## **Preface**

We begin this book, as we began the study upon which it is based, by acknowledging our assumption that the term pornography is a value judgment. We assume that sexually explicit material can be and is invested with valences by individuals in a manner consistent with their overall network of value orientations, socialization patterns, and selfconcepts. We assume that the labeling of sexually explicit materials as "pornographic" can adequately be understood only in the wider context of the sociological structures and processes of the society and the psychological structures and processes of the human personality. At the time of our study (1969–1970), the legal test (determined by the Warren Supreme Court) of whether or not sexually explicit material could be prohibited constitutionally rested on four criteria, all of which reflected the centrality of value judgment. Material was pornographic or obscene if: (a) to the average person (b) the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appealed to prurient interest in sex; (c) the material was patently offensive because it affronted contemporary community standards relating to the description or representation of sexual matters; and (d) the material was utterly without redeeming social value (Cain, 1970; Ginzburg, 1966; Hoyt, 1970; Jacobellis, 1964; Manual Enterprises, Inc., 1962; Memoirs, 1966; Mishkin, 1966; Redrup, 1967; Roth, 1957; Stanley, 1969; Walker, 1970). During the writing of this book (1973), the Burger Supreme Court modified the legal test for pornography (Miller, 1973; Paris Adult Theater, 1973), primarily by removing the "redeeming social value" criterion and by emphasizing the determination of "contemporary community standards." Specifically, the language of the test was changed to read: "whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interests, whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law, and whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value" (Miller, 1973). The new test continues to reflect the centrality of value judgment.

Throughout the United States, groups of individuals have been concurring more or less explicitly in their perceptions of what is pornographic, have assessed pornography to be a problem, and have mobilized attempts within their communities to stop or to restrict the commercial availability of various forms of sexually explicit material. How and why those crusades are generated, their evolution, their impact, the satisfaction derived from participation, and relevant characteristics of the participants and their opponents constitute the major issues with which we will be concerned in this book. Our approach to those issues and our interpretations of the data pertinent to them are consistently influenced by our assumption that pornography is a value judgment.

The study and the book are based upon intensive case histories of two antipornography crusades and extensive interviews with their most central participants and opponents. Though Goering, McLaird, and Coates (1969), Elkin (1960), Massey (1971), Wallis (1972), Wasby (1965) and Twomey (1955) have written useful brief accounts of incidents, there has never before been a systematic, comprehensive, comparative, and theory-oriented study of antipornography crusades. Though there are in the literature many studies of social movements which sought to produce change, there are only a few which analyze movements organized to *resist* change. A search of the literature also reveals few studies of small local rather than large national social movements and even fewer studies of two or more like-oriented movements in a comparative framework. Our study helps to fill those lacunae in the literature

The book provides an in-depth analysis of antipornography efforts as symbolic-status and norm-oriented movements in a context of social change. The analytical approach is sociological and social-psychological, is based on both qualitative and quantitative data, and synthesizes macrolevel data on social structure with microlevel data on individual characteristics. Most studies of social movements have concentrated on the structural or the individual level of data and analysis. Within a general setting of social change, we have been able to describe the emergence of symbolic crusades, to determine the characteristics of the crusade organizations, to identify some of the important attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of those who participate in the crusades and those who oppose them, and to isolate some of the conceptual interstices among those entities. Our examination of the social movement organizations which directed the two antipornography

crusades is particularly extensive, involving a wide array of structural variables. The comparative analysis of the two social movement organizations allows us to identify which among the variables are the most salient, how the variables interact, and what their relationship is to the symbolic crusade.

At the same time, we have been guided by and thus have been able to test (or at least to illustrate) and conceptually integrate some to-date rarely researched theoretical frameworks concerning social movements, namely: Gusfield's (1963) theory of status politics in symbolic crusades; Smelser's (1962) value-added theory of collective behavior; Zald and Ash's (1966) propositions concerning the growth and transformation of social-movement organizations; assorted propositions concerning the influence of multiorganizational fields upon social movements; and Turner's (1970) propositions specifying the determinants of movement strategy. We are also able to assess assorted hypotheses concerning the social-psychological characteristics of change-resisting individuals and, selectively, other propositions and hypotheses concerning social movements and their participants. At the conclusion of the book, we synthesize the findings which bear upon the total set of hypotheses and propositions into a broad theoretical framework. That framework is cast in a predictive mode, listing a series of "if . . . then" statements concerning the emergence of antipornography crusades specifically and symbolic crusades generally.

Though we have limited our interpretations of the data to those theoretical perspectives which particularly interested us, we believe that the data on natural history and individual characteristics have been presented in sufficient abundance to allow the reader, for pedagogical or research purposes, to substitute alternative interpretations drawn from other theoretical orientations.

Our study of antipornography crusades presents a contemporary example of the processes of citizens' attempts to influence social legislation, a topic which currently is, and increasingly will become, of national concern. Similarly, the study presents an example of citizen voluntarism, another currently increasing phenomenon in our society.

Some of the materials presented in the book have appeared in modified form in journals and research reports (see Acknowledgments). But the book goes beyond those materials and integrates them with other fresh materials into an overall analytical scheme. The full ethnography of the antipornography crusades could not be and was not presented piecemeal in articles. Only book form allows the richness of

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detail, the depth of process. Only book form provides a vehicle for telling the whole story of the individuals, the organizations, and their interface. Finally, only book form allows the presentation of the complete research design, revealing its multiple approaches, its weaknesses, and its strengths.

We intend the book to be useful for undergraduate and beginning graduate students in the social sciences, particularly for courses in collective behavior, social movements, social change, social problems, political sociology, deviant behavior, and social control.

All names of individuals, organizations, places, and newspapers in this book are pseudonyms, with the exception of a few nationally known public figures, organizations, and publications.