than the occasional or spontaneous ones. Heavily overrepresented among the spontaneous customers were salesmen. One salesman observed that "I dropped into the show because I had a slow afternoon, with a couple of hours to kill. I was walking by and it sounded interesting."

Heavy and regular customers are usually aware of a film's recency and how far into its run it has gone. The first day of the run attracts men who want to be the first to know of a film and those who believe that the first day will include "strong" scenes which may be cut from later showings. There is a somewhat similar group which goes on the second day: "I always go on the second day the movie is showing. I like to go soon after it starts but it's too crowded on the first day."

Occasional and spontaneous customers did not appear to care at what point in a film's run they saw it. They also exhibited less interest in the specific film and tended to attend theaters which presented double and triple features.

Most of the heavy and regular users had been attending adult films for more than five years. Some had been burlesque fans and others had seen burlesque films. More than a third of the interviewees appeared to have begun attending adult movies within the last three years, which seem to have been a period of rapid audience growth. A few fans were able to identify some films in general release which had helped to spur their interest in adult material. One viewer recalled, "About a year ago, I saw *Inge*. The movie was dull, and there weren't many naked girls, but it made me think about what other movies could show . . . "

How do fans decide which movie they will see? Heavy and regular fans tend to know the day of the week when programs change. They tend to decide to attend a particular theater rather than a specific film. One fan noted, "I used to be a horse player. When I was playing horses, I would follow the different tracks and know who was where. I follow the movies in the same way."

A number of heavy and regular fans go on a specific day of the week in a somewhat predictable pattern: "The different movies usually start a new show each on a different day. I know what starts where. So if I go on Wednesday, I go to one movie where the show starts on Wednesday. If I can go on Friday, I know what show starts on Friday and that's where I go."

Many fans could not recall the title of the film they had just seen. The title and the performers appeared to be as unimportant as the director or producer. Many fans said they do not go to see a specific film but decide to see an adult movie—whatever it is. Since the cues provided by actors or directors or studio names are not present in the case of adult movies, the consumer is not likely to be making a choice of a film on the basis of conventional criteria but to be seeking a kind of film experience rather than a specific film.

Because titles of specific films are primarily important in order to establish whether a particular film has been seen before, listings in newspapers and magazines are less important than in the case of conventional films. Another reason for their lesser role is that adult theaters are far more likely than conventional theaters to show more than one film on a program, so that any one title is not crucial to a decision to attend.

Some regular and occasional fans do look in local newspapers for information about films at local theaters. A few customers noted that newspapers sometimes gave a film a more discreet title than it actually carried: "I saw one movie that was called *The Ballers* but in the paper is was called *The Callers*."

A number of moviegoers indicated that the newspaper advertisements served a legitimation function for attendance. "You see the ads for these movies right along with the ads for the other downtown movies," noted one fan. "They're just like any other movies."

Not one respondent mentioned reading a newspaper review of an adult movie as a factor in his attendance. Very few such movies are reviewed seriously or reviewed at all, so that this traditional source of information is not important in the case of adult films. Frequent moviegoers seem to develop a relationship with a theater or group of theaters which they regularly attend. Spontaneous moviegoers respond to a momentary impulse and enter a theater which is convenient to them.

A number of the moviegoers said that they had heard of a film from someone else. Such referrals were usually made by one man to another among colleagues in a work situation. There appeared to be relatively little of the neighborhood opinion leadership which seems to be common in the case of conventional movies (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1956).

About one-third of the heavy and regular users cited the "coming attractions" as determinants of their decision to see a specific program. A large number of previews for future films are typically shown and serve to alert fans to films they might like to see. "The 'coming attractions' are much better than the whole movie," was a sentiment echoed by several consumers.

It was possible to classify the comments made by the interviewees into six main categories: the social context of the movie experience, information functions of the movies, their sexual stimulus role, fantasy, consumerism, and intermedia comparisons. Each statement made by a respondent could be coded into one of these categories and within it, into subcategories. Although the six categories are intended to be mutually exclusive, some statements may fall into more than one category. Where this occurred, the statement was coded in what appeared the most relevant category.

Social context

The dimension of social context refers to the facilitation or inhibition of the movie experience occurring as a result of the viewer's participation in the group situation inside the theater. Thirty-nine customers referred to it.

Typical of the viewers for whom there is positive participation in a group experience was a 50-year-old man who said, "I feel good about the other people in the house. I enjoy feeling that the people in the theater are turning on at the same time." Eleven fans, all in the 28 to 60 group, expressed similar feelings of kinship and identification with the persons in the theater. "I like sitting in the theater with other people, watching the screen. I like movies where the lights are dim," said another fan. "I think about what the other guys in the theater are thinking," suggested one fan. "I wonder if they are seeing the same things I am. It's a nice feeling. In my mind's eye, I become closer to the other people there, but in safety. I even feel good about the cops I see in the movies, and the fellows who must be house detectives."

Eight moviegoers expressed strong ambivalence about the groupness of the theater. "I feel absolutely, insanely angry at anyone sitting near me. Yet, I am assured by the others. I can feel the degree of eagerness of people I don't know, sitting near me, because of something we're watching together, but I resent them," mused one man.

For nine fans, the group experience was important but negatively loaded. "These movie houses are very sad, they have bad vibrations. People in the audience are not tortured and sensitive looking, like the kid in *Midnight Cowboy,* they look uncomfortable. Some of them look around and I don't like the idea that they're looking at me," noted one customer.

Another moviegoer voiced a fairly common feeling, "I avoid sitting next to or touching anyone—it's like going to the toilet, you want to be by yourself. I want to be alone at a movie. Maybe it's the shame of it, a secret, dirty pleasure." Some theaters have designed their interiors in such a way as to maximize privacy, perhaps in response to customers' requests. One recently refurbished New York theater boasts that it has "seating designed for our audience's tastes."

One heavy user said, "I dislike the presence of all those sad people. It's like a bad dream you can escape from, a false death, you know you can walk out."

The atmosphere of the theaters was further derogated by one older fan: "They've got these cops, hanging around, I guess to discourage pickups, but they discourage me. There's a smell, a smell of old men, mixed with that stuff, is it formaldehyde? No, it's Lysol, it makes me think of a men's room with a faint smell of urine. Half the people look like hookers."

Six fans echoed the sentiment of one fan who reflected, "I can feel my penis moving forward with every scene where there is a girl undressed. I wonder if the men in the audience also feel horny the same way I do. There are dozens or maybe hundreds of men, each one of whom is getting an erection at the same time."

The near rivalry experienced by some fans in connection with their sexual response was voiced by one who noted, "I feel myself responding to the movie and I can't help thinking about the other people—are they coming or getting hard-ons? Each scene involving a girl nude or a closeup or with somebody else

takes enough time so that you have enough time to feel the other people getting with it."

The leveling effect of participation in the group experience of viewing an adult movie was mentioned by five subjects. "Everybody in the theater is there for the same reason. Everybody wants to see a naked 20-year-old girl. You look around and you see businessmen with fancy briefcases. They must be as eager as everybody else. They're looking for the same thing we all are," observed one blue-collar worker of about 50.

The time of day and day of the week on which a movie is seen seem to be related to the customer's response to it. Persons interviewed evenings and weekends were much more likely to talk about their responses to the social context of the movie situation than were those who attended on weekdays. The latter were more concerned about and aware of the non-movie situations from which they had come and to which they were going. Such situations were often work or family matters which could interfere with full involvement in the movie situation. Evening and weekend fans were more relaxed and better able to respond to the social context of moviegoing.

Fans who have attended movies at different times of the week become aware of the varying sets associated with the situations. One man noted, "If I go to a movie on my lunch hour, I'm in a hurry and can't really get with it. If I go at night, I relax and enjoy the situation, and it's completely different from the lunch deal."

One man of 55 observed, "I like to go to the movies on a slow night, when I can enjoy the show. It's easy for me to go on weekends, but there are so many kids then who laugh and talk that I can't stand them and go on a Monday or Tuesday, when there's a nice quiet crowd."

The social context provided by the audience for adult movies is more complex than is the case for conventional films. The basic difference probably derives from the importance of conventional moviegoing to the courtship activities of young people and the recreational sharing of married couples. Conventional moviegoing is related to seeking the views of opinion leaders, discussion of the merits of the film, positioning a particular movie in the career of actors or directors, and similar dimensions. Attendance at adult movies does not seem to be related to such functions, for the most part.

There are dating and married couples who attend adult movies, but it was not possible to interview any such fans. It was also not possible to interview a sample of males attending an adult movie as members of a group of two or more males. Their group viewing would seem to provide a different dimension.

Information functions

Information functions served by the movie were expressed by the viewer's perception of its information communicating content, which provided a learning experience. In order to get as unbiased an expression of this dimension as possible, no interviews were conducted at theaters showing films which purport to be instructional, such as *Marriage Manual* or *Man and Wife*. Fifty-six men identified aspects of information as significant elements in adult films.

Seventeen men, all in the 19 to 40 age group, spoke of the opportunity to learn about different forms of sexual interaction in adult films. One said, "You can see

people getting laid in any theater. In these movies, you can see stuff that is different. I remember one show that had three girls playing with each other. After a while, each girl put on a dildo. There was another one where two girls strip and two guys watch them and the guys sandwich the girls. I learned something from that picture."

Eleven men identified the learning provided by seeing a variety of kinds of female bodies. As one noted, "You can learn a lot by seeing different kinds of bodies, whether there is a connection between the neck and waist, whether the flesh on a girl's thigh shakes when she walks, if she has a stomach."

Eleven men said that they learned or acquired information by seeing closeups of the vagina, especially in the "clinical" or relatively short film showing a close-up. One fan recalled, "I study the closeup to see how different each girl's vagina is from the others. Each one looks a little different. Each one has differences in the amount of hair it has, and its shape. They photograph them from different angles."

Another said, "I look carefully at the vagina, the longer it is on the screen, the better. You have enough time to study it and it is very real. The younger they are, the more I like it."

One fan of the "clinical" reported, "It really is educational. I saw one film, about 15 minutes long, where you actually could see a vagina, covering the whole screen, and throbbing, with the fluid running. You know for sure that she is coming, the same way that you know a man is coming when you see the sperm moving out. Where else could you see a vagina 20 feet high, and learn how it works and looks? They look so real."

Six fans spoke of their acquiring information about women's breasts. One observed, "You can get a lot of information about breasts at the movies. You see about the different sizes, different kinds of nipples . . . "

Another fan observed that "You learn a lot by seeing the girls walk around with their breasts bouncing. The different shapes the breasts have, the space between them, how they are connected, that's all good to know."

Four older customers extolled the information which young people could get. One stated that, "From the movies, you can learn what is normal because there's no fooling around. I wish there were movies like this when I was young. If you read a book, you have to imagine what it looks like, think about it, and even then you might not learn much. In a movie, you can see the organs and the action just the way it really is. For kids, it's very educational. Boys and girls should see these movies. They don't try to peddle any point of view. *Without A Stitch* is immoral because it tries to tell you that everything is OK. These movies are educational because they show you a lot but don't promote it as good." Similar comments were made by others who mentioned specific films which were in general release but were regarded as "phony" or "immoral" (such as *Coming Apart, End of the Road*). Films with a psychiatric dimension were especially likely to be mentioned in this context.

Seven of the older customers implied that they were extremely curious about sexual activities of younger people. For such men, their curiosity was likely to be expressed by such phrases as "I like to keep up with what's happening . . . " There was a tendency for such men to appear to be lower class or lower middle class persons who had been and were still working hard, perhaps under circumstances

in which leisure had been scarce. Without quite saying so, such respondents expressed a wistfulness about the presumably active sexuality of youth today. Such sexuality was believed to be reflected in the movies which the fans were seeing. "The kids today do more and know a lot more than we did . . . anything goes." By attending the movies the fans were perhaps trying to make up for their own possible deprivation as youths by keeping informed about what young people were doing, especially various kinds of oral, masturbatory, and group sexual activities.

It is likely that some of the respondents who identified the information function were, to some extent, giving a socially acceptable response or a rationalization which was the result of an unconscious process. Here also, there is a difference between conventional moviegoing and attendance at adult films. There is little reason to believe that any substantial portion of the audience for Hollywood films is seeking to satisfy educational needs.

Stimulus function

The stimulus function category was used for remarks which dealt with the relationship of the adult movie seen to an explicit sexual expression of any kind. A wide range of sexual responses was reported by the 27 moviegoers who mentioned such responses.

Seventeen men experienced erections during their viewing of the movie. One 40-year-old recalled, "There are always a couple of scenes with heat and action. I can feel my penis growing with the scene and then it goes down. I really wait for those scenes. No matter how often I go, I can get a rush from one of these movies."

One man mentioned that he experienced a reaction stronger than an erection but short of an ejaculation. He said, "I can sometimes feel a hard-on and sometimes I leak. If I brush against someone in the subway going home, I might come."

Nine men mentioned the movies as specific inspirations for sexual activities involving other people. "I see a movie and I want to go home and make a pass at my wife," said one 45-year-old man. "When I see a guy massaging a girl's vagina, I want to do the same thing with someone," said one fan. "It really makes me horny."

One man implied that he sometimes engaged in masturbation at the movie, without quite saying so. No respondent specifically admitted masturbating during or immediately after a movie. It is possible that the circumstances of the interview made discussion of such masturbation difficult, and that other interview formats might have elicited more information.

The kind of content which acts as a stimulus to adult moviegoers is literally and explicitly sexual. Closure operates, but to a minimal extent, as compared with other kinds of films. A conventional film may be evocatively erotic because of what it suggests, giving the audience the directorial satisfaction of completing the percept. Thus, the famous teenagers' scene in Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blowup* was probably regarded as being very evocatively erotic by some fans of conventional movies. In the scene, two teenage girls seem to seduce the photographer-hero. The seduction is suggested rather than portrayed, by the sound of colored paper being crunched, folded, and pulled apart, and fleeting glimpses of

legs and leotards. Such a scene would probably bore a fan of adult movies, who prefers the explicit to the suggestive, in terms of sexual stimulation.

The comments by the interviewees imply that various kinds of masturbation and oral and anal activity are more conducive to sexual stimulation than even detailed representations of coitus. The former may be more novel or could represent interest in "forbidden fruit."

The direct stimulus function of "forbidden fruit" was implicit in the phrases used by the interviewees to describe the movies they had seen. Not one person referred to "adult movies." Eighteen men spoke of "pornographic movies" and 24 men mentioned "sex movies." The other respondents did not use an adjectival designation. The use of terms such as "pornographic" and "sex" suggests that moviegoers are aware that they are paying for access to content which is regarded as titillating. That such material is generally regarded as forbidden seems, to these customers, to be an attraction.

"It's like the red light district in a city," said one older fan. "You know what it's for and you don't want people to know you go there. It does a job and it's silly to pretend that it's a nice part of town. The same way, these movies are pornographic and they do a job and that's the way it is."

Fantasy

Comments related to some aspect of fantasy were mentioned by 56 subjects.

Five respondents mentioned their lack of previous and subsequent contact with the movie performers as a factor in fantasy. "You see a girl, you haven't seen her in any movie before, you don't know her, you don't know if you'll see her in another movie, you're seeing her in this movie. You can think about what she's really like," observed one customer.

Three fans mentioned the unreality of the names of the performers as an encouragement to fantasy. "A girl has a name like Flame Burns or Succa Tash, that isn't a real name. You can think about whether she's really Polish or German or Jewish or Irish, or what, and how she got into the movie business." Related comments suggested the possibility that the actresses were persons with ambiguous backgrounds, and the ambiguity appeared to encourage fantasizing about them. Because the actresses were relatively unknown, there appeared to be relative ease in fantasies about them because the viewer was not burdened by expectations or knowledge of the actualities of a performer's life. "Elizabeth Taylor, you know her story," observed one fan. "You don't know where the girls in these movies are from."

Fantasies about a specific performer were mentioned by seven respondents. One 40-year-old man noted, "I go to the movies not to see anything special in the way of bodies. What more is there to see? But I watch the girl to see if there is something special in her eye, something human and personal. I can respond to that. But just seeing the body of a girl doesn't grab me any more the way it did. I'm sorry about that, I miss it. It's like having a spot on a wall on which you used to lean, disappear. I try to catch something in the girl's eye that I can feel is for me."

Another man, around 50, reported that he saw the same movie more than once. "The first time, I look over the girls to see which one interests me. When I see the

movie again, I concentrate only on her. I think about her." Another man of approximately the same age suggested that the movies gave him an opportunity to recapture something from his past, in terms of a specific girl he had known. The film appeared to offer a more tangible opportunity to recall his fantasy than did other modalities. There was a suggestion that he went to adult movies on the first day of their run because such an early viewing might privatize his fantasy and help to keep it fresh.

A few moviegoers in their fifties remembered that they used to look for specific performers who appeared in adult movies over a period of years, but that this was less likely to occur today. One recalled, "I used to go to see every movie featuring a girl called Capri. She was very well bodied. She was in the movies about three or four years ago, in a lot of movies. But I haven't seen her in a couple of years."

Humor appears to be perceived and valued by moviegoers insofar as it permits fantasy identification with the sexual activities presented on the screen. The only material referred to as humorous, funny, or witty had to do with some form of sexual interaction.

Nineteen men mentioned some aspect of a film as humorous. Typical was a comment by a man of about 57: "The funniest scene I ever saw in a movie was where a man, his wife, and girl friend are preparing food. The wife is sucking a pickle and stroking it very tenderly and looking at her husband. The husband picks up a whole chicken and begins to nibble at its rear while he smiles at the two girls. The girl friend is sucking at an asparagus tip and happy, until it suddenly droops and she looks so sad! Then the three people have an orgy and they do just what they were doing with the food. It was much funnier than the eating scene in *Tom Jones.*"

Another man, about 35, referred to a different kind of humor: "One of the funniest scenes I ever saw was where a husband had been in bed with his wife and is talking with her about not having the money for their rent. He goes to work and the landlord knocks on the door and hops into bed with the girl. The husband comes back to the house and the landlord jumps out of the bed and under it. The husband stands near the bed and on the fingers of the landlord, who can't yell."

Another moviegoer, around 45, identified a "very funny" scene: "This guy is sucking on a grape and then he is sucking on a woman's breast. Then he is sucking the grape and he goes back and forth between the grape and the breast."

These and similar examples of humor cited do not seem to be very humorous, in terms of conventional criteria, even allowing for the difficulties of verbally describing visual material. It is possible that some moviegoers who feel anxious about seeing sexual content in adult films are looking for humorous aspects in order to make the material more acceptable to themselves.

Four fans said that they did not know how adult movies could have humor. One noted, "I don't care about jokes. I want to see the man walk in, pull it off, stick it in, and I want to get as close as possible. There's no place for jokes in a good sex movie."

The moviegoers' fantasies about the bodies of the actresses were the subject of comments from eight men. Most of the comments dealt with the ability of the bodies to encourage pleasant thoughts. "The asses of the girls I know have blotches and are pimply and hairy," observed one 35-year-old fan. "In the movies,

the girls' asses are clear looking. It may be the photography but I like it. I like to see an ass that looks clear, that's the way I prefer to think about them." Other respondents similarly identified the discrepancy between their own experience with a female body and the body of an actress as an attractive feature of the films which spurred fantasy.

"More and more," said one fan, "the girls' bodies are getting more beautiful. They must be using better photo equipment, maybe now that there's more money in these movies." Four other fans speculated on the connection between the prosperity of the moviemakers, their ability to get more attractive girls, and the possibility of the moviemakers engaging in some kind of sexual activity with their performers. There was a grudging admiration, on the part of these fans, of the moviemakers' ability to earn money while presumably having sexual access to the actresses. Part of this fantasy was that the moviemakers needed the audiences in order to remain in business and thus the audiences symbolically shared the presumably lubricious activities of the moviemakers. "It's like the small loan companies," said one fan. "I admire their guts for charging so much interest but they need the business of guys like me to make out. I hope these movie companies are making money but they need my business."

Four fans referred to various aspects of seeing an adult film in terms of the feelings of control they had over a safe risk. "By seeing these people screwing, you get very close to them. I am almost running the man and the woman," said one 40-year-old man. "I feel that I am risking getting caught in a movie, but it is a risk I want to take. It may be dangerous but I can control it," observed another fan.

It would seem that the fantasy responses of adult moviegoers are more complex than the traditional kinds of fantasy which have been linked with the Hollywood movie stars. A person going to a conventional movie typically knows enough about its stars or theme to have some expectation of what fantasy activity lies in store for him. The adult moviegoer has no such cues, and his relationship is more likely to be to adult movies as a medium than to specific stars in specific features. It is, in some ways, almost analogous to a television viewer's relationship to a generalized service.

Consumerism

By "consumerism" is meant the critical and comparative evaluation of adult movies from the viewpoint of the connoisseur. Persons who respond to the consumer dimension derive satisfaction from the role of the critic, which is almost independent of the content of the movies. Sixty-five fans made comments which could be classified as consumer oriented.

Twelve members of the film audience enjoy spotting "boners," or confusions in costumes or setting. One 30-year-old fan observed that, in the film he had just seen, "There was a painting on the wall in a woman's bedroom. Then, later in the film, she goes to see a psychiatrist, and he has the same painting on the wall. About 10 minutes later, there's a nude man, and in the next scene he's wearing shorts, but you don't see him putting them on."

Six fans enjoyed speculating about which films were photographed during the same period of time. "They shoot a couple of movies at a time," noted one fan.

"I watch for the actors, settings, and the furniture they use and try to figure out which movies were done at the same time."

Seven fans criticized promotional techniques which were questionable. One complained, "The theaters sometimes show the same film under different names. This year I saw *Great Taste,* which I had seen before as *The Tasters* and which had been around two or three years ago under some other name, like *Odd Tastes.* It was about a man who loves a native girl on some island and looks for her in other places."

A heavy user complained about splicing procedures: "Sometimes I go twice in a week, to see if the film is shown the same way each time. They may cut scenes out or splice in new stuff. I have recognized scenes spliced in from other movies, that don't really belong."

There were seven complaints about the mechanics of the film presentation. "The sound sounded as if it came from a midget radio," said one customer. "This theater makes you wait while the reel is being changed," complained another. "The print was streaked and had lines going through most of it," observed another. "The parts of two different films were thrown together into one movie," complained another fan. "There was no connection between them. They were photographed from such a distance that you could hardly see anything anyway." Another complaint mentioned by several fans was that the sound was not adequately synchronized with the images on the screen.

Another complaint cited by five fans was that the sexual activities presented are simulated. "In a couple of movies where the man is masturbating the woman, I can see that he has his middle finger tucked in against his palm so that he is not really giving the girl a strong rub. If you don't look closely, you think it is real but I can tell that it isn't." Other fans complained that other masturbatory activities are often simulated, even in closeups, especially in series about "stewardesses" or "Frisco girls."

Four men complained that the bodies of the girls in adult movies were presented in an "unfair" manner, because of cosmetic procedures which they questioned. Two moviegoers claimed that the pubic hair of an actress was artificial. The men were in different cities and commenting on different movies. "I could tell that one girl was wearing a toupee over her pussy," complained one fan. "She wore it to look as if she had more foliage." Two other men, also in different cities, complained that it was unfair for actresses to use makeup to make their nipples seem larger than they actually were. It is possible that such complainants are fetishistically preoccupied with specific organs and are hypercritical as one way of rationalizing their interests.

One appeal of adult movies is the test they provided eight fans of their ability to act as a judge of women's bodies, and especially to look for various kinds of defects and combinations. One 35-year-old man was interested in the proportions of a woman's thighs. A 40-year-old fan would carefully observe the presence of underarm hair. Such preferences were not presented fetishistically but as objects of criticism.

One fan complained, "Sometimes you can tell that the girls are tramps. I even recall some where I could have sworn that I could see the needle marks in their arms." Another noted that, "The girls in the movies are getting to look as if they are from the bottom of the barrel. More and more, they look sweaty and dirty."

"There are too many skinny girls in the movies," reflected one customer.

One aspect of consumerism is a desire to see how much "more" will be shown each time. Six fans mentioned that they had observed a steady progression in what was presentable on the screen. "I go once a month," said one man. "From each month to the next you can see that there is progress, there is a little more that is shown. Even from last month to this time, there is a difference. I'm waiting for the day when you will be able to see a guy getting a hard-on and shoving it right in. The movies used to promise and not deliver but now they almost deliver."

The older customers were especially interested in the technical quality of the photography, about which nine men commented. "I like high color and high tone photography," said a 50-year-old fan. "It looks better, more honest, more real in color than black and white. The photography in these movies keeps getting better. You can show anything if the photography is right."

The fairly limited and repetitious nature of the story line and settings of adult movies facilitates the critical role of the moviegoer. He seems to evaluate the scenery, photography, sordidness or beauty, bodies of the performers, and sequence of events, in terms of expectations of relatively stylized activities. An adult moviegoer may be more critical of what he sees than a fan at conventional films, who may be open to a much broader range of variables and dimensions.

Customers who made consumeristic comments are probably far more interested in such matters than are conventional moviegoers. The latter may make comparative judgments on aesthetic or career line aspects of a specific director or actor in one film, but such considerations are of little importance to the adult moviegoer.

Consumer oriented fans tended to be older and to be fairly frequent moviegoers. It is possible that one reason for the large number of persons making such comments is the operation of the principle of the functional autonomy of motives, whereby a motive initially begun in the service of one motive acquires a driving power of its own. A variety of drives, interests, and attitudes may have been responsible for these fans' original interest in adult movies. Even though such drives, interests, and attitudes may have become less salient, the fans still go to the films, and their attendance is now a function of their desire to compare the films from a consumer point of view, which is socially acceptable as a motive.

It is possible that older collectors of various kinds of sexually explicit materials have more in common with other collectors, in terms of motives, than they do with younger collectors who are just beginning the activity, if the consumer dimension could be generalized. Thus, a man who has been going to adult films may have more in common with an older stamp collector than he might have with a beginning fan of adult films, in terms of needs met and functions served in the personality economy of the fan.

Intermedia comparisons

It was possible to obtain some comments from 22 respondents on their attitudes toward and use of adult materials other than movies. Most of these comments were related to the comparative value derived from one form of sexually explicit material in comparison with another.

In three cases, there was a comparison between the stimulus value of a movie and a prostitute. One man of around 35 noted, "A girl costs 10 or 15 dollars but I can go to five or six movies for the same money and spread my enjoyment over a longer period of time."

In three cases, there was a comparison with a peep show, as in the fan who reported, "If you follow the complete show at a peep show, it costs maybe two dollars, for 10 or 15 minutes. At a movie house, you pay two or three dollars, see better stuff that may have sound, and you can sit in your own seat and stay after one show is over right through the next one. At the peep shows, the machines are all lined up and everybody is looking at you."

Another peep show fan spoke of the advantage of knowing the content of the peep show, as a clue to buying it: "I can tell what the picture is about by seeing only one shot, for a quarter. If I like it, I can buy it for about $15 and show it as often as I like, on my home projector. In terms of money, it's a great deal. And I can bring it back and trade it in on a new one if I get tired of it."

Eight men referred to sexually explicit publications in comparison to movies. One basis for comparison was the content of the two media in terms of price. "I can get three books for the price of one movie," observed one customer. "The books have a few pictures, even though they're not in color. You can keep the book and read it again. Once you spend your money for the movie, it's gone."

From two respondents, both in their twenties and Puerto Rican, came comments which compared movies unfavorably to books. One respondent indicated that he engaged in considerable exchange of explicitly sexual books and magazines. He explained that, "If I buy a book, I'll let my friends read it." He noted that many of his friends enjoyed a "short heist," which is a slang term for a sexually explicit book or magazine. The etymology of the term is obscure, although it may involve the "heister" raising a window in the course of a burglary and metaphorically raising a woman's skirt. "Short" connotes something improvised or casual in contrast to "long," which involes a more elaborate and planned activity. A "short heist" may or may not have pictures, but it acts as a sexual stimulant. Responding to or being interested in such material seems to be regarded as an aspect of masculinity to these respondents. One indicated that he preferred books printed in Spanish, because they were more clever and displayed a wider range of female bodies than is available in English language materials. He was leaving a movie, which, he said, had almost put him to sleep. He had just purchased a novel in a bookstore and was taking it home to read and show to his friends. He intimated that such material might be an adjunct to masturbation or to some form of sexual activity with a woman.

The other five respondents who alluded to books preferred movies. They preferred a visual image for a number of reasons which were difficult to verbalize, but appeared to reflect the greater ease with which visual images could be conjured up in comparison with those related to a book. Visual images seemed to be more accessible to these subjects.

In the case of the two Puerto Rican respondents, they may have been responding to the status connotations of printed materials in their milieu. They may have regarded it as less "masculine" to respond to a non-Puerto Rican woman in a movie than to be able to project their own imagery into the characters of a piece of sexually explicit fiction.

Several respondents compared media in terms of their effect on women. Of the three respondents who spoke about buying peep show movies and running them on a home projector, one said that he regularly showed them to his girl friend. "It gets us both hot," he noted.

None of the respondents who mentioned publications mentioned their arousal functions with women, but several discussed the awkwardness of keeping them around the house. One man of around 45 recalled, "I used to keep a lot of books at home. I was afraid my kid might find the stuff and cause trouble for me. One day, my wife found a book I had bought which I had left in a coat pocket, when she was taking clothes to the cleaner. It was pretty strong stuff, called *Ho Chi Min's Daughter*. She gave me the book and I could see she didn't like it, though she didn't say anything. I guess she figured she must be doing something wrong or I wouldn't be reading the book. It's hard to hide books in a house—where can you put them? Now I bring very little home and go to the movies more."

Another customer said that he used to buy sex tabloids but stopped doing so because he had no place to store them and had been observed by a neighbor with a copy of one such publication. "A woman in the same building walked home from the subway with me and I could see her looking at what I had under my arm. I had bought a copy of *Screw* and forgot to put it inside the evening paper. She could see the name. She may not have known what it was but looked very curious about it. I felt silly and that was the last time I bought it to take home."

DISCUSSION

Some generalizations about the functions served by adult movies may be ventured on the basis of these interviews. It must be repeated that these generalizations are extremely tentative.

The decision to attend an adult movie is often overdetermined and a variety of motives seems to be operative in any one fan, in many cases. Unidimensional explanations of why men attend such movies may be questioned. The 100 persons interviewed made comments which could be classified into six categories, with an average of 41 percepts per category and a total of 265 percepts. The average respondent referred to 2.65 different dimensions in discussing adult movies, and there was a range from one to four dimensions.

It is possible, of course, that many respondents were giving socially acceptable reasons for their attendance. We cannot tell if such respondents have rationalized their responses and are concealing deeper motivations from themselves or were deliberately covering up motivations from the interviewer. The format of the interview was designed to minimize socially acceptable answers and to provide an opportunity for spontaneous and easy verbalizations about the movie experience with a fellow fan. There is probably a reasonable likelihood that the comments reported are frank representations of the attitudes of those questioned.

Although there was considerable interest in the information and education functions of the films, there was not one reference to the various positions for sexual intercourse, as an area that was or was not covered. There was favorable comment on various oral, masturbatory, and anal activities, perhaps suggesting that audiences for adult films are less interested in coitus than in various pregenital activities. There is also the possibility that coitus represents a kind of

psychological closure which is less satisfying to fans than forepleasure activities, which are not finite by their very nature.

The acquisition of information and education on sexual matters may, for a number of adult movie fans, become a goal in itself, regardless of its original genesis. It seems to be a goal which, for the fan, is not likely to be satisfied, so that he may demonstrate near-voracity in pursuing it.

Although conventional movies facilitate identification with the performer of the same sex, there was hardly any mention made of the male actors in the films. The actors were cited primarily in connection with scenes in which they appeared with girls. No one spoke of the body build of any actor. Presumably, such interests would be expressed by fans of homosexual films.

Although observations of a fairly large number of consumers of adult movies disclosed that there was a pattern of conflicted behavior in 17% of the patrons, few of the persons interviewed voiced conflict over their attendance. It is likely that their willingness to be interviewed means that anxious and uneasy patrons were excluded from the interview by a process of self-selection. However, about a third of the respondents indicated awareness of general community attitudes of ambivalence toward sexually explicit materials. Although there was little effort to justify the respondent's own attendance at adult movies, there was very extensive use of the second person singular, which may be a function of the embarrassment experienced by some respondents.

Another reason for the frequent use of "you" is the difficulty, in our culture, of talking about the reasons for enjoying various kinds of stimuli, beyond saying, "I enjoy it" or "I like it." It would probably be difficult for many people to display a substantial vocabulary of emotion in discussing a conventional film which does not deal with an emotionally freighted subject. Small wonder, then, that many patrons of adult films are not easily able to verbalize their feelings.

There did not appear to be any clear relationships between the socioeconomic status of the respondent and the needs which were served by the film. There was a tendency for younger moviegoers to talk about the information function and a lesser tendency for them to discuss the stimulus dimension. The older fans were more likely to refer to the dimensions of social context and consumerism. Variables of consumer costume and appearance did not seem to be related to functions and needs.

In terms of frequency of its citation, the incidence of each of the six dimensions in descending order of importance was: consumerism, information, fantasy, social context, stimulus, and intermedia. These comparative dimensions of appeal may reflect such considerations as the nature of the sample, the interview situation, social acceptability, the fact that the interviews were conducted during the winter of 1969-70, and similar factors.

Perhaps one possible contribution of this study is its identification of a variety of dimensions for future study: the suggestion that simplistic "either-or" explanations of the functions served by explicitly sexual materials are probably oversimplified, the speculation that there may be a developmental track along which the consumer of these materials moves, and the possible role of the functional autonomy of motives. Only future research can clarify the validity of these and other speculations emerging from this study.

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Pornography in Denmark

Pieces of a Jigsaw Puzzle
Collected Around New Year 1970

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This article is a report on an effort to gather information on the topic of pornography in Denmark. We have tried to answer questions such as: Who makes pornography, and what is the product like? Who sells it and who buys it? What do people in general think about pornography, and what was their reaction to the repeal of the ban? How much pornography is used, and what is it used for?

We had very little time to gather the information, sort and organize the data (which very quickly became overwhelming), and write this report. The result is a very incomplete jigsaw puzzle picture of the "porno" situation—primarily in Copenhagen—around the turn of the decade. The pieces have been collected in many different ways and in many different places. We have tried to put some of the pieces together (many are, unfortunately, still "in the box"), but often the reader will find it necessary to use his own power of integration.

The report consists of four parts: a focus on the pornography industry and its products; a study of "porno-shops" in Copenhagen and their customers; a series of studies at "The World's First Sex Fair"; and an outline of survey results concerning use of and attitudes toward pornography.

Many people have contributed to these investigations, including those who facilitated the observations by providing information and material. I am thankful to them all. I would especially like to thank my research assistants Gitte Carstensen, Mette Fruensgaard, Carsten Anderskov, Jørgen Hvilsted, Hans Henrik Schou, and Stephen Mathiasen for their sustained cooperation.

THE PORNOGRAPHY INDUSTRY AND ITS PRODUCTS

There are no official statistics concerning the pornography business in Denmark. It is not controlled by the Registrar of Restrictive Trade Practices, and

no trade organization has emerged as yet. So far, attempts to organize have failed on account of dissension and distrust among the people in the business. No wonder, since it concerns a business which for many years was illegal and which in 1969 emerged into broad daylight with the repeal of the ban on pornography.

In order to get some information about the business we had to turn directly to the business people. The following information is based primarily on a large number of interviews with producers, wholesalers, and retailers of pornography and a large number of visits to porno-shops and clubs. The people we talked to were sometimes very friendly, sometimes quite the opposite. Some of them received us as friends, while others threw us out quite brutally as nosy enemies and potential informers. Needless to say we were neither friends nor foes. What we tried to do was to register as exactly as possible what happened within this peculiar new branch of the Danish economic life.

That was not an easy job. The information which was given in the interviews was highly contradictory throughout and in many instances clearly colored by personal interest. When told about the purpose of the interview some of the people would supply us, as best they could, with the information we needed while others would tell us what they thought might benefit themselves in some way or another. However, out of this jumble of information a picture emerges which we shall try to describe.

In the pornography business there is no clear division between producer, wholesaler, and retailer. This situation is a relic of the pre-legal past—where a man would be in the darkroom all night, producing blurred, black-and-white "private photos" or reproducing copies of copies of old Japanese "porno" films; while during the daytime he would be in his shop or walking from door to door selling the copies singly, by the dozens, or by the thousands. Leaving out of account the great number of kiosks and news agents who trade a small selection of pornographic magazines, weeklies, and books, there is hardly a single retail tradesman who is not to a certain extent also a wholesaler. At the same time, all producers have a wholesale enterprise and one or more shops for retail trade.

After the repeal, however, there has been a tendency toward a separation of the retail link from the production link. The demand for higher quality material from an expanding and increasingly fastidious market, combined with a fierce price competition immediately following the repeal, called for a highly effective and rationalized mass production which could be met only by companies able to make considerable investments in equipment, premises, and manpower. The time was over when any hard-working pedlar could become relatively prosperous through the darkroom-to-streetcorner business.

There are today about 10 companies in Denmark which produce pornographic picture magazines. Some of them, including the two largest producers, produce almost exclusively color picture magazines with no text. Four or five new magazines of this type appear every week. The number of copies per magazine is at least 10,000, but the most popular ones are reissued again and again and run into several hundred thousands. These magazines are sold in the shops in Denmark and Sweden and by mail order all over the world. Some of them appear periodically in a series, but first and foremost they are characterized by a timelessness which permits a steady accumulation of current stock.

Another genre is covered by two or three Swedish magazines (primarily with pictures and very little text) and three or four Danish weeklies some of which, besides pictures, also have short stories, articles, cartoons, contact advertisements, "questions and answers," and so on. The latter are distributed in Denmark by the usual newspaper distributing companies. However, some of them are sold abroad and to tourists since they have special editions in German, English, and French.

A typical picture "porno" magazine has a very tenuous plot told through 30 to 40 pictures. Inevitably it is a story about strangers—three to five (sometimes more) with a majority of females—who meet (in a bar, in an amusement park, in a park, at a party, and so on). Very soon—after two or three pictures—they engage in sexual activities, usually on the initiative of the apparently "sex hungry" women. The story proceeds from heavy petting to intercourse, very often in semi-lesbian combinations and inevitably with ejaculation of sperm.

With few exceptions the picture magazines are modeled to meet the taste of the largest group of customers—the heterosexual male.[1] This includes magazines with lesbian scenes as well as some magazines, which recently have become very popular, showing intercourse between women and animals. In addition, there are a few magazines of the same type appealing to homosexual males. While definite picture magazines of the "spanking and bondage" type are extremely rare, the weekly "porno" magazines with text try to offer something for every taste including a variety of sexual practices usually considered deviant.

The Swedish magazines concentrate on pinup type pictures of girls who are named and shown in a variety of positions and occasionally in lesbian or heterosexual situations.

Pornographic books have almost disappeared. In the years before the repeal in 1967 of the ban on pornographic literature, two or three pornographic books per week appeared in enormous editions. Now the production is less than one per month, and the surplus of books are sold at very low prices. Probably the dollar value of pornographic books sold does not exceed 5% of the total sales of pornography in Denmark.

On the other hand, pornographic films are increasing in demand. Although in general their technical quality is inferior to that of the picture magazines, there is a basis for presuming that by now they constitute 50% of the total dollar value of sales. There are two large companies and several small ones selling 8-mm. films in color and black-and-white, but 16-mm. color and sound films are now being produced by a provincial company. Many retailers make a film or two which they sell in their own shops. Others produce 8-mm. films in a single copy and sell it for reproduction quite often to small foreign producers.

Other types of picture products turned out by the pornography industry are series of single-paper pictures, usually in color; color slides of the same type; and stereo pictures to be seen in a "viewer." The pictures used in these series as well as in some magazines are a selection of "highlights" from the regular picture magazines.

Finally, in the pornography industry (or at least closely affiliated with it) a number of articles are sold by mail order or in the porno-shops. These items

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1. If a comparative content analysis of representative samples of Danish pornography and male masturbation fantasies were made, I would hypothesize that it would show a very high correlation between the two.

include different kinds of sexual outfits such as "special" underwear and leather or rubber clothing. Also featured are many different kinds of sexual implements such as vibrators, "special covers" with "ticklers," dildoes, vagina substitutes, foam rubber "ladies." Finally there is a variety of instruments for sadomasochistic use such as whips, cat-o'-nine-tails, handcuffs, chains, pillories, chastity belts. Although they appear to be exotic imports, most of these goods are produced locally in Denmark. The sale of these articles is hardly very large, but some porno-shops keep them in stock as a service to customers with these interests. Our observers registered only one sale of such objects. (See the following section on porno-shops.)

The scenes for a film or a picture magazine are usually made in a photography studio in the course of 4 to 6 hours. The wages for a female model are from $50 to $500 per session, with $120 as the usual price. The male models receive $50 to $60. Models are acquired through regular advertisements in the daily newspapers. According to the producers, requirements and supply match quite well, in spite of the fact that the same model can be used only a few times—"the customers want new faces."

The producers claim that the models are all "quite ordinary young people from all walks of society who want to add an easy supplement to their income." We have not studied this question. However, an informal comparison of picture magazines from a few years ago with those of today shows a marked difference in that today the models are more often young, pretty, and healthy-looking.

How large is the total turnover in the pornography business? Many sensational figures have been put forward, and it is interesting to note that the sums mentioned usually are considerably higher than what can actually be achieved, based on obtainable information on production and sale. Thus, *Der Spiegel* (Dec. 8, 1969) maintained that during the year 1969 pornographic materials with a retail value of $120 million were exported exclusively to Germany. The people in the Danish pornography business operate with figures varying between $30 million and $270 million. According to our estimate, based on estimated production data and retail prices, the figures for 1969 were probably not higher than $70 million and were more likely in the neighborhood of $50 million.

Consistent information from people in the business indicates that 50% to 60% of pornographic materials are exported via mail order or large quantity sale to foreign countries. Of the total export Sweden and Germany receive about 30% each and the United States about 10%. Thus, if our information is correct, the export of pornography from Denmark to the United States in 1969 would amount to about $3 million in purchase value.

The exporters claim that about 30% is seized by customs or the mail services in the receiving countries. In contradiction to this the German customs authorities claim, according to *Der Spiegel,* that only 5% of the exported material is seized. The correct figure is probably somewhere in between.

The 40% to 50% of the turnover which is sold in Denmark, however, is not solely bought by Danes. On the contrary (as discussed in the next section) a majority of the purchasers in the porno-shops are foreigners. Indeed, there seems—according to the people in the business—to have been a decreased interest in picture pornography among the Danes following the repeal of the ban in the summer of 1969.

The decreased local demand, combined with the growing supply and the free competition made possible by the legalization, has brought about considerable fluctuation in prices. Immediately after the repeal the price for a picture magazine dropped from 20 to 10 Danish crowns (that is from $2.70 to $1.35). Shortly afterwards it increased again to 15 crowns ($2.00) because part of the business people managed to arrive at a common price policy, but now and then a veritable price war breaks out—especially between shop sellers and exclusively mail-order traders. Still, the profit is quite sizable. A picture magazine which can be produced for less than 35¢ (and in later editions even cheaper) is usually sold at wholesale level for 70¢ to 90¢ and at the retail level for $1.50 to $2.60. In Copenhagen prices vary a lot according to location in the town: the highest prices are found where the tourists come, the lowest in the big living quarters of Nørrebro where pornography is bought mostly by the local public.

In summary, the pornography business in Denmark since the repeal has been developing in the direction of an ordinary modern industry, with mass production, disappearance of smaller companies, competition between the large ones, and appeal to foreign markets. Although there has been an increase in technical quality, the vast majority of products still have a stereotype coarseness. There is very little which may appeal to artistic interest or sophisticated taste. Similarly, there is very little humor or romance to be found in the "full color" pages. This may be inherent in the nature of pornography, but more likely it is simply a stage in the development of this new industry in which it will not endeavor to make any products surpassing the minimum requirement of the large bulk of customers.

Although the pornography industry in Denmark is no longer petty business, it is not as large as is usually assumed. However, for as long as Denmark keeps the world monopoly of legalized production and export of pornography, this industry will undoubtedly see a very prosperous development.

PORNO-SHOPS AND THEIR CUSTOMERS

Around New Year 1970 there were between 100 and 120 shops in Denmark that exclusively dealt in pornography and related articles. About 60 of these were in Copenhagen. In order to get somehwat more exact information about these shops and their customers than could be obtained through less rigid observation and interviews, two types of investigation were made.[2]

For the first type we needed the cooperation of the shop owners. We contacted a number of them and asked if they would permit us to have a female research assistant sitting in their shop and pretending to do some kind of work. Her task was to count the customers and make notes about their sex and estimated age, social level, and nationality. Some of the dealers were very cooperative and helpful, but the majority were suspicious and refused to allow the observation. Because this procedure would have resulted in our collecting data from a very selective sample of shops, we decided not to carry through with this procedure. By then we had obtained from five shops a number of observations totaling 1,140

2. All the observations made in these studies were kept anonymous. No information was sought or obtained which focused on single persons or shops, or which might in any way be considered indiscreet.

minutes in length. These observations gave a detailed picture of comings and goings in the porno-shops. The quantitative data, however, was obviously so unrepresentative that we had to try another approach.

Accordingly, another type of procedure was put into operation. It did not require the cooperation of the owners but was based on the fact that it was possible—though not popular—for a customer to spend some time looking at the products and then leave again without buying anything.

Thirty shops (that is, about half of the shops in Copenhagen) spread evenly over the town were selected for observation. These shops were visited at two different times for approximately 15 minutes each by two male research assistants. Each shop was thus observed for about 30 minutes. The assistant noted his observations in his memory and spoke the results into a miniature tape recorder (which he carried in a briefcase) as soon as he left the shop. The observations were made on different days of the week during January and February 1970. All observations were made in the afternoon; in the morning there were usually very few customers. In fact, many shops did not open before noon, and only a few shops violated the closing regulations forbidding sale in the evening. The time of the year was definitely not high season (which would be the tourist season, mainly from July through September), but it is probably quite representative of the rest of the year.

The results are shown in Table 1. As can be seen, the agreement between the results of the two observers is almost complete thus indicating a high reliability of the observations.

A total of 131 persons were observed during a total of 871 minutes. This equals nine persons per hour. The number of customers per shop varied considerably. In seven of the 30 shops there was not a single customer during the 30-minute observation period. The total number of customers in one shop reached 19 in the course of 30 minutes, whereas it reached 13 customers in another shop. Both of these shops had a very liberal attitude toward customers, which clearly resulted in a large percentage of nonbuyers; but they had also a larger amount of sales than most other shops.

Only three women were seen among the customers.

Table 1

A STUDY OF PORNO-SHOP CUSTOMERS

	First observer	Second observer	Total
Shops observed	30	30	30
Total minutes of observation	413	458	871
Minutes per shop	13.8	15.3	29.0
Customers	59	72	131
Women	0	3	3
Percentage	—	—	2.3%
Foreigners	12	21	33
Percentage	—	—	25.2%
Purchases	14	17	31
Percentage	—	—	23.7%
Customers per hour	8.6	9.4	9.0
Purchases per hour	2.0	2.2	2.1

Twenty-five percent of the customers were recognized as being foreigners. This is a minimum figure, since there probably were a number of foreigners who did not speak or reveal in any other way that they were not Danes. The observers noted that most of the purchases were made by foreigners. There were about two sales per hour. This is obviously not enough to keep a shop going. It was, however, additionally observed that many shops also functioned as offices for mail order and wholesale trade.

The distribution of customers by estimated age is shown in Table 2. It is interesting that not one single customer was estimated to be under 20, although the sale of pornography is permitted to persons over 15 (and the violation of that law is only liable to fine). The majority of the customers were between the ages of 25 to 45. The table also shows the age distribution from the Sex Fair. (These data are discussed in the section on the Sex Fair.)

Social level was estimated among 110 customers. (Here the agreement among the two observers is not complete—not very surprising since it is a difficult job to estimate people's social level from their looks.) A total of 24% were considered to be "workers," 76% "middle and upper class." (See Table 4, next section, which presents a comparison between people attending the Sex Fair and the total population of Denmark) The observers made a number of other general comments on the customers. The general impression was that there were "people of all kinds": blue-collar and white-collar workers, students, intellectuals, businessmen, well-to-do and poor persons.

Among the customers who could be identified by their language as foreigners (a total of 84 if we include those observed through the first procedure) it was estimated that 52% were Germans, 12% were from the United States or United Kingdom, 7% were from France, 5% from Italy, and 5% from Sweden. The remaining 19% were from other countries or were of undetermined nationality. These figures probably are not very reliable as it is even more difficult to judge a person's nationality than his social level from his appearance and a few utterances.

Other observations made about the shops, the merchandise, and so on, can be summarized as follows:

The size of the shops varied from tiny rooms (often converted tobacco-kiosks) to large stores of over 40 square meters.

Although all the shops were, in fact, real porno-shops, a few of them sold some merchandise other than erotic articles, primarily tourist souvenirs and secondhand books. This was done deliberately in order to give bashful customers a pretext to enter the shop. While this was the rule previously (during a certain period before the repeal, "secondhand book shop" was almost synonymous to what is now a porno-shop), it is now the exception.

All of the shops sold picture magazines, and with few exceptions this was the primary article everywhere. A few shops almost exclusively sold heterosexual magazines, and one or two displayed a great variety of sex articles. However, by far the most common type of shop had a major section with heterosexual magazines and in addition, often clearly separated from the major section, a smaller section with homosexual magazines and books. A small assortment of vibrators and other sex articles also could be found in most places. Two or three shops had erotic underwear and the same number had a larger selection of implements for sadomasochistic use. Only a few shops had, in addition to the

Table 2

PORNO-SHOP CUSTOMERS: ESTIMATED AGES

	Age Group	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 and over	Total	Number
Porno-shop customers	Men	6%	16%	17%	20%	18%	10%	5%	3%	3%	2%	100%	(128)
Sex fair visitors[a]	Men	32	21	12	11	7	5	3	3	4	2	100	(136)
	Women	52	30	7	5	0	2	4	0	0	0	100	(57)

a. Data provided for comparison.

usual sex articles, a selection of rubber clothing. In those shops, primarily frequented by foreigners, there usually was a minor selection of pornographic books in English and German.

All the shops had films for sale. A few shops specialized in films, while others had only a small selection. In the majority of shops the films were shown to the customers, if requested, usually on a table viewer.

The attendants in the shops were usually female (occasionally "topless"). Treatment of the customers varied strongly from place to place. The attitude toward those who just looked around without buying (as our observers did) differed greatly. Some shops had signs warning that it was forbidden to touch the merchandise (one shop had all their magazines in transparent plastic bags). A few shops had no objections whatsoever to persons who used the shop as a "public library," but in most places the atmosphere would become cooler as time passed. In one shop both our observers were thrown out after a few minutes, and in a few other shops they were told never to return as they left at the end of the 15 minutes. In most of the other shops there was ice in the air when the observers left, and the shop assistant said "Goodbye, and thank you *very* much!"

In summary, the most interesting finding in the porno-shop studies was the fact that there were *almost no women* and *no adolescents* among the customers. The first finding is very much in keeping with "tradition" (the study by Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953, p. 672), while the second one seems rather opposed to a similar "tradition" (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, Wardell, & Christenson, 1965, p. 673). As discussed in the next section, both of these unambiguous findings concerning the purchase of pornography need some modification when considering curiosity about pornography.

THE SEX FAIR IN COPENHAGEN, OCTOBER 1969

Probably the most spectacular immediate consequence of the amendment of the penal law concerning pornography in Denmark was the "World's First Sex Fair," which started on October 21, 1969, 4 months after the amendment. To someone concerned with the perception of pornography, this fair constituted a unique opportunity: Never before in history had such a large audience been confronted with such a large and massive output of hard-core pornography. We therefore decided to make the Sex Fair the object of detailed observations. Fortunately, the management of the fair promised to cooperate.

We wanted to know who arranged the fair and what they displayed; who were the visitors, and what was their reaction to what they saw. In order to answer these questions the following series of observations were conducted:

1. Managers and exhibitors were interviewed, stands were observed, and brochures and other advertising material were collected and analyzed.

2. For nine periods of about 40 minutes each, spread over the opening hours and days of the fair, the entrance of visitors was observed and statistics were recorded concerning their sex and estimated age. Split-half comparisons and a comparison with the box office data show that the results from this sample, although covering only 7.7% of the total fair period, were representative of the whole fair period.

3. Over 200 visitors were asked to fill in a one-page questionnaire asking questions about sex, age, occupation, marital status, motives for visiting the fair, earlier experience with pornography, and opinions about the contents of the pornography. The respondents were selected at random by four to five research assistants at different places and different times during the exhibition. Only a few persons refused, but 13 persons did not fill in their sex and their questionnaires were for that reason excluded from the material. The data represented here will be based on the results from 196 respondents whose questionnaires were more or less complete.

4. Over 200 semistructured interviews were carried out and tape-recorded. The respondents (who were *not* identical with those in the above-mentioned questionnaire study) were selected by 4 to 5 research assistants who walked around in the exhibition hall each carrying a small tape recorder. They would approach visitors who were watching films or pictures and ask questions about how they liked the exhibits and so forth. The information from this part of the studies was, of course, primarily of a qualitative nature. In this presentation only some rough statistical data and a few quotations will be presented, which were based on 159 tape-recorded interviews that have been briefly analyzed so far.

All respondents were, of course, anonymous.

In what follows some of the major findings will be presented and discussed without too much detail.

Some facts about the fair. The Sex Fair was arranged by one of the large-scale pornography producers in cooperation with a professional exhibition managing company. It took place in one of the larger halls in Copenhagen—originally planned for sports occasions.

The exhibition area of more than 1,000 square meters was occupied by about 40 stands. The majority of these stands represented shops, clubs, wholesale companies, and producers directly dealing with pornography and sex articles. Most of them were from Copenhagen, but the Danish provinces were presented by six or seven shops and two publishers. In addition there were a few Swedish companies. Apart from the pornography and sex firms, there were two jewelry shops selling sexy jewelry, a ladies wig maker, an artist selling large erotic photostats, and a private company hiring out postboxes.

The managers of the fair had applied for official authorization to sell or to take orders at the fair; however, permission was not granted (this refusal was later ruled illegitimate by the Ombudsmand). It seems that the prohibition was to some extent transgressed, especially during the last days of the fair. However, the exhibitors mainly concentrated on advertising their goods, partly by distributing brochures and catalogs, partly by showing the goods. During the fair days the sellers recorded a strong increase in sales in their shops in town, mainly due to the great number of foreigners who visited the fair.

More than 100 different brochures, catalogs, and other forms of advertisement were distributed which covered all possible areas of erotic business. Some of them were in full color and would, at least to a foreigner, in themselves constitute a valuable piece of hard-core pornography. The merchandise itself was displayed in all the variety of the moment including sexual implements of all kinds ranging

from both male and female auxiliary objects for ordinary intercourse to implements for homosexual, exhibitionistic, and sadomasochistic practices.

However, strongly dominating the scene were the pornographic pictures and films. So dominating was that line of the business, that it would have been more correct to call it a pornography fair rather than a sex fair. "The world's largest porno-shop," is what one visitor called it, very much to the point. The pictures and films displayed were undoubtedly the "strongest" hard-core pornography the Danish business could provide. "Triangles," "quadrangles," "pentangles," and so on in all mathematically possible combinations, closeups of sexual parts in a variety of activities, taken from many angles and in full color, hit the eyes of the visitor from the moment he entered the hall. According to a rough estimate about 7,000 different pictures of these kinds could be scrutinized ad libitum. It was somewhat more difficult to get access to the film shows, especially at the beginning of the fair. During the last few days, however, films were shown at a dozen different places probably allowing all visitors to get a good look at them. Although the films varied much more in "strength" and technical quality than did the pictures, they undoubtedly constituted the most "advanced" pornography available at the moment. Many visitors who at this fair were confronted with hard-core pornography for the first time in their lives viewed films that had something new to say even to the most experienced film club member.

The visitors. The fair ran for 8 days from early afternoon to midnight—a total of 76 hours. From the very start it attracted enormous attention both in Denmark and the rest of the world. The press conference on the opening day was one of the largest ever seen in Denmark. The rush of visitors was enormous. People would be waiting for hours to get in, standing in lines several hundred yards long, except for the late evening hours. An average of 11 people were let in every minute. The total number of visitors was 49,000—undoubtedly all that the hall could hold during the period.

Almost 80% of all the visitors were men. While most of the male visitors came alone or were accompanied by other men, the female visitors were almost always accompanied by men.

It was interesting to notice that the men-women ratio differed very much depending on the time of the day and the age of the visitors. During weekday afternoons the number of men outweighed the women by six to one, while in the evenings (after supper time) and during the weekend, the ratio went down to 3.5 to one. Among visitors under 25 years of age there were 2.6 men to each woman; from 25 to 49 years of age the ratio was 4.4 to one, and among visitors of 40 years and upwards the ratio was 6.7 to one. Clearly, the older men would usually come alone and quite often in the afternoon. The younger men, on the other hand, would more often tend to bring along their wives, fiances, or girl friends, and they would tend to go in the evening and during the weekends.

The above-mentioned findings are also clearly reflected in the age distribution of the visitors presented in Table 3.

Table 3 presents the combined data from the entrance sample in which age has been estimated and the questionnaire sample in which the distribution is based on the respondent's own statement. (The difference between the two distributions

Table 3

THE SEX FAIR: AGE DISTRIBUTION*

Age group:	18-24 yrs.	25-39 yrs.	40-59 yrs.	Total
Men	30%(24%)	46%(30%)	24%(45%)	100%(99%)
Women	47 (22)	43 (27)	10 (51)	100 (100)

*Based on combined data of estimated age entrance sample (N=1,959) and of questionnaire sample (N=196). Figures in parentheses give percentile distribution of total male and female population (18-59 years of age) in Copenhagen.

was slight and statistically nonsignificant.) For comparison the table also shows the age distribution of the total population in Copenhagen from 18 to 59 years.

The table shows that one-third of the men and half of the women were under 25 years old. In the age group over 40 there were 25% of the men and only 10% of the women. Almost half of the men were between 25 and 39 years old. A comparison with the census figures for Copenhagen shows that the two younger age groups are overrepresented while the oldest age group is underrepresented (the latter in spite of the fact that we have cut the census figures at 59 years of age, while the questionnaire sample included a few persons over 59—the oldest man in the sample was 80 years old).

The fact that the younger age groups were overrepresented and the older age group underrepresented need not have anything to do with the topic of the fair. Such a bias is also found with other types of "going out" leisure time activities (see Kühl, Koch-Nielsen and Vestergaard, 1966). In fact, when compared to a leisure time activity such as going to the movies it seems that among the men the youngest age group was rather underrepresented. Among the women, however, the oldest age group was still very much underrepresented.

The marital status of the visitors was also compared to the census data. The comparison showed that in the youngest age group, married and unmarried persons were represented at the fair in exactly the same proportions as in the whole of Copenhagen. In the older age groups the unmarried persons were slightly "overrepresented"; however, the difference was not statistically significant. This lack of relevance on the part of the factor of marital status is quite surprising. In fact, when compared to several other types of out-of-home activities, the percentage of married persons among the fair visitors is exceptionally high.

Finally the social level of the visitors, based on their occupation as stated in the questionnaire, has been compared to the population in general and to the estimated social level of the porno-shop customers. (See section on porno-shops.) The results[3] are shown in Table 4.

It can be seen that both among the Sex Fair visitors and the porno-shop customers the middle class is strongly overrepresented, while the working class is underrepresented. At the Sex Fair the middle and lower working class was almost completely absent in spite of the fact that this social level constitutes 25% of the population. However, one should be cautious to conclude on the basis of these

3. The data on social level should not be taken too literally. Both the Sex Fair and the porno-shop data contain an element of estimate, and the figures for the whole population are not necessarily valid for Copenhagen. However, the data serve as a rough approximation.

data that there is a direct relationship between social class and the attraction to pornography. It is quite likely that one would find a similar distribution of socioeconomic status among, for instance, bookstore customers and food fair visitors. The prices of pornographic magazines and the entrance fee at the Sex Fair ($1.50) would be prohibitive to many low-income people.

Earlier experience with pornography. The data from questionnaire concerning earlier use of pornography is shown in Table 5.

A comparison with similar data from the Survey on Sex Crimes (Table 10) shows that as concerns pornographic books and magazines, the Sex Fair visitors were not more experienced than the average Copenhagen population. Compared to this lack of difference it seems amazing that apparently the Sex Fair visitors were much more experienced with pornographic films than was the average

Table 4

THE SEX FAIR: SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF VISITORS*

	Sex Fair	Porno-shops	All Denmark
Middle working class	4%		25%
Upper working class	24	24%	34
Middle and upper classes	72	76	41
Total: Percentage	100	100	100
Number	(140)	(110)	—

*Based on occupation provided in answer to questionnaire. Estimated social level of porno-shop customers and actual social levels of Danish population (both sexes) expressed in percentages for purposes of comparison.

Table 5

THE SEX FAIR—QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE:
PRIOR EXPERIENCE WITH PORNOGRAPHY

(N=136 men, 60 women)

	Pornographic books		Pornographic magazines		Pornographic films	
No. used	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
None	11%	20%	7%	22%	41%	55%
One	7	10	6	5	6	5
2-9	28	33	18	30	31	13
10-49	32	22	35	20	9	7
50 or more	11	3	19	7	3	3
Unanswered	11	12	15	17	10	17
Total	100	100	100	101	100	100

population. However, there are strong indications that this difference is not real but rather is due to a technical error in the questionnaire used at the Sex Fair.[4]

When allowance is made for the fact that the questionnaire sample at the Sex Fair included a number of persons affiliated with the pornography business (which may explain the slight overrepresentation of persons highly experienced with pornography) it seems reasonable to conclude that, as far as we can trust the answers, most of the Sex Fair visitors were neither more nor less acquainted with pornography than most of the Copenhagen population in the same age groups.

Motives for visiting the fair. A pilot study with the open-ended question "why did you visit Sex-69?" showed that almost all the answers could be classified into three categories: curiosity, interest in pornography, and affiliation with the business. Consequently, these categories were used in the final implementation of the questionnaire study. (The results are shown in Table 6.)

As can be seen, the vast majority of both men and women came because they would "like to see what it was." "Interest in pornography" was mentioned somewhat more often by men than by women—on the whole, however, the difference between the frequencies of answers used by men and women is not statistically significant. Table 6 also shows that there is a striking difference in the motives given by different age groups. While 38% of the men over 25 years stated that they came because of interest in pornography, this reason was given only by 7% of the men under 25. With the women it is quite the opposite: 20% of the young women said that they came because of interest in pornography, as against only 4% (one person) among women over 25. In the latter category 22% said that they were affiliated with the business. No difference was found between married and unmarried persons as to their motives for visiting the fair.

Table 6

THE SEX FAIR: MOTIVES FOR VISITING FAIR

	Men	Women	Men		Women	
Why do you visit the fair?	Total	Total	Under 25	Over 24	Under 25	Over 24
"Like to see what it was"	68%	77%	82%	61%	83%	67%
"Interested in pornography"	28	12	7	38	20	4
"Affiliated with the business"	5	10	7	4	0	22
Other reasons	6	3	7	5	0	7
Unanswered	6	3	0	9	3	4
Total percentage	113	105	103	117	100	104
No. of persons	(136)	(60)	(44)	(92)	(30)	(27)

4. The question asked was: "How many pornographic films have you seen prior to the Sex Fair?" Shortly after the Sex Fair pilot studies preceding the Survey on Sex Crimes showed that when the question was formulated in this way, many people who had never seen a "real" pornographic film would nevertheless answer in the affirmative because they would include some recent erotic feature motion pictures (some of which had, in fact, been advertised as "pornographic"). In the implementation of the survey, the interviewer would therefore define "pornographic films" in such a way that only hard-core pornographic films were mentioned.

The above findings mentioned concerning age and sex-related differences in motives were strongly substantiated by statements in the unstructured tape-recorded interviews.

Opinions and feelings about the fair. The data in this section are based on an analysis of 159 semistructured tape-recorded interviews (39 women and 120 men).

Eighty persons were asked whether they liked the exhibition or not. The majority (60%) said they did not like the fair, while 26% said they liked it and 14% were undecided. There was no difference in this respect between men and women.

Very few people were unconditionally positive toward the fair, but also very few expressed utter disgust. The typical comment would go something like this:

"I was curious about what this fair would be like—had heard so much about it . . . I think it's okay that they made it, but somehow it's very disappointing. Some of the stuff is very strong—in fact it's surprising what you can show to people these days; but it is the same all over, and you get so bored very quickly. As soon as you have seen one film you've seen them all!"

It is interesting that apart from complaining about the repetitiveness of the pornography displayed, most of those who said they were disappointed were unable to tell more specifically what they were disappointed about—just that they had expected "something else."

Some persons, however, formulated their grievances in a more specific way. One type of complaint had to do with the circumstances: "There are too many people . . .", "It is too noisy around . . .", "It's impossible to get turned on, watching these films together with a big crowd of people."

Other grievances had to do with the contents and style of the pornography. Here there seemed to be a sex difference: while the men mostly complained about the lack of technical quality in the films and that the models did not seem to be really sexually excited, the women mostly complained about the callousness of the pornography: "It is made for men, all of it!" One young girl said: "There is a complete lack of every kind of affection and solicitude for the other part. They avoid everything human and pleasant."

Some people complained that the pornography and the fair completely lacked a sense of humor. A frequent comment also was that everything was so obviously commercial. A few men mentioned that they were disgusted by the male homosexual films.

The favorable comments had mainly to do with the idea of the fair: "It's a good idea . . .", "such a thing is very much needed . . .", "opens up towards a more liberal view on sexualism."

Only a few persons—equally as many men and women—plainly said that they enjoyed watching the pictures and the films. Here is an untypical interview with a middle-aged married couple:

Interviewer: How do you like the Fair?

Husband: I think it's just gorgeous.

Wife: Yes, I think so, too.

Interviewer: Have you seen any of the films?

Husband: Yes, we have. I think they are great.

Wife: Yes, they sure are.

Husband: There is nothing offensive about it!

Wife: No!

Husband: That is the way you are made, I guess, and I don't see any reason to try and change it. It's pure love. Everything is clean, isn't it? To the clean everything is clean. That is how I feel about all this. I don't see anybody who blushes or something.

Wife: No, sure no one blushes. There is nothing to blush about.

Interviewer: Have you ever seen these kinds of films before you came here?

Husband and wife (simultaneously): No, we sure haven't!

Husband: I have bought some pornographic magazines and things like that.

Wife: Some magazines and things like that.

Interviewer (to wife): What do *you* think about it?

Wife: Well, I think it is fine!

The husband went on to explain that earlier his wife used to call it "baloney" when he came home with a pornographic magazine. Then he found out that she was just embarrassed and did not want to admit it. Now they both enjoyed pornography and were going to buy some films to be used at home. The wife added small affirmative comments.

In contrast here is an interview also with a married couple, which in its sheer negativeness is also not too typical:

Husband: I think it's some damn rubbish.

Wife: Yes, it is quite depressing to watch it. If this is the kind of imagination people have, I don't give much for people's imagination.

Husband: It's meager, it's dismal.

Wife: I could have imagined that beforehand. But I just came along. It wouldn't hurt seeing what it was all about. I'd rather have seen a good movie.

Finally, here is a monologue by an elderly lady who had a more philosophical look at the fair:

> I have come to see it for my own sake, and then I have to give a report to the members of my family who will not have the time to see it. I think things have been developing fantastically quickly. I find it healthy, no matter who comes here and for what reason. I have just seen a black-and-white film, it was very perverse, it's something very special, and I think it's right what _____ once said, that there must be room for that too, true?
>
> I didn't like to see it, but I wasn't shocked. I would have killed that man, if he used violence against me in this way, but I wouldn't know whether I am normal. I really don't know!
>
> I have also seen that [a homosexual magazine] has a stand here. I think that is splendid, but there wasn't much interest in it, it still seems to be quite a hidden

thing to show that kind of interest, doesn't it? . . . I like the exhibition, I think there ought to be such a thing every year, and if it is true that there are different clubs, where all kinds of different people can have their needs satisfied by just being together, I think that's fine. I don't think that the attitude towards pornography is so much a question of age, as of having freed oneself completely of ways and prejudices of the western culture. I don't think that, as far as I am concerned, I would let myself be influenced by all this enough to change the pattern of my life; but I am happy to see my children and in-laws blossoming out. I think they may learn something, first and foremost from each other, of course, but also from the pictures!"

In conclusion, the Sex Fair principally attracted middle-class men, 20 to 40 years of age, married as well as unmarried. The relatively few women who came were mostly young women who were accompanied by their husbands, fiances, or boy friends. The low-income men and older women stayed away. Only two types of background variables would seem to have a direct relation to the topic of the fair: the absence of women over 40, and the fact that there were four times as many men as women. In all other respects that we have been able to check, it would seem that the Sex Fair visitors did not differ from visitors one would expect to find at many other types of fairs. This includes earlier experience with pornography.

Most of the visitors came because they were curious about what such a fair would be like. However, 38% of the men over 25 years directly stated that their motive for coming was "interest in pornography."

Only a few visitors were completely satisfied with the fair. The majority were more or less disappointed and bored. Apparently strong reactions such as disgust or shocked feelings were very rare.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD PORNOGRAPHY. THE USE OF PORNOGRAPHY

How has the public in Denmark reacted to the repeal of the ban on pornography? How do people in general like pornography? Who uses pornography, and what do they use it for?

An answer to these and a number of affiliated questions was provided through an interview survey among 398 men and women in Copenhagen. The survey was designed primarily to provide information concerning the reasons for the decrease in reported sex crimes in Copenhagen. It has therefore been described in detail elsewhere in this series of reports (Kutschinsky, 1970a). For the present purpose we shall merely mention that the survey population may be considered fairly representative of the Copenhagen population mainly in the age groups from 18 to 50 years. Due to some special circumstances in relation to the method used one might expect a selection bias favoring positive attitudes toward pornography and the use of it. However, as we shall see, such a bias must either be very small or nonexistent.

In this section we shall present an outline of the survey results concerned with pornography (unfortunately, only marginal data for men and women are available at the moment of writing). In addition we shall quote some data from Gallup polls.

Opinions about the repeal. The opening question of the interview concerned the recent repeal of the pornography ban. While 78% of the men and 61% of the women were definitely in favor of the repeal, 8% of the men and 15% of the women were definitely against. Fortunately we are able to supplement these data with figures from a Gallup poll carried out in June 1970—exactly a year after the last repeal. Some of the findings are quoted in Table 7.

It can be seen that the repeal has been accepted by the majority of the population. However, the acceptance is higher among men than among women, higher in Copenhagen than in the rest of the country, and higher in the younger age groups than in the older age groups. Since our survey population was only from Copenhagen and partially excluded the older age groups, our findings are very consistent with the Gallup data.[5]

The Gallup poll of June 1970 is the third one concerning pornography. The first poll, which was conducted in 1965, asked the respondents whether pornographic books should be prohibited. The results showed that 46% of the total population was in favor of a repeal. The repeal of the ban on pornographic literature actually took place in June 1967. One year after that the Gallup poll again asked the same question, and this time the percentage in favor of the repeal had increased to 61%. The second Gallup poll (May 1968) also asked about the

Table 7

"DO YOU THINK IT WAS RIGHT OR WRONG TO REPEAL THE BAN ON PORNOGRAPHY?"
Gallup Poll, June 1970*

	Right	Wrong	Don't Know	Total
All of Denmark	57%	25%	18%	100%
SEX				
Men	65	18	17	100
Women	48	32	20	100
URBANIZATION				
Copenhagen	63	22	15	100
Provincial towns	57	27	16	100
Rural districts	50	26	24	100
AGE				
15-24 years	76	12	12	100
25-29 years	73	12	15	100
30-39 years	69	19	12	100
40-49 years	60	22	18	100
50-64 years	45	34	21	100
65 years and over	28	42	30	100

*Quoted with permission of Gallup Instituttet and *Berlingske Tidende.*

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5. A more direct comparison by means of a number of cross-tabulations (which, however, are not yet available) will probably show that in our survey the percentage of opponents is somewhat higher than in the Gallup poll—this should also be expected since the survey was carried out only 6 months after the repeal, while the Gallup poll took place one year later. (As we shall see presently, the number of opponents has been steadily decreasing.)

respondents' attitudes toward the repeal of the ban on pornographic pictures: 49% were in favor of such a repeal. In June 1969 the ban on pornographic pictures was actually repealed—and in 1970, one year after the repeal, 57% declared that they were in favor of the decision.

It can be seen that the development in the population concerning attitudes toward the repeal of the ban on pornographic books and pictures, respectively, is almost parallel: In both cases there was close to, but not fully, 50% in favor of the repeal sometime before the repeal took place, and in both cases there was quite a heavy majority in favor of it a year later. In both cases the "turning point" must have occurred shortly before or perhaps even exactly at the time of the repeal. It should be noted, however, that in none of the polls was there ever a majority in favor of restrictions.

Other attitudes toward pornography. One of the questions in the survey interview was: "What in general do you think about pornography?"[6] The results are shown in Table 8. It will be seen that favorable answers were more often given by men than by women, while women somewhat more often gave answers expressing dislike or lack of interest. However, the differences were not very striking.

While the majority of the respondents thus indicated lack of interest in pornography or a direct dislike, extremely few persons would mention that they found it offensive. This attitude is also reflected in the answers to a few other questions. Thus only 9% of the men and 16% of the women said that they would stay away from a movie if they found out that it had some hard-core pornographic scenes.

Table 8

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: ANSWERS TO QUESTION "WHAT IN GENERAL DO YOU THINK ABOUT PORNOGRAPHY?"

Answer	Men	Women	Total
Like it	18%	11%	14%
Exciting	4	1	2
Entertaining	10	5	7
No interest	31	35	33
Boring	9	8	8
Poor	8	9	9
Offensive in general	2	5	3
Offensive to religion	0	1	1
Repulsive	9	13	11
Some good, some bad	19	15	17
Don't know	5	8	6
Miscellaneous	15	11	13
Total percent	130%	122%	124%
Number of persons	(198)	(200)	(398)

6. As in all other parts of the survey interview (apart from the "closed section," see later) there were no categories of forced-choice answers. The interviewer would listen to the respondent's spontaneous answer and then try to fit the answer into one of the check-list categories provided in the interview form.

On the whole, those respondents who were parents seemed to have a very relaxed attitude toward the topic of children and pornography. Thus 143 respondents who had children between three and 14 years of age were asked whether they would hide pornography from the children. Twenty-nine persons said that they did not have any pornographic material. Among the remainder, one-third said that they would hide pornography from the children, while two-thirds said they would not. Only two persons were undecided about that question. There was no difference between men and women in this respect.

Finally, the respondents were asked whether they thought that pornography might sometimes be harmful or whether they thought it might sometimes be beneficial. The answers are shown in Table 9; as can be seen, there is considerable agreement between men and women.

Table 9

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES:
"DO YOU THINK THAT PORNOGRAPHY MAY SOMETIMES BE HARMFUL?" and
"DO YOU THINK THAT PORNOGRAPHY MAY SOMETIMES BE BENEFICIAL?"

PORNOGRAPHY HARMFUL	Men	Women	Total
Definitely yes	34%	38%	36%
Perhaps yes	18	16	17
Definitely no	41	41	41
Perhaps no	5	4	4
Don't know	2	1	2
Total percentage	100	100	100
PORNOGRAPHY BENEFICIAL			
Definitely yes	68%	62%	65%
Perhaps yes	10	13	12
Definitely no	18	18	18
Perhaps no	0	2	1
Don't know	4	5	4
Total percentage	100	100	100
Total number	(198)	(200)	(398)

While one-third were quite sure that pornography might sometimes be harmful, two-thirds felt equally sure that it might sometimes be beneficial (the two categories are, of course, not mutually exclusive).

Additional questioning ("In what way harmful?") gave as the most common answers that pornography might be "harmful to children" (18%), "harmful to adolescents" (13%), or "harmful to other specific groups of persons" (13%). Only a few respondents mentioned specific types of harm: "Promotes sexual deviations" (7%), "breaks down morals" (6%), "vulgarizes sex life" (6%), and "promotes sex crime" (5%). (It should be noted that many respondents gave more than one answer.)

A total of 77% said that pornography might perhaps be beneficial. The most common answers to the question about what ways it could be beneficial was that it "alleviates the sexual urge or substitutes for sex" for some people in some situations (25%), that it "reduces sex crimes" (18%), and that it "has informative value" (17%). Other answers were: "breaks down taboos" (17% of the men and

6% of the women); "improves sex life" (10%); "increases sex life" (8%); "reduces feelings of guilt" (4%).

These results very clearly reflect themes in the general debate that has taken place in Denmark centering around the repeal. It shows that many people have indeed taken a standpoint in this matter (very few answered "don't know"), and that extreme viewpoints as to good or harmful effects are few.

The use of pornography. While people's attitudes toward pornography have in recent years been a frequent subject of public discussion and sometimes—as we have seen—of survey investigation, next to nothing is known about the actual use of pornography. We do know that the sale of pornographic books has been considerable, especially from 1964 to 1967. We also know that the sale of books decreased toward the end of the sixties and was replaced by a similarly great sale of pornographic magazines. But as to who the users are we have nothing more than guesses.

It was, therefore, of obvious interest to include questions about the use of pornography in our survey of the Copenhagen population. A total of 18 questions were asked bearing directly on the use of pornography. Some of the major results are shown in Table 10.

The table shows that no less than 87% of the men and 73% of the women admitted having read at least one pornographic book. Exactly the same proportion had seen at least one pornographic magazine, while only a few persons had seen pornographic films. Persons who had read more than one book or seen more than one magazine are still in the majority. When comparing the figures for men and women, there is a (statistically significant) difference in the direction, which indicates that women are on the whole less acquainted with pornography than the men. However, the difference is not at all striking.

The table also shows that the quantity of magazines seen was somewhat larger than the number of books read. This was especially the case with the men. No less than 18% of the men claimed to have seen more than 50 magazines (11% of the

Table 10

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: USE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL BY MEN AND WOMEN

	Pornographic books		Pornographic pictures		Pornographic films	
No. consumed	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
None	13%	27%	12%	27%	77%	82%
One	12	16	7	12	6	10
2-9	40	33	23	30	9	7
10-49	26	16	34	22	6	1
50 or more	8	4	18	5	1	0
Don't remember number	1	4	6	4	1	0
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Consumed any within the last month	13	9	39	23	4	2
Number	(198)	(200)	(198)	(200)	(198)	(200)

men and 4% of the women had read more than 100 magazines). The fact that magazines are more "in" at the moment than books was reflected in the finding that 39% of the men and 23% of the women had seen a magazine "within the last month" while only 13% and 9%, respectively, had read a book in the same period.

Fourty-four men and 34 women had seen at least one pornographic film. An additional question shows that the majority of these films were seen within the last 3 years. Before 1967 only 8% of the men and 6% of the women had seen a pornographic film. Half of the respondents who had watched a pornographic film had seen this film "with friends."

This finding of a high consumption of pornography might seem to be inconsistent with the fact that rather few people had said that they liked pornography (see Table 8). However, the two findings are not necessarily contradictory. Most people who do not like smoking have tried it a few times—they may even have been excessive smokers who have stopped. Whether or not one has seen a few pornographic magazines and read a few books is most probably a question of availability more than of like or dislike. Pornographic books and magazines are easily available in Denmark at the moment. Books and magazines are passed easily from hand to hand, and many people will take the opportunity of looking at them out of sheer curiosity. Although films are also easily available in shops and porno-clubs, it takes somewhat more effort to get to see them. This is probably the reason why relatively few people had ever seen a pornographic film. Most likely, in a few years from now, people's curiosity about films will have been fulfilled in much the same way as is now the case with the books and the picture magazines.

Pornography as an aphrodisiac. Although there is hardly any doubt that a major purpose if not the main application of pornographic material is the use of it as an aphrodisiac, that is, as a means to obtain or increase sexual arousal, very little empirical evidence exists on the matter. In the "closed section" of the survey interview (see Kutschinsky, 1971a, Appendix), two questions were asked concerning the arousal effect of different types of pornographic material and the use of pornography in relation to sexual activities.

The first question was: "What kind of material excites you most sexually?" The answer categories and the distribution of the answers are shown in Table 11.

Table 11

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: "WHAT TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL AROUSES YOU MOST SEXUALLY?"

What is most sexually arousing?	Men	Women	Total
Books	14% (29%)	14% (47%)	14% (36%)
Pictures	22 (45)	11 (39)	16 (43)
Films	16 (34)	5 (16)	10 (27)
None of it	32	44	37
Don't know	20	27	23
Unanswered	1	1	1
Total percentage	105	102	101
Number	(198)	(200)	(398)

Forty-eight percent of the men and 29% of the women checked at least one of the categories, "books," "pictures," or "films," thus indicating indirectly that they were in fact sexually aroused by pornographic material. The difference between men and women is statistically significant.

The table shows further that while men and women would often equally check pornographic books, the men much more often than the women would mention visual material. The figures in brackets, showing the distribution of choice among those who did make a choice, clearly shows the difference in preference between men and women (this difference too is statistically significant).

The following two questions went directly to the point: "Do you use pornography when you masturbate?" and "Do you use pornography in relation to sexual intercourse?"

The answers are shown in Table 12. Sixty-two percent of the men and 42% of the women checked one of the categories "usually," "now and then," or "never," thus indicating indirectly that they would masturbate now and then (it cannot be excluded, however, that a few persons may not have read through the whole list, and checked "never" when they in fact meant "does not masturbate"). Of these, 33% of the men and 11% of the women would sometimes use pornography (figures in parentheses).

While 20% of all the men used pornography for masturbation, only 6% of the men would use it in combination with coitus. The women, only 5% of whom used pornography for masturbation, would somewhat more often use it with coitus (10%); the difference, however, is not statistically significant.

The finding that women will more often respond sexually to literary material than to pictures while the reverse is the case with the men supports the findings by Kinsey et al. (1953, pp. 662 and 670)—and so does the finding that on the

Table 12

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: USE OF PORNOGRAPHY FOR MASTURBATION AND COITUS

	Men	Women	Total
Use pornography when masturbating?			
Usually	4% (7%)	1% (1%)	2%
Now and then	16 (26)	4 (10)	10
Never	42 (67)	41 (89)	42
Does not masturbate	37	53	45
Unanswered	1	1	1
Total percentage	100	100	100
Use pornography with coitus?			
Usually	0%	1%	1%
Now and then	6	9	7
Never	88	86	87
Does not have coitus	5	2	4
Unanswered	1	2	1
Total percentage	100	100	100
Total number	(198)	(200)	(398)

whole men will respond more frequently to pornography than women. Both of these findings were also supported by the results in Kutschinsky's experiment concerning the effect of pornography (1970b) in which, however, the results were not unambiguous.

Also, the fact that very few women will use pornographic material as a source of stimulation during masturbation supports Kinsey's finding (1953, p. 668), although our 5% does sound more substantial than Kinsey's "nearly no cases." However, on the basis of Kinsey's data it is surprising that 10% of the women in our survey would sometimes use pornography in relation to sexual intercourse.[7]

When comparing the Kinsey data with ours, however, one will have to take into account both the differences in the availability of pornographic material and the general as well as the sex differential acceptance of pornography as a "legitimate" source of sexual stimulation. In both respects the differences between the United States in 1940 and Denmark in 1970 would seem to be tremendous. In fact, our survey showed that the women in Copenhagen would be acquainted with pornography and would accept it almost as much as the men—in contrast to Kinsey's remark that "the consuming public . . . is almost exclusively male" (1953, p. 672). On this basis, Kinsey's conclusion concerning the different role of psychosexual material in male and female masturbation would seem to have amazing durability.

EPILOGUE

We have collected some "pieces of a jigsaw puzzle" concerning the pornography situation in Denmark, and we have placed as many of them as we could before the reader. In some areas we even managed to put the pieces together to form patterns. Is it possible by now to get an impression of the total picture? We did promise the reader that he would have to use his own power of integration; nevertheless, we shall try to give some hints about the "finished" puzzle picture as we see it.

First, however, we must apologize for the fact that the research took place almost exclusively in Copenhagen. This was not an improper manifestation of metropolitan chauvinism. Nor does it mean that we considered Copenhagen all there was to say about Denmark. The simple explanation is that we did not have the necessary economic means to gather information outside the city in which the research team was located. We do, however, have one reliable hint about the difference between Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark in relation to pornography: While the repeal of the ban, according to a recent Gallup poll, was accepted by 63% of the citizens in Copenhagen, the percentage for the rest of the country was about 53%. This difference may give some idea about the extent to which the results from Copenhagen may be expected to represent all of Denmark. The reader may want to use this information to make his own inferences. Meanwhile, we shall now give an outline of a picture which essentially concerns "pornography in Copenhagen."

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7. When, in a different connection, Kinsey mentions that in art women will sometimes be portrayed reading a book while in coitus (while this was never the case with the men) (1953, p. 669), our findings would seem to suggest a refreshing new interpretation: Perhaps it is a pornographic book she is reading!

One year after the repeal a large majority of citizens had accepted the fact that Denmark was the first country in the world to make it possible to produce, sell, and buy (with a few unimportant exceptions) any kind of media describing any kind of sexual behavior. The acceptance was backed by the conviction that pornography was probably not harmful to anyone and that it might even have some beneficial effects. Those who accepted the repeal seemed to know what they were talking about, as most people had read some pornographic books and had looked at some magazines.

The fact that people accepted pornography and were more or less familiar with it does not mean that they were especially fond of it or that it would constitute any important part of their (sex) lives. The fact seems to be that the matter did not excite them one way or the other. This finding was obvious even at the Sex Fair where one might have expected to see a majority of "porno fans": the most common reason expressed for going there was "curiosity about what such a thing would be like." Curiosity was probably also the reason for the high percentage of persons who had had some experience with pornography.

So much for the majority. There were also two minorities (15% to 20% each): those who detested pornography, found it harmful, and thought it should be forbidden—and those who rather enjoyed pornography, who would buy it now and then and use it for sexual stimulation once in a while. Obviously, there were not enough of the former to keep pornography away form the latter; and apparently there are enough of the latter to keep the pornography industry going.

We do not have enough cross-tabulations available at the moment to give a more exact picture of those two groups. That part of the puzzle will have to be filled in later. There are indications that the opponents of pornography are mostly elderly people and that there are more female than male opponents. As to the "porno fans" we know a bit more: we know that they are mostly found among men in the 25 to 40 age groups. Very young men are curious about pornography, but they do not seem to be very interested in it as a sexual stimulant. As concerns women we have clearly demonstrated (in opposition to Kinsey) that they are not altogether unfavorable toward pornography and are quite familiar with it. On the other hand, they will rarely buy it and do not very often use it as an aphrodisiac.

We do not yet know enough to determine whether this difference between men and women concerning the direct use of pornography is solely due to our pattern of culture or whether there is also a neurophysiologic component as assumed by Kinsey (1953, p. 712). One factor which seems to be strongly operating toward preserving the sex differences in this respect is that the pornography industry almost exclusively turns out "pornography for men." They may be doing that basically because women do not care for pornography, but it may also be the other way around. We shall probably soon get an answer to that question, because pornography is here to stay—in a very small .corner of sex life and a very tiny corner indeed of human life in Copenhagen.

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