

**REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S
WORKING GROUP ON THE REGULATION
OF SEXUALLY ORIENTED BUSINESSES**

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INTRODUCTION

Many communities in Minnesota have raised concerns about the impact of sexually oriented businesses on their quality of life. It has been suggested that sexually oriented businesses serve as a magnet to draw prostitution and other crimes into a vulnerable neighborhood. Community groups have also voiced the concern that sexually oriented businesses can have an adverse effect on property values and impede neighborhood revitalization. It has been suggested that spillover effects of the businesses can lead to sexual harassment of residents and scatter unwanted evidence of sexual liaisons in the paths of children and the yards of neighbors.

Although many communities have sought to regulate sexually oriented businesses, these efforts have often been controversial and equally often unsuccessful. Much community sentiment against sexually oriented businesses is an outgrowth of hostility to sexually explicit forms of expression. Any successful strategy to combat sexually oriented businesses must take into account the constitutional rights to free speech, which limit available remedies.

Only those pornographic materials which are determined to be "obscene" have no constitutional protection. As explained later in more detail, only that pornography which, according to community standards and taken as a whole, "appeals to the prurient interest (as opposed to an interest in healthy sexuality), describes or depicts sexual conduct in a "patently offensive way" and "lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value," can be prohibited or prosecuted. Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15, 24 (1973).

Other pornography and the businesses which purvey it can only be regulated where a harm is demonstrated and the remedy is sufficiently tailored to prevent that harm without burdening First Amendment rights. In order to reduce or eliminate the impacts of sexually oriented businesses, each community must find the balance between the dangers of pornography and the constitutional rights to free speech. Each community must have evidence of harm. Each community must know the range of legal tools which can be used to combat the adverse impacts of pornography and sexually oriented businesses.

On June 2, 1988, Attorney General Hubert Humphrey III announced the formation of a Working Group on the Regulation of Sexually Oriented Businesses to assist public officials and private citizens in finding legal ways to reduce the impacts of sexually oriented businesses. Members of the Working Group were selected for their special expertise in the areas of zoning and law enforcement and included bipartisan representatives of the state Legislature as well as members of both the Minneapolis and St. Paul city councils who have played critical roles in developing city ordinances regulating sexually oriented businesses.

The Working Group heard testimony and conducted briefings on the impacts of

sexually oriented businesses on crime and communities and the methods available to reduce or eliminate these impacts. Extensive research was conducted to review regulation and prosecution strategies used in other states and to analyze the legal ramifications of these strategies.

As testimony was presented, the Working Group reached a consensus that a comprehensive approach is required to reduce or eliminate the impacts of sexually oriented businesses. Zoning and licensing regulations are needed to protect residents from the intrusion of "combat zone" sexual crime and harassment into their neighborhoods. Prosecution of obscenity has played an important role in each of the cities which have significantly reduced or eliminated pornography. The additional threat posed by the involvement of organized crime, if proven to exist, may justify the resources needed for prosecution of obscenity or require use of a forfeiture or racketeering statute.

The Working Group determined that it could neither advocate prohibition of all sexually explicit material nor the use of regulation as a pretext to eliminate all sexually oriented businesses. This conclusion is no endorsement of pornography or the businesses, which profit from it. The Working Group believes much pornography conveys a message which is degrading to women and an affront to human dignity. Commercial pornography promotes the misuse of vulnerable people and can be used by either a perpetrator or a victim to rationalize sexual violence. Sexually oriented businesses have a deteriorating effect upon neighborhoods and draw involvement of organized crime.

Communities are not powerless to combat these problems. But to be most effective in defending itself from pornography each community must work from the evidence and within the law. The report of this Working Group is designed to assist local communities in developing an appropriate and effective defense.

The first section of the report discusses evidence that sexually oriented businesses, and the materials from which they profit, have an adverse impact on the surrounding communities. It provides relevant evidence which local communities can use as part of their justification for reasonable regulation of sexually oriented businesses.

The Working Group also discussed the relationship between sexually oriented businesses and organized crime. Concerns about these broader effects of sexually oriented businesses underlie the Working Group's recommendations that obscenity should be prosecuted and the tools of obscenity seized when sexually oriented businesses break the law.

The second section of this report describes strategies for regulating sexually oriented businesses and prosecuting obscenity. The report presents the principal alternatives, the recommendations of the Working Group and some of the legal issues to consider when then strategies are adopted.

The goal of the Attorney General's Working Group in providing this report is to support and assist local communities who are struggling against the blight of pornography. When citizens, police officers and city officials are concerned about crime and the deterioration of neighborhoods, each of us lives next door. No community stands alone.

SUMMARY

The Attorney General's Working Group on the Regulation of Sexually Oriented Businesses makes the following recommendations to assist communities in protecting themselves from the adverse effects of sexually oriented businesses. Some or all of these recommendations may be needed in any given community. Each community must decide for itself the nature of the problems it faces and the proposed solutions which would be most fitting.

1. City and county attorneys' offices in the Twin Cities metropolitan area should designate a prosecutor to pursue obscenity prosecutions and support that prosecutor with specialized training.
2. The Legislature should consider funding a pilot program to demonstrate the efficacy of obscenity prosecution and should encourage the pooling of resources between urban and suburban prosecutor offices by making such cooperation a condition for receiving any such grant funds.
3. The Attorney General should provide informational resources for city and county attorneys who prosecute obscenity crimes.
4. Obscenity prosecutions should begin with cases involving those materials which most flagrantly offend community standards.
5. The Legislature should amend the present forfeiture statute to include as grounds for forfeiture all felonies and gross misdemeanors pertaining to solicitation, inducement, promotion or receiving profit from prostitution and operation of a "disorderly house."
6. The Legislature should consider the potential for a RICO-like statute with an obscenity predicate.
7. Prosecutors should use the public nuisance statute to enjoin operations of sexually oriented businesses which repeatedly violate laws pertaining to prostitution, gambling or operating a disorderly house.

8. Communities should document findings of adverse secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses prior to enacting zoning regulations to control these uses so that such regulations can be upheld if challenged in court.

9. To reduce the adverse effect of sexually oriented businesses, communities should adopt zoning regulations which set distance requirements between sexually oriented businesses and sensitive uses, including but not limited to residential areas, schools, child care facilities, churches and parks.

10. To reduce adverse impacts from concentration of these businesses, communities should adopt zoning ordinances which set distances between sexually oriented businesses and between sexually oriented businesses and liquor establishments, and should consider restricting sexually oriented businesses to one use per building.

11. Communities should require existing businesses to comply with new zoning or other regulation of sexually oriented businesses within a reasonable time so that prior uses will conform to new laws.

12. Prior to enacting licensing regulations, communities should document findings of adverse secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses and the relationship between these effects and proposed regulations so that such regulations can be upheld if challenged in court.

13. Communities should adopt regulations which reduce the likelihood of criminal activity related to sexually oriented businesses, including but not limited to open booth ordinances and ordinances which authorize denial or revocation of licenses when the licensee has committed offenses relevant to the operation of the business.

14. Communities should adopt regulations which reduce exposure of the community and minors to the blighting appearance of sexually oriented businesses, including but not limited to regulations of signage and exterior design of such businesses, and should enforce state law requiring sealed wrappers and opaque covers on sexually oriented material.

IMPACTS OF SEXUALLY ORIENTED BUSINESSES

The Working Group reviewed evidence from studies conducted in Minneapolis and St. Paul and in other cities throughout the country. These studies, taken together, provide compelling evidence that sexually oriented businesses are associated with high crime rates and depression of property values. In addition, the Working Group heard

testimony that the character of a neighborhood can dramatically change when there is a concentration of sexually oriented businesses adjacent to residential property.

Minneapolis Study

In 1980, on direction from the Minneapolis City Council, the Minneapolis Crime Prevention Center examined the effects of sexually-oriented and alcohol-oriented adult entertainment upon property values and crime rates. This study used both simple regression and multiple regression statistical analysis to evaluate whether there was a causal relationship between these businesses and neighborhood blight.

The study concluded that there was a close association between sexually oriented businesses, high crime rates and low housing values in a neighborhood. When the data was reexamined using control variables such as the mean income in the neighborhood to determine whether the association proved causation, it was unclear whether sexually oriented businesses caused a decline in property values. The Minneapolis study concluded that sexually oriented businesses concentrate in areas which are relatively deteriorated and, at most, they may weakly contribute to the continued depression of property values.

However, the Minneapolis study found a much stronger relationship between sexually oriented businesses and crime rates. A crime index was constructed including robbery, burglary, rape and assault. The rate of crime in areas near sexually oriented businesses was then compared to crime rates in other areas. The study drew the following conclusions:

1. The effects of sexually oriented businesses on the crime rate index is positive and significant regardless at which control variable is used.
2. Sexually oriented businesses continue to be associated with higher crime rates, even when the control variables' impacts are considered simultaneously.

According to the statistical analysis conducted in the Minneapolis study, the addition of one sexually oriented business to a census tract area will cause an increase in the overall crime rate index in that area by 9.15 crimes per thousand people per year even if all other social factors remain unchanged.

St. Paul

In 1978, the St. Paul Division of Planning and the Minnesota Crime Control Planning board conducted a study of the relationship between sex-oriented and alcohol-oriented adult entertainment businesses and neighborhood blight. This study looked at

crime rates per thousand and median housing values over time as indices of neighborhood deterioration. The study combined sex-oriented and alcohol-oriented businesses, so its conclusions are only suggestive of the effects of sexually oriented businesses alone. Nevertheless, the study reached the following important conclusions:

1. There is a statistically significant correlation between the location of adult businesses and neighborhood deterioration.
2. Adult entertainment establishments tend to locate in somewhat deteriorated areas.
3. Additional relative deterioration of an area follows location of an adult business in the area.
4. There is a significantly higher crime rate associated with two such businesses in an area than is associated with only one adult business.
5. Housing values are also significantly lower in an area where there are three adult businesses than they are in an area with only one such business.

Similar conclusions about the adverse impact of sexually oriented businesses on the community were reached in studies conducted in cities across the nation.

Indianapolis

In 1983, the City of Indianapolis researched the relationship between sexually oriented businesses and property values. The study was based on data from a national random sample of 20 percent of the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers.

The Study found the following:

1. The appraisers overwhelming (80%) felt that an adult bookstore located in a neighborhood would have a negative impact on residential property values within one block of the site.
2. The real estate experts also overwhelmingly (71%) believed that there would be a detrimental effect on commercial property values within the same one block radius.
3. This negative impact dissipates as the distance from the site increases, so that most appraisers believed that by three blocks away from an adult bookstore, its impact on property values would be minimal.

Indianapolis also studied the relationship between crime rates and sexually oriented bookstores, cabarets, theaters, arcades and massage parlors. A 1984 study entitled "Adult Entertainment Businesses in Indianapolis" found that areas with sexually oriented businesses had higher crime rates than similar areas with no sexually oriented businesses.

1. Major crimes, such as criminal homicide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, and larceny, occurred at a rate that was 23 percent higher in those areas which had sexually oriented businesses.
2. The sex-related crime rate, including rape, indecent exposure, and child molestation, was found to be 77 percent higher in those areas with sexually oriented businesses.

Phoenix

The Planning Department of Phoenix, Arizona published a study in 1979 entitled "Relation of Criminal Activity and Adult Businesses." This study showed that arrests for sexual crimes and the location of sexually oriented businesses were directly related. The study compared three areas with sexually oriented businesses with three control areas which had similar demographic and land use characteristics, but no sexually oriented establishments. The study found that:

1. Property crimes were 43 percent higher in those areas which contained a sexually oriented business.
2. The sex crime rate was 500 percent higher in those areas with sexually oriented business.
3. The study area with the greatest concentration of sexually oriented businesses had a sex crimes rate over 11 times as large as a similar area having no sexually oriented businesses.

Los Angeles

A study released by the Los Angeles Police Department in 1984 supports a relationship between sexually oriented businesses and rising crime rates. This study is less definitive, since it was not designed to use similar areas as a control. The study indicated that there were 11 sexually oriented adult establishments in the Hollywood, California area in 1969. By 1975, the number had grown to 88. During the same time period, reported incidents of "Part I" crime (i.e., homicide, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, larceny and vehicle theft) increased 7.6 percent in the Hollywood area while the rest of Los Angeles had a 4.2 percent increase. "Part II" arrests (i.e.

forgery, prostitution, narcotics, liquor law violations, and gambling) increased 3.4 percent in the rest of Los Angeles, but 45.4 percent in the Hollywood area.

CONCENTRATION OF SEXUALLY ORIENTED BUSINESSES NEIGHBORHOOD CASE STUDY

In St. Paul, there is one neighborhood which has an especially heavy concentration of sexually oriented businesses. The blocks adjacent to the intersection of University Avenue and Dale Street have more than 20 percent of the city's adult uses (4 out of 19), including all of St. Paul's sexually oriented bookstores and movie theaters.

The neighborhood, as a whole, shows signs of significant distress, including the highest unemployment rates in the city, the highest percentage of families below the poverty line in the city, the lowest median family income and the lowest percentage of high school and college graduates. (See 40-Acre Study on Adult Entertainment, St. Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development, Division of Planning, 1987 at p.19.) It would be difficult to attribute these problems in any simple way to sexually oriented businesses. However, it is likely that there is a relationship between the concentration of sexually oriented businesses and neighborhood crime rates. The St. Paul Police Department has determined that St. Paul's street prostitution is concentrated in a "street prostitution zone" immediately adjacent to the intersection where the sexually oriented businesses are located. Police statistics for 1986 show that, of 279 prostitution arrests for which specific locations could be identified, 70 percent (195) were within the "street prostitution zone." Moreover, all of the locations with 10 or more arrests for prostitution were within this zone.

The location of sexually oriented businesses has also created a perception in the community that this is an unsafe and undesirable part of the city. In 1983, Western State Bank, which is currently located across the street from an adult bookstore, hired a research firm to survey area residents regarding their preferred location for a bank and their perceptions of different locations. A sample of 305 people were given a list of locations and asked, "Are there any of these locations where you would not feel safe conducting your banking business?"

No more than 4 percent of the respondents said they would feel unsafe banking at other locations in the city. But 36 percent said they would feel unsafe banking at Dale and University, the corner where the sexually oriented businesses are concentrated.

The Working Group reviewed the 1987 40-Acre Study on Adult Entertainment prepared by the Division of Planning in St. Paul's Department of Planning and Economic Development. This study summarized testimony presented to the Planning Commission regarding neighborhood problems:

Residents in the University/Dale area report frequent sex-related

harassment by motorists and pedestrians in the neighborhood. Although it cannot be proved that the harassers are patrons of adult businesses, it is reasonable to suspect such a connection. Moreover, neighborhood residents submitted evidence to the Planning Commission in the form of discarded pornographic literature allegedly found in the streets, sidewalks, bushes and alleys near adult businesses. Such literature is sexually very explicit, even on the cover, and under the present circumstances becomes available to minors even though its sale to minors is prohibited.

TESTIMONY

The Working Group heard testimony that a concentration of sexually oriented businesses has serious impacts upon the surrounding neighborhood. The Working Group heard that pornographic materials are left in adjacent lots. One person reported to the police that he had found 50 pieces of pornographic material in a church parking lot near a sexually oriented business. Neighbors report finding used condoms on their lawns and sidewalks and that sex acts with prostitutes occur on streets and alleys in plain view of families and children. The Working Group heard testimony that arrest rates understate the level of crime associated with sexually oriented businesses. Many robberies and thefts from "johns" and many assaults upon prostitutes are never reported to the police.

Prostitution also results in harassment of neighborhood residents. Young girls on their way to school or young women on their way to work are often propositioned by johns. The Flick theater caters to homosexual trade, and male prostitution has been noted in the area. Neighborhood boys and men are also accosted on the street. A police officer testified that one resident had informed him that he found used condoms in his yard all the time. Both his teenage son and daughter had been solicited on their way to school and to work.

The Working Group heard testimony that in the Frogtown neighborhood, immediately north of the University/Dale intersection in St. Paul, there has been a change over time in the quality of life since the sexually oriented businesses moved into the area. The Working Group heard that the neighborhood used to be primarily middle class, did not have a high crime rate and did not have prostitution. St. Paul police officers testified that they believed the sexually oriented businesses caused neighborhood problems, particularly the increase in prostitution and other crime rates. Property values were suffering since the presence of high crime rates made the area less desirable to people who would have the ability and inclination to improve their homes.

The Working Group made some inquiry to determine to what extent smaller cities outside the Twin Cities Metropolitan area suffered adverse impacts of sexually oriented businesses. The Working Group was informed by the chiefs of police of Northfield and Owatonna that neither city had adult bookstores or similar sexually oriented businesses.

Police chiefs in Rochester and Winona stated that sexually oriented businesses in their communities operate in non-residential areas. In addition, there is no "concentration" problem. In Rochester, there are two facilities in a shopping mall and a single bookstore in a depressed commercial/business neighborhood. The Winona store is located in a downtown business area. The police chiefs stated that they had no evidence of increased crime rates in the area adjacent to these facilities. They had no information as to the effect which these businesses might have on local property values.

Information presented to the Working Group indicates that community impacts of sexually oriented businesses are primarily a function of two variables, proximity to residential areas and concentration. Property values are directly affected within a small radius of the location of a sexually oriented business. Concentration may compound depression of property values and may lead to an increase in crime sufficient to change the quality of life and perceived desirability of property in a neighborhood.

The evidence suggests that the impacts of sexually oriented businesses are exacerbated when they are located near each other. Police officers testified to the Working Group, that "vice breeds vice." When sexually oriented businesses have multiple uses (i.e. theater, bookstore, nude dancing, peep booths), one building can have the impact of several separate businesses. The Working Group heard testimony that concentration of sexually oriented businesses creates a "war zone" which serves as a magnet for people from other areas who "know" where to find prostitutes and sexual entertainment. The presence of bars in the immediate vicinity of sexually oriented businesses also compounds impacts upon the neighborhood.

The Attorney General's Working Group believes that regulatory strategies designed to reduce the concentration of sexually oriented businesses, insulate residential areas from them, and reduce the likelihood of associated criminal activity would constitute a national response to evidence of the impacts which these businesses have upon local communities.

SEXUALLY ORIENTED BUSINESSES AND ORGANIZED CRIME

Infiltration of organized crime into sexually oriented businesses reinforces the need for prosecution of obscenity and requires specific regulatory or law enforcement tools. The Working Group attempted to assess both the present and potential relationship between organized crime and sexually oriented businesses.

The Working Group heard testimony from a witness who had been prosecuting obscenity cases for the past thirteen years that many sexually oriented businesses have out-of-town absentee owners. If the manager of a local business is prosecuted on an obscenity charge, his testimony may make it possible to pierce the corporate veil and identify the true owners.

The Working Group heard testimony that an organized crime entity may operate somewhat like a franchisor. In order to stay in business, the local manager of a sexually oriented business may have to pay fees to organized crime. The makers and wholesalers of pornographic materials are also likely to be involved with organized crime.

The Working Group conducted additional research to assess the relationship between sexually oriented businesses and organized crime. The Working Group was informed by prosecutors of obscenity that there were many ways in which organized crime entities could derive a benefit from sexually oriented businesses. There is a large profit margin in pornography. The presence of coin-operated peep booths provides an opportunity to launder money. Cash obtained from illegal activities, such as prostitution or narcotics, can be explained as the income of peep booths. Cash income can also escape taxation, in violation of law.

Although it is clear that organized crime is involved to some degree in the pornography industry, various sources reach different conclusions as to the depth and extent of this involvement. Part of the difference in assessment is based on differences in the way the term "organized crime" is defined. Authorities who restrict their definition of organized crime to the highly organized ethnic hierarchy known as La Cosa Nostra (LCN) tend to find fewer links than those who define the term to include other organized criminal enterprises. Where there has been intensive law enforcement and prosecution, it is more likely that linkage between sexually oriented businesses and organized crime figures will be evident.

The Working Group has adopted the definition of organized crime contained in Minnesota's Report of the Legislative Commission on Organized Crime (1975). The Working Group is concerned about the relation between sexually oriented businesses and any "organized criminal conspiracy of two or more persons that is continuous in nature, involves activity generally crossing jurisdictional lines and results in third party profit." The threat from organized crime includes, but is not limited to involvement of national crime enterprises such as LCN.

Recent federal indictments of James G. Hafiz in Indiana for perjury¹ and of Harry V. Mohny in Michigan for tax evasion suggest a possible connection between organized crime and a Minnesota pornography business. Hafiz, a Minnesota resident who is an agent of Beverly Theater, Inc., the company which operated the Faust Theater in St. Paul,² has been linked to Mohny, a major pornographer based in Michigan. The indictments allege that Mohny caused the incorporation of the company which operated the Faust, that a corporation owned by Mohny paid for improvements to the Faust and that Mohny is, in fact, the owner of numerous sexually oriented businesses, including the Faust. (See United States v. Hafiz, Indictment, No. IP 88-

¹Hafiz was acquitted of the perjury charges. St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 11, 1989, p. 10A.

²The City of St. Paul bought out the Faust for \$1.8 million, closing the entertainment complex on March 7, 1989.

102-CR (S.D. Ind., Sept. 15, 1988); United States v. Mohney, Indictment, No. 88-50062 (E.D. Mich. Sept. 9, 1988)).

Mohney, in turn, has been linked with national organized crime enterprises. A 1977 report of the United States Justice Department stated:

It is believed that Harry V. Mohney of Durand, Michigan, is one of the largest dealers in pornography in the United States...He is alleged to have a close association with the LCN. Columbo and the LCN DeCavalcante, both of which are very influential in pornography in the eastern United States. In Michigan, Mohney is known to hire individuals with organized crime associations to manage his businesses. His businesses and corporations consist of 60 known adult bookstores, massage parlors, art theaters, adult drive-in movies, go-go type lounges and pornographic warehouses in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Iowa, Ohio and California. He is involved in the financing and production of pornographic movies, magazines, books and newspapers. He also directs the importation and distribution of his own and other pornographic publications to retail and wholesale outlets throughout the United States and Canada...He has a working relationship with DeCavalcante's representative Robert DiBernardo and has met with Vito Giacalone and Joseph Zerilli of the LCN Detroit. He has to cater to both to operate in Michigan.

U.S. Justice Department, Organized Crime Involvement in Pornography, reprinted in the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (hereinafter "Pornography Commission"), 2 Final Report at 1229-30 (1986).

Organized crime has the potential to infiltrate Minnesota's pornography industry. Evidence on a national level highlights the vulnerability of sexually oriented businesses to criminal control. A number of sources have reported that there is a connection between organized crime and the pornography industry.

The Pornography Commission reported that the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police department "determined that traditional organized crime was substantially involved in and did essentially control much of the major pornography distribution in the United States during the years 1977 and 1978." 2 Final Report at 1044-45. The Washington, D.C., study "further concluded that the combination of the large amounts of money involved, the incredibly low priority obscenity enforcement had within police departments and prosecutors' offices in an area where manpower intensive investigations were essential for success, and the imposition of minimal fines and no jail time upon random convictions resulted in a low risk and high profit endeavor for organized crime figures who became involved in pornography." Id. at 1045.

The FBI concluded in 1978:

Information obtained...points out the vast control of the multi-million dollar pornography business in the United States by a few individuals with direct connections with what is commonly known as the organized crime establishment in the United States, specifically, La Cosa Nostra...Information received from sources of this bureau indicates that pornography is (a major) income maker for La Cosa Nostra in the United States behind gambling and narcotics. Although La Cosa Nostra does not physically oversee the day-to-day workings of the majority of pornography business in the United States, it is apparent that they have "agreements" with those involved in the pornography business in allowing these people to operate independently by paying off members of organized crime for the privilege of being allowed to operate in certain geographical areas.

Id. at 1046 (quoting Federal Bureau of Investigation Report Regarding the Extent of Organized Crime Development in Pornography, 6 (1978)).

A brief survey of 59 FBI field offices conducted in 1985 found that about three-quarters of those offices could not verify that traditional organized crime families were involved in the manufacture or distribution of pornography. Several offices did, however, report some involvement by members and associates of organized crime. Id. at 1046-47.

Stanley Ronquest, Jr., a supervisory FBI special agent for traditional organized crime at FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., was interviewed by Attorney General staff. Ronquest stated that LCN has not been directly involved in the pornography industry in the last ten years. However, a former FBI agent told the Pornography Commission:

In my opinion, based upon twenty-three years of experience in pornography and obscenity investigations and study, it is practically impossible to be in the retail end of the pornography industry (today) without dealing in some fashion with organized crime either the mafia or some other facet of non-mafia never-the-less highly organized crime.

Id. at 1047-48.

Thomas Bohling of the Chicago Police Department Organized Crime Division, Vice Control Section, told the Pornography Commission that "it is the belief of state, federal and local law enforcement that the pornography industry is controlled by organized crime families. If they do not own the business outright, they most certainly extract street tax from independent smut peddlers." Id. at 1048 (emphasis in original).

The Pornography Commission stated that it had been advised by Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl F. Gates that "organized crime families from Chicago, New York, New Jersey and Florida are openly controlling and directing the major pornography operations in Los Angeles." Id.

The Pornography Commission was told by Jimmy Fratianno, described by the Commission as a member of LCN, "that large profits have kept organized crime heavily involved in the obscenity industry." Id. at 1052. Fratianno testified that "95% of the families are involved in one way or another in pornography...it's too big. They just won't let it go." Id. at 1052-53.

The Pornography Commission concluded that "organized crime in its traditional LCN forms and other forms exerts substantial influence and control over the obscenity industry. Though a number of significant producers and distributors are not members of LCN families, all major producers and distributors of obscene material are highly organized and carry out illegal activities with a great deal of sophistication." Id. at 1053.

The Pornography Commission reported that Michael George Thevis, reportedly one of the largest pornographers in the United States during the 1970s was convicted in 1979 of RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) violations including murder, arson and extortion. The Commission also reported examples of other crimes associated with the pornography industry, including prostitution and other sexual abuse, narcotics distribution, money laundering and tax violations, copyright violations and fraud. Id. at 1056-65.

Although the Pornography Commission report has been criticized for relying on the testimony of unreliable informants in drawing its conclusions finding links between pornography and organized crime (See Scott, Book Reviews, 78 J. Crim. L. & Criminology 1145, 1158-59 (1988)), its conclusions find additional support in recent state studies.

The California Department of Justice recently reported that:

California's primacy in the adult videotape industry is of law enforcement concern because the pornography business has been prone to organized crime involvement. Immense profits can be realized through pornography operations, and until recently, making and distributing pornography involved a relatively low risk of prosecution. But more aggressive law enforcement efforts and turmoil within the pornography business has destabilized the smooth flow of easy money for some of its major operations...

As long as control over pornography distribution is contested, and organized crime figures continue their involvement in the business, the pornography industry will remain of interest to law enforcement officials statewide.

Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence, Department of Justice, State of California, Organized Crime in California 1987: Annual Report to the California Legislature at 59-62 (1988).

The Pennsylvania Crime Commission similarly determined in a 1980 report that most pornography stores examined were affiliated with or owned by one of three men who had ties with "nationally known pornography figures who are members or associated of organized crime families." Pennsylvania Crime Commission, A Decade of Organized Crime: 1980 Report at 119.

For example, Reuben Sturman, a leading pornography industry figure based in Cleveland, was reported by the FBI in 1978 to have built his empire with the assistance of LCN member DiBernardo. Federal Bureau of Investigation Report Regarding the Extent of Organized Crime Involvement in Pornography (1978). Sturman, who reportedly controls half of the \$8 billion United States pornography industry was recently indicted by a federal grand jury in Las Vegas for racketeering violations and by a federal grand jury in Cleveland for income tax evasion and tax fraud. Newsweek, August 8, 1988, p.3.

Evidence of the vulnerability of sexually oriented businesses to organized crime involvement underscores the importance of criminal prosecution of these businesses when they engage in illegal activities, including distribution of obscenity and support of prostitution. Prosecution can increase the risk and reduce the profit margin of conducting illegal activities. It may also disclose organized crime association with local pornography businesses and increase the costs of criminal enterprise in Minnesota.

In addition to prosecution, forfeiture of property used in the illegal activities related to sexually oriented businesses can cut deeply into profits. Regulation to permit license revocation for conviction of subsequent crimes may also expose and increase control over criminal enterprises related to sexually oriented businesses.

PROSECUTORIAL AND REGULATORY ALTERNATIVES

The regulation of many sexually oriented businesses, like other businesses dealing in activity with an expressive component, is circumscribed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.³ Nonetheless, the First Amendment does not impose a barrier to the prosecution of obscenity, which is not protected by the First Amendment, or to reasonable regulation of sexually oriented businesses if the regulation is not designed to suppress the content of expressive activity and sufficiently tailored to accomplish the regulatory purpose.

³The First Amendment provides:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, or to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

The constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, often the basis for challenges to regulation of sexually oriented businesses, restricts state as well as federal actions. See, e.g., Fiske v. Kansas, 274 U.S. 380, 47 S. Ct. 655 (1927).

The Working Group believes that communities have more prosecutorial and regulatory opportunities than they may currently recognize. The purpose of this section of the Report is to identify and recommend enforcement and regulatory opportunities. Of course, each community must decide on its own how to balance its limited resources and the wide variety of competing demands for such resources.

OBSCENITY PROSECUTION

Obscene material is not protected by the First Amendment, Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15, 93 S. Ct. 2607 (1973). The sale or distribution of obscene material in Minnesota is a criminal offense. The penalty was recently increased to up to one year in jail and a \$3,000 fine for a first offense, and up to two years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for a second or subsequent offense within five years. Minn. Stat. §617.241, subd. 3 (1988).⁴

The Working Group believes that Minnesota's obscenity statutes are adequate to prosecute and penalize the sale and distribution of obscene materials. However, historically, widespread obscenity prosecution has not occurred.

The Working Group believes this is not because the sale or distribution of obscene publications in Minnesota is rare, but because prosecutors have been reluctant to bring obscenity charges, because of limited resources, difficulties faced when prosecuting obscenity, and because obscenity has historically been considered a victimless crime.

Obscenity, however, should no longer be viewed as a victimless crime.⁵ There is mounting evidence that sexually oriented businesses are, as described earlier in this report, often associated with increases in crime rates and a decline in the quality of life of neighborhoods in which they are located. Further, as discussed previously, when there is no prosecution of obscenity, large cash profits make pornographic operations very attractive to members of organized crime. The Working Group thus believes that

⁴The priority penalty was a fine only – up to \$10,000 for a first offense and up to \$20,000 for a second or subsequent offense. Minn. Stat. § 617.241, subd. 3 (1986). Obscenity arrests are so infrequent that incidents involving possible violations of section 617.241 are not separately compiled by the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Comprehension. See Bureau of Criminal Apprehension, 1987 Minnesota Annual Report on Crime, Missing Children and Bureau of Criminal Apprehension Activities.

⁵Two blue ribbon commissions have reached different conclusions regarding the harmfulness of sexually explicit material to individuals. A presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography concluded in 1970 that there was no evidence of "social or individual harms" caused by sexually explicit materials and, therefore, "federal, state and local legislation prohibiting the sale, exhibition, or distribution of sexual materials to consulting adults should be repealed." The Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography at 57-8 (Bantam Paperback ed. 1970). However, in 1986, the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography concluded that "sexually violent materials...bear...a causal relationship to antisocial acts of sexual violence...[and that] the evidence supports the conclusion that substantial exposure to [non-violent] degrading material increases the likelihood for an individual [to]...commit an act of sexual violence or sexual coercion." Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, 1 Final Report at 326, 333 (1986).

prosecution of obscenity, particularly cases involving children, violence or bestiality, should assume a higher priority for law enforcement officials.

In addition, many of the difficulties faced when prosecuting obscenity can be addressed by adequate training and assistance. In order to prove that material is obscene, a prosecutor must prove:

- (i) that the average person, applying contemporary community standards would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest in sex;
- (ii) that the work depicts sexual conduct...in a patently offensive manner; and
- (iii) that the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

Minn. Stat. § 617.241, subd. 1(a)(i-iii) (1988). This statutory standard was drawn to be consistent with constitutional standards set forth in Miller, supra.

To be sure, prosecutors face a number of hazards in prosecuting obscenity. They include inadequate training in this specialized area of law, attempts by defense attorneys to remove jurors who find pornography offensive, the offering into evidence of polls and surveys through expert testimony to prove tolerant community standards, efforts to guide jurors with jury instructions favorable to the defense, and discouragement with unsuccessful prosecutions.

But the hazards can be overcome. Alan E. Sears, former executive director of the U.S. Attorney General's Commission on Pornography has stated:

Prosecutors can successfully obtain obscenity convictions in virtually any jurisdiction in the United States. In order to obtain a conviction, it is incumbent upon a prosecutor to prepare well, know the law, not fall into the "one case syndrome" trap, obtain a representative jury through proper voir dire, keep the focus of the trial on the unlawful conduct of the defendant, and obtain legally sound instructions.

Sears, "How To Lose A Pornography Case." The CDL Reporter (n.d.).

The Working Group heard testimony from prosecutors who have pursued obscenity cases nationally regarding effective ways to prosecute obscenity cases. Materials can be bought or rented, rather than seized under warrant. In the absence of survey data, community standards can be left to the wisdom of the jury. In that case, experts should be prepared to testify if the defense attempts to make a statistical case that the material is not obscene. Prosecution of obscenity is also likely to be most effective if initial prosecutions focus on materials which are patently offensive to the

community, such as those involving children, violence or bestiality.

The experience of other cities has demonstrated that vigorous and sustained enforcement of obscenity statutes can sharply reduce or virtually eliminate sexually oriented businesses. Cincinnati, Omaha, Atlanta, Charlotte, Indianapolis and Fort Lauderdale were cited to the Working Group as examples of cities which have successful programs of obscenity prosecution.⁶ The Working Group encourages prosecutors to take advantage of increasing training opportunities and other assistance for obscenity prosecutions and to reassess the desirability of increased enforcement. The Working Group is pleased to note that county attorneys and law enforcement groups in Minnesota have recently held forums and seminars on obscenity law enforcement and prosecution. The U.S. Justice Department's National Obscenity Enforcement Unit offers assistance to local prosecutors, including sample pleadings, indictments, search warrants, motions, responses and trial memoranda.⁷

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. City and county attorneys' offices in the Twin Cities metropolitan area should designate a prosecutor to pursue obscenity prosecutions and support that prosecutor with specialized training.
2. The Legislature should consider funding a pilot program to demonstrate the efficacy of obscenity prosecution and should encourage the pooling of resources between urban and suburban prosecuting offices by making such cooperation a condition of receiving any such grant funds.
3. The Attorney General should provide informational resources for city and county attorneys who prosecute obscenity crimes.
4. Obscenity prosecutions should concentrate on cases that most flagrantly offend community standards.

⁶Memorandum to Jim Beilus, executive assistant to St. Paul Mayor George Latimer (prepared by St. Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development) (July 5, 1988); see also Waters, "The Squeeze on Sleaze," *Newsweek*, February 1, 1988, at 45 ("After more than 10 years of levying heavy fines and making arrests, Atlanta has won national renown as 'the city that cleaned up pornography.'").

⁷The Address of the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit is U.S. Justice Department, 10th & Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Room 2216, Washington, D.C. 20530. Its telephone number is 202-633-5780. Assistance is also available from Citizens for Decency through Law, Inc., 2845 E. Camelback Rd., Suite 740, Phoenix, AZ 85016. It is the publisher of "The Preparation and Trial of an Obscenity Case: A Guide for the Prosecuting Attorney." Its telephone number is 602-381-1322. The National Obscenity Law Center, another private organization, is located at 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 236, New York, N.Y. 10115. It publishes an Obscenity Law Bulletin and the "Handbook on the Prosecution at Obscenity Cases." Its telephone number is 212-870-3216.

OTHER LEGAL REMEDIES

RICO/Forfeiture

In addition to traditional criminal prosecutions, use of RICO statutes and criminal and civil forfeiture actions may also prove to be successful against obscenity offenders. By attacking the criminal organization and the profits of illegal activity, such actions can provide a strong disincentive to the establishment and operation of sexually oriented businesses. For example, the federal government and a number of the twenty-eight states which have enacted racketeer influenced and corrupt organization (RICO) statutes include obscenity offenses as predicate crimes. Generally speaking, to violate a RICO statute, a person must acquire or maintain an interest in or control of an enterprise, or must conduct the affairs of an enterprise through a "pattern of criminal activity." That pattern of criminal activity may include obscenity violations, which in turn can expose violators to increased fines and penalties as well as forfeiture of all property acquired or used in the course of a RICO violation. These statutes generally enable prosecutors to obtain either criminal or civil forfeiture orders to seize assets and may also be used to obtain injunctive relief to divest repeat offenders of financial interests in sexually oriented businesses. See 18 U.S.C. §§1961-68 (West Supp. 1988). RICO statutes may be particularly effective in dismantling businesses dominated by organized crime, but they may be applied against other targets as well.

The Working Group believes that Minnesota should enact a RICO-like statute that would encompass increased penalties for using a "pattern" of criminal obscenity acts to conduct the affairs of a business entity. Provisions authorizing the seizure of assets for obscenity violations should be considered, but the limitations imposed by the First Amendment must be taken into account.

It has been argued that a RICO or forfeiture statute based on obscenity crime violations threatens to "chill protected speech" because it would permit prosecutors to seize non-obscene materials from distributors convicted of violating the obscenity statute. American Civil Liberties Union, Polluting The Censorship Debate: A Summary And Critique of The Final Report Of The Attorney General's Commission On Pornography at 116-117 (1986).

However, a narrow majority of the United States Supreme Court recently held that there is no constitutional bar to a state's inclusion of substantive obscenity violations among the predicate offenses for its RICO statute. Sappenfield v. Indiana, 57 U.S.L.W. 4180, 4183-4184 (February 21, 1989). The Court recognized that "form of criminal obscenity statute applicable to a bookseller will induce some tendency to self-censorship and have some inhibitory effect on the dissemination of material not obscene." Id. at 4184. But the Court ruled that, "the mere assertion of some possible self-censorship resulting from a statute is not enough to render an anti-obscenity law unconstitutional under our precedent." Id. The Court specifically upheld RICO provisions which increase penalties where there is a pattern of multiple violations of

obscenity laws.

However, in a companion case, the Court also invalidated a pretrial seizure of a bookstore and its contents after only a preliminary finding of "probable cause" to believe that a RICO violation had occurred. Fort Wayne Books, Inc. v. Indiana, 57 U.S.L.W. 4180, 4184-4185 (February 21, 1989). The Court explained there is a rebuttable presumption that expressive materials are protected by the First Amendment. That presumption is not rebutted until the claimed justification for seizure of materials, the elements of a RICO violation, are proved in an adversary proceeding. Id. at 4185.

The Court did not specifically reach the fundamental question of whether seizure of the assets of a sexually oriented business such as a bookstore is constitutionally permissible once a RICO violation is proved. The Court explained:

[F]or the purposes of disposing of this case, we assume without deciding that bookstores and their contents are forfeitable (like other property such as a bank account or yacht) when it is proved that these items are property actually used in, or derived from, a pattern of violations of the state's obscenity laws.

Id. at 4185. The Working Group believes that a RICO statute which provided for seizure of the contents of a sexually oriented business upon proof of RICO violations would have the potential to significantly curtail the distribution of obscene materials.

Although Minnesota does not have a RICO statute, it does have a forfeiture statute permitting the seizure of money and property which are the proceeds of designated felony offenses. Minn. Stat. §609.5312 (1988). But, this does not permit seizure of property related to commission of the offenses most likely to be associated with sexually oriented businesses. Obscenity crimes are not among the offenses which justify forfeiture. Although solicitation or inducement of a person under age 13 (Minn. Stat. §609.322, subd. 1) or between the ages of 16 and 18 to practice prostitution (Minn. Stat. §609.322, subd. 2) are included among the offenses which could justify seizure of property, many crimes involving prostitution are outside the reach of the present Minnesota forfeiture law.

The following crimes are not included among the crimes which can justify seizure of property and profits: solicitation, inducement, or promotion of a person between the age of 13 and 16 to practice prostitution (Minn. Stat. §609.322, subd. 1A); solicitation, inducement or promotion of a person 18 years of age or older to practice prostitution (Minn. Stat. §609.322, subd. 3); receiving profit derived from prostitution (Minn. Stat. §609.323); owning, operating or managing a "disorderly house," in which conduct habitually occurs in violation of laws pertaining to liquor, gambling, controlled substances or prostitution (Minn. Stat. §609.33).

Although its reach would be much more limited, the legislature should also consider providing for forfeiture of property used to commit an obscenity offense or

which represents the proceeds of obscenity offenses. Under the holding in Fort Wayne Books, Inc. v. Indiana, such forfeiture could not take place, if at all, until it was proved that the underlying obscenity crimes had been committed.

There are no comparable constitutional issues raised by enactment or enforcement of forfeiture statutes based on violations of prostitution, gambling, or liquor laws. The legislature may require sexually oriented businesses which violate these laws to forfeit their profits. The Working Group believes that such an expansion of forfeiture laws would give prosecutors greater leverage to control the operation of those businesses which pose the greatest danger to the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The legislature should amend the present forfeiture statute to include as grounds for forfeiture all felonies and gross misdemeanors pertaining to solicitation, inducement, promotion or receiving profit from prostitution and operation of a "disorderly house."
2. The legislature should consider the potential for a RICO-like statute with an obscenity predicate.

Nuisance Injunctions

Minnesota law enforcement authorities may obtain an injunction and close down operations when a facility constitutes a public nuisance. A public nuisance exists when a business repeatedly violates laws pertaining to prostitution, gambling or keeping a "disorderly house." The Minnesota public nuisance law permits a court to order a building to be closed for one year. Minn. Stat. §§617.80-.87 (1988).

Nuisance injunctions to close down sexually oriented businesses which repeatedly violate laws pertaining to prostitution, gambling or disorderly conduct are potentially powerful regulatory devices. The fact that a building in which prostitution or other offenses occur houses a sexually oriented business does not shield the facility from application of nuisance law based on such offenses. Arcara v. Cloud Books, Inc., 478 U.S. 697, 106 S. Ct. 3172 (1986) (First Amendment does not shield adult bookstores from application of New York State nuisance law designed in part to close places of prostitution).

Although the Working Group believes that nuisance injunctions with an obscenity predicate would be effective in controlling sexually oriented businesses, such provisions would probably be unconstitutional under current U.S. Supreme Court decisions. Six Supreme Court justices joined in the Arcara result, but two of them - Justices O'Connor and Stevens - concurred with these words of caution:

If, however, a city were to use a nuisance statute as a pretext for closing down a book store because it sold indecent books or because of the perceived secondary effects of having a purveyor of such books in the neighborhood, the case would clearly implicate First Amendment concerns and require analysis under the appropriate First Amendment standard of review. Because there is no suggestion in the record or opinion below of such pretextual use of the New York nuisance provision in the case, I concur in the Court's opinion and judgment.

Arcara, supra, 478 U.S. at 708, 106 S. Ct. at 3178.

In an earlier case, Vance v. Universal Amusement, 445 U.S. 308, 100 S. Ct. 1156 (1980), the Court ruled unconstitutional a Texas public nuisance statute authorizing the closing of a building for a year if the building is used "habitual[ly]" for the commercial exhibition of obscene material." Id. at 310 n.2, 100 S. Ct. at 1158 n.2.

The Court's recent holdings in Sappenfield and Fort Wayne Books, Inc. give no indication that the Court would now look more favorably upon an injunction to close down a facility which sold obscene materials. The Court assumed without deciding that forfeiture of bookstore assets could be constitutional in a RICO case. But, in making this assumption, the Court distinguished forfeiture of assets under RICO from a general restraint on presumptively protected speech. The court approved the reasoning of the Indiana Supreme Court that, "The remedy of forfeiture is intended not to restrain the future distribution of presumptively protected speech but rather to disgorge assets acquired through racketeering activity." Fort Wayne Books, Inc. at 4185. The Court assumed that RICO provisions could be upheld on the basis that "adding obscenity-law violations to the list of RICO predicate crimes was not a mere ruse to sidestep the First Amendment." Id. Without the relationship to proceeds of crime, a remedy which closed a facility for obscenity violations would be far less likely to withstand constitutional scrutiny.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Prosecutors should use the public nuisance statute to enjoin operations of sexually oriented businesses which repeatedly violate laws pertaining to prostitution, gambling or operating a disorderly house.

ZONING

Zoning ordinances can be adopted to regulate the location of sexually oriented businesses without violating the First Amendment. Such ordinances can be designed to disperse or concentrate sexually oriented businesses, to keep them at designated distances from specific buildings or areas, such as churches, schools and residential neighborhoods or to restrict buildings to a single sexually oriented usage. Because

zoning is an important regulatory tool when properly enacted, the Working Group believes a careful explanation of the law and a review of potential problems in drafting zoning ordinances may be helpful to communities considering zoning to regulate sexually oriented businesses.

Supreme Court Decisions

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the validity of municipal adult entertainment zoning regulations in Young v. American Mini Theaters Inc., 427 U.S. 50, 96 S. Ct. 2440 (1976), and City of Renton v. Playtime Theaters, Inc., 475 U.S. 41, 106 S. Ct. 926 (1986).⁸

In Young, the Court upheld the validity of Detroit ordinances prohibiting the operation of theaters showing sexually explicit "adult movies" within 1,000 feet of any two other adult establishments.⁹ The ordinances authorized a waiver of the 1,000-foot restriction if a proposed use would not be contrary to the public interest and/or other factors were satisfied. Young, supra, 427 U.S. at 54 n.7, 96 S. Ct. at 2444 n.7. The ordinances were supported by urban planners and real estate experts who testified that concentration of adult-type establishments "tends to attract an undesirable quantity and quality of transients, adversely affects property values, causes an increase in crime, especially prostitution, and encourages residents and businesses to move elsewhere." Id. at 55, 96 S. Ct. at 2445. A "myriad" of locations were left available for adult establishments outside the forbidden 1,000-foot distance zone, and no existing establishments were affected. Id. at 71 n.35, 96 S. Ct. at 2453 n.35.

Writing for a plurality of four, Justice Stevens upheld the zoning ordinance as a reasonable regulation of the place where adult films may be shown because (1) there was a factual basis for the city's conclusion that the ordinance would prevent blight; (2) the ordinance was directed at preventing "secondary effects" of adult-establishment concentration rather than protecting citizens from unwanted "offensive" speech; (3) the ordinance did not greatly restrict access to lawful speech, and (4) "the city must be allowed a reasonable opportunity to experiment with solutions to admittedly serious problems." Id. at 63 n.18, 71 nn.34, 35, 96 S. Ct. at 2448-49 n.18, 2452-53 nn.34, 35.

Justice Stevens did not expressly describe the standard he had used, but it was clear that the plurality would afford non-obscene sexually explicit speech lesser First Amendment protection than other categories of speech. However, four dissenters and one concurring justice concluded that the degree of protection afforded speech by the First Amendment does not vary with the social value ascribed to that speech. In his

⁸The only reported Minnesota court case reviewing an adult entertainment zoning ordinance is City of St. Paul v. Carlone, 419 N.W.2d 129 (Minn. Ct. App. 1988) (upholding facial constitutionality of St. Paul ordinance).

⁹The ordinance prohibited the location of an adult theaters within 500 feet of a residential area, but this provision was invalidated by the district court, and that decision was not appealed. Young v. American Mini Theaters, Inc., 427 U.S. 50, 52 n.2, 96 S.Ct. 2440, 2444 n.2 (1976).

concurring opinion, Justice Powell stated that the four-part test of United States v. O'Brien, 391 U.S. 367, 377, 88 S. Ct. 1673, 1679 (1968), should apply. Powell explained:

Under that test, a governmental regulation is sufficiently justified, despite its incidental impact upon First Amendment interests, "if it is within the constitutional power of the Government; if it furthers an important or substantial governmental interest; if the governmental interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression; and if the incidental restriction on...First Amendment freedom is no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that interest."

427 U.S. at 79-80, 96 S. Ct. at 2457 (citation omitted), (Powell, J., concurring).

Perhaps because Justice Stevens' plurality opinion did not offer a clearly articulated standard of review, post-Young courts often applied the O'Brien test advocated by Justice Powell in his concurring opinion. Many ordinances regulating sexually oriented businesses were invalidated under the O'Brien test. See R.M. Stein, Regulation of Adult Businesses Through Zoning After Renton, 18 Pac. L.J. 351, 360 (1987) ("consistently invalidated"); S.A. Bender, Regulating Pornography Through Zoning: Can We 'Clean Up' Honolulu? 8 U. Haw. L. Rev. 75, 105 (1986) (ordinances upheld in only about half the cases).

Applying Young, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals invalidated a zoning ordinance adopted by the city of Minneapolis. Alexander v. City of Minneapolis, 698 F.2d 936 (8th Cir. 1983). In Alexander, the challenged ordinance had three major restrictions on sexually oriented businesses: distancing from specified uses, prevention of concentration and amortization. It prohibited a sexually oriented business from operating within 500 feet of districts zoned for residential or office-residences, a church, state-licensed day care facility and certain public schools. It forbade an adults-only facility from operating within 500 feet of any adults-only facility. Finally, the ordinance required existing sexually oriented entertainment establishments to conform to its provisions by moving to a new location, if necessary, within four years.

The Eighth Circuit ruled that the Minneapolis ordinance created restrictions too severe to be upheld under the Young decision. It would have required all five of the city's sexually oriented theaters and between seven and nine of the city's ten sexually oriented bookstores to relocate and would have required these facilities to compete with another 18 adult-type establishments (saunas, massage parlors and "rap" parlors) for a maximum of 12 relocation sites. The effective result of enforcing the ordinance would be a substantial reduction in the number of adult bookstores and theaters, and no new adult bookstores or theaters would be able to open, the Court concluded. Alexander, supra, 698 F.2d at 938.

In Renton, supra, the United States Supreme Court adopted a clearer standard under which regulation of sexually oriented businesses could be tested and upheld.

The Court upheld an ordinance prohibiting adult movie theaters from locating within 1,000 feet of any residential zone, single- or multiple-family dwelling, church, park or school.

Justice Rehnquist, writing for a Court majority that included Justices Stevens and Powell, stated that the Renton ordinance did not ban adult theaters altogether and that, therefore, it was "properly analyzed as a form of time, place and manner regulation." Id. at 46, 106 S. Ct. at 928. When time, place and manner regulations are "content-neutral" and not enacted "for the purpose of restricting speech on the basis of its content," they are "acceptable so long as they are designed to serve a substantial governmental interest and do not unreasonably limit alternative avenues of communication," Rehnquist stated. Id. He found the Renton ordinance to be content-neutral because it was not aimed at the content of films shown at adult theaters. Rather, the city's "predominant concerns" were with the secondary effects of the theaters. Id. at 47, 106 S. Ct. at 929 (emphasis in original). Once a time, place or manner regulation is determined to be content-neutral, "[t]he appropriate inquiry...is whether...ordinance is designed to serve a substantial governmental interest and allows for reasonable avenues of communication," Rehnquist wrote for the Court. Id. at 50, 106 S. Ct. at 930.

The Supreme Court found that Renton's "interest in preserving the quality of urban life" is a "vital" governmental interest. The substantiality of that interest was in no way diminished by the fact that Renton "relied heavily" on studies of the secondary effects of adult entertainment establishments by Seattle and the experiences of other cities, Rehnquist added. Id. at 51, 106 S. Ct. at 930-31.

The First Amendment does not require a city, before enacting such an ordinance, to conduct new studies or produce evidence independent of that already generated by other cities, so long as whatever evidence the city relies upon is reasonably believed to be relevant to the problem that the city addresses. That was the case here. Nor is our holding affected by the fact that Seattle ultimately chose a different method of adult theater zoning than that chosen by Renton, since Seattle's choice of a different remedy to combat the secondary effects of adult theaters does not call into question either Seattle's identification of those secondary effects or the relevance of Seattle's experience to Renton.

Id. at 51-52, 106 S. Ct. at 931.

Rehnquist's inquiry then addressed the means chosen to further Renton's substantial interest and inquired into whether the Renton ordinance was sufficiently "narrowly tailored."

His comments on Renton's means to further its substantial interest suggest that municipalities have a wide latitude in enacting content-neutral ordinances aimed at the secondary effects of adult-entertainment establishments. He quoted the Young plurality

for the proposition that:

It is not our function to appraise the wisdom of [the city's] decision to require adult theaters to be separated rather than concentrated in the same areas...[T]he city must be allowed a reasonable opportunity to experiment with solutions to admittedly serious problems.

Id. at 52, 106 S. Ct. at 931 (quoting Young, supra, 427 U.S at 71, 96 S. Ct. at 2453).

As to the "narrowly tailored" requirement, Rehnquist found that the Renton ordinance only affected theaters producing unwanted secondary effects and, therefore, was satisfactory. Id.

The second prong of Renton's "time, place, manner" inquiry - the availability of alternative avenues of communication - was satisfied by the district court's finding that 520 acres of land, or more than five percent of Renton, were left available for adult-entertainment uses, even though some of that developed area was already occupied and the undeveloped land was not available for sale or lease. A majority of the Court found:

That [adult theater owners] must fend for themselves in the real estate market, on an equal footing with other prospective purchasers and lessees, does not give rise to a First Amendment violation...In our view, the First Amendment requires only that Renton refrain from effectively denying [adult theater owners] a reasonable opportunity to open and operate an adult theater within the city, and the ordinance before us easily meets this requirement.

Id. at 54, 106 S. Ct. at 932.

Standards and Need for Legal Zoning

Unlike Young, the Renton case spells out the standards by which zoning of sexually oriented businesses should be tested. Renton and several lower court decisions rendered in its wake suggest that the two most critical areas by which the ordinances will be judged are 1) whether there is evidence that ordinances were enacted to address secondary impacts on the community, and 2) whether there are enough locations still available for sexually oriented businesses so that zoning is not just a pretext to eliminate pornographic speech.¹⁰

¹⁰Ten of eleven recent post-Renton adult-entertainment zoning decisions by federal courts, five invalidated ordinances, three upheld ordinances and three ordered a remand to district court for further proceedings. Zoning ordinances were struck in Avalon Cinema Corp. v. Thompson, 667 F.2d 659 (8th Cir. 1987) (city council failed to offer evidence suggesting neighborhood decline would result); Tollis, Inc. v. San Bernadino County, 827 F.2d 1329 (9th Cir. 1987) (no evidence presented to legislative body of

This section first describes some of the legal considerations which communities must keep in mind in drafting zoning ordinances for sexually oriented businesses. Then, some suggestions are provided, based on evidence reviewed by the Working Group, of types of zoning which can be enacted to reduce the secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses.

Documentation to Support Zoning Ordinances

Sexually oriented speech which is not obscene cannot be restricted on the basis of its content without running afoul of the First Amendment. The justification for regulating sexually oriented businesses is based on proof that the zoning is needed to reduce secondary effects of the businesses on the community.

Since Renton, a number of adult entertainment zoning ordinances have been invalidated for failure of the enacting body to document the need for zoning regulations. Thus, one court invalidated a zoning ordinance because there was "very little, if any, evidence of the secondary effects of adult bookstores...before the City Council..." 11126 Baltimore Boulevard, supra, 684 F. Supp. at 895; see also Tollis v. San Bernadino County, 827 F.2d 1329, 1333 (9th Cir. 1987) (ordinance construed to prohibit single showing of adult movie in zoned area; invalidated for failure to present evidence of secondary effects of single showing); but see Thames Enterprises v. City of St. Louis, 851 F.2d 199, 201-02 (8th Cir. 1988) (observations by legislator of secondary effects sufficient).

On the other hand, it is not necessary for each municipality to conduct research independent of that already generated by other cities. The Renton court held that evidence of the need for zoning of sexually oriented businesses can be provided by studies from other cities "so long as whatever evidence the city relies upon is reasonably believed to be relevant to the problem that the city addresses." Id. at 51, 106 S. Ct. at 931. See also SDJ, Inc. v. City of Houston, 837 F.2d 1268, 1274 (5th Cir. 1988) (public testimony from experts, supporters and opponents and consideration of

secondary harmful effects); Ebel v. Corona, 767 F.2d 635 (9th Cir. 1985) (lack of effective alternative locations); 11126 Baltimore Boulevard, Inc. v. Prince George's County of Maryland, 684 F. Supp. 884 (D. Md. 1988) (insufficient evidence of secondary effects presented to legislative body; special exception provisions grant excessive discretionary authority to zoning officials); and Peoples Tags, Inc. v. Jackson County Legislature, 636 F. Supp. 1345 (W.D. Mo. 1986) (improper legislative purpose to prevent continued operation of adult entertainment establishment). Zoning ordinances were upheld in SDJ, Inc. v. City of Houston, 837 F.2d 1268 (5th Cir. 1988); FW/PBS, Inc. v. City of Dallas, 837 F.2d 1298 (5th Cir. 1988); and S & G News, Inc. v. City of Southgate, 638 F. Supp. 1060 (E.D. Mich. 1986), aff'd without published opinion, 819 F.2d 1142 (6th Cir. 1987). Remands were ordered in Christy v. City of Ann Arbor, 824 F.2d 489 (6th Cir. 1987), cert. denied, _____ U.S. _____, 108 S. Ct. 1013 (1988) (remand for determination of excessive restrictions); International Food & Beverage Systems v. City of Fort Lauderdale, 794 F.2d 1520 (11th Cir. 1986) (remand for reconsideration in light of Renton, supra; nude bar ordinance), and Walnut Properties, Inc. v. City of Whittier, 808 F.2d 1331 (9th Cir. 1986) (remand, in part, for determination of land availability).

studies by Detroit, Boston, Dallas and Los Angeles sufficient evidence of legitimate purpose).

The first section of this report summarizes evidence from various cities documenting the secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses. Following Renton, it is intended that local communities will make use of this evidence in the course of assembling support for reasonable regulation of sexually oriented businesses.

Availability of Locations for Sexually Oriented Businesses

Courts also evaluate whether zoning of sexually oriented businesses is merely a pretext for prohibition by reviewing the alternative locations which remain for a sexually oriented business to operate under the zoning scheme. A municipality must "refrain from effectively denying...a reasonable opportunity to open and operate" a sexually oriented business. Renton, supra, 475 U.S. at 54, 106 S. Ct. at 932.

Access may be regarded as unduly restricted if adult entertainment zones are unreasonably small in area or if the number of locations is unreasonably few. There is no set amount of land or number of locations constitutionally required. The Renton court found that 520 acres of "accessible real estate," including land "criss-crossed by freeways" - more than five percent of the entire land area in Renton - was sufficient. 475 U.S. at 53, 106 S. Ct. at 932. The Young court found the availability of "myriad" locations sufficient. 427 U.S. at 72 n.35, 96 S. Ct. at 2453 n.35.

Whether .058 square miles constituting .23 of 1 percent of the land area within the city's central business zone is sufficient is not clear. See Alexander v. The City of Minneapolis (Alexander II), No. 3-88-808, slip op. at 22 (D. Minn. May 22, 1989) (less than 1% of land area could be valid if "ample actual opportunities" for relocation exist); Christy v. City of Ann Arbor, 824 F.2d 489, 490, 493 (6th Cir. 1987) (remanding for a determination of excessive restriction). See also 11126 Baltimore Boulevard, Inc. v. Prince George's County of Maryland, 684 F. Supp. 884 (D. Md. 1988) (20 alternative locations sufficient); Alexander v. City of Minneapolis, 698 F.2d 936, 939 n.7 (8th Cir. 1983) (pre-Renton; 12 relocation sites for at least 28 existing adult establishments not sufficient).

The sufficiency of sites available for adult entertainment uses may be measured in relation to a number of factors. See, e.g., Alexander II, supra, slip op. at 22-23 (insufficient if relocation site owners refuse to sell or lease); International Food & Beverage Systems, Inc., 794 F.2d 1520, 1526 (11th Cir. 1986) (suggesting number of sites should be determined by reference to community needs, incidence of establishments in other cities, goals of city plan); Basiardanes v. City of Galveston, 682 F.2d 1203, 1209 (5th Cir. 1982) (pre-Renton case striking zoning regulation restricting adult theaters to industrial areas that were "largely a patchwork of swamps, warehouses, and railroad tracks...lack[ing] access roads and retail establishments").

However, the fact that land zoned for adult establishments is already occupied or not currently for sale or lease will not invalidate a zoning ordinance. Renton, supra, 475 U.S. at 53-54, 106 S. Ct. at 932; but see Alexander II, supra, slip op. at 22-23 (reasonable relocation opportunity absent where owners refuse to sell or rent). There is no requirement that it be economically advantageous for a sexually oriented business to locate in the areas permitted by law.

Distance Requirements

Another factor that may be examined by some courts is the distance requirement established by an adult entertainment zoning ordinance. In SDJ, Inc. v. Houston, 837 F.2d 1268 (5th Cir. 1988), the Court was asked to invalidate a 750 foot distancing requirement on the ground that the city had not proved that 750 feet, as opposed to some other distance, was necessary to serve the city's interest.

The Court found that an adult entertainment zoning ordinance is "sufficiently well tailored if it effectively promotes the government's stated interest" and declined to "second-guess" the city council. Houston, supra, 837 F.2d at 1276.

Courts have sustained both requirements that sexually oriented businesses be located at specific distances from each other, see Young, supra, (upholding distance requirement of 1000 feet between sexually oriented businesses), and requirements that sexually oriented businesses be located at fixed distances from other sensitive uses, see Renton, supra, (upholding distance requirement of 1000 feet between sexually oriented businesses and residential zones, single-or-multiple family dwellings, churches, parks or schools).

The Working Group heard testimony that when an ordinance establishes distances between sexually oriented uses, an additional regulation may be needed to prevent operators of these businesses to defeat the intent of the regulation by concentrating sexually oriented businesses of various types under one roof, as in a sexually oriented mini-mall. The city of St. Paul has adopted an ordinance preventing more than one adult use (e.g., sexually oriented theater, bookstore, massage parlor) from locating within a single building. A similar ordinance was upheld in the North Carolina case of Hart Book Stores, Inc. v. Edmisten, 612 F.2d 821 (4th Cir. 1979), cert. denied, 447 U.S. 929 (1980).

The experience with multiple-use sexually oriented businesses at the University-Dale intersection suggests that these businesses have a greater potential for causing neighborhood problems than do single-use sexually oriented businesses. Following Renton, it is suggested that lawmakers document the adverse effects which the community seeks to prevent by prohibiting multiple-use businesses before enacting this type of ordinance.

Requiring Existing Businesses to Comply with New Zoning

Zoning ordinances can require existing sexually-oriented businesses to close their operations provided they do not foreclose the operation of such businesses in new locations. Under such provisions, an existing business is allowed to remain at its present location, even though it is a non-conforming use, for a limited period.

The Minnesota Supreme Court has explained the theory this way:

The theory behind this legislative device is that the useful life of the nonconforming use corresponds roughly to the amortization period, so that the owner is not deprived of his property until the end of its useful life. In addition, the monopoly position granted during the amortization period theoretically provides the owner with compensation for the loss of some property interest, since the period specified rarely corresponds precisely to the useful life of any particular structure constituting the nonconforming use.

Naegele Outdoor Advertising Co. v. Village of Minnetonka, 162 N.W.2d 206, 213 (Minn. 1968).

Such provisions applied to sexually oriented businesses have been said to be "uniformly upheld." Dumas v. City of Dallas, 648 F. Supp. 1061, 1071 (N.D. Tex. 1986), aff'd, FW/PBS, Inc. v. City of Dallas, 837 F.2d 1298 (5th Cir. 1988) (citing cases).

As detailed in the first section of this report (pp. 6-15), there are significant secondary impacts upon communities related to the location of sexually oriented businesses. These impacts are intensified when sexually oriented businesses are located in residential areas or near other sensitive uses and when sexually oriented businesses are concentrated near each other or near alcohol oriented businesses. The Working Group believes that evidence from studies such as those described in the first section of this report and anecdotal evidence from neighborhood residents and police officers should be used to support the need for zoning ordinances which address these problems.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Communities should document findings of adverse secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses prior to enacting zoning regulations to control these uses so that such regulations can be upheld if challenged in court.
2. To reduce the adverse effects of sexually oriented businesses, communities should adopt zoning regulations to set distance requirements between sexually oriented businesses and sensitive uses, including but

not limited to residential areas, schools, child care facilities, churches and parks.

3. To reduce adverse impacts from concentration of sexually oriented businesses, communities should adopt zoning ordinances which set distance requirements between liquor establishments and sexually oriented businesses and between sexually oriented businesses and should consider restricting sexually oriented businesses to one use per building.

4. Communities should require existing businesses to comply with new zoning or other regulation pertaining to sexually oriented businesses within a reasonable time so that prior uses will conform to new laws.

LICENSING AND OTHER REGULATIONS

Licensing and other regulations may also be used to reduce the adverse effects of sexually oriented businesses. The critical requirements which communities must keep in mind are that regulations must be narrowly crafted to address adverse secondary effects, they must be reasonably related to reduction of these effects and they must be capable of objective application. If these standards can be met, licensing and other regulatory provisions may play an important role in preventing unwanted exposure to sexually oriented materials and in reducing the crime problems associated with sexually oriented businesses.

It is clear that failure to act upon a license application for a sexually oriented business cannot take the place of regulation. Without justification, denial or failure to grant a license is a prior restraint in violation of the First Amendment. Parkway Theater Corporation v. City of Minneapolis, No 716787, slip. op. (Henn. Co. Dist. Ct., Sept. 24, 1975).

An ordinance providing for license revocation of an adult motion picture theater if the licensee is convicted of an obscenity offense is also likely to be held unconstitutional as a prior restraint of free speech. Alexander v. City of St. Paul, 227 N.W.2d 370 (Minn. 1975). The Alexander court stated:

[W]hen the city licenses a motion picture theater, it is licensing an activity protected by the First Amendment, and as a result the power of the city is more limited than when the city licenses activities which do not have First Amendment protection, such as the business of selling liquor or running a massage parlor.

Id. at 373 (footnote omitted); see also, Cohen v. City of Daleville, 695 F. Supp. 1168, 1171 (M.D. Ala. 1988) (past sale of obscene material cannot justify revocation of license).

However, the courts have permitted communities to deny licenses to sexually oriented businesses if the person seeking a license has been convicted of other crimes which are closely related to the operation of sexually oriented businesses.

In Dumas v. City of Dallas, supra, the court reviewed a requirement that a license applicant not have been convicted of certain crimes within a specified period. Five of the enumerated crimes were held to be not sufficiently related to the purpose of the adult entertainment licensing ordinance because the city had made no findings on their justification. The invalid enumerated offenses were controlled substances act violations, bribery, robbery, kidnapping and organized criminal activity. The court upheld requirements that the licensee not have been convicted of prostitution and sex-related offenses. Id. at 1074. If a community seeks to require that persons with a history of other crimes be denied licenses, clear findings must first be made which justify denial of licenses on that basis.

The Dumas court also invalidated portions of the licensing ordinance permitting the police chief to deny a license if he finds that the applicant "is unable to operate or manage a sexually oriented business premises in a peaceful and law-abiding manner" or is not "presently fit to operate a sexually oriented business." Neither provision satisfied the constitutional requirement that "any license requirement for an activity related to expression must contain narrow, objective, and definite standards to guide the licensing authority." Id. at 1072. See also Alexander II, supra, slip. op. at 16 (unconstitutionally vague to define regulated bookstores as those selling "substantial or significant portion" of certain publications); 11126 Baltimore Boulevard, supra, 684 F. Supp. at 898-99 (striking ordinance allowing zoning officials to deny permit if adult entertainment establishment is not "in harmony" with zoning plan, does not "substantially impair" master plan, does not "adversely affect" health, safety and welfare and is not "detrimental" to neighborhood because such standards are "subject to possible manipulation and arbitrary application").

A number of courts have upheld ordinances requiring that viewing booths in adult theaters be open to discourage illegal and unsanitary sexual activity. See e.g., Doe v. City of Minneapolis, 693 F. Supp. 774 (D. Minn. 1988).

Licensing provisions and ordinances forbidding massage parlors employees from administering massages to persons of the opposite sex have withstood equal protection and privacy and associated right challenges. See Clampitt v. City of Ft. Wayne, 682 F. Supp. Ct. 401, 407-408 (N.D. Ind. 1988) (equal protection); Wigginess, Inc. v. Fruchtman, 482 F. Supp. 681, 689-90 (S.D. N.Y. 1979), aff'd, 628 F.2d 1346 (2d Cir. 1980), cert. denied, 449 U.S. 842, 101 S. Ct. 122. However, some courts have found same-sex massage regulations to be in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. See Stratton v. Drumm, 445 F. Supp. 1305, 1310-11 (D. Conn. 1978); Cianciolo v. Members of City Council, 376 F. Supp. 719, 722-24 (E.D. Tenn. 1974); Joseph v. House, 353 F. Supp. 367, 374-75 (E.D. Va.), aff'd sub nom. Joseph v. Blair, 482 D.2d 575 (4th Cir.), cert. denied, 416 U.S. 955, 94 S. Ct. 1968 (1974). Contra, Aldred v.

Duling, 538 F.2d 637 (4th Cir.1976).

Although the Working Group expressed strong concern about the operation of prostitution under the guise of massage parlors, this type of regulation is not advisable because legitimate therapeutic massage establishments could find their operations curtailed. Prostitution may be better controlled through prosecution and use of post-conviction actions such as forfeiture or enjoining a public nuisance.

In 1985, a court upheld an ordinance making it unlawful to display for commercial purposes material "harmful to minors" unless the material is in a sealed wrapper and, if the cover is harmful to minors, has an opaque cover. Upper Midwest Booksellers Ass'n v. City of Minneapolis, 780 F.2d 1389 (8th Cir. 1985). Last year, the legislature enacted a state law similarly prohibiting display of sexually explicit material which is harmful to minors unless items are kept in sealed wrappers and, where the cover itself would be harmful to minors, within opaque covers. Minn. Stat. §617.293 (1988). This law has the potential to protect minors from exposure to sexually oriented materials. Communities also have considerable discretion to regulate signage so that the exterior of sexually oriented businesses does not expose unwitting observers to sexually explicit messages.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Prior to enacting licensing regulations, communities should document findings of adverse secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses and the relationship between these effects and proposed regulations so that such regulations can be upheld if challenged in court.
2. Communities should adopt regulations which reduce the likelihood of criminal activity related to sexually oriented businesses, including but not limited to open booth ordinances and ordinances which authorize denial or revocation of licenses when the licensee has committed offenses relevant to the operation of the business.
3. Communities should adopt regulations which reduce exposure of the community and minors to the blighting appearance of sexually oriented businesses including but not limited to regulations of signage and exterior design of such businesses and should enforce state law requiring sealed wrappers and opaque covers on sexually oriented material.

CONCLUSION

There are many actions which communities may take within the law to protect themselves from the adverse secondary effects of sexually oriented businesses. Prosecution of obscenity crimes can play a vital role in decreasing the profitability of sexually oriented businesses and removing materials which violate community

standards from local outlets. Forfeiture and injunction to prevent public nuisance should be available where sexually oriented businesses are the site of sex-related crimes and violations of laws pertaining to gambling, liquor or controlled substances. These actions will remove the most egregious establishments from communities.

Zoning can reduce the likelihood that sexually oriented businesses will lead to neighborhood blight. Licensing can sever the link between at least some crime figures and sexually oriented businesses. Regulation and enforcement can protect minors from exposure to sexually explicit materials.

The Attorney General's Working Group on the Regulation of Sexually Oriented Businesses believes that prosecution, seizure of profits, zoning and regulation of sexually oriented businesses should only be done in keeping with the constitutional requirements of the First Amendment. Rational regulation can be fashioned to protect both our communities and our constitutional rights.