

The University of Oklahoma Graduate College

A Professional Project submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architectural Urban Studies

> NOT THAT KIND OF CITY by Jessica Erin Brent Tulsa, OK 2011

Approved for the Urban Design Studio of The College of Architecture by Shawn Michael Schaefer Showa Omabegho, Ph.D. Marjorie Callahan

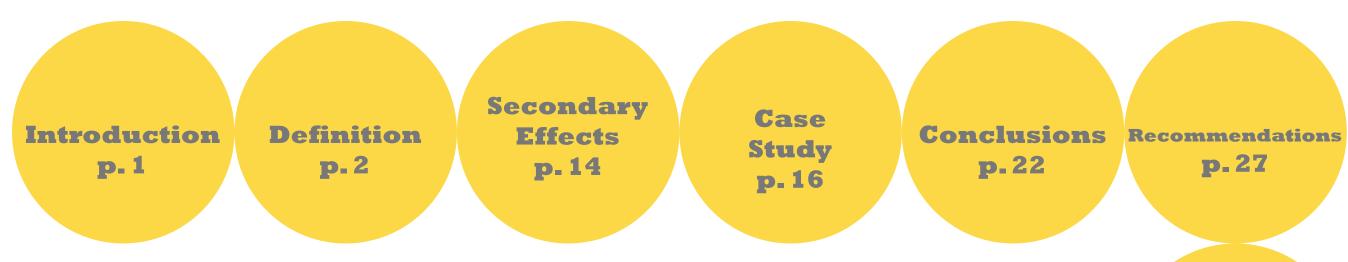
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It's kind of a double edged sword isn't it? Well, if you say you haven't, you're a prude. If you say you have you're a slut. It's a trap. You want to but you can't, and when you do you wish you didn't, right?

> -Ally Sheedy as Allison in "The Breakfast Club" (Hughes 1985)

By nature's design, humans are sexual creatures. Nature's reproductive mandate propels people to seek mates and sexual encounters. The sexual quest cannot be executed from the privacy of one's residential dwelling. One must enter the public sphere and engage socially to achieve sexual success. Within the built environment there are reflections of every human need: spaces for food, shelter, water, clothing, companionship, even sex. Everything from the church to the brothel; the promenade, the tavern, and the park; people utilize public space to seek mates, advertise themselves, fulfill desires.

Given the power of the sexual drive, it should come as no surprise that sexuality would come to be a marketable commodity. Adult entertainment has exploded into an entire industry over the past century as the entrepreneurial-minded have taken to selling books, magazines, toys, lingerie, films, and a range of live entertainment. Adult entertainment as it exists in the built environment remains a point of contention for communities worldwide. Some cities accept sexual liberalism and embrace adult entertainment as a cultural and economic asset, while many others implement regulations to temper the proliferation of such businesses. There is little middle ground between the two approaches. The chasm resembles the virgin-whore dichotomy, most (stereo)typically applied to female sexuality, in which cities that take a reserved approach to adult entertainment businesses seem to be saying: "We're not that kind of city."

Two approaches, on opposite ends of the spectrum, are examined in this case study: Tulsa, Oklahoma and Amsterdam, Netherlands. Comparing the layout of adult entertainment in each urban form, the costs and benefits of each approach are weighed to determine what middle ground can be reached as cities plan for adult entertainment.

Notes for reading:

The terms "Adult Entertainment Business" and "Sexually Oriented Business" will be used interchangeably throughout to refer to businesses defined in the following chapter, and may be abbreviated to AEB or SOB, respectively.

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Exotic dancer, Little Egypt, is credited with popularizing belly dancing in the United States. She got her start at Chicago's World Fair in 1893.

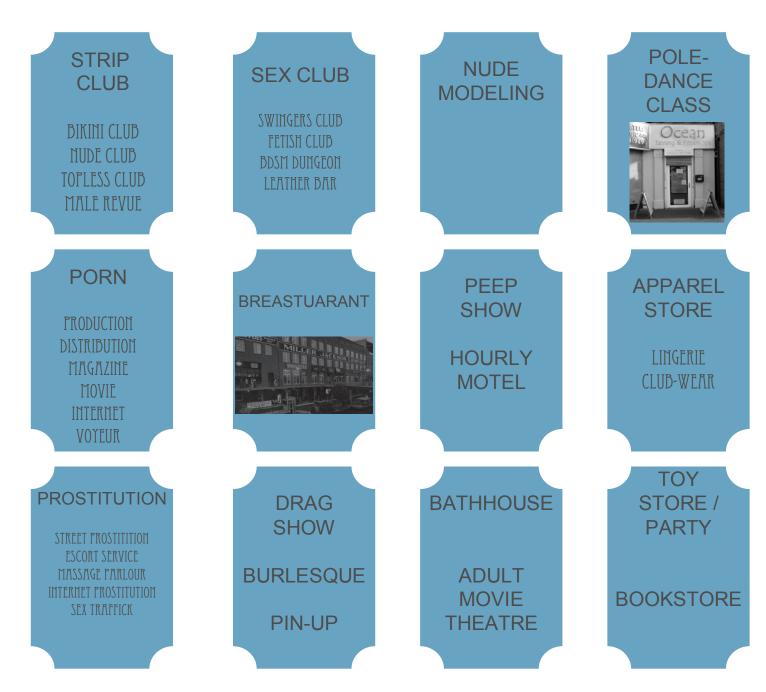
Prostitution is commonly known as the oldest profession in the world. Erotic art can be dated back to ancient cave paintings and erotic literature is a similarly ancient medium (i.e. Kama Sutra). The evolution of contemporary adult entertainment, however, began in the mid 19th century. Live striptease originated in European theater with "undressing acts". By the 1890's, as motion pictures were popularized, undressing films spread like wildfire across America, beginning in the New York City vice district. Within a years time every major city boasted it's own "kinetoscope parlor" for viewing peep show films. Chicago's World Fair fostered the origins of "hootchy cootchy" as performers like Little Egypt took dance cues from the far east with highly sexualized exotic dancing. Burlesque soon gained popularity in the vaudeville circuit, with some companies featuring classier acts than others. Striptease continued through the first half of the 20th century. Author and striptease historian, Rachel Schteir, argues that striptease ended with the sexual revolution as live adult entertainment abandoned it's theatrical roots and instead began to resemble pornography (Schteir 2004).



The Mistinguett Revue at the Moulin Rouge, Paris 1925

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Adult entertainment today includes a wide array of media, retail and live entertainment. This section will explore the spectrum from widely accepted and unregulated, to controversial and illegal entertainment. Each form of entertainment has been rated (generally and subjectively by the author) along the following scales:

Unrestricted - Restricted : refers to the level of restriction typically overseeing the form.

Private - Public : Refers to the space in which the form is typically consumed.

Male Consumer - Female Consumer : Refers to the consumer most typically associated with the form.

Male Worker - Female Worker : Refers to the gender most often serving the consumer.

Urban - Suburban : Refers to the type of urban environment that the form is generally found. Suburban leaning forms are often also found in the urban locations.

Artistic - Prurient : Refers to the level of artistic value generally placed on the form.

Legal - Illegal : Refers to the legality of the form.

Consensual - Exploitative : Refers to the assumed frequency of blatant exploitation that takes place within the form.

Heterosexual - Homosexual : Refers to the orientation generally consuming or engaging in the form.

Zoned - Unzoned : Refers to whether or not the form is generally found in zoning ordinances restricting adult entertainment businesses (discussed fully in the next chapter).

Photographs accompanying the forms are primarily meant to demonstrate how adult entertainment exists in the built environment.

photo sources:

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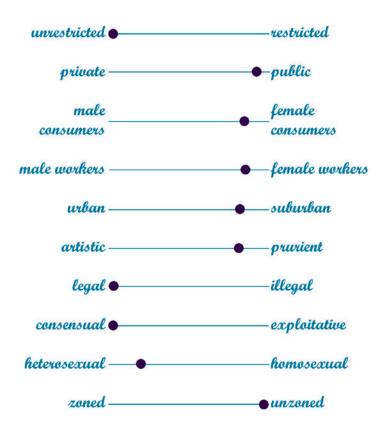
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Lingerie Retail Stores

As with most businesses, lingerie stores range from upscale to run-down. Stores that stick to lingerie sales are not generally restricted in location. Many lingerie stores, however, also sell "novelty" (sex) toys and adult media, and are thus subject to zoning restrictions.

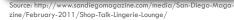
1} Lingerie store on Bourbon Street in New Orleans, LA. Based on the name, Bourbon Strip Tease, it's likely that the store caters to dancers employed at nearby strip clubs.

2} The Lingerie Lounge, in San Diego, CA, was designed by Alicia O'Sullivan, student of the Fashion Institute of Design & Merchandising in Los Angeles. The store attracts celebrities and bachelorette parties. Adult toys are also part of the stores merchandise (Sager).

3} An explicitly titled lingerie store on Melrose Ave. in Los Angeles, CA, has been the source of frustration for neighbors who say they aren't bothered by the content of the store but the signage is offensive. Complaints resulted in the closing of the stores original location, though it shortly reopened one block away. (Guerrero 2011)









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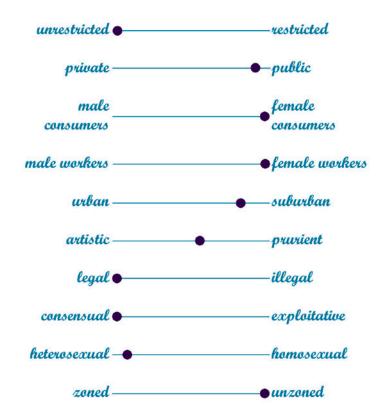
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ingerie-store-with-risgue-name-plans-to-open



Jole Dance Classes

The widespread popularity of pole dance classes is indicative of vast inconsistencies regarding socially acceptable sexual expressions. Pole dance classes are widely accepted in places where pole dances within actual strip clubs are not. Gyms across the world offer these classes. The clientele are not generally strippers, rather gym members and bachelorette parties most often occupy the classes.

1} Gym in Queensferry, North Wales offering pole dance lessons.

2} Washington, D.C. gym featuring a variety of fitness classes, including pole dance.

3} Tantra Fitness based in Vancouver, Canada, stirred controversy in 2010 when owner, Tammy Morris, began publicly promoting her pole fitness series for children. Many feel that pole exercises are not appropriate for the underaged (Sammons 2010).



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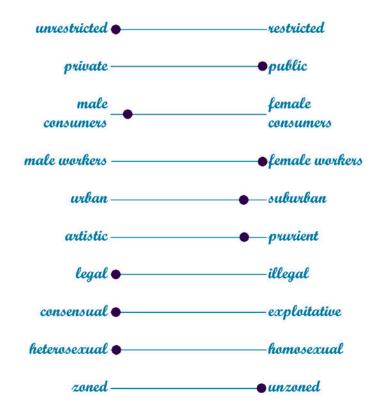




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Breastaurants

"Breastaurant" is a term for restaurants that toe the adult entertainment line. Open to the public with no age restrictions, the restaurants such as Hooters and Twin Peaks employ heavily bosomed, scantily clad waitresses. Other businesses that venture into adult entertainment territory without being labelled "sexually oriented businesses" include the Coyote Ugly chain of saloons, in which the female bartenders break into bar-top dances. The coffee shop pictured below employees topless baristas, though no dances take place.

1} Hooters in Oklahoma City's Bricktown, a downtown development bustling with entertainment and nightlife. Many Hooters are located in large single-use buildings in suburban style shopping areas. The Bricktown Hooters is a good example of controversial businesses integrating into the fabric of their district.

2) Twin Peaks in Albuquerque, NM. Twin Peaks are also often found in large single-use buildings.

3) The Grand View topless coffee shop received much media attention upon opening in a small Maine town. Topless staff included men and women, not all of them glamorous. Many of the topless staff were excited to have a job, shirt or none, after being hit hard by the recession. Opposition was strong in the town but the coffee shop was compliant with all of the town's laws (Segall 2009). Soon after opening the coffee shop was burned down in an act of arson.





guerque/places/204304-Twin-Peaks-Restau source: http://www.go Albuauerau

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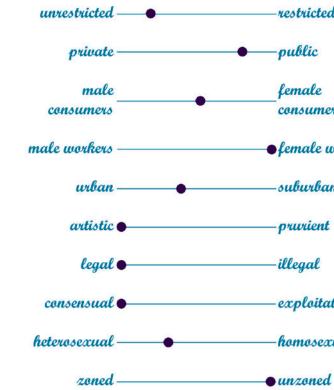


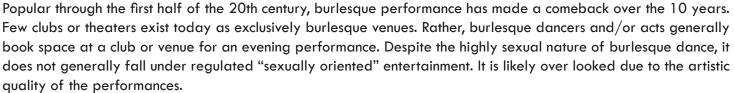
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Burlesque





Similar in entertainment style, drag king/queen shows take place in clubs across the country. Though female/male impersonation is mentioned in Tulsa's SOB ordinance, it does not appear to actually be regulated.

1) The Trocado Theatre in Philadelphia, PA is a historic Victorian theatre that featured vaudeville and burlesque acts throughout the 1950's. Today the theatre operates as a live music venue.

2} Advertisement for Los Angeles club featuring weekly burlesque entertainment.

3} New York City Club, Corio, is one of the few contemporary dinner theatres featuring live burlesque acts.





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restricted

consumers

•female workers

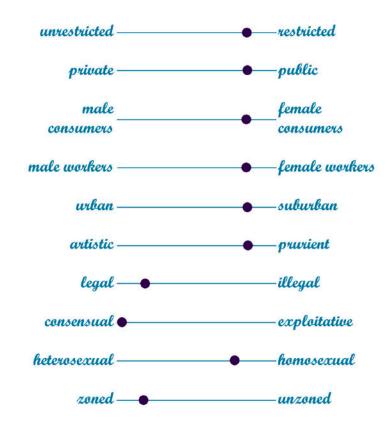
suburban

exploitative

homosexual



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Adult Toy Stores and Parties

Adult toy stores are generally subject to secondary effect ordinances, though "sexuality boutiques" are often found in suburban and upscale neighborhoods (Edwards 2010).

1} Christie's Toy Box in OKC, mirrors Tulsa's Priscilla's chain of toy stores. Both are generally found in abandoned and retrofitted buildings, often in suburban shopping areas.

2} Toys in Babeland on Melrose in Los Angeles (now closed), is an example of an SOB conforming to the area around it. All Babeland stores are located in hip, urban shopping centers and their facades are always bright, open and inviting.

3} Pash hostesses setting up for an in-home sex toy party (Pakula 2008). Not unlike Tupperware parties of days gone by, women-only sex toy parties are educational, social shopping parties. Hugely popular among women from all walks, Passion Parties, a Las Vegas based supply company, made over \$1 million in sales in 2005. Most of the sales came out of rural Kansas and Western Missouri (Alexander 2006).







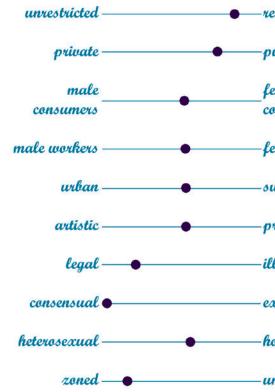
source: http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/ off/2008/09/24/1222217301423.html



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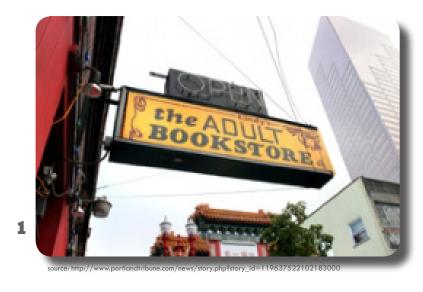


Bookstores are not unlike adult toy stores (often they are combined), however bookstores are somewhat more notorious for locating in shady parts of town. An interesting component of adult entertainment not generally included in SOB regulations are production and distribution of adult media.

1} Portland bookstore, now closed after a conflict with the City (Budnick 2007).

2} San Francisco bookstore marquee responds to the threat posed to bookstores by readily available internet pornography.

3} Gay bookstore in West Hollywood, CA.







source: http://gaytravel.about.com/od/ga Unicorn-Books-West-Hollywood.htm -restricted

public

female consumers

female workers

suburban

prurient

-illegal

-exploitative

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unzoned



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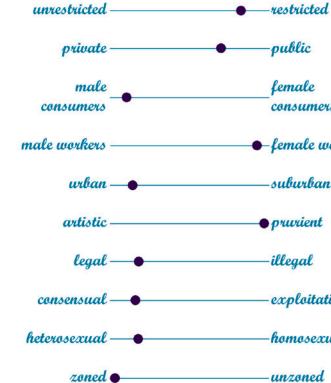




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Seep Shows and Adult Theatres



Live peep shows and adult theatres are often controversial due to the nature of the entertainment. Opponents cite the public health concerns generated by the public sexual acts which take place inside (Cooper 2001).

1} Seattle's Lust Lady. Peep show dancers at the San Francisco Lusty Lady successfully unionized in the 1990's.

2} The exterior of Amsterdam's Sex Palace is nearly as explicit as the interior operation.

3} The historic Polk Theater in Queen's, New York, was torn down in 2008 despite the architectural integrity of the historic building (Hinckley 2008)

consumers

female workers

suburban

exploitative

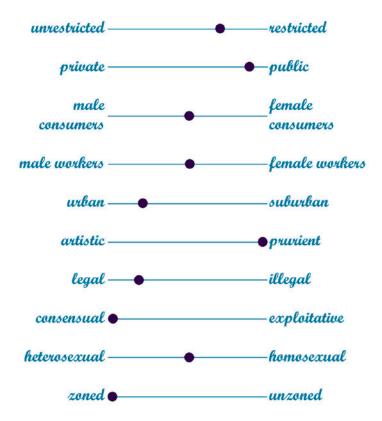
homosexual

unzoned



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Sex clubs include:

- Swingers Clubs
- Fetish / Bondage / Leather Bars
- Bathhouses

Interestingly, many sex clubs, such as swinger's clubs which meet in event or hotel space, are overlooked by sexually oriented business regulations. "Adult motels", which stream adult movies, are often included in zoning ordinances, though enforcement is questionable since most hotels offer pay-per-view adult material.

1. Tulsa Select Hotel off Interstate 44 hosts The Green Door swingers club. The club is not considered an SOB in Tulsa, and off duty police officers provide security at the events.

2. Peaches lingerie store in Accrington, England features a full service fetish dungeon (Cornall 2009).

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3. Toronto's Steamworks, a chain of adult bathhouses for men.



source: http://www.tulsa-select-hotel.com/hotels/hotelbilder/



source: http://menmedia.co.uk/accringtonobserver/news/s/1111542_torture_ den_in_the_high_street



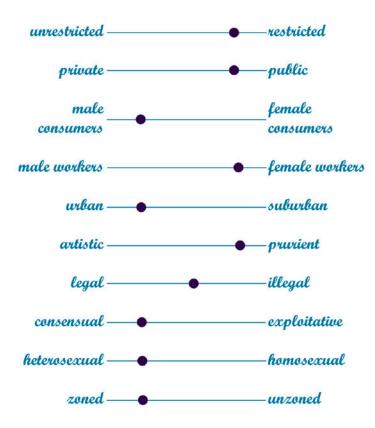
source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/modernmonk/10973899/ (steamworks, Toronto)

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Strip Clubs

Strip clubs range from huge, upscale entertainment venues (2) to small, dive bars with a handful of rockabilly dancers (1).

1} Jumbo's Clown Room, the Hollywood bikini club famous for employing Pamela Anderson prior to her rise to stardom.

2} Las Vegas Spearmint Rhino, an international chain of strip clubs.

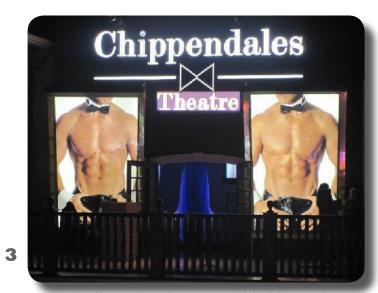
3} Chippendales, Las Vegas. The market for male strip clubs geared towards woman (as opposed to other men) is not strong enough to support many standalone male revue clubs. Instead, male revues often tour, performing at event centers such as casinos.



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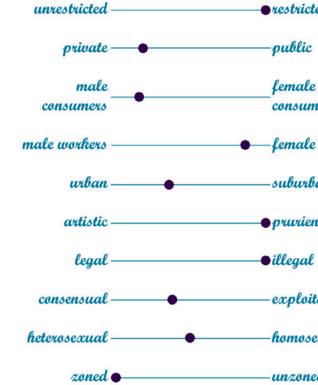
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Trostitution



Though prostitution is largely illegal, it exists most everywhere.

1} Street prostitute in Bulgaria, where prostitution was recently on it's way to legalization before tides quickly turned and officials decided that in order to combat widespread sex trafficking prostitution should be banned outright (Kulish 2007).

2} Massage Parlor in Chicago known to offer prostitution services.

3} Windows in Amsterdam's red light district, which has essentially eliminated street prostitution through legalization.

restricted

-public

female consumers

female workers

-suburban

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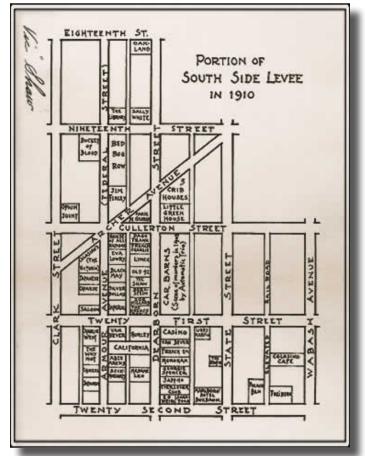
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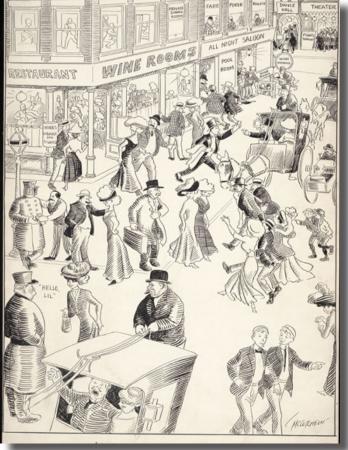
homosexual

unzoned



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ource: pdnachicago.com

ource: http://blog.chicagohistory.org/index.php/page/2

Map and John McCutcheon cartoon of Chicago's historic Levee district, a notorious red light district that was shut down in 1912.

At the turn of the century, many major American cities were host to at least one red light district, where saloons, dance halls, and brothels thrived. In the 1970's, an "anti-skid row" land use ordinance passed in Detroit, Michigan, which marked the beginning of the end for red light districts in the United States (Edwards 2010). The ordinance imposed spatialization restrictions on adult entertainment businesses (AEBs) and sparked widespread use of "The Doctrine of Secondary Effects". Under this doctrine, cities may impose land use restrictions on adult entertainment businesses in efforts to minimize the negative secondary effects purportedly caused by the businesses. Strip clubs, adult book and novelty toy stores, adult theatres and arcades, adult hotels, massage parlors offering sexual services, and model studios unrelated to university art classes are examples of businesses generally categorized as adult entertainment by cities. Secondary effects commonly associated with AEBs include crime, prostitution, blight, deterioration of neighborhoods, decreased property values, and juvenile delinquency (Hudson 2001).

Detroit's ordinance was challenged in court, with business owners arguing that the ordinances constituted an infringement on their First Amendment freedom of expression. But in Young V. American Mini Theatres, the Supreme Court upheld the ordinance and defended the right of cities to disperse adult entertainment businesses in order to curtail negative secondary effects (McCleary 2009). Soon, cities across the United States began to emulate Detroit's land use strategy with ordinances that either forbade AEBs from locating near each other, or mandated that AEBs locate in a specified district removed from residences - most often in industrial areas.

Courts have ruled in favor of the secondary effects doctrine repeatedly. In 1986's City of *Renton V. Playtime Theatres, Inc.,* Renton had passed an adult entertainment ordinance mirroring nearby Seattle's that required dispersal which was challenged by a business owner. In their ruling, the Supreme Court upheld the right of the city to limit adult entertainment so long as alternative locations existed. Additionally, the judges established that cities do not have to conduct their own research when implementing land use ordinances regarding adult entertainment. The onus, then, is on the adult entertainment industry to prove that their businesses do not contribute to negative secondary effects (Hudson 2001).

In 1991, the Supreme Court expanded the reach of the secondary effects doctrine. In *Barnes V. Glen Theatre* Justice Souter ruled that the doctrine could be applied to, not only the spatialization of businesses, but to the content and type of dancing therein. Since that time, however, there has been some reversal of support for this approach. Justice Stevens and Souter dissented in the 2000 *City of Erie V. Pap's A.M.* judgement supporting an ordinance that banned nude dancing. In his dissent, Justice Souter claimed an error in judgment in his *Barnes* ruling and expressed concern about the validity of secondary effects studies being cited by many cities (Hudson 2001).

14

that kind of city

"I think they've peaked and they're going to be on the way out."

Paul Cambria referring to secondary effects ordinances (Calvert 2003) The Doctrine of Secondary Effects has become a standardized approach to zoning sexually oriented businesses. Despite decades of widespread use, this approach continues to generate substantial debate and litigation.

A number of academic researchers have put the doctrine of secondary effects to the test. Researchers Daniel Linz, Mike Yao and Bryant Paul have published a number of peer reviewed studies, both together and individually, analyzing the relationship between AEBs and secondary effects. Empirical studies include examinations of call-to-police records in the areas sounding AEBs. Their conclusions generally exonerate the businesses and attribute the perception of secondary effects to conservative religious bias (Linz 2006). A 2001 comprehensive review of municipalities studies used to support AEB zoning regulations finds that many cities ordinances are founded on severely faulted methodologies and incorrect conclusions.:

"These studies...do not adhere to professional standards of scientific inquiry and nearly all fail to meet the basic assumptions necessary to calculate an error rate. Those studies that are scientifically credible demonstrate either no negative secondary effects associated with adult businesses or a reversal of the presumed negative effect." (Paul 2001)

Criminology professor, Richard McCleary, Ph.D., has authored a number studies corroborating the secondary effect assertions of municipalities. He is highly critical of methodologies used by Linz (et. al) and has written extensive responses to their reports (McCleary 2003). Linz has, in turn, responded to the critiques with a defense of he and his partners research (Linz 2006). Authors on both sides cite extensive statistical data and analysis in defending their points of view. Regardless of whose research most represents the reality of adult entertainment businesses' effect on cities, municipalities are happy to rely on McCleary's research to support their efforts.

As with any contentious issue, as adult entertainment zoning regulations have spread across the United States, so too has litigation as business owners have fought for their right to operate under the First Amendment. Paul Cambria, a prominent obscenity lawyer, who has for years represented the adult entertainment industry, sees the tides slowly turning away from the secondary effects doctrine. Cities that have borrowed secondary effect studies in their implementation of regulations may be more vulnerable to litigation given the dissenting opinion in *Pap's A.M.* Some cities may also face challenges if their development eventually pushes out available space for adult businesses. In such cases their ordinances would likely be deemed unconstitutional under *Renton*. Reflecting on the future of the secondary effects doctrine, Cambria believes:

5 that kind

Tulsa, Oklahoma virgin

Amsterdam, Netherlands whore





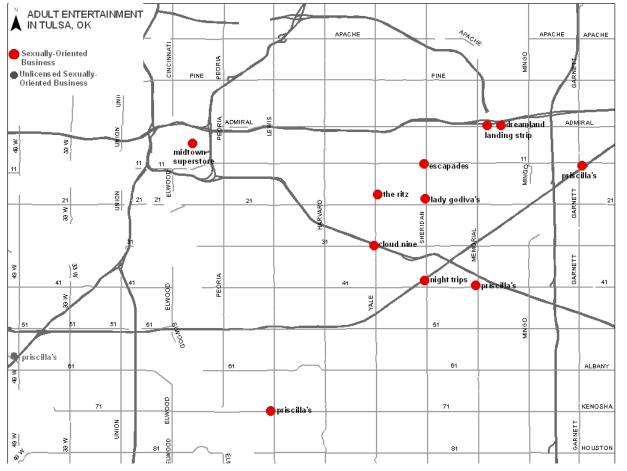
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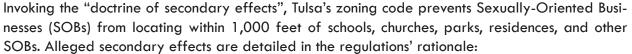
In this case study, two cities with contrasting approaches to organizing adult entertainment are compared. Tulsa, Oklahoma, is primarily suburban in it's urban form and practices dispersed spatialization of adult entertainment businesses. Amsterdam, Netherlands, has a historically dense urban form and allows adult entertainment businesses to cluster in red light districts. The "Virgin-Whore" comparison was selected for the purpose of demonstrating the extremes. Just as female sexuality is frequently subjected to this stereotypical dichotomy, it would appear cities, too, fear the slippery slope.



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Sexually-Oriented Business in Tulsa





"...to promote the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the citizens of the City, and to establish reasonable and uniform regulations to prevent the secondary affects (sic) of such businesses on surrounding and nearby properties...these regulations are necessary in order to protect property values, eliminate blight, prevent further deterioration of City neighborhoods, promote the return of residents and businesses to City neighborhoods, and decrease the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency. Further, the city finds that such businesses tend to attract an undesirable quantity and guality of clientele and have an undesirable effect on surrounding and nearby properties."

Tulsa City Charter and Ordinances 2004

A 186 square mile city of approximately 400,000 people, Tulsa is located in the in the heartland of the United States and within the strongly protestant corridor known as the Bible Belt. Tulsa originated near the Arkansas River and rapidly developed around the rail lines. In the past, Tulsa was an booming oil capital of the world and it's downtown reflects this age of wealth and extravagance. As the oil diminished, Tulsa, like so many other cities, slowly sprawled away from it's city center and has only recently begun efforts to revitalize it's core.

11 licensed Sexually Oriented Businesses operate within the City of Tulsa:

- 6 strip clubs
- 2 book/video stores one of which is also an adult theatre
- 3 adult novelty stores

Only one of these, Midtown Superstore (theatre, books and novelty) is located in the urban core. One of the three Priscilla's novelty stores is located in the suburban southern part of the city while the remaining SOBs have been pushed to the East of town.

By most accounts, Tulsa's spatialized zoning regulations have achieved the desired results. Tulsa Police officers have seen problems previously attributed to the clubs decrease greatly since before the zoning ordinance took effect. Prior to regulation, adult business had clustered throughout the City over time. In the 1970's an area of town called "The Strip" was home to around 20 businesses and a laundry list of criminal activity. As the City turned their attention to policing the Strip, businesses began to move to an area that shortly earned the name, Sin City or Skin City. Though only 8 businesses operated in Skin City, it too was the site of hundreds of arrests, traffic violations, drug trafficking, alleged rape and prostitution. City officials threatened the businesses with nuisance notifications and padlocking if nuisances continued (Lassek 2004).

In 1980, Tulsa adopted it's first spatialization ordinance, which has been updated several times, increasing the distance requirement each time. Adult businesses began to fade, the clusters were soon dissolved. In 1991, City officials enacted licensing procedures for sexually-oriented businesses with the intent of holding owners accountable for criminal activity or risk a revoked license. The ordinance was last updated in 2004, increasing the spacing requirement to 1,000 feet and expanding protected uses to include facilities utilized primarily by minors (Lassek 2004).

Though some prostitution and drugs still exist in Tulsa strip clubs, the adult businesses left in the City don't pose consistent problems for officers. The Ritz and Could Nine operate without much incident and are regarded as good neighbors by nearby businesses (Lassek 2004). Sqt. Evans, of Tulsa Police, hasn't seen many problems outside of adult businesses since the 1990's and even then the problems mostly involved homosexual men outside of bookstores looking for dates. Only two bookstores remain in Tulsa, perhaps due to zoning restrictions but more likely due to the increasing dominance of internet media (Evans 2010).

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Case Study

Visual Survey



The Ritz strip club is one component of a large shopping center. The strip club is an island in a vast parking lot, behind which are major retail stores such as Target.



The Landing Strip strip club is located across from a Walmart, near the airport in an underdeveloped, historically industrial part of the city.





The only adult entertainment business located within the central business district, Midtown Superstore combines retail and theater space. The facade was recently updated, covering the original brickwork.



Tulsa is home to 3 licensed Priscilla's lingerie and "novelty" stores which market primarily to women. Each of the locations are retrofitted fast food or gas station buildings.

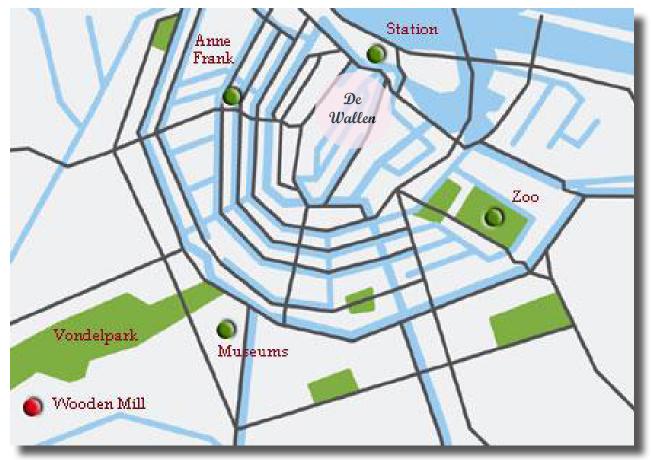


eral hundred feet away.

Escapades is located along a section of historic Route 66 currently populated primarily by run down motels, a hot spot for prostitution (Evans 2010). A parking lot separates this strip club from Skateland skating rink.

Dreamland is located next door to The Landing Strip, though along the sprawling corridor "next door" is sevat kin

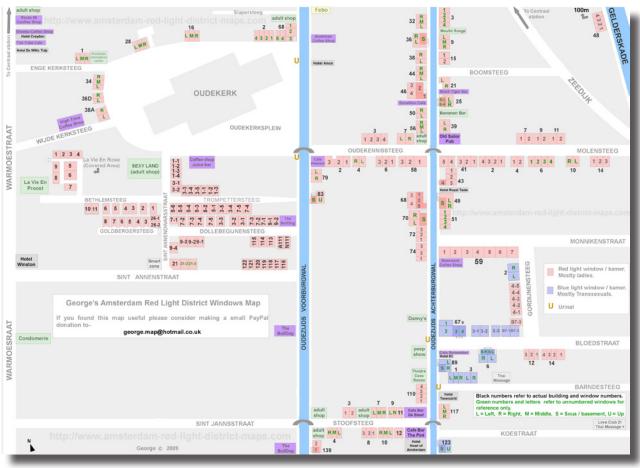
Adult Entertainment in Amsterdam



Source: http://www.cs.vu.nl/~eliens/@share/images/asd/amsterdam-map.gif

An ancient city, Amsterdam originated as a fishing village in the 12th century but didn't develop fully until the 15th. The center of the world economy in the 17th century, Amsterdam continues to be an international attraction. A small (136 sq. miles) but dense city, Amsterdam is the capital of the Netherlands, the most densely populated country in the world. The city proper is home to a population of 750,000 and hosts approximately 3.5 million international visitors a year with a reputation of diversity and tolerance. (Andrejew 2011).

Amsterdam is known worldwide for it's "red light districts" which feature a wide range of adult entertainment from marijuana cafe's to legalized prostitution. De Wallen, Amsterdam's most prominent district, is located in the historic city center and surrounds Oude Kerk, Amsterdam's oldest parish church. Tourists are drawn to the red light district, some as consumers, many as curious spectators. Though Amsterdam is well known for it's permissive approach to sex and drugs, city leaders have tempered their tolerance in recent years. As their red light districts have become increasingly attractive to international sex traffickers, authorities have taken action to reduce the number of prostitution windows and integrate more variety of uses into the districts. In 2008, Amsterdam announced it's plan for cleaning up the red light district which includes use of zoning restrictions and buying out of businesses in the area. The city council stressed that it did not wish to squelch Amsterdam's tolerant, "freewheeling" reputation (Sterling 2008).



rce: http://www.amsterdam-red-light-district-maps.com/

Case Study

Visual Survey



Condomerie, on the outskirts of De Wallen, features colorful condom window displays.



Row of windows along the canal, next door to a bar/coffee shop.





In the heart of De Wallen, near Oude Kerk, the Prostitution Information Center is a resource for visitors, customers and prostitutes alike. Founded by former prostitute, Mariska Majoor, PIC provides information to approximately 22,000 visitors a year. (http://www.pic-amsterdam.com/picgb.html)



Row of windows in the predominately transsexual area of De Wallen.



De Wallen intersection with Oude Kerk on the left.

Row of shops and windows near the edge of De Wallen.

ource+ http://www. dam-red-light-district-maps.com/ kind

Comparison







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A simple visual survey of Tulsa's adult entertainment reveals insight into it's urban design patterns:

Sprawl

Tulsa's growth is evident in it's land pattern, with higher density in it's historic downtown, where elaborate art deco skyscrapers are reminders of Tulsa's oil-rich origins. From downtown, development spreads like tree rings, with each phase of growth becoming less dense and of lesser lasting quality, more automobile oriented and suburban.

Segregated & Repressed Land Uses

Classic Euclidian land use and zoning practices in Tulsa mandate separated uses. Rarely do office, industrial, commercial, and residential spaces mingle within the City. Uses such as SOBs are deliberately segregated and essentially zoned out of existence in many places.

Isolation

Isolation exists in Tulsa's urban form in numerous ways. Single-use AEBs are isolated from each other and protected uses per the SOB ordinance. In addition to segregated uses, buildings themselves are generally isolated islands in parking lots. Residences are isolated from neighbors by sprawling lawns, and people are isolated from each other within personal vehicles.

Shuttered, Windowless and Defensive Facades

SOBs in Tulsa reflect the cultural value placed on upon them (that is, little to none). Exterior's are primarily windowless, many boarded over. Defensive railings run along the perimeter. Main entrances are uninviting.

"Corridors of Crap"

A term former Charlotte, NC mayor, Pat McCrory, uses to describe generic, poorly designed arterials. Usually cluttered with franchises, inconsistent signage and inhospitable pedestrian facilities.

Big box stores and Adaptive Reuse of Abandoned Franchises

A few of Tulsa's SOBs, such as Night Trips, are large single-use developments. Most others have located in abandoned Pizza Hut's, Goldie's, gas stations, etc.









An examination of Amsterdam's red light district from an urban design perspective shows:

Integrated Uses

De Wallen is located in the heart of Amsterdam, surrounding it's oldest church. Residences, retail, bars and coffee shops all share space with red light windows.

Accessibility

Amsterdam's historic urban form is dense and walkable, as the bulk of the city was developed prior to the dominance of automobiles. 20th century development in Amsterdam has seen lower quality building and design and some of the historic center has been damaged to make way for automobile accessibility (Andrejew 2011). Historic dense character remains in De Wallen, however, and bicycles are widely used for transportation throughout.

Vibrant and Historic

A vibrant urban environment achieves historic preservation, character, density, transportation and housing choices and diversity. A vibrant district is attractive to residents and visitors, and alive with activity. De Wallen, despite (or because of) being lined with red light windows, achieves this vibrancy.

Open, Inviting Facades

Most of the businesses in De Wallen feature clean, open windows and doors which are covered with curtains when needed. Carefully designed retail window displays catch the eye of passer-by's.

Aesthetic Streetscape

The historic character of De Wallen is well preserved. Buildings and streets are tidy and accommodate the pedestrian experience.

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Case Study

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Word clouds emphasizing the urban form analysis from page 21.

It's no stretch to imagine this reading of the built environment translating to divergent cultural norms and values regarding sexuality: one culture of shame, guilt, repression, judgement and separation; and the other open, accepting, diverse and tolerant.

Culturally, American attitudes towards sexuality are conflicted. Descendants of a puritan tradition, Americans are simultaneously conservative in their social acceptability standards, and liberal in their sexual behavior. Shame, fear and judgment weigh heavily in discourse about sexuality, particularly expressions of sexuality that deviate from procreative, blissful, marital confines. The reality of American sexual behavior does not align with this ideology, however: over half of all marriages in the United States end in divorce, approximately half of people in marriages will stray at some point, and 46% of high school aged students report having had sexual intercourse, much of it unprotected.

Secondary Effect Doctrine ordinances are often initiated by Christian "family" organizations, who prepare and distribute legislative packets aimed at "protecting children" from sexually oriented businesses (Calvert 2003). Since children are not allowed inside AEBs, the initiative to protect them from these uses is presumably a combination of two factors:

1) The fear that children will be exposed to inappropriate scenes outside the business.

2) The perception that children need to be protected from the people employed by and patronizing adult entertainment establishments.

Protecting anyone from sexual imagery is an uphill battle in an age of free flowing media on television and the internet. A young child is likely to see more sexually explicit imagery flipping through TV channels after school (or walking past Victoria's Secret) than s/he would walking past a strip club or adult bookstore. Given the urban environment in which most children are reared, few children are walking past much of anything, rather they are driven. Parental uneasiness about *driving* past adult entertainment with their children likely stems from a fear that the child may ask questions parents are uncomfortable answering. However, without honest discussions about sexuality cultural cycles of shame, fear and misinformation will continue (Gordon).

It is interesting that cities across the United States have gone to great lengths to sequester from youth, worshippers and residents businesses that cater to the prurient interest (many fighting expensive legal battles to do so) while nearly every mall-walking man, woman and child is confronted with the near naked female form as the pass Victoria's Secret. The lack of alarm caused by Victoria's Secret and other sexuality boutiques marketing to women may lie in the perception of female sexuality as less potent and more domesticated than their male counterparts. It would be worth exploring in future research the perceived threatening nature of male sexuality, particularly as it is expressed in the marketplace (Edwards 2010). clusi

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Victoria's Secret exterior window displays at Promenade Mall, Tulsa, OK.

Consumers of adult entertainment are often perceived as deviants (Evans 2010, Edwards 2010) and predators, hence, the impetus to locate adult entertainment away from innocents such as children and religious people. The short logical leap that links "sexually active/empowered person" to "deviant", then to "child predator" is worth exploring. It's an association that has enabled employment discrimination of gay and lesbian populations for decades and currently fuels the ostracization of adult businesses. A culture of shame, fear and misinformation regarding issues of sexuality most likely foster these negative associations.

For example, the Center for Community Values, in affiliation with the American Family Association, Focus on the Family and the Family Research Council, has a sexually-oriented business toolkit to help communities "battle" adult entertainment. A series of videos illustrates the "devastation" caused by sex businesses. In one highly dramatized clip a tearful wife and mother (actor) describes the betrayal she feels having discovered her husband, a sober and active church member, patronized a strip bar.

"We've got two daughters!" She exclaims, "God, what if he looks at them like that?" (CCV 2007)

The assumption, here, is that sexual desires are uncontrollable and indulging in any expression apart from a heterosexual, marital institution will lead down a slippery slope of disease and child molestation.

"It's obvious that [adult material is] acceptable to a large number of people because they're spending literally billions of dollars on it. There is no greater barometer of acceptance than people taking their money and allocating it toward something..."

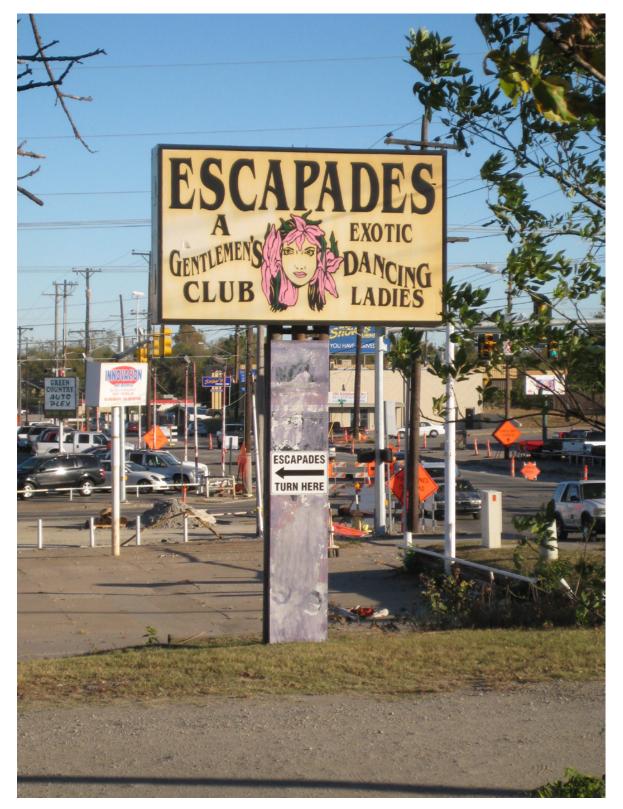
It could be argued that the moral standards and values of residents should be reflected in the community. If the citizens are uncomfortable with adult entertainment, why can't they be allowed to live in a wholesome, SOB-free city? The answer lies in disillusionment about who consumes adult entertainment. Adult entertainment businesses can't operate without customers, and though some businesses thrive on travellers (businesses near airports and truck stops), for the most part the business is catering to the very community that shuns it. In fact, if internet pornography consumption is any indicator, the most religious, conservative, antiadult-entertainment populations are often the biggest consumers (Callaway 2009).

Paul Cambria

(Calvert 2003)

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Escapades sign along S. Sheridan Road at 11th Street, an example of a "Corridor of Crap", which refers, not to the businesses themselves, so much as the poor urban design of the street.

Perhaps the most unsettling finding from the comparison of adult entertainment in Tulsa to adult entertainment in Amsterdam has to do with the Americans' utter lack of regard for quality design. While many of Tulsa's adult businesses are examples of adaptive reuse of under utilized buildings, a theoretically green practice, for the most part Tulsa's AEBs range in design from "shack" to "big box store". More disturbing is the lack of thoughtful design on the part of the city. The comparison of Tulsa to Amsterdam reveals vast cultural differences not only as it pertains to sexuality, but urban design as well.

Tulsa's segregated land use approaches have facilitated sprawl and automobile-centered development. The streetscape across most of Tulsa features excessively wide right of ways for traffic, vastly under used parking lots, limited pedestrian facilities, and a mess of business signage and utility poles. In 2001, Mingo Avenue was nominated as one of the "Worst Streets In North America" by New Urbanism members, though the critics clarified:

"Actually, most of the major arterials in Tulsa are absolutely horrific and would be excellent contenders."

The criteria for Worst Street include:

The right of way has to be extremely wide. The minimum is 4 lanes with a center turn lane, but wider is better (or actually worse).
There must be signs everywhere of different types and sizes, tall ones, short ones, flashing ones, etc.

There must be huge parking lots in front of the stores. It helps to have weeds, chain-link fences and dumpsters prominently featured.
The stores themselves must be cheaply built single-story buildings resembling shoeboxes or refrigerator boxes. An occasional two or three story building is allowed.

5. No greenery, other than weeds and retention ponds, is allowed unless it is poorly kept up.

6. No sidewalks are allowed unless they are right next to the road where cars are going at least 45 miles per hour.

7. Special bonus for huge intersections with double turn lanes and traffic lights with two minute waits on red.

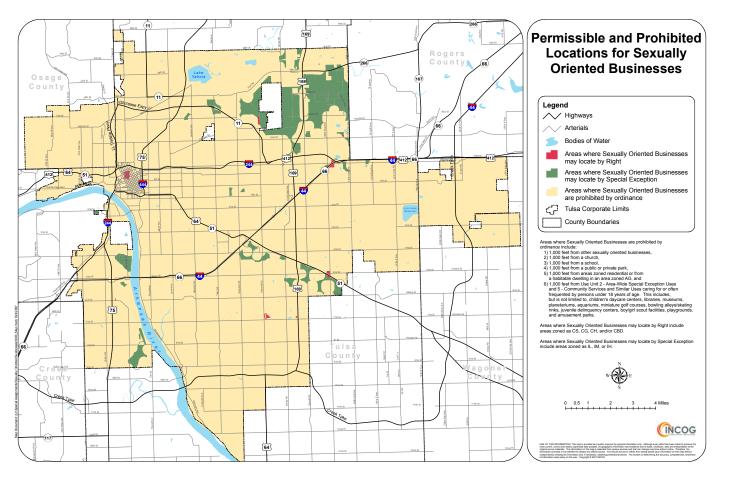
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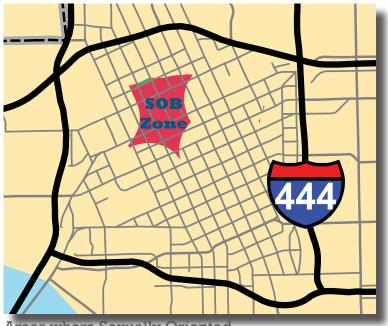


The sprawl created under Tulsa's current zoning restrictions have essentially eliminated sites available to AEBs. The map to the left illustrates in red permissible locations for AEBs. Green areas indicate industrial zoned areas where AEBs may located by special exception. The blanket of unavailable area across Tulsa has been created with 1,000 buffers surrounding AEBs and protected uses. This map defines in more detail the uses which are to be protected from sexually oriented businesses. The available areas are not indicative of actual available land or buildings, they are the spaces untouched by 1,000 foot buffers. Options for new AEBs are scarce, however it appears as though Tulsa's ordinance has inadvertently left the heart of downtown open as one of the few available areas, calling into question the efficacy of the ordinance. Presumably, Tulsa's leaders intended to zone adult entertainment out of the downtown area. Instead, they have created an SOB zone in the heart of the central business district.

The SOB zone within downtown Tulsa covers:

- the lot directly across from the new BOK event center.
- the building in which INCOG, the authors of Tulsa's SOB ordinance, office.
 - a section of the Borden Dairy plant (industrial zone to the North). ٠
 - a large portion of the Brady Arts District.

No sites appear to be available as of this writing. However, nearly half of the parcels within the downtown SOB zone are currently either parking lots or parking garages. The excessive surface parking that exists downtown is an eyesore, a blight and a inefficient use of valuable land. One would hope that as downtown continues to grow, these parcels will be made available for infill development. Operating under the current ordinance the SOB zone may quickly be subject to extinction should residential or public parks be part of future downtown development. Indeed, the northern part of the zone has likely already been altered by loft developments in the Brady District. This extinction would likely not be deemed as a significant loss by the City, though it may pose a legal threat.



Areas where Sexually Oriented Businesses may locate by right



Aerial of space available to **Sexually Oriented Businesses**



permitted area





Canal through De Wallen Source: http://commons.wikimedica.org/wiki/File:Redlight_district_[De_Wallen]_Amsterdam.jpg



Pigalle Place in Paris, France.



It's significant that the negative secondary effects that legitimize adult entertainment restrictions in the United States (crime, blight, decreased property values) do not appear to plague Amsterdam's red light district. To the contrary, De Wallen is an example of urban vibrancy: clean, walkable, attractive to tourists and traversed by locals. Granted, De Wallen is an ancient district dating back to the 1600's and has therefore not been subjected to much of the suburbanization found in American cities. Other well known red light districts include Paris' Pigalle Place, New Orleans' French Quarter, and the Las Vegas Strip. While New Orleans and Las Vegas do not currently feature brothels, both American cities are widely known as destinations for adult entertainment ranging from gambling to cabaret. Again, the strip clubs and adult retail stores in these locations do not appear to be stifling tourism or growth, nor are they crime ridden or blighted.

Certainly, cities like Tulsa have witnessed crime and blight in areas surrounding AEBs in the past. However, it's worth contemplating whether the "undesirable quantity and quality of clientele" cited in Tulsa's zoning ordinance, might be a product of the quantity of *poor quality establishments* in areas that were already relatively blighted.

"Each store has it's own clientele. The grungy ones tend to attract grungy customers, but the best-maintained and best-merchandised stores clearly attract upscale clientele..."

As Tulsa and similar cities seek to compete as attractive business and leisure destinations, the value of adult entertainment, a multibillion dollar per year industry (Calvert 2003), should be reconsidered. Diversity and tolerance are qualities that enhance communities, making them desirable places to live, work and visit. Cities may poise themselves for growth by exploring the middle ground between "Virgin" and "Whore". Standards for adult entertainment businesses that reflect quality design and healthy sexuality may be more beneficial for cities that currently operate under the second effects doctrine.

Tourists along Las Vegas Boulevard Source: a http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/2009/ jun/26/how-many-walk-ly-strip-mobile-messagedeliverer-no/ Conclusi

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(Cooper 2001)



Toys in Babeland retail store in the family-friendly Park Slope, NY. source: Gabby Warshower via http://www.observer.com/2008/real-estate/i-shocker-i-park-slope-loves-its-sex-toys

Recommendations for exploring alternatives to the secondary effects doctrine will focus on Tulsa, OK. Tulsa's urban form is representative of many Midwestern cities and is fairly standard in it's approach to adult entertainment. While there may be room for improvements in Amsterdam's approach as well, for the most part it appears that the city has been proactive in adapting regulations as needed, whether it be with the legalization of prostitution or the cutting back of windows and cafes in response to organized crime.

Cities need not emulate Vegas or Amsterdam when reconsidering adult entertainment. Rather, cities may experiment with a two part strategies for incorporating AEBs into the fabric of the city; strategies that simultaneously enhance the safety, diversity and aesthetics of the built environment:

Strategy One: Build adult entertainment regulations around a model of healthy sexuality such as the commonly cited CERTS Model which advocates Consent, Equality, Respect, Trust and Safety.

Strategy Two: Permit incremental integration of adult entertainment into the Central Business District in accordance with design standards that compliment or enhance the existing urban form.



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strategy one: healthy sexuality

- Healthy sexuality involves recognizing that we are all sexual beings, and celebrating the ways that our sexuality benefits us physically, emotionally, and spiritually.
- Healthy sexuality is positive and enriches our lives. Healthy sexuality allows us to enjoy and control our sexual and reproductive behavior without guilt, fear or shame.
- Sexual expression is a form of communication through which we give and receive pleasure and emotion. It has a wide range of possibilities - from sharing fun activities, feelings and thoughts, warm touch or hugs, to physical intimacy. It is expressed both individually and in relationships throughout life.

(McKinley Health Center 2009

The shame and guilt that fuel the demonization of adult entertainment is not in line with a pattern of healthy sexuality, which should accept healthy, safe and consensual expressions. Future considerations for adult entertainment restrictions should attempt to emulate a model of healthy sexuality. The CERTS Model promotes Consent, Equality, Respect, Trust and Safety (Maltz 2011) and may be a better foundation for regulating the operation of adult entertainment.

A sample of the CERTS Model extrapolated to AEB operations:

Consent is paramount in all sexual interactions, even more when sexual contact involves a monetary transaction. Consent should be of utmost importance when enforcing adult entertainment restrictions. Often, law enforcement expends valuable time and resources on victimless crimes such as excessive skin exposure by dancers or solicitations of sexual favors for money. Meanwhile, serious victimizations including pimping, sex trafficking and sex slavery of women and minors go uninvestigated due to the complexity of underground, international organized crime.

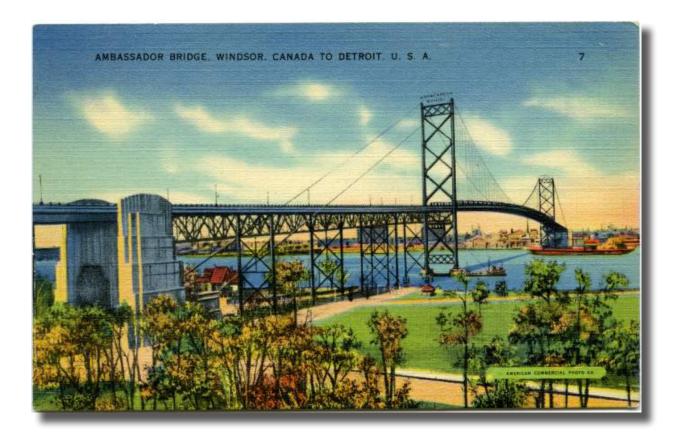
Equality is a delicate balance in sexual transactions. Wendy Maltz, the author of the CERTS Model, defines Equality as a sense of personal power on an equal level with a partner. Ideally, the balance of power between adult business owner and employee; employee and patron is such that no individual feels unfairly exploited and all parties are satisfied with their arrangement.

Respect and Trust are essential for any successful relationship, business and otherwise . In the case of adult entertainment businesses, the owner must have respect for his/her employees and patrons, but also for the community in which they operate. By maintaining a clean, safe, tax-paying and law abiding business the AEB has the opportunity to gain the respect of the community. Licensing of businesses is one strategy for screening business owners and holding them accountable.

Safety is of utmost importance to any community. AEBs should take measures to ensure that their operations do not pose a threat to any persons on or surrounding the premises. It should be the responsibility of the business to employ sufficient security and maintain a well-lit premises.

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strategy one: healthy sexuality



Implementing standards based on a concept as abstract as healthy sexuality may seem challenging. However, wide reaching policies of all sorts are created based on subjective ethical, moral and cultural values every day. To begin moving away from policies driven by deeply ingrained guilt, fear and shame (an explicitly unhealthy sexual value) normalization will have to occur.

Normalization is the opposing strategy to spatialialization. Adult businesses that are condemned to run down, seedy outskirts are destined to reflect their environment. "Spatialization physically and socially isolates, restricting sex work to a fixed location that is treated as separate from and not reflective of the true character of the community and its residents" (Maticka-Tyndale 2005). Normalization is a more authentic approach to regulating adult entertainment. Adopting adult entertainment into the visible fabric of the urban environment releases the perception of adult entertainment as extraordinary and strange, and transforms it into the mundane and unexceptional (Maticka-Tyndale 2005).

Windsor, Ontario is a good city to reference for normalizing procedure. The city of 200,000 is located across the border from Detroit, MI, and found itself increasingly meeting adult entertainment demands of it's American neighbors. Pleased to capitalize on the R and R economy, but hoping to maintain it's quaint, family friendly identity, Windsor initiated a strategy for normalizing sex work (Maticka-Tyndale 2005). While Windsor's approach was predominantly aimed at normalizing prostitution, a few key strategies can be applied to general sexually oriented business regulation:

1) Create a task force or steering committee.

As discussed earlier, the doctrine of secondary effects is often submitted to municipalities by concerned "family" organizations. As cities begin to reexamine their ordinances, diverse panels should be brought to the table to weigh in. Adult business owners, employees, dancers and sex workers along with non-adult business owners, residents, and religious leaders should be included in the discussion of alternative approaches.

2) Licensing

Tulsa has already successfully implemented licensing requirements for adult entertainment businesses and the results have been positive. Some cities require licensing of dancers as well, the value of which is negotiable. Licensing of sex workers such as call girls, however, has been an important step in increasing the safety of the community, including the sex workers in Windsor. Building a relationship of trust between city officials and law enforcement, and adult business owners and workers is a valuable tool in combating organized crime and trafficking. Annual licensing renewal also provides the opportunity to hold businesses accountable and eliminate businesses that are, in fact, contributing to an unsafe urban environment.

3) Education

Isolation and ostracization foster distrust and prevent many people in adult entertainment from valuing or trusting the system that regulates them. Education about rights and resources are important for maintaining the safety of workers, as well as the community. Additionally, providing youth with honest, fact-based education about human sexuality is an important step towards fostering healthy sexuality and honest dialogues about sexual issues. that kind

strategy two: quality design



One failure of spatialization ordinances is that they do not control for the size of a business or building. "Big box' strip clubs such as Night Trips or Spearmint Rhino can easily consume a city block. Regardless of the nature of the business, a big box, single use development would disrupt the fabric of an urban city center. An oversized adult entertainment business could be especially unsettling for residents with reservations about sexually oriented businesses.

A more thoughtful approach to adult entertainment, and urban development in general, would be to establish design standards that would allow AEBs to locate in the central business district in a non-dominating manner, enabling diverse, mixed-use entertainment districts.



Newly constructed event center in downtown Tulsa, which attracts thousands of people to the central business district.

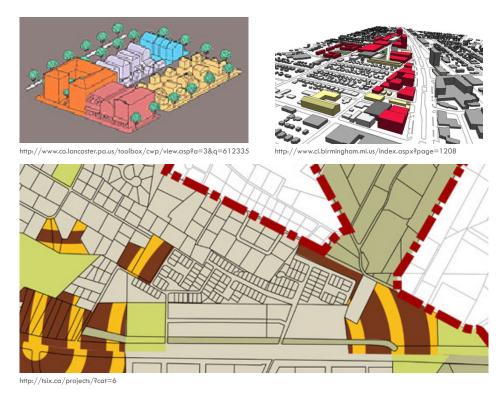


A demonstration of how a big-box type of strip club, such as Night Trips, could dominate the block across from the event center. An unlikely scenario which, nonetheless, demonstrates a failure of Tulsa's secondary effects ordinance.

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strategy two design guidelines





Form based codes may be used as a resource in developing specific design guidelines. Top left: an illustration of how form based codes control for building size and type rather than use. Tap right: Draft of form based code for Triangle District in Birmingham, Ml. Bottom: East Village Form Based Code. Tulsa's newly implemented comprehensive plan calls for "small area planning" to take place in order to draw out the unique character of Tulsa's districts and neighborhoods, and to execute a higher level of detail than is possible in larger scale plans. Small area planning may be an opportunity for the cities to carefully loosen restrictions on sexually oriented businesses. As small area plans are developed, special exceptions might be made to allow adult entertainment in, for instance, a nightlife and entertainment district. In other words, each district could be allowed to decide for themselves whether they care to permit adult entertainment and, if so, how they plan to control for potential negative secondary effects. Design standards are a practical tool for enhancing the character of districts; a set of standards specifically for sexually oriented businesses may help protect the neighborhood from the much feared blight of adult entertainment and, to some extent, control criminal activity.

An example of design standards tailored to sexually-oriented businesses:

1. Business should not exceed 6,000 SF as a stand alone building, or 4,000 SF as part of multiuse building.

2. New construction should build to the sidewalk property line. Any parking that is to be provided should be located to the rear of the building so as not to interfere with the pedestrian flow of the streetscape.

3. Facade should be brought up to date, reflecting the history and character of the building. New construction should similarly be of lasting quality and reflect the history and character of the district.

4. Windows cannot be boarded or otherwise covered. If internal business operations require privacy, curtains or decorative shutters my cover street facing windows. Alternatively windows may be offset with displays to enable continuity of the pedestrian experience. Window displays may convey the content of the business but should not contain nudity or explicit images or explicit language.

5. Main entrances should be well lit, clean and inviting.

6. Entire perimeter of business should be well lit.

7. No loitering should be permitted around the business. It should be the responsibility of business staff to enforce loitering restrictions. Nearby businesses and residents should hold the AEB accountable to this restriction and report violations, as necessary.

8. AEB signage should be tasteful and oriented to the pedestrian. Stand alone signs are not permitted, signage should be affixed to the storefront and should not exceed 25% of the store or window.

9. "Use" exceptions may be considered. For instance, a district may decide to permit "bikini clubs" (strip clubs in which dancers are clothed in full tops and bottoms), but not topless or nude clubs.

The purpose of these guidelines will be to integrate AEBs into shopping and entertainment districts in a nonthreatening manner by ensuring consistency with the urban fabric and character of the place. Guidelines that require business owners to put care into the operation and appearance of their building will, theoretically, attract a higher quality of business, as well as client.



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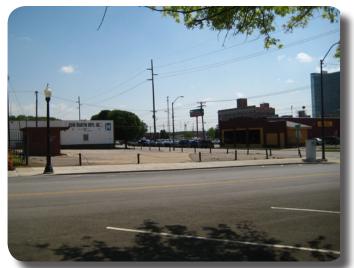
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strategy two brady arts district



The North half of the downtown adult entertainment zone overlays the historic Brady Arts District. Adjacent to the new baseball stadium and home to a number of art galleries, music venues, bars and restaurants, the Brady District is poised for development. In 2010 a small area plan was completed for the district in an effort to enhance the neighborhood and attract development. The large stock of vacant lots and buildings in the photo survey below, however, reveal how far Brady has to go to become a dense, vibrant district.

The sites surveyed all fall within the adult entertainment zone. Given the diverse nightlife and character of the neighborhood, Brady is a good place to imagine an alternative approach to integrating adult entertainment into the central business district.



Empty lot across from the historic Brady Theater, Brady & Boulder.



Vacant building at Archer & Boulder in West Brady District.



Borden Dairy parking lot across from Brady Theater.



View of downtown Tulsa through sprawling parking lot in Brady District.



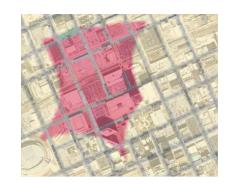
Parking sprawl on South end of Brady District.



Warehouse in Brady District currently under renovation, Archer and Cincinnati.

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strategy two design sample



parking

existing-buildings

green

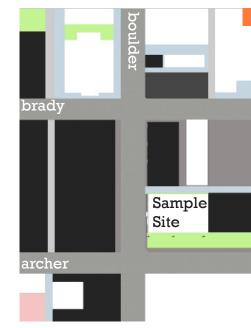
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Site plan based on photograph to the right, facing the opposite direction (North), visualizing how an adult entertainment business could be integrated into the fabric of a developing district, utilizing design standards outlined on page 31.



Area selected for design sample. West edge of the Brady Arts District includes Brady Theater, vast parking lots, the Borden Dairy plant.



imity to Brady Theater, the Downtown Lounge and Mexicali Border Cafe.

Shuttered building on West side of Brady Arts District in close prox-

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We live in an age of design. Across all fields, the value of quality design must be recognized in order to achieve success.

Cities are not exempt. Emphasis should be placed on thoughtful, innovative and creative design as cities develop, revitalize, preserve and grow. Businesses, too, should be expected to contribute positively, not just to the economic vitality of a city, but to the urban form.

The power of excellent design is only just being realized in the United States. It revives, persuades, inspires, and attracts. Compelling design has rescued failing corporations, won campaigns, transformed cities into Meccas.

It is a tangible possibility that the power of exceptional urban design could be harnessed, by cities as well as business owners, to curtail unease regarding adult entertainment as it exists in the urban form.



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