Herewith the Kutschinsky article.

Note:
Although the conclusions have never been disproven, probably because there has never been another situation in which parallel research could be done, there is a serious (and legitimate) challenge that it actually registers reported sex crimes, not sex crimes as such. Thus, in the pornography debates of the 1990s, feminists argued that the true effect being measured was that, in light of increasing social acceptance of pornography and the violence against women it depicted, women and victims were accepting that their victimization was legitimate, and just not reporting it any more. There is of course no way to disprove that argument either.
In relation to child pornography, there is also the argument that even if the conclusions were valid, and the availability of child porno decreased future or potential attacks on children, that would only be at the expense of the known, actual crimes against children being committed in the course of its production. Trading off a known evil for a potential benefit is unethical.
Finally, of course, there is the whole vast body of “research” cited against it which “demonstrates” that people are prompted and stimulated to commit (sexual or violent) acts when they see these in media – the stuff which is regularly used in arguments against not only porn but violent movies and sexist music videos and rap acts. Simply citing this is not enough; the area is contested, and that research also needs to be debunked. (Incidentally, I would note that this latter body of research is just as valid by your “Princeton” way of working, of proposing a “reasonable” thesis and looking for evidence to support it.)
Berl Kutschinsky

Studies on
PORNOGRAPHY and
SEX CRIMES in
DENMARK

A Report to the US Presidential Commission
on Obscenity and Pornography
TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF THE DECREASE IN REGISTERED SEX CRIMES IN COPENHAGEN

A Preliminary Report of a Survey on Victimization and Attitudes, And Some Further Considerations

Recent years have seen a dramatic decrease in the number of sexual offenses registered by the police in Copenhagen. The decrease has taken place in practically all areas of sex crimes, although there are certain variations. Thus, the largest drop was seen with peeping, exhibitionism, and indecent interference with girls, while there was only a small decrease in rape or attempted rape.

While the number of sex crimes had been rather stable for many years, a downward trend became manifest already in the first part of the 1960's, and from the middle of the decade the decrease became striking. In Table 1 is presented an excerpt of the police statistics, giving an impression of the change that has taken place. Figure 1 illustrates the course of the decrease year by year for all registered heterosexual offenses.

A number of reasons could conceivably be responsible for the decrease:

1. Some (earlier) sexual offenses may have ceased being included in the crime statistics for "technical reasons," such as law amendments or changes in the data collecting procedure of the police.
Accordingly, it seems reasonable to proceed to look for an explanation of the decrease in some of the other possibilities. In doing so, one should keep in mind that more than one factor may be responsible for the decrease, and that the same explanation does not necessarily hold for all offenses.

The present paper is an introductory presentation of a survey which was designed primarily to bring data to bear on the possibilities numbered 3 and 4: Has there been a change in people's definition of sex crimes or their readiness to report sex crimes which may explain the decrease? In addition, the survey has provided some information about victimization of sex crimes—reported as well as unreported. When combined with the results of the other parts of the survey, it was hoped that the victimization data—in spite of the small number of subjects—would provide a basis for some tentative conclusions concerning possibility No. 2: Has there been a real decrease in the total number of sex crimes? (As concerns possibility No. 5, some preliminary information was obtained through informal interviews with police officers in key positions.)

The survey also provided data concerning the attitudes towards and the use of pornography. These results have been reported elsewhere in this report (p. 38ff above).

METHOD AND SUBJECTS

The survey was designed to be an interview investigation of approximately 400 men and women in Copenhagen. Because the results had to be compared directly with the Copenhagen police statistics, it was necessary that the population interviewed was a representative sample of the adult population in Copenhagen. This section will deal with how and to what extent this was obtained.

The survey successfully contacted 198 men and 200 women in their homes. The respondents were both interviewed and were required to fill in a self-administered questionnaire. Ninety-four percent of the interviews were carried out on December 8, 1969, between 6 and 9 p.m., by approximately 100 pre-trained student interviewers. With few exceptions, respondents were interviewed by persons of their own sex.

The respondents were selected in two different ways. Sample One was a stratified random sample of names and addresses. Persons in this sample were notified by a letter three days in advance and asked to stay home the evening of the interview. Sample Two consisted of those persons who were interviewed whenever the interviewer failed to get access to the person originally on the list.

In the following, the procedure in collecting the data, the interview form, and the representativeness of the respondents will be described in some detail.

The Procedure

Interview surveys of this kind usually give rather meager results in Copenhagen, as opposed to the rest of the country. In Copenhagen it is often difficult to find people at home, and if one succeeds, the interviewer will often be turned down. Pilot studies with the purpose of preparing the questionnaire and procedure had shown that difficulties could be expected to be even worse because of the topic of this survey. These problems were circumvented by means of a carefully planned and controlled press campaign, starting 20 days before the interview day with articles in
persons not listed—mainly persons in institutions—were excluded. These districts were selected so as to constitute, as a whole, a representative sample of all Copenhagen. Within each district an average of 25 men and 25 women were selected through a combination of stratified and random drawing. The selection was stratified as to marital status: 50% were married, 25% unmarried, and 25% formerly married. In addition, the age groups were limited to 18-49; since persons over 50 constitute a very large proportion of the population and since the focus of this study was especially on recent or potential victims of sex crimes or parents of such victims, it was decided to reduce the number of older persons to the benefit of having a larger number of young and middle-aged respondents. (Due to some technical slips, however, the sample did include a few persons over 49 years).

The original sample drawn consisted of 200 men and 198 women. This number was reduced in the following ways:

1. Due to the age of the tax list, 47 men and 35 women (24 and 17%, respectively) had moved from the address under which they were listed (or had died).

2. Of the reduced sample, 18 men and 15 women telephoned after they had received the pre-notification and called off the interview. Some of the cancellations were blunt refusals; for other different reasons were given, such as going on vacation. (We had about 40 additional phone calls, most of them from people accepting our offer to make a more specific appointment for the interview; in a number of cases we succeeded in talking reluctant respondents into accepting the interview.)

3. Furthermore, 18 men and 21 women refused to be interviewed when the interviewer called. Total cancellations and refusals added up to 18% of the original sample.

4. Finally, 14 men and 16 women (7 and 8%) could not be contacted in spite of several visits, phone calls, and another appeal by a letter.

The total loss of the original sample was thus 95 men and 85 women, a reduction by 48% and 43%, respectively. Of this loss, the reduction due to respondents who had moved was anticipated and actually "built into" the sampling method. As expected, this reduction did not in any significant way alter the original composition of the sample. If, therefore, the loss due to refusals, cancellations, and failure to contact was computed on the basis of this "reduced sample", the total yield was 68%. This is above average for similar surveys in Copenhagen. The effect of the aforementioned preparations is also evident from the fact that 61% of the "reduced sample" were contacted already at the first call. A vigorous attempt to exhaust the material during the days that followed did not add more than another 7%.

Since records were kept of the "fate" of each person in the original sample, we have been able to check the effects of the different losses on some of their major background factors, namely sex, age, marital status, and district of the city.

Sex: As will appear from the above, the reduction on each stage was very evenly divided between men and women.

Age: Young persons had more often moved than older persons. As to refusals, it was the other way around. However, neither of these biases changed the original age composition in a statistically significant way (see Table 2, p. 111). The total losses in the different age groups ranged from 51% of the persons under 30 and over 49, to 42% among the age groups in between.

Marital Status: Men who were divorced or widowed had moved twice as often as the rest of the respondents (including the divorced or widowed women). On the other hand, the unmarried respondents—both men and women—more often cancelled the interview. These changes in the material were statistically significant, although not very serious. The total losses
It will be seen in Table 2 that age groups 20-29 and 30-39 years were over-represented in Sample Two compared to Sample One. The difference is easily explained to represent the age distribution in Copenhagen. It will also be seen that the age distribution for Sample One and Sample Two have been compared. In the interview, no statistically significant differences were found as to place of growing up, marital status, occupation, social level, socio-economic background, or political affiliation. The only background variable which did show a significant difference was the age distribution. This is illustrated in the survey on sex crimes, age distribution of men and women in Sample One and Sample Two, and the Copenhagen population aged 18-59. Percentages.

Table 2. Survey on Sex Crimes. Age distribution of men and women in Sample One (Original sample and interviewed population), Sample Two, and the Copenhagen population aged 18-59. Percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>18-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60+</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>Sample One</td>
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<td>Population</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>adult pop.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bias in our material. The bias—which is in a "leftist" direction—is presumably due to the age bias; the older age groups, more likely to vote conservative, were deliberately under-represented in our material. Although the bias is slight (and not statistically significant), it should be kept in mind.

The fact that we found no unexpected or serious biases among the background data we were able to validate, does not mean that there cannot be any biases in the material. The fact that 22% of Sample One cancelled the interview or refused to receive the interviewer, should certainly call for caution. It might be expected that persons who are opposed to pornography would be somewhat over-represented among the refusers. However, most certainly there is a great variety of reasons for refusing to be questioned, many of which may have nothing to do with the topic of pornography (see also the conclusions on p. 39 above).

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem fair to say that the preliminary analysis has shown no biases of such dimensions that generalisations could not be made from the present survey. In fact, by all usual standards, the survey population seems to be quite representative of the universe that it was intended to represent, namely the younger and middle-aged part of the Copenhagen population.

RESULTS

Data on Victimization.

One series of questions was asked with the purpose of getting some data on the respondents' actual experience as victims of sex crimes. No definition of 'sex crimes' was given, but this part of the interview was preceded by another, in which the respondents were presented to a list of sexual acts and were asked to indicate whether they considered them 'criminal' or not (see the following section). The interviewer then went on to ask: "Have you ever experienced any of these kinds of things yourself? They do not necessarily have to be exactly the same." Whenever a case was mentioned, the interviewer went on to ask whether it had been reported to the police, and whether the respondent would report it if it happened again.

Fifty-two men (26%) and 121 women (61%) mentioned having experienced at least one of these kinds of things. Fourteen men (7%) and 35 women (18%) mentioned two cases (a few "third cases" have been omitted from the present analysis). Thus, the men mentioned a total of 66 cases; out of these, four (equal to 6%) were reported to the police. The same number declared that they would report to the police if something similar happened again. The women mentioned a total of 156 cases; of these 29 (equal to 19%) were reported to the police. Questioned whether they would report if a similar thing happened again, 51 (equal to 33%) said yes.

Most of the cases reported by the men concerned minor homosexual interference or attempts. In addition the men mentioned 12 cases of exhibitionism, 3 cases of peeping and 2 cases of verbal indecency. In the following analysis we shall concentrate on the cases mentioned by the female subjects, since the present survey only provides comparable data concerning sex crimes against women and girls.

Table 5 is a presentation of the cases reported by the women. The data should be regarded with many reservations; first of all, as we shall see presently, there is no fixed border-line between sex crime and non-criminal acts with a sexual implication. What one person regards as criminal is
extraordinary exactitude is a stroke of luck. Nevertheless, it does convey to our data a certain air of trustworthiness.

If it is true that the survey figures concerning crimes reported have been shown to possess some degree of validity, this means two things: Firstly, it indicates that the women in our survey form a representative sample of the women in Copenhagen, also from the viewpoint of victimization. Secondly, it indicates that we can trust the women's memory and their truthfulness as far as concerns crimes they have reported to the police. Both of these conclusions would seem to increase somewhat the general validity of the victimization data. Nevertheless, there is still plenty of reason to distrust the data concerning cases not reported to the police. The limitations of the victimization data in general, mentioned above, would seem to be even more applicable to cases which the victim did not report to the police.

5. We have tried to make yet another type of comparison between the survey data and the police statistics, based on the total incidence of "reported" sex crimes (by our female respondents) vs. "registered" sex crimes (by the Copenhagen police) per 1000 women during a certain period. Such a comparison, however, presents serious problems, since the 'risk of becoming a victim' has to be taken into consideration. We know that the risk varies a lot according to the age of the woman—and age is exactly the variable with regard to which our study is not representative, since we deliberately left out the older age groups. Undoubtedly, this and other problems of such a comparison can be solved. Meanwhile, we have made a preliminary analysis using rough estimates of victimization risks, and data from the last ten years only. This analysis indicated that the incidence of reported victimization in our material was probably slightly higher than should be expected on the basis of registered crimes. The finding of a discrepancy in that direction agrees very well with the common notion that the police will sometimes avoid recording less serious complaints, e.g., when the reporting is made by telephone, or when there is a mere suspicion and no evidence. Cases, which the police fail to register may probably be found in most types of sex crimes, perhaps with the exception of rape and indecency towards children.

Fortunately, the survey provides a means for testing in some measure the internal consistency of these data. Knowing both the total number of cases within each type of crime, and the number of such cases that were reported, we can compute a "reporting frequency" (fourth column in Table 5). Since we already have some confidence in the figures for cases reported, a validation of these "reporting frequencies" would have a bearing on the validity of the total number of cases within each type. We can, on an internal level, obtain some idea about the validity or the consistency of the "reporting frequencies." As will be shown later, some of them can be compared to a "reporting readiness" in a number of hypothetical cases of a similar type. We shall return to that; at the moment we shall merely mention that a comparison between the two, rather different, types of data shows a satisfactory degree of consistency (see Figure 3, p. 135).

The conclusion of the above deliberations would be that, in spite of the small number, and many other shortcomings and problems, there is a reasonable basis for a cautious analysis and application of the victimization data shown in Table 5.

The total numbers of crimes mentioned by the women (Table 5, first column) would seem to confirm the common assumption that the 'dark figures' for minor sex crimes are indeed very high. Furthermore, a comparison between these figures and the reporting figures shows (also not unexpected) that the latter and, consequently, the police statistics, give a very distorted picture of the actual incidence of sex crimes. Thus, indecency towards adult women would seem to be much more frequent than indecency towards girls, although the cases reported—both in this study and according to the police statistics—are more frequently of the latter type. Part of the explanation for this may be that childhood
Table 6. Survey on Sex Crimes. Definition of sexual offenses. Percentage of men and women who would consider the act described "a criminal act" by order of severity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Short description</th>
<th>&quot;A criminal act: yes&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Indecent touching 4-year-old girl</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Petting 16-year-old daughter</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Peep through letter slit</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Exposure to lady in park</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Obscene phone call to woman</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Touching lady's breast in streetcar</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Consensual coitus with 14-year-old girl</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rape after consensual petting</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number  (198)  (200)  (398)

6. It was considered ill-advised to include a question like "would you have considered it a crime ten years ago?" Adding such a question to this already quite abstract issue would have made the whole thing too floating. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to repeat some of the questions in similar surveys, in other parts of Denmark and/or in other countries. It is also planned to repeat the survey in Copenhagen at a later date. Such investigations will furnish data for some interesting comparisons, especially with the crime statistics.

7. An alternative possibility would be that a majority of the cases of this type registered by the police in 1959 were much less serious than the one we presented in the survey. Preliminary investigations of this question indicate that this was not the case. A detailed comparison of all the cases of sexual offenses in 1959 and 1969, which is now being planned, will definitely throw light on the question.

...
Table 7 gives a digest of the results which have the closest bearing on the question: has there been a change in readiness to report? The table compares, in each of the four cases, the percentage of persons, old enough to report ten years ago, who would do so, with the percentage of all the respondents who would report now. As will be seen, there is in all the cases a difference in the percentage who said they would report ten years ago and now. The size of this difference averages 7% among the men and 10% among the women, and the variation from case to case is slight.

However, if we have in mind to use the data for an interpretation of the crime statistics, i.e., estimating changes in actual reporting frequency on the basis of declared changes in "reporting readiness"—it would be misleading to look at the difference between 'ten years ago' and now. In police statistics it is the relative and not the absolute decrease that counts. The lower the reporting frequency is of a certain type of crime, the stronger will be the impact of a certain further decrease, on the police statistics. We would therefore have to look at the relative 'decrease' and not the difference in 'reporting readiness'.

It will be seen in Table 7 that the relative 'decrease' varies much more than the absolute difference—from only 8% among the women in the case of 'peeping' to 40% for 'exhibitionism'. Apparently, there had indeed been a considerable 'change' in 'reporting readiness' in some types of sex crimes, but not in others.

We shall later discuss to what extent these results may, in fact, be used for an interpretation of the crime statistics. Meanwhile, the important question is whether these self-declared 'changes' in the hypothetical cases may in any adequate way reflect real changes in reporting readiness.

Can we really trust peoples' ability (and willingness) to tell what they would have done ten years ago if such and such a thing had happened?

Unfortunately, this question cannot be adequately discussed in a few sentences—and this is not the place for a lengthy psychological discussion. For the present, we shall briefly mention three good reasons we had for accepting the data about changes of 'reporting readiness' as being at least better than pure guessing:

(1) We could not think of any better way of getting the information we needed. Since we could not go back into the past and ask people about their reporting attitudes, we would have to ask people to do the time-traveling for us—i.e., in their memory and imagination.

(2) Pilot studies had shown that, to many respondents, such a question ("Do you think you would have reported to the police if such a thing had happened ten years ago?") made sense: it was the kind of question which could be answered with a reasonable degree of subjective certitude. While most respondents would stick to the answer they had given about "reporting now", there would be some people who changed in one direction or the other when asked if they would have "reported ten years ago." Very few would say "don't know"; those who did so, had also been in doubt as to whether they would report now. Very often people would comment on their answer (e.g., saying: "No, I haven't changed the way I look at things like that ..."), Consequently, also the answers given made sense—to the interviewer.

(3) Finally, as we shall see later, the results of this part of the survey made sense in two ways: they were consistent with other findings in the survey, they were useful in an attempt to explain the decrease in registered sex crimes.
"Avoiding embarrassment" is only common in the case of "indecency towards 5-year-old girl"—in which case this would mean: "preventing the child from suffering the pain and embarrassment of the investigation, the trial, etc." It is possible, however, that a motive of this sort may be latent or even unconsciously present as a much more powerful reason for not reporting than appears from the figures.

A reason for not reporting, which is fairly common in the USA, namely 'fear of the offender', does not seem to have played any role at all.

**Change of Attitudes Towards Sex Crimes**

In addition to the somewhat indirect ways of getting information about changes in attitudes, a number of questions went directly to the point (question 45 through 48, p. 192).

The first question was: "Do you think that you look differently at sex crimes now than you did earlier?" The following two questions asked about the direction of and the reasons for any change, and when it took place. The results are shown in Table 9 and 10.

It will be seen in Table 9 that 40% of the women and 33% of the men declared that they had changed their attitudes towards sexual offenses in a more tolerant direction. Included in these figures are respondents who had come to look at sexual offenders as sick persons. Apparently more women than men had changed their attitudes is in keeping with other findings in this survey. It would seem, however, that the figures for change in a liberal direction for both men and women are surprisingly high, e.g., when compared with changes in reporting readiness. The reason may be that the question is somewhat suggestive. It is also quite possible, however, that a "change in a liberal direction" simply means that the respondent no longer thinks that sexual offenders should be punished very hard: it does not necessarily mean that he completely tolerates the crime.

Table 10 shows sources of the change mentioned by those who said they had changed. It will be noticed that 21% of the men said that pornography had had an influence on their attitudes, as against only 5% of the women. Of the total population, however, the percentages of persons who said they had become more tolerant due to pornography only amount to 7.6% of the men and 2.5% of the women.
gical reason for the apparent lack of very recent changes: It may be awkward for people to say that they changed their mind only a year or six months ago. On the other hand, the curve in Figure 2 coincides rather precisely with a period of heated debate and rapid change in the Danish sexual scene. Those were also the years of the so-called "porno wave"—the years in which Denmark was flooded by pornographic literature—which ended with the "first amendment" of the section on pornography in the Danish Penal Code, in 1967.

DISCUSSION AND PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

We have presented the major data provided by this survey to bear on the decrease in police statistics concerning sexual offenses. Further analysis of the results, including a number of cross-tabulations, will undoubtedly improve the possibilities of making valid conclusions. Meanwhile, we shall now proceed to see how far we can get on the basis of the present information—the preliminary analysis may enable us to form ad-hoc hypotheses, which may later be put to a test through a more refined analysis.

Reporting Readiness and Reporting Frequency

There are two types of relatively detailed data in this survey which may reveal something about the decrease in registered sex crimes. On the one hand, we have the 'reporting frequency' in a number of sex crimes (Table 5), and on the other hand, we have the declared changes in 'reporting readiness' during the last ten years in four different cases (Table 7). Assuming, as we did, that both of these sets of data have some degree of validity—if they could somehow be put together, we might be able to draw some conclusions about changes in reporting frequency. A condition for doing so, of course, would be the demonstration of an invariant relationship, or at least some degree of consistency, between the two set of data.

In Figure 3, we have illustrated a comparison between the two set of data. The figure shows four columns, each

![Graph showing comparison between 'reporting frequency', 'reporting readiness now', and 'reporting readiness ten years ago', for four types of sex crimes.](image-url)
relative decreases found in 'reporting readiness' (see Table 7) to the respective estimates of actual reporting frequency. Rather we shall have to take into consideration both the size of the discrepancy between 'reporting readiness' and 'reporting frequency', and the absolute size of the decrease. In addition we may utilise some of the other information we have from this survey. Since the circumstances differ very much from one type of sex crime to another, we shall have to look at each of the four types individually (with reference to Tables 5 and 7, and Figure 3).

Exhibitionism. The relevant data to compare are the female victimization data, and the 'reporting readiness' figures of the women (since the hypothetical case concerns a woman). The decrease in 'reporting readiness' of the hypothetical case was from 30% to 12%, a relative decrease of 28%. However, the victimization figures show that only 8 out of 78 cases of indecent exposure were reported, equal to 10.1%. Accordingly, both of the 'reporting readiness' figures are far 'too high' (but correspond very well with the 24% of the victims who would report "if it happened again"). It seems reasonable to infer that while ten years ago the actual reporting frequency was somewhat over 10%, it would today be much lower. At such a low level, the relative decrease easily becomes very considerable. Thus a change in reporting frequency from 12% to 5% means a decrease by 57%, a figure which corresponds exactly with the decrease in 'reporting readiness' according to the police statistics (58%, see Table 1). 10 On the basis of

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10. In this estimate, and the ones to follow, we have not taken into consideration the 'registration frequency' by the police (see footnote 5). Since, at the moment, we know very little about this factor, we shall, for the sake of the present analysis, have to consider it an unknown constant, which does not interfere with the comparisons made.

our data, therefore, it cannot be excluded that the decrease in exhibitionism registered by the police during the last ten years may be fully explained by a change in people's attitudes towards this crime and towards reporting it to the police.

Indecency towards women. Also in this type of crime, the relevant figures would be those of the female respondents. The 'reporting readiness' in the hypothetical case showed a decrease from 44% to 32%. In the victimization figures, however, we had a 'reporting frequency' of only 13%. While the 'readiness' figures are undoubtedly much higher than a realistic reporting frequency, the 'reporting frequency' found is probably somewhat "too low." This is indicated by the fact that there were many attempts and many trifling cases (probably inspired by a rather 'mild' example used in the 'definitions', see Table 6), some of which would generally be considered non-criminal. Because of the difficulty in delimiting this type of sex crime, a variety of different figures would seem equally acceptable as points of departure. However, a reasonable choice would be to calculate with a decrease in reporting frequency from something like 20% down to 10-12%. A decrease of these dimensions is enough to account for at least a major part of the decrease in the crime statistics (56%). Considering furthermore that there has clearly been a change in the women's definition of this type of incidents as being criminal or non-criminal, the following conclusion presents itself: On the basis of our data, it cannot be excluded that the decrease in registered cases of indecency towards women may fully or at least to a large extent be explained as due to a change in the woman's conception of this type of incidents and in their readiness to report such cases to the police.
as to the possibility of a change in the police's attitudes. The examination is partly based on a number of informal interviews with police officers.

As concerns peeping, for a number of reasons the police may have changed their attitudes, in spite of the fact that the victims apparently have not. The police knows that peepers are not dangerous (a fact which many lay people are not aware of); furthermore, they know that it may be extremely difficult to apprehend peepers, and finally, since the victims are almost always in-door (and may be afraid to go out), there will probably be a tendency to try to make the report by telephone. All of these factors would seem to increase the likelihood that the police will tend to calm people down instead of registering the complaints (this is admitted by police officers interviewed). On the other hand, the factors mentioned have been around for a long time, and there is no specific reason why they should have become much more dominant during the last few years. It does not seem possible to form any conclusive hypothesis as to this question.

As concerns indecency towards children, the ground is somewhat firmer. We know that most people look rather seriously upon this type of crime, and there is hardly any reason to believe that the police does not share this view. There are no indications that the police has changed its policy as to the registration of this crime. According to the police officers interviewed the police has always looked very seriously at sex crimes towards children and will automatically register all reports, regardless of the circumstances. Accordingly, it would seem to be difficult to find alternative explanations to the one left over in this discussion, namely, that there has been a considerable decrease in the actual number of cases of indecent interference with children.

Sex Crimes, Sexual Attitudes, and Pornography.

In this article we have repeatedly talked about "reason" for, and "explanation" of the decrease. What we have tried is, in fact, only to locate the place in the chain of events, where we may start to look for the functional causes of the decrease. We have concluded, on the basis of a preliminary analysis, in some specific suggestions about such places, and that was the primary purpose of the survey and this article.

Nevertheless, we shall attempt to move one or two steps further towards a causal explanation of the decrease. Even though the conclusions in this study are tentative, it would be fruitful to see whether they make sense in such a way that they are compatible with the functioning of one or more potentially causative factors. If they do not make sense it would seem better to start the exploration into the intriguing problem of the decrease completely from the beginning. If the results do make sense in the way mentioned, we have not only acquired a good reason for trying to establish our findings more firmly (which, in fact, means trying in different ways to overthrow them); we have also obtained a number of additional points at which to attack the problem already at the present stage.

Among the many explanations put forward with reference to the decrease of registered sex crimes in Denmark, two factors; both of which have a temporal coincidence with the decrease, would seem to be closest at hand.

The first one has to do with the general change in sexual mores and attitudes, which has taken place in Denmark during the last decade. The indications of such a change are numerous (see e.g., a series of articles in Politiken, starting January 1, 1970); we shall have to abstain from listing
the use of pornography. In what follows, we shall refer to this type of attempt to explain the decrease in registered sex crimes in Copenhagen as the 'pornography factor' theory.

An apparent objection to this theory would be that, according to the findings of Gagnon, Farrow, and Christensen (1965, p. 669 ff.) sexual offenders are, as a rule, not more sexually aroused by pornography than non-criminal males—in fact, some types of sexual offenders seem to be much less responsive to pornography than other men. One reason for this would be, according to the same authors, that the use of pornography requires the ability to empathize and fantasize, an ability which is correlated with education. The poorly educated, to which the majority of sexual offenders belong, "are apt to be much more pragmatic and require something more concrete in order to respond" (Gagnon, et al., 1965, p. 671).

This objection would seem to be of relevance to the 'pornography factor' theory of the decrease, as far as concerns the effect of the "porno" literature wave. The abundance of pornographic books could only be expected to be used as "safety valves" by the better educated (or more intelligent) part of the potential sex offenders. The picture pornography, on the other hand, is not affected by this objection: on the contrary, one might expect that these "full color" magazines and films with the reputation of "leaving nothing to fantasy" would be very well suited as a means of sexual stimulation for persons with a poor imagination who need "something more concrete."

12 In theory, a decrease in the actual number of crimes committed does not necessarily mean that there are fewer offenders—the same number of offenders may just be committing fewer crimes. More likely, however, such a decrease would be due to fewer offenders committing fewer offenses.

The 'pornography factor' may also be expected to have an effect on the victim. However, in order to keep this factor separate from the 'sexual mores factor', we shall leave out the possible indirect influences, which reading of pornography or seeing pornographic pictures or films may have had on attitudes towards sex crimes, through an influence on sexual attitudes in general. In order to be considered an effect of the 'pornography factor' the change in the victim's attitude towards the sex crime in question would have to be rather directly due to the victim having read or watched pornography.

Having presented some of the general features of these two factors, we shall now proceed to examine more concretely, to what extent each of the factors may explain the decrease in the registered numbers of the four types of sex crimes, on which we have focussed in this study. In each case we shall try to "predict" how the two factors might be expected to influence the victims and the offenders, respectively, and we shall then see how the "predictions" agree with the findings in this study. Since the above reflections indicate that the temporal course of the decrease may give some clues to the explanation, we shall include this question in the discussion (see Figures 4-7). In order to avoid that the discussion becomes too lengthy and complicated, we shall have to leave out numerous reservations, and try to cut right through to some points we consider the most relevant. Similarly, we shall leave out many references, which have served as inspiration, and only mention one major source of knowledge about sexual offenders, namely Gagnon, et al. (1965). The reader is kindly requested to forgive us for trying to concentrate, on a few pages, what adequately deserved at least a big chapter in a book.
shocked by the unexpected exposure of a real-life penis. The decrease would be expected to start at the peak of the pornography wave, and to accelerate rapidly with the increasing availability of hard-core pornographic pictures. In the survey we did, in fact, find a decrease in reporting readiness, probably large enough to account for the whole change, and in Figure 4 it will be seen that the expectations as to the course of the decrease are fulfilled.

Peeping:

This type of sex crime is, in itself, also quite harmless, but many victims do not know that. Peepers are more alarming and annoying, since—in opposition to the exhibitionists—they intrude into the privacy of the home. Some victims may even suspect that they are burglars (which, in fact, some of those arrested for peeping are), and the victims' reactions, for that reason alone, may have nothing to do with sexual attitudes. In short, one would hardly expect the 'sexual mores factor' to have much influence on people's reaction to this type of crime. Nor would one expect to find any direct effect on the peepers' victims of the 'pornography factor'. Reading about, or watching pictures of naked people will hardly make people acquainted with the thought of being looked at themselves. Thus, neither of the two factors, which we are concentrating on in this analysis, would seem to lead to a change in people's attitudes towards peeping. In fact, in the present survey we did not find more than a slight change.

Since the victim's reaction towards this type of crime apparently has not changed much, we would have to look for an explanation of the decrease in registered sex crimes in the potential offender (leaving, for the present, the police's attitudes out of the picture). There is no need to talk about the—very unlikely—possibility that due to the 'sexual mores factor', the large majority of voyeurs, in the course of a few years, have changed their mind about the pleasures of watching. To the peeper, Denmark during recent years must have been something of a paradise: Without running the risk of being caught or disturbed (something which the peeper fears very much, e.g., Gebhard, et al., 1965, p. 375), he may watch color magazines or films in his
to refer directly to a change in the victims' reaction to the crime. Such a change might be expected to take place throughout the decade (during which, also, a 'new generation' of potential victims have come of age, who might have a different view on these things than the 'older generation'). In fact, our survey findings did indicate a change in the women's attitudes towards reporting this type of crime, large enough to account for the decrease throughout the decade, except perhaps the last drop in 1969. There is hardly any reason to think that the pornography played any direct role in this change--nor is there any need for this factor to explain the decrease.

Although we have already found an adequate and (almost) fitting explanation for the decrease, we should also, with regard to this type of crime, take a look at the offender. According to Gebhard, et al. (1965), the heterosexual offender vs. adults is a "simple, unimaginative, impulsive opportunist" who "seeks gratification of their desires via the easiest and most immediate route with a minimum of reflection... He is the sort of man who is doomed to land in jail on some minor charge sooner or later, and the sexual element is almost fortuitous" (p. 132). If this is true of the Danish sexual offender against adult women--and we have no reason to believe otherwise--it would hardly make sense to expect that greater sexual freedom, etc. would make the potential offender of this type keep his hands off. Nor would it be expected that the high availability of pornography would mean much to this type of offenders, who are, in fact, according to Gebhard, et al. (1965. p. 127), quite uninterested in pornography: They were "very strongly heterosexual and... interested (and singularly successful) in gratifying their sexual desires with adult females. The other outlets... were unimportant" (p. 131). This may explain why the decrease in this type of crime was relatively slight and, as we have seen, not larger than it could be explained through an expected, and observed, change in the women's attitudes.

Figure 7. Police Statistics for Copenhagen. Index of (physical) indecency towards girls registered by the police, 1959-69. Index No. 100 = 282 cases.
A more reasonable explanation would be that a considerable number of earlier or potential offenders vs. children have succeeded in replacing one poor substitute by another, perhaps just as poor, but non-criminal and harmless to other people, namely pornography. This assumption agrees with the course of the decrease, seen in Figure 7: There was a drop during the early years of the "porno literature wave" followed by a stagnation and even a slight increase until 1965 (the beginning of the "porno picture wave"), whereupon the decrease became rapid. The assumption also agrees with the findings by Gebhard, et al. (1965) that these offenders (in contrast to the offenders vs. adult women) respond rather positively to pornography, that they tend to masturbate frequently, and that their masturbation fantasies are quite average, i.e. they do not especially fantasize about children.

CONCLUSION

We have completed an analysis in which we have combined information from several different sources, including the tentative findings in the present survey, in an attempt to explain the recent decrease in the numbers of four different types of sex crimes registered by the police in Copenhagen. Concerning three of these types of crimes, namely exhibitionism, peeping, and (physical) indecency towards girls, it was possible, without restraint or ad-hoc constructions, tentatively to explain this registered decrease as being due to the influence on either the victims or the potential offenders of one single factor, namely the development in the availability of pornography. While the general change in the sexual behavior and attitudes of the Danes may have been a contributory factor in the decrease of the above three types of sex crimes, the analysis indicated that the influence of such a change on the victims was presumably the major reason for the registered decrease in (physical) indecency towards women.

In two types of sex crimes, namely peeping, and (physical) indecency towards girls, the analysis led to the tentative conclusion that the abundant availability of hard-core pornography in Denmark may have been the direct cause of a verifiable decrease in the actual amount of crime committed.

It is realised that the perspectives of these conclusions—if they are true—are considerable. We should therefore like to stress, once more, that the conclusions are tentative, and will have to be re-examined on the basis of a more complete analysis of this survey and the crime statistics. Others will have to judge whether these preliminary conclusions carry enough weight to have any political consequences. There is no doubt, however, that they should result in a serious effort to re-examine the theory that pornography may prevent certain types of sex crimes, especially sexual offenses against children.