

March 5, 2012

Illinois State Senate Public Health Committee
Attn: Chairman Delgado

Dear Chairman Delgado and Members of the Public Health Committee,

Invited testimony on SB 3348 is attached, along with *curriculum vitae* for me and for Professor Lori Sexton. We appreciate the opportunity to read and comment on this legislation. Of course, if either Professor Sexton or I can be further assistance in this matter, feel free to contact us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Richard McCleary". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping 'y' at the end.

Richard McCleary, Ph.D.
Professor

cc: Sexton

Richard McCleary, PhD, Professor

Testimony on SB 3348

Richard McCleary, Ph.D.
Lori Sexton, M.A.

March 2nd, 2012

1. Qualifications

RICHARD MCCLEARY is a Professor at the University of California, Irvine with appointments in three departments: Criminology, Environmental Health Science, and Planning. A curriculum vitae is attached. Professor McCleary holds a B.S. from the University of Wisconsin and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Northwestern University. He has taught graduate courses in statistics and criminology at the University of California, Irvine; the University of Minnesota; the University of Michigan; the University of New Mexico; Arizona State University; the State University of New York; and the University of Illinois. He has served on Federal and state government task forces and panels and on the editorial boards of national peer-reviewed journals. He is the author or co-author of five books and more than 80 articles.

As a nationally recognized expert on adult entertainment businesses, Professor McCleary has testified in lawsuits on behalf of governments and has advised legislatures on mitigating the secondary effects of the businesses. As a former resident of and a frequent visitor to Illinois, he has a first-hand understanding of the State. In 2005, he testified as an expert in *People of the State of Illinois ex rel. Edward C. Deters v. The Lion's Den, Inc.*¹ An excerpt of his opinion in that case was published as an article in a peer-reviewed criminology journal (McCleary, 2008). Professor McCleary's research on the interaction of alcohol and adult entertainment businesses was cited in the Illinois Supreme Court decision in *City of Chicago v. Pooh Bah Enterprises, Inc. et al.*² The evidence considered in that case is especially relevant to SB 3348.

LORI SEXTON is an Assistant Professor at the University of Missouri, Kansas City with an appointment in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. A curriculum vitae is attached. Currently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of California, Irvine, Professor Sexton holds a B.S. from Cornell University and an M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Sexton has taught research methods and criminology courses at the University of California, Irvine and at the University of San Diego. As an expert on the sexual victimization of trans-gender prisoners, she testified in *U.S. v. Ronald D. Royer, Jr.* and before the California State Senate Committee on Public Safety. She has served as a consultant and advisor to the

¹ Circuit Court for the 4th Judicial Circuit of Illinois, Case No. 04-CH-26.

² 865 N.E.2d 133 (2006) 224 Ill.2d 390.

California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. Her research on sexual assault has been funded by the National Institute of Justice, the National Science Foundation, and the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. She is the co-author of several articles, book chapters, and government reports on topics in criminology including sexual assault.

2. General Opinions

We have been asked to testify on the secondary effects of “live adult entertainment facilities,” the subclass of sexually-oriented businesses defined in SB 3348. The secondary effects of live adult entertainment facilities include litter, noise, traffic, real estate value, crime, and general quality of life. In light of the aim of SB 3348 to “make grants to sexual assault organizations with whom the Department has contracts for the purpose of providing community-based assistance to victims of sexual assault and for activities concerning the prevention of sexual assault,” our testimony will focus on *public safety* or *crime-related* secondary effects. Based on our backgrounds and research, we have three general opinions:

Opinion 1: The criminological theory of ambient crime risk, known as the “routine activity theory of hotspots,” predicts that sexually-oriented businesses will generate large, significant crime-related secondary effects. This effect is the product of three factors. (1) Sexually-oriented businesses draw patrons from wide catchment areas. (2) Because they are disproportionately male, open to vice overtures, and reluctant to report victimizations to the police, sexually-oriented business patrons are “soft” targets. (3) The high density of “soft” targets at the site attracts predatory criminals, including vice purveyors who dabble in crime and criminals who pose as vice purveyors in order to lure or lull potential victims. The conjunction of these three factors generates an ambient public safety hazard.

Opinion 2: Although the hotspot model applies to all such businesses, sexually-oriented businesses that offer on-site live entertainment *and* that serve alcohol are associated with sexual assault as defined in SB 3348, including but not limited to battery, exploitation, and gender-hate crimes. Victims of these crimes include not only customers and employees of the businesses but, also, vice purveyors working in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Opinion 3: The prevention strategy described in SB 3348 is a promising way to mitigate the sexual assaults associated with live adult entertainment facilities in Illinois. SB 3348 is modeled after a Texas statute that appears to be effective in that respect (Bureau of Business Research, *et al.*, 2009). Statutes similar to SB 3348 are currently under review by several state legislatures.

The details of our opinions begin with a necessary introduction to the criminological *theory* of secondary effects. This theory explains *why* sexually-oriented businesses in general have crime-related secondary effects. After developing the general theory, we apply it to the special case of the live adult entertainment facilities defined in SB 3348 and to the crimes of sexual assault,

including battery and exploitation. We then review some of the studies that corroborate the general theory.

3. The Criminological Theory of Secondary Effects

The consensus finding of the secondary effects literature is a *scientific fact* because it rests on a strong scientific theory. Applied to “hotspots of predatory crime,” such as SOB sites, the routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Sherman, Gartin and Buerger, 1989) holds that the number of crimes within 500-1000 feet of a site, is the product of four risk factors. This can be written as:

$$\text{Ambient Crime Risk} = \frac{\sum (\text{Targets} \times \text{Value})}{\text{Police Presence}} \times \text{Offenders}$$

An increase (or decrease) in the number of targets at the site or in their average value yields an increase (or decrease) in ambient crime risk. An increase (or decrease) in police presence, on the other hand, yields a decrease in ambient risk.

Sexually-oriented business sites attract potential victims, or targets, from wide catchment areas. Sexually-oriented businesses are no different in that respect than tourist attractions and sporting events. Compared to the targets found at other hotspots, however, offender view the targets at sexually-oriented business sites as exceptionally valuable. This reflects the presumed characteristics of the sexually-oriented businesses’ patrons. The patrons ordinarily travel long distances to the site, are disproportionately male, open to vice overtures, and carry cash. Most important of all, when victimized, the patrons are reluctant to involve the police. From the offender’s perspective, they are “perfect” victims.

The offenders in this theory move freely from site to site, choosing to work at the most attractive site available. In Sutherland’s (1937) terms, these offenders are “professional thieves.” Some are vice purveyors (prostitutes, drug dealers, *etc.*) who only dabble in crime. Some are predatory criminals who use the promise of vice to lure and lull victims. Some are men, some are women. Despite their heterogeneity, the offenders share a rational decision-making calculus that draws them to sexually-oriented business sites.

The theory connecting vice and predatory crime has been a popular plot device for at least 250 years. John Gay’s (1728) *Beggar’s Opera*, for example, centers on the relationship between MacHeath, a predatory criminal, and a vice ring composed of Peachum, Lucy, and Jenny. This popular view is echoed in the empirical literature on criminal lifestyles and thought processes. The earliest and best-known study (Shaw, 1930; Snodgrass, 1982), *e.g.*, describes “Stanley,” a delinquent who lives with a prostitute and preys on her clients.

Criminological thinking on the connection between vice and predatory crime has changed little in the 75 years since Shaw’s *Jack-Roller* (Felson, 2006; Potter, 1989). To

document the rational choices of predatory criminals, Wright and Decker (1997) interviewed 86 active armed robbers. Asked to describe a perfect victim, all mentioned victims involved in vice, either as sellers or buyers. Three of the armed robbers worked as prostitutes:

From their perspective, the ideal robbery target was a married man in search of an illicit sexual adventure; he would be disinclined to make a police report for fear of exposing his own deviance (p. 69).

The rational calculus described by these prostitute-robbers echoes the descriptions of other predators (see Bennett and Wright, 1984; Feeney, 1986; Fleisher, 1995; Katz, 1988, 1991; Shover, 1996).

The third risk factor in the hotspot theory is police presence. Controlling for the quantity and value of the targets at a site, rational offenders choose sites with the lowest level of visible police presence. In strictly physical terms, increasing (or decreasing) the number of police physically on or near a site reduces (or increases) ambient risk. However, police presence can also be virtual through remote camera surveillance and similar processes. Whether physical or virtual, the *effectiveness* of police presence can be affected – for better or worse – by broadly defined environmental factors. Due to the reduced effectiveness of conventional patrolling after dark, *e.g.*, crime risk rises at night, peaking around the time that bars close.

3.1 Alcohol

Proximity to alcohol is a key component of the hotspot theory of secondary effects. The mechanism is obvious and straightforward. Alcohol aggravates the already-high ambient crime risk by lowering the inhibitions and clouding the judgments of patrons. In effect, alcohol makes the soft targets found at sexually-oriented business sites softer. The available data corroborate this theoretical expectation in all respects. Predatory criminals prefer inebriated victims, *e.g.*, In their interviews of active armed robbers, Wright and Decker (1997) report that:

[E]ach of [the robbers] expressed a preference for intoxicated victims, who were viewed as good targets because they were in no condition to fight back. (p. 87)

Several [robbers] said that they usually chose victims who appeared to be intoxicated because, as one put it, “Drunks never know what hit them.” (p. 70)

Reviewing the research on this point, the Illinois Supreme Court in *City of Chicago v. Pooh Bah Enterprises, Inc. et al.* (2006) find that “Victims become more vulnerable because of alcohol’s debilitating effects, thus creating an attractive situation for potential offenders.” Accordingly, sexually-oriented businesses that serve alcohol or that are located near liquor-serving businesses pose larger and qualitatively different ambient public safety hazards. Governments rely on this consistent finding of the empirical secondary effect literature as a rationale for limiting nudity in liquor-serving businesses. SB 3348 in particular is predicated on the finding that “consumption of alcoholic beverages on the premises of sexually oriented businesses exacerbates the negative

secondary effects of those businesses on the community.” Our review of the empirical literature supports this finding for live adult entertainment facilities as defined in SB 3348.

In addition to making potential victims more vulnerable, experimental laboratory results demonstrate that a set of *primary* effects emerge when alcohol and erotica are combined. Young men who are exposed to erotica tend to drink more alcohol (George, 1988) and to report higher feelings of anger and aggression (George and Martell, 1986). Norris *et al.* (2002) and Davis *et al.* (2006) measure the self-reported aggression and sexual arousal of young men under three conditions: after drinking alcohol, after viewing erotica, and after drinking alcohol *and* viewing erotica. Young men who both drank alcohol and viewed erotica reported the highest levels of aggression and arousal. The fact that the combination of alcohol *and* erotica generated strong anti-social primary effects has been used as the rationale for separating alcohol and erotica in adult entertainment facilities.

3.2 Live Adult Entertainment Facilities

Since all sexually-oriented business subclasses draw targets to their sites, all have crime-related secondary effects. Nevertheless, criminological theory allows for qualitative differences among subclasses. Sexually-oriented businesses that serve alcohol have higher ambient risks of non-instrumental personal crimes, such as assault, battery, and disorderly conduct. Sexually-oriented businesses that provide on-premise entertainment have higher risks of vice crime and customer-employee assault. The live adult entertainment facilities defined in SB 3348 combine these two sets of risk factors with predictable consequences.

The ambient public safety hazards posed by live adult entertainment facilities differ from the hazards of other sexually-oriented businesses in the quantity and quality of on-premise crime incidents. “Victimless” crimes such as lewd behavior are found to occur on the premises of all sexually-oriented businesses, including live adult entertainment facilities.³ In addition to the “victimless” crimes found on the premises of all sexually-oriented businesses, however, the premises of live adult entertainment facilities are particularly risky places for assaultive crimes. It is useful to break on-premise assaults down into four categories: (1) patron-on-patron assault, (2) employee-on-patron assault, (3) patron-on-employee assault, and (4) employee-on-employee assault. Patron-on-employee and employee-on-employee assaults are often the sort of sexual assaults defined in SB 3348.

To some extent, the risk of on-premise assault can be mitigated by regulation. Removing blind spots and closed booths reduces the opportunity for “victimless” crimes, *e.g.* To the extent that “victimless” crimes lead to confrontations, regulating the interior architecture of live adult

³ Using Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission data, an evaluation of a Texas statute that is comparable to SB 3348 found that “for almost all the categories of violations, the number of sex- and drug-related offenses was higher for [adult entertainment facilities] than for bars.” (Bureau of Business Research, 2009, p. 61).

entertainment facilities reduces the risk of assault. Regulations that physically separate patrons from entertainers (or other employees) also reduces the risk of assault. Ideally, the separation is achieved by mandated structures, such as raised stages. By creating a tangible “wall” between employees and patrons, raised stages reduce unintentional (or intentional) “touching,” thereby reducing the risk of patron-on-employee and employee-on-patron crime.

While assaults on police officers are rare, they are among the most serious crimes that occur inside live entertainment facilities. Assault risk begins when officers enter the premises and continues until they leave. Regulations that minimize the length of time that officers must spend inside the facility reduce the risk of confrontation and assault. Requiring well-lit and obstacle-free interior premises and raised stages that separate entertainers and patrons illustrate these regulations.

4. Empirical Corroboration of the Criminological Theory

The strong criminological theory of secondary effects has been tested and corroborated by large empirical literature. Reviewing this literature as a predicate for SB 3348, the Illinois General Assembly finds that “crime statistics show that all types of crimes, especially sex-related crimes, occur with more frequency in neighborhoods where sexually oriented businesses are located.” Our review of the empirical literature supports this finding for sexually-oriented businesses in general and for live adult entertainment facilities in particular.

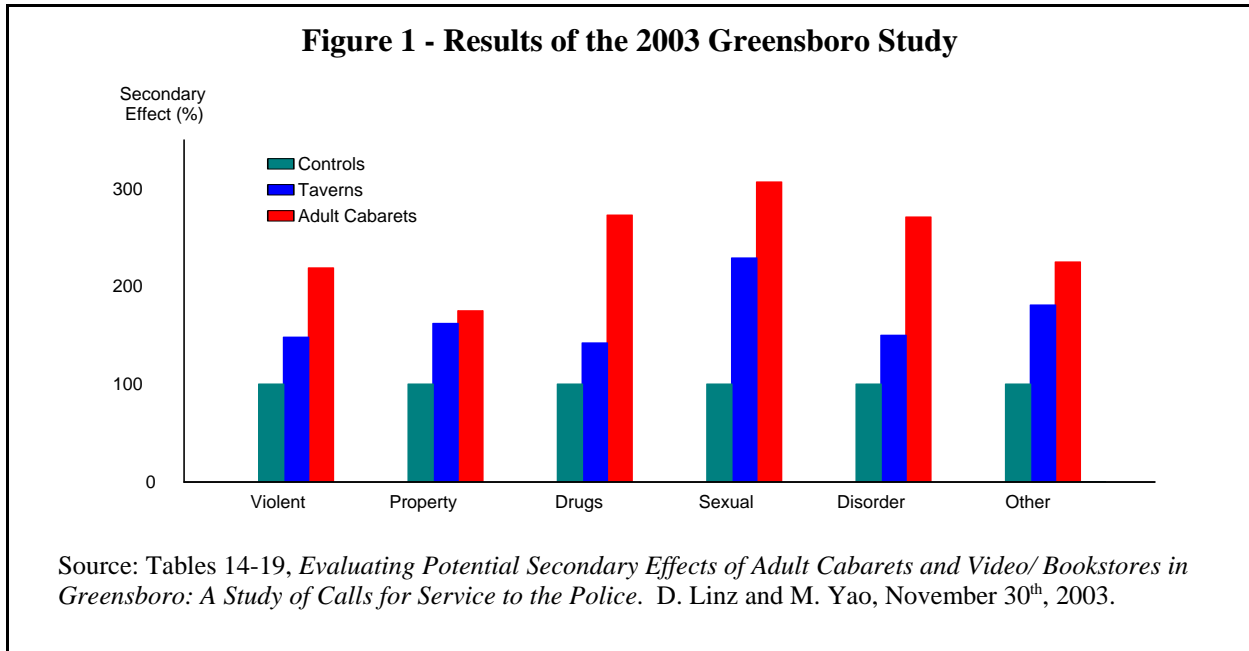
4.1 Greensboro, North Carolina

In 2003, Dr. Daniel Linz and his colleagues analyzed the distributions of 911 calls across Greensboro, North Carolina Census Block Groups (or “neighborhoods”). The results of Dr. Linz’ analyses are plotted in Figure 1. The green bars in Figure 1 report the statistically adjusted numbers of 911 calls for neighborhoods that have no taverns or sexually-oriented businesses. To facilitate interpretation, we have fixed the number of 911 calls in control neighborhoods at 100 percent; the numbers of 911 calls in other neighborhoods can be interpreted, thus, as multiples of the control neighborhoods.

The blue bars in Figure 1 report the statistically adjusted numbers of 911 calls for neighborhoods with taverns. Since taverns are the “gold standard” of ambient crime risk,⁴ it is not surprising that, compared to the control neighborhoods, tavern neighborhoods have relatively higher risks for all types of crime. The red bars in Figure 1 report the statistically adjusted numbers of 911 calls for neighborhoods with live adult entertainment facilities (or as Dr. Linz and his colleagues call these businesses, “adult cabarets”). Figure 1 has an unambiguous

⁴ The Illinois Supreme Court decision in *City of Chicago v. Pooh Bah Enterprises, Inc. et al.* (2006) cites Roucek and Provatiner (1989), McCleary and Meeker (1991), and Roucek and Maier (1991) on this point. It is a scientific fact that bars and taverns have relatively higher ambient crime risks.

interpretation. Compared to control neighborhoods (green bars), neighborhoods with taverns (blue bars) have higher ambient crime risks. But the ambient crime risks in neighborhoods with live adult entertainment facilities (red bars) have even higher ambient crime risks.



The ordered relationship among the three neighborhoods persists across all categories of crime. The numbers of 911 calls in tavern neighborhoods (blue bars) ranged from 148 percent (violent crimes) to 229 percent (sexual crimes) of the control numbers. The numbers of 911 calls in neighborhoods with live adult entertainment facilities ranged from 175 percent (for property crime) to 307 percent (for sexual crime) of the control numbers. These effects are large in every sense and, of course, given the strong criminological theory, not surprising. They are consistent with virtually every neighborhood-level secondary effects studies that used 911 calls to measure crime risk.

4.2 Charlotte, North Carolina

A study of Charlotte, North Carolina live adult entertainment facilities by Dr. Daniel Linz and his colleagues is sometime cited as an exception. To measure the secondary effects of live adult entertainment facilities in Charlotte, Linz *et al.* (2004) compared UCR Part I crime incidents near twenty adult cabarets to UCR Part I crime incidents near three control businesses: a McDonald's, a Kentucky Fried Chicken store, and an Exxon gas station mini-mart. Finding no statistically significant differences between the live adult entertainment facilities and the control businesses, Linz *et al.* concluded that live adult entertainment facilities do not pose ambient public safety hazards. We disagree with conclusion. A careful reading of their study suggests alternative explanations, however, including *crime reporting biases*:

Perhaps victims of crime in areas surrounding adult clubs are not motivated to

report crime incidents to the police. If this were the case, there may not be stable crime reporting across study and control sites. It could be that, compared to the control sites, more of the crime that occurs in the adult dance club zone goes unreported. It seems plausible that many of the victims of crime in these areas might not want to draw attention to themselves. (Linz *et al.*, 2004, p. 100)

The decision to measure ambient crime risk with Part I UCR crime incidents (homicide, robbery, rape, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, and arson) is also problematic. The Part I UCR category excludes *all* vice crimes and *most* sexual assaults, for example. A more important shortcoming of the Charlotte study, however, concerns the non-comparability of the three control businesses and the twenty live adult entertainment facilities:

Conceptually, it may be more appropriate to compare adult club sites with non-adult club sites so that one can determine whether the type of club activity affects the level of crime. This comparison may be implicit (if not explicit) in the minds of citizens and justices when considering whether an adult club should be allowed to locate in a particular area. Methodologically, using basic service type businesses such as fast food restaurants as control sites may confound the comparisons being made in the research, even if they are located in areas equivalent to those in which adult dance clubs are located. (Linz *et al.*, 2004, p. 100)

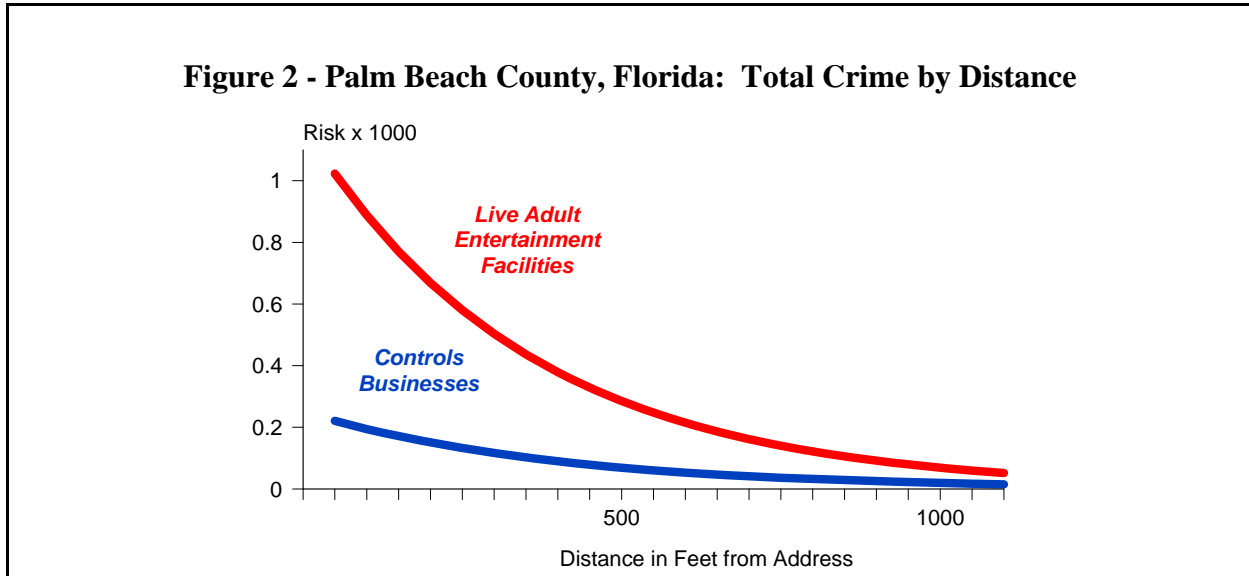
We agree with both methodological points. Had Linz *et al.* (2004) used more appropriate crime measures and controls, they would have found – as every other study has found – that live adult entertainment facilities pose a large, statistically significant ambient public safety hazard.

4.3 Palm Beach County, Florida

Three years after the Charlotte study by Linz *et al.* (2004), criminologists from the University California, Irvine conducted an analysis of the crime-related secondary effects of live adult entertainment facilities in Palm Beach County, Florida. Instead of using the subset of Part I UCR crime incidents to measure ambient crime risk, Jenness *et al.* (2007) used both Part I and Part II UCR crimes. And instead of using fast-food restaurants and gas station mini-marts as controls, Jenness *et al.* used businesses that were licensed to serve liquor and to offer non-adult entertainment.

The measure the ambient public safety hazards of the live adult entertainment facilities and the control businesses, Jenness *et al.* (2007) drew concentric zones centered on the sites and estimated ambient crime rates at expanding radii. The results of their analyses are summarized in the two risk-distance functions plotted in Figure 2. To interpret these functions, suppose that approach a site from the right. Since both the control businesses (the blue curve) and the live adult entertainment facilities (the red curve) serve alcohol, victimization risk rises as the distance to either type of site decreases. Victimization risk for the live adult entertainment facilities rises much more steeply, however. At 500 feet – approximately a long city block – ambient risk at a

live adult entertainment site is four times higher than the risk at a control site. At 1,000 feet – approximately two long city blocks – victimization risk is much lower for either type of site. But even at that distance, ambient victimization risk is 3.5 times higher at live adult entertainment sites.



Victimization risk at 50 feet or less represents on-premise crime. The premises of live adult entertainment facilities are particularly risky places. As noted, some of these on-premise crimes are “victimless” Many of the on-premise crimes are patron-on-employee assaults and employee-on-employee assaults, however, and these crime often fit the sexual assault definition of SB 3348.

5. Victims of Sexual Assault

The sexual assaults associated with live adult entertainment facilities include but are not limited to battery, intimidation, and exploitation. This broad definition is made necessary by the subtle nature of the phenomenon. Indeed, SB 3348 is predicated on the finding that “sexually-oriented businesses contribute to a culture that tolerates the sexual objectification and exploitation of women, and contribute to the need for community-based services to respond to victims of all forms of sexual exploitation, including sexual harassment, trafficking, and sexual assault.” Our review of the empirical literature supports this finding. While not all of the underlying cultural manifestations are defined as criminal sexual assault, moreover, all contribute to and aggravate the crimes sexual assault. This argues not only for the prevention strategies described in SB 3348 but, also, for the provision of services to victims.

We now review the sparse empirical literature on two important sexual assault victims: the employees of live adult entertainment facilities, including the vast majority who operate as “independent contractors” and prostitutes work in the neighborhoods around sexually-oriented businesses. Official statistics on sexual assaults are notoriously incomplete. The conventional

wisdom is that sexual assaults in general under-reported to police agencies; in many ways, these crimes constitute the core of the “dark figure of crime” (Biderman and Reiss, 1967). The degree of under-reporting is certainly greater for sexual assaults in which the victim is an employee of a sexually-oriented business, however, or a prostitute. Given the lack of official police statistics on sexual assaults of these victims, much of our knowledge comes from ethnographic studies.

5.1 Entertainers

There is relatively little known about the lives of female entertainers who work in live adult entertainment facilities. Even less is known about their victimization experiences. The ethnographic study by Frank (2002), who worked as an exotic dancer to pay her graduate school tuition, describes the interactions of entertainers and their “regulars” in a way that emphasizes the reversal of roles. Allusions to victimization experience are brief and indirect. Focusing on First Amendment issues, Hanna (1998) represents another tradition. A prolific witness on behalf of sexually-oriented businesses, Hanna argues that any government attempt to regulate live adult entertainment facilities violates the First Amendment and interferes with economic opportunities of female entertainers. Although Hanna says nothing about the victimization of entertainers, we assume that she would view victimization as a minor problem at worst. Finally, a third view, represented by Jeffreys (2008), emphasizes the economic exploitation of entertainers by owners and managers. Although victimization is central to Jeffreys’ view, the victimization experiences of individual entertainers are not described.

In light of the dearth of numbers, a survey of eighteen Minneapolis-St. Paul entertainers by Holsopple (1998) is striking. Using participant observation methods, Holsopple reports that victimization of entertainers is ubiquitous and routine:

One hundred percent of the eighteen women in the survey report being physically abused in the stripclub ... One hundred percent ... report sexual abuse in the stripclub ... One hundred percent ... report verbal harassment in the stripclub ... One hundred percent ... report being propositioned for prostitution. Seventy eight percent ... were stalked by someone associated with the stripclub ... Sixty-one percent ... report that someone associated with the stripclub has attempted to sexually assault her ... [All of women ... witnessed these things happen to other strippers ... The overwhelming trend for violence against women in strip clubs was committed by customers ... Stripclub owners, managers, assistant managers, and the staff of bartenders, music programmers or disc jockeys, bouncers, security guards, floorwalkers, doormen, and valet were significantly less involved in violence against the women.

While one might quibble with the statistical adequacy of Holsopple’s estimated victimization rates, her research leaves little doubt that the entertainers who work in live adult entertainment facilities experience sexual battery on a routine basis. Review articles by Baldwin (1989, 1999) which integrate data from a diverse range of sources support Holsopple’s victimization findings.

5.2 Prostitutes

Whereas research on the sexual victimization experiences of female entertainers in live adult entertainment facilities is sparse, research on the sexual victimization of prostitutes is vast and wholly consistent. A synthetic review of two dozen studies by Raphael and Shapiro (2004) documents the incredibly high levels of violence against street prostitutes. Interviews with more than 200 prostitutes working in-doors at venues including live adult entertainment facilities find similar victimization rates. In addition to customers and pimps, the reported batterers included police officers. Comparing the sexual assaults of a sample of prostitutes and a matched sample of non-prostitute victims, DuMont and McGregor (2004) report that assaults against prostitutes are typically more severe with greater complications. Baldwin's (1989, 1999) review articles discuss the strong relationship between the sexual victimization of children in the context of prostitution and sexually-oriented businesses.

6. Concluding Remarks

Based on our backgrounds and research, it is our opinion that SB 3348 is predicated on a sound body of evidence. We endorse each of the General Assembly's findings. In light of the experience elsewhere, particularly in Texas, we believe that the economic impact of SB 3348 on the live adult entertainment industry will be minimal. We believe further the community-based approach envisioned in this legislation will go a long way to mitigate the pernicious secondary effects of live adult entertainment facilities.

If SB 3348 has any shortcomings, it would be that no funds are provided for research. A modest research initiative aimed at better understanding secondary effects phenomena and, also, at evaluating the impact of SB 3348 would improve this legislation.

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