

# Morality and Economics: Public Assessments of the Adult Entertainment Industry

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*In this article, the authors examine citizen attitudes toward the adult entertainment industry. Using the results of a public opinion survey of a northeastern American city, the authors find that morality is more important than economics in attitudes about adult entertainment. The authors look at assessments regarding the number of adult entertainment clubs, the overall regulatory environment, and specific policy remedies for dealing with the industry (police raids, higher taxes, tighter zoning, or clustering establishments). On nearly every one of these factors, religion and morality are more important to people's attitudes than their views about the economic contributions of the industry. These results have important implications for theories emphasizing the economic basis of public policy making.*

**Keywords:** *adult entertainment; politics and morality; economics; public opinion*

Adult entertainment has become a big business in the United States (Shteir, 2004). Upscale “gentleman’s” clubs can gross up to \$20 million a year in large urban areas. According to the Association of Club Executives, an industry trade group, there are nearly 4,000 adult clubs in this country. They earn \$15 billion annually and employ half a million people (Hanna, 2005). In the Atlanta area alone, it is estimated that the city’s 40 adult clubs generate nearly \$250 million a year, more than all the professional sports teams combined (Spencer, n.d.).

Without much public discussion, city governments have tacitly encouraged adult entertainment as a tourism and economic development strategy (Sides, 2006). Hoping to boost jobs and increase tax revenue while also rejuvenating low-income areas, urban planners have approved adult business permits and allowed existing businesses to expand. The result in many places has been a dramatic expansion in the number, size, and profitability of sex clubs (Bentley, 2002).

Despite the importance of this development, it is not clear what influences public perceptions of the adult entertainment industry. In this article, we use a citizen opinion survey of a northeastern American city to investigate views about adult entertainment. We examine the way in which morality and economics influence people’s views. Basically, we find that morality and religion are much more important than economics in shaping public opinion. These results have important ramifications for urban decision making and theories about the economic basis of public policy making.

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## THE MORALITY AND ECONOMICS OF VALUES ISSUES

Values issues represent a particular genre of public policy. As noted by Sharp (2002), these questions center on “fundamental religious value or deep-seated belief about the propriety of a behavior or activity” (p. 861). She argues that most studies of urban decision making ignore moral issues and devote far more attention to economic considerations. Indeed, approaches based on political economy have come to dominate academic studies of urban decision making (see Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Peterson, 1981; Stone, 1989; Swanstrom, 1985).

Peterson (1981) emphasizes the economic imperative, maintaining that the drive to win in the economic competition with other cities shapes a city’s politics. Peterson distinguishes allocational, developmental, and redistributive policies. He argues that it is in the “unitary interest” of the city to pursue developmental policies (p. 22). The reasoning is that it is these policies “that contribute to the economic well-being of the city” (pp. 131-133). Peterson claims that developmental policies are good for the city as a whole because its politics are consensual and feature minimal conflict relative to other urban issues. Mayors compete to attract new businesses, and their decisions thus are most affected by economic considerations.

As an illustration, it has become common for cities to use tax incentives, infrastructure improvements, and financial subsidies in efforts to attract sports franchises, shopping malls, and manufacturing plants (Delaney & Eckstein, 2003; Portz, 1990). For cities wishing to enhance their fiscal base and overall reputation, these businesses are seen as absolutely essential. In some places, mall developers have received millions in government tax abatements to locate in urban areas (West & Orr, 2003).

Yet it is not clear that economics dominates every policy realm. As Sharp (2005) and Morone (2003) have argued, “morality politics” is an important arena for government that is not dictated by purely material considerations. Issues such as abortion, gambling, gay rights, and prostitution have moral components that affect citizen assessments. Residents do not view these matters merely in terms of dollars and cents but rather make value-based judgments related to their own personal preferences.

Adult entertainment represents an issue that has both economic and moral components (Brewis & Linstead, 2002). Sex clubs generate jobs and tax revenues but also involve behaviors that some find sinful and morally objectionable. When local residents and leaders consider adult entertainment or gentleman’s clubs as an economic development strategy (or even a component of an economic development strategy), there are likely to be tensions and conflict. With material and moral considerations colliding, scholars need to determine what moves public opinion on these kinds of issues and how preferences affect their view of this kind of economic development (Pagano & Bowman, 1997).

On the material side, the justification for adult entertainment is that it is a way to rejuvenate dying industrial areas that have lost manufacturing jobs. This industry creates jobs, boosts income, and generates needed tax revenues for metropolitan areas. Seen in this light, sex clubs are tied to broader economic development and tourism goals for urban areas. Cities with active adult clubs generally are found in large convention cities such as Atlanta, Orlando, and Dallas.

In terms of morality, critics worry that adult entertainment establishments are associated with crime, harm city reputations, and add to the profusion of sexual content in entertainment shows around the country. Some individuals worry that sex clubs undermine the family-friendly atmosphere of urban areas and discourage families with young children from locating in the city. People with this perspective do not care about the economic benefits of adult entertainment. They feel that this kind of tourism and urban renewal is not worth the jobs and income that are generated.

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## DATA AND METHODS

Providence, Rhode Island, represents an ideal place for the study of citizen perceptions of adult entertainment because it is the strip club capital of New England. Over the past decade, the

city has witnessed a quadrupling of its adult entertainment establishments. In the early 1990s, there were four strip clubs in the capital city, but this number now has jumped to more than a dozen. Its most prominent club is the Foxy Lady. It opened in downtown Providence in 1979 and is the best-known club of its kind in New England. According to press reports, it employs nearly 500 people, attracts about 3,000 visitors per week, and generates more than \$4 million annually (Malinowski, 2002).

During the past 15 years, city officials enacted a number of changes that facilitated this industry. In 1991, after Buddy Cianci was elected mayor, planners added adult entertainment to the city's zoning plan for the first time. Adult clubs were allowed in four zones—heavy industrial, industrial, downtown mill areas, and heavy commercial. Clubs were required to open at least 200 feet from residential areas. The plan was revisited in 1994 when city officials moved to more of a clustering approach that would segregate sex clubs in heavy industrial or industrial areas of the city.

By 1999, adult entertainment clubs were growing dramatically in number, so the city added amendments to zoning rules in an attempt to restrict their expansion. The new rules stipulated that adult clubs must sit at least 500 feet from a residence, school, park, church, recreation area, library, or open space and be more than 2,000 feet from other similar businesses. However, these attempts at clustering and zoning did not achieve their desired effect. Sex clubs continued to thrive throughout the downtown and industrial areas. Now, buses from throughout New England deposit visitors at adult establishments in Providence (Malinowski, 2002).

To investigate residents' views about adult entertainment, we undertook a citywide public opinion survey of Providence dwellers. Our telephone survey interviewed 403 city residents 18 years of age or older between October 14 and 17, 2006. Interviewers went through a training program that instructed them in proper interviewing procedures and telephone etiquette. Calls were made from the John Hazen White Public Opinion Laboratory at Brown University. Phone contacts were supervised in accordance with professional norms. Sampling was undertaken through random digit dialing, with up to three callbacks in every geographic area of the city. Overall, the poll had a margin of error of about plus or minus 5 percentage points. The appendix lists questions and responses from this survey.

Our poll generally represented the social and geographic diversity of the city. For example, 68% of the sample individuals were White, 12% were African American, 12% were Latino, and 2% were Asian American. By gender, 60% were female and 40% were male. In terms of age, 8% indicated they were 18 to 24, 14% were 25 to 34, 14% were 35 to 44, 20% were 45 to 54, 17% were 55 to 64, and 26% were 65 years old or older.

We used several dependent variables in this study: perceptions about the number of clubs in the city (“Do you think Providence has too many, about the right number, or too few adult entertainment clubs?”), the overall regulatory environment (“Which statement best summarizes your view of the adult entertainment industry? (a) The government should outlaw the industry, (b) the government should regulate the industry, or (c) the government should allow the industry to operate openly?”), and four specific policy remedies (“Do you think the city of Providence should reallocate some of its existing funds to conduct unannounced raids on adult entertainment clubs: yes or no?” “Would you support or oppose adding a 25% tax on adult entertainment clubs?” “Do you think Providence zoning rules restricting adult entertainment need to be strengthened: yes or no?” “Do you think the adult entertainment industry should be allowed to operate wherever it wants or restricted to certain parts of the city?”).

Our goal in this survey was to investigate the impact of economic and moral views on these assessments. We measured economic perceptions through several variables (“Now turning to business conditions in the city of Providence as a whole—do you think that during the next 12 months we'll have good times financially or bad times?” “Even if you personally oppose the establishment of adult entertainment clubs, how important of a contribution do you think they make to the local economy: very important, somewhat important, or not very important?” “How aggressive should the city of Providence be in attempting to attract new businesses to the area: very aggressive, somewhat aggressive, or not very aggressive?” “Do you strongly agree, agree,

disagree, or strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence keeps business from locating here?”).

We measured moral dimensions by asking several questions: Do you think people today have a strong sense of right and wrong? Does sexual content in entertainment shows bother you a lot, some, or not at all? Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence gives the city a negative reputation? Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence encourages young families with children to move out of the city?

As control variables, we included gender (male or female), race (White or minority), age, education, political ideology (liberal, moderate, or conservative), and frequency of attending religious services (never, a few times a year, once or twice a month, or once a week). These factors have been found to be important in studies of public opinion and public policy making.

### ASSESSMENTS ABOUT THE NUMBER OF ADULT ENTERTAINMENT CLUBS

Overall, 46% of city residents feel that Providence has too many adult entertainment clubs, 24% believe it has about the right number, 4% believe it has too few clubs, and 26% are unsure. Given the low number in the “too few” category, we combined “too few” and “about the right number” and computed a logistic regression of how people feel about the current amount (“too many” vs. “about the right number/too few”).

Table 1 shows that in our model, citizen assessments are conditioned almost entirely by moral feelings. The only factors that showed a statistically significant relationship were whether people are bothered by sexual content in entertainment shows, their view of whether clubs give the city a negative reputation, and whether they believe clubs discourage families from staying in the city. Among those feeling there were too many adult entertainment clubs in Providence are those who are very bothered by sexual content and those who think clubs give the city a negative reputation and discourage families from living in Providence. Individuals who felt strongly about these moral aspects of urban living were the ones most likely to oppose these clubs.

None of the explicitly economic factors affected whether people believed there were too many clubs in the city; it didn’t matter how residents felt about the city’s business condition, their ratings of the club’s economic impact, how aggressive they thought the city should be in attracting new businesses, or their views about clubs discouraging new business from locating within the city. Not a single one of these economic perceptions influenced citizen assessments of adult entertainment.

This is surprising given the urban literature arguing that economic factors undergird many forms of urban development. According to economic theories of public policy making (Peterson, 1981), citizens should not worry about having too many adult clubs because of the income- and job-generating benefits of this industry. If people’s main concerns were the city’s economic condition or need for new businesses, there should be a stronger tie between economic views and assessments of adult entertainment. The lack of a relationship for economic factors is noteworthy in light of research suggesting the centrality of those types of considerations.

There were no relationships between gender, race, education, age, ideology, or religion. Women were not more likely to think there were too many sex clubs, nor were minorities, highly educated people, senior citizens, conservatives, or those who attend religious services frequently. These nonrelationships are important because one might think gender or age would condition views about adult entertainment. However, because women and older people are more likely to hold moralistic views, their views are subsumed in the earlier findings about the link between moral attitudes and views about adult entertainment.

### Perceptions About Outlawing, Regulating, or Allowing Adult Clubs

One of the most crucial choices governments must make about adult entertainment is the decision to outlaw it, regulate it, or allow it to operate openly (Best, 1998; Hubbard, 2004; Weitzer,

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**TABLE 1**  
**Impact of Moral and Economic Assessments on Views About**  
**the Number of Adult Entertainment Clubs, 2006 (logistic regression)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Regression Coefficient (SE)</i>
City business conditions	.23 (.48)
Economic impact of adult clubs	-.29 (.36)
Aggressiveness of business development	.13 (.44)
Adult clubs discourage new businesses	-.41 (.36)
People have sense of right and wrong	-.82 (.48)
Bothered by sexual content in entertainment	.84 (.33)**
Adult clubs give city negative reputation	.75 (.33)*
Adult clubs discourage families	.87 (.37)*
Frequency of attending religious services	-.17 (.21)
Political ideology	.24 (.34)
Race	-.53 (.63)
Education	-.16 (.19)
Age	.17 (.16)
Sex	-.01 (.48)
Constant	-2.82 (2.61)
<i>N</i>	131
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.30

SOURCE: Providence, Rhode Island, Public Opinion Survey undertaken by the authors, October 14 to 17, 2006.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

1999). City leaders must decide on their general approach to adult clubs. On one hand leaders can seek to outlaw them through either strict legislation or tough law enforcement. On the other hand they can accommodate the industry by regulating or allowing it to operate as a regular business.

When asked about their preferred approach in Providence, 10% indicated the government should outlaw it, 65% felt the government should regulate it, and 14% stated the government should allow the industry to operate openly. We combined that factor into a binary variable consisting of "outlaw" or "regulate/allow" and regressed moral and economic factors on whether people felt the industry should be outlawed.

Table 2 presents a logistic regression model of this item based on moral and economic considerations. One interesting finding is the importance of religious practices in affecting people's regulatory approach. Unlike residents' direct assessment of the number of clubs, when religious beliefs did not matter, the more frequently individuals attended religious services, the more likely they were to want to outlaw the industry. People are more likely to be influenced by religion when it comes to overall regulatory approach than in assessments of number of adult clubs. If people are offended by adult entertainment based on their religious views, it doesn't matter so much to them whether there are 5 or 10 clubs, but religion does condition whether they think such businesses should be outlawed.

The same reasoning helps us to understand why there is a significant gender gap when it comes to views about government regulation. Women may not care whether there are a few clubs versus a dozen, but their reservations about adult entertainment affect the approach they believe the government should take. Women are more likely than men to want to outlaw the industry. For women, a business that features women taking their clothes off in front of an audience made up mostly of male customers is not one they wish to see their city government emphasize. They are more likely than men to want to rid the city of this business entirely and prohibit adult clubs from operating.

There was one economic effect linked to people's views about business conditions within the city, but it was in the opposite direction from the expectations of a political economy approach to policy making. The more people expected business conditions to be bad, the more they wanted to outlaw adult entertainment clubs. Adherents of an economy-centered theory of the universe would argue that bad economic conditions would lead people to worry about jobs and incomes and therefore lead them to be more accepting of businesses that generate material benefits. But

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**TABLE 2**  
**Impact of Moral and Economic Assessments on Views About Outlawing,  
 Regulating, or Allowing Adult Entertainment Clubs, 2006 (logistic regression)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Regression Coefficient (SE)</i>
City business conditions	-1.68 (.73)*
Economic impact of adult clubs	1.08 (.57)
Aggressiveness of business development	-.50 (.80)
Adult clubs discourage new businesses	.43 (.49)
People have sense of right and wrong	-.79 (.77)
Bothered by sexual content in entertainment	.08 (.54)
Adult clubs give city negative reputation	.67 (.59)
Adult clubs discourage families	.38 (.54)
Frequency of attending religious services	-1.02 (.39)**
Political ideology	-.26 (.48)
Race	.09 (.85)
Education	.74 (.32)*
Age	-.13 (.27)
Sex	-3.30 (1.46)*
Constant	8.41 (5.01)
<i>N</i>	151
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.28

SOURCE: Providence, Rhode Island, Public Opinion Survey undertaken by the authors, October 14 to 17, 2006.  
 \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

**People do not want to trade off business development and morality. They prefer to decide values questions based on personal morality and religion. Such a result weakens the power of economic explanations of moral issues**

that is not what we found. People do not want to trade off business development and morality. They prefer to decide values questions based on personal morality and religion. Such a result weakens the power of economic explanations of moral issues.

Finally, there was a relationship between education and wanting to outlaw adult entertainment clubs. Those with less education were most likely to want to outlaw these kinds of clubs. This finding is consistent with research in other policy areas where poorly educated people often have the strongest moral views. Education is associated with secularization and not wanting issues to be decided based on personal morality. More highly educated people were laissez-faire about adult clubs and not particularly interested in seeing the government outlaw them.

#### **Perceptions About Specific Policy Remedies: Police Raids, Higher Taxes, Tighter Zoning, or Clustering**

For the last part of our analysis, we looked at several specific policy remedies that have been proposed in regard to adult entertainment (Brewis & Linstead, 2002). One approach emphasizes law enforcement and encourages cities to undertake unannounced raids on adult clubs. Another is tax based and proposes treating adult entertainment the way society has handled businesses such as tobacco, alcohol, and gambling, suggesting a 25% tax on adult entertainment clubs. Still another approach argues that zoning rules need to be tightened to restrict sex clubs (Papayanis, 2000). Finally, some remedies center on a clustering approach, in which adult entertainment clubs are restricted to certain parts of the city (Ryder, 2004).

Each policy approach reflects differing assumptions about the nature of the problem. The unannounced raids approach is based on the idea that law enforcement is the key to dealing with adult entertainment; whatever laws are on the books, they should be strictly enforced. The tax approach, meanwhile, treats adult entertainment like other specific “sin” industries such as tobacco and alcohol and imposes large taxes as a way to keep the industry in check and to deal with negative externalities arising from the business. The zoning and clustering approach assumes that adult entertainment can’t be eliminated given the market that exists for this form of entertainment and that the best strategy is to restrict it to particular parts of town.

**TABLE 3**  
**Impact of Moral and Economic Assessments on Views About**  
**Specific Policy Remedies, 2006 (logistic regression)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Police Raids</i>	<i>Taxes</i>	<i>Zoning</i>	<i>Clustering</i>
City business conditions	-.50 (.42)	.13 (.42)	-.80 (.72)	.01 (.86)
Economic impact of adult clubs	-.25 (.32)	-.21 (.32)	-.38 (.46)	.58 (.55)
Aggressiveness of business development	-.35 (.37)	.01 (.37)	.45 (.51)	-.96 (.61)
Clubs discourage new businesses	.24 (.31)	-.44 (.34)	-.62 (.63)	-.07 (.62)
People have sense of right and wrong	-.26 (.43)	1.33 (.43)**	-.16 (.69)	.78 (.93)
Bothered by sexual content in entertainment	.22 (.29)	.06 (.29)	.95 (.46)*	-1.14 (.63)
Clubs give city negative reputation	.52 (.30)	.85 (.30)**	1.76 (.55)***	-1.03 (.62)
Clubs discourage families	-.07 (.31)	.65 (.33)*	.54 (.58)	.80 (.60)
Frequency of attending	-.20 (.18)	-.01 (.18)	-.46 (.27)	.24 (.33)
Political ideology	-.25 (.28)	-.07 (.29)	.10 (.41)	-.08 (.54)
Race	-.91 (.51)	-.20 (.54)	-1.03 (.89)	1.03 (1.15)
Education	.34 (.17)*	-.43 (.17)*	.22 (.27)	.56 (.36)
Age	.26 (.15)	.01 (.14)	.24 (.24)	-.04 (.31)
Sex	.64 (.46)	-.27 (.44)	-.92 (.68)	-.37 (.81)
Constant	-.43 (2.37)	1.60 (2.35)	-4.51 (3.83)**	2.22 (4.96)
<i>N</i>	141	152	127	152
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.28	.35	.51	.33

NOTE: The values are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

SOURCE: Providence, Rhode Island, Public Opinion Survey undertaken by the authors, October 14 to 17, 2006.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

In asking about these remedies in Providence, we found that 81% of those queried believe adult entertainment should be restricted to certain parts of town, 57% believe that zoning rules restricting adult entertainment need to be strengthened, 53% support adding a 25% adult entertainment club tax, and 34% favored unannounced police raids on these establishments. In short, citizens have a clear hierarchy of policy steps they believe should be taken to deal with adult entertainment.

Table 3 shows the results of a series of logistic regressions on the impact of moral and economic considerations on these four policy remedies. Similar to the results of our earlier analyses, none of the explicitly economic factors bore any significant relationship to the four remedies. It did not matter how one felt about business conditions in Providence, the economic impact of sex clubs, the extent to which the city should strive for new businesses, or the impact of this industry on the city; there was no link between those indicators of economic sentiment and whether an individual believed the city should tax, cluster, police, or zone adult entertainment. Instead, the most important factors were morality and educational background. For example, on imposing an adult entertainment tax or strengthening zoning results to restrict these clubs, several moral dimensions were important. On taxes, those who believed people had no sense of right and wrong were more likely to want to impose a 25% tax than were those who felt the clubs gave the city a negative reputation and discouraged families from living in the city. In terms of zoning, those who said they were bothered by sexual content in entertainment or who believed clubs harmed the city's reputation were the ones most likely to favor tougher rules governing sex clubs.

Similar to views about government regulation, there also was an education factor on two of the policy remedies. For police raids, those who were of low educational attainment wanted more raids, whereas on tax hikes, those who were more highly educated supported adding a 25% tax on adult entertainment. Education matters, but the particular direction depended on the specific remedy under consideration. Educated people were more likely to favor a tax as opposed to a law enforcement approach. This may reflect views about the relative effectiveness of the two strategies.

The policy perspective least likely to be explained either by economic or moral considerations was the clustering approach. There were no significant factors in the model that explained whether someone supported or opposed restricting adult entertainment to certain parts of the city. Residents' preferences on this approach are not closely linked to factors included in this model. This probably indicates lack of understanding about what is meant by a clustering approach when the particular neighborhood for the "cluster" is left unspecified. People clearly do not want adult clubs in their own neighborhood and might have felt uncertain about where the adult cluster would be allowed.

### CONCLUSION: THE LIMITS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

To summarize, we found that value issues generally are based on moral feelings (Meier, 1994; Smith, 2001). Values are not surrogates for economic issues and are not subject to influence by people's views about business conditions or economic impact of adult entertainment. By far, the most important considerations in how people assess sex clubs are factors that are explicitly religious and moral in nature.

Of course, it is possible that the dichotomy between economics and morality is not clear-cut. It may be that people's views about sexual content of entertainment or fears that adult entertainment might harm the city's reputation represent a blend of economic and moral values. Our research cannot answer that question definitively, but we believe that city planners should be cautious in pursuing adult entertainment as a tourism or economic development strategy. Citizens do not support the idea of strip clubs as a way to reinvigorate urban life. They do not let their views about business conditions within their city or the possibility of jobs and tax revenues outweigh their reservations that are based on morality and religion. People do appear to distinguish economics from morality in their assessments of these kinds of issues.

Although more work needs to be undertaken on this subject, generally speaking, our findings suggest that not all urban policy decisions are based on citizens' sentiments regarding political economy. Public policy includes many issues that remain moral, not economic, matters. Subjects such as abortion, gay rights, prostitution, pornography, and stem cell research have moral components that are quite strong. It is important for policy makers to remember that morality matters, even in geographic areas that may be fiscally blighted (Peterson, 1981).

This finding is especially crucial to remember in regard to urban governance. Urban leaders should not reduce everything to material concerns and thereby ignore the moral components of public policy. Sometimes there is a tendency to conclude that because cities are blighted and have pockets of poverty, morality does not matter. Our results suggest that this is not the case and that city residents are able to distinguish economic from moral dimensions of public policy making.

**... we believe that city planners should be cautious in pursuing adult entertainment as a tourism or economic development strategy. Citizens do not support the idea of strip clubs as a way to reinvigorate urban life**

### APPENDIX SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

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We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living there) are: better off financially than you were a year ago (36%), worse off (33%), don't know or no answer (31%)

Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family living there) will be: better off financially (29%), worse off (11%), just about the same as now (46%), don't know or no answer (14%)

Now turning to business conditions in the city of Providence as a whole—do you think that during the next twelve months we'll have: good times financially (41%), bad times (26%), don't know or no answer (33%)

Looking ahead, which would you say is more likely—that in the city as a whole we'll have continuous good times during the next five years or so (38%), we will have periods of widespread unemployment or depression, or what (32%), don't know or no answer (30%)



About the big things people buy for their homes—such as furniture, a refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. Generally speaking, do you think now is a: good time for people to buy major household items (47%), bad time (25%), don't know or no answer (28%)

Do you think that people today have a strong sense of right and wrong? Yes (42%), no (47%), don't know or no answer (11%)

How worried are you about sexual permissiveness in society? Very worried (36%), somewhat worried (30%), not very worried (28%), don't know or no answer (6%)

Does sexual content in entertainment shows bother you: a lot (28%), some (34%), not at all (35%), don't know or no answer (3%)

How aggressive should the city of Providence be in attempting to attract new businesses to the area? Very aggressive (63%), somewhat aggressive (27%), not very aggressive (5%), don't know or no answer (5%)

Do you think the city of Providence should allow businesses such as the adult entertainment industry to operate? Yes (36%), no (51%), don't know or no answer (13%)

Even if you personally oppose the establishment of adult entertainment clubs, how important of a contribution do you think they make to the local economy: very important (9%), somewhat important (25%), not very important (52%), don't know or no answer (14%)

Do you think Providence has: too many (46%), about the right number (24%), too few adult entertainment clubs (4%), don't know or no answer (26%)

Do you strongly agree (23%), agree (31%), disagree (27%), strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence contributes to crime (8%), don't know or no answer (11%)

Do you strongly agree (28%), agree (29%), disagree (25%), strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence gives the city a negative reputation (6%), don't know or no answer (12%)

Do you strongly agree (14%), agree (26%), disagree (32%), strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence keeps business from locating here (9%), don't know or no answer (19%)

Do you strongly agree (15%), agree (24%), disagree (36%), strongly disagree that the presence of an adult entertainment industry in Providence encourages young families with children to move out of the city (9%), don't know or no answer (16%)

Which statement best summarizes your view of the adult entertainment industry? The government should outlaw the industry (10%), the government should regulate the industry (65%), the government should allow the industry to operate openly (14%), don't know or no answer (11%)

Do you think the adult entertainment industry should be: allowed to operate wherever it wants (7%), restricted to certain parts of the city (81%), don't know or no answer (12%)

Do you think Providence zoning rules restricting adult entertainment need to be strengthened? Yes (57%), no (14%), don't know or no answer (29%)

Would you support (53%), oppose adding a 25 percent tax on adult entertainment clubs (30%), don't know or no answer (17%)

Do you think the city of Providence should reallocate some of its existing funds to conduct unannounced raids on adult entertainment clubs? Yes (34%), no (42%), don't know or no answer (24%)

How often do you attend religious services: never (16%), a few times a year (27%), once or twice a month (13%), once a week (32%), don't know or no answer (12%)

Regardless of how you vote, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? Republican (7%), Democrat (40%), Independent (40%), Other (4%), no answer (9%)

Would you describe your political philosophy as: liberal (27%), moderate (39%), conservative (22%), don't know or no answer (12%)

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