

**Encyclopedia of
Prostitution and Sex Work,
Volumes 1 & 2**

*Edited by
Melissa Hope Ditmore*

Greenwood Press

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
PROSTITUTION AND SEX WORK

Advisory Board

Laura Agustín

School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

Priscilla Alexander

Co-editor of Sex Work

Elizabeth Bernstein

Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at Barnard College, Columbia University

Andrew Hunter

Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers

Kamala Kempadoo

Associate Professor in Social Science at York University, Canada

Helen J. Self, Ph.D.

Historian and writer

Nancy M. Wingfield

Associate Professor of History at Northern Illinois University

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PROSTITUTION AND SEX WORK

Volume 1
A–N

Edited by
Melissa Hope Ditmore



GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of prostitution and sex work / edited by Melissa Hope Ditmore.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-313-32968-0 (set) — ISBN 0-313-32969-9 (vol. 1) — ISBN 0-313-32970-2 (vol. 2)

1. Prostitution—Encyclopedias. 2. Sex-oriented businesses—Encyclopedias.

HQ115.E53 2006

306.7403—dc22 2006010227

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Copyright © 2006 by Melissa Hope Ditmore

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be reproduced, by any process or technique, without the express written consent of the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2006010227

ISBN: 0-313-32968-0 (set)

0-313-32969-9 (vol. 1)

0-313-32970-2 (vol. 2)

First published in 2006

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881

An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Copyright Acknowledgments

The editor and publisher gratefully acknowledge permission for the use of the following material:

A more extensive version of Kerwin Kaye's entry on Male Prostitution was published in the *Journal of Homosexuality* 46, no. 1/2 (2003) under the title "Male Prostitution in the Twentieth Century: Pseudohomosexuals, Hoodlum Homosexuals, and Exploited Teens."

Alison Murray's entries on Forced Prostitution and Tourism are edited excerpts from *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific* (Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 2001), used with permission from the author.

Randall Platt's entry on Slang is extracted from her forthcoming *Slangmaster*.

Gail Pheterson's entry on Stigma is excerpted from "The Whore Stigma: Crimes of Unchastity," in her book *The Prostitution Prism* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, 65-89).

Stephanie Wahab's entry on Diversion Programs is an edited excerpt from "Evaluating the Usefulness of a Prostitution Diversion Project," *Qualitative Social Work*, in press, with permission from Sage Publications.

The entry on Feminism is a excerpted from Melissa Ditmore, "Trafficking and Prostitution: A Problematic Conflation" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2002), with permission of the author.

Excerpts from *A Guide to Best Practice Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry*, Scarlet Alliance and the Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations, 2000. <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/pub/> are reprinted with permission from the Scarlet Alliance.

To the memory of my brother, Jonathan Levi Ditmore,
and my mentor and colleague, Paulo Longo

CONTENTS

Alphabetical List of Entries	ix
Topical List of Entries	xv
Preface	xxi
Acknowledgments	xxiii
Introduction	xxv
Timeline	xxxiii
The Encyclopedia	1
Appendixes of Primary Resources	557
Appendix A. Historical Accounts	557
1. Prostitution in London (1862)	557
2. “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” (1885)	578
3. “The Traffic in Women” (1910)	595
4. “ <i>Hikite-jaya</i> ” (“Introducing Tea-Houses”) (1899)	602
Appendix B. Poems and Lyrics	608
5. “ <i>Le Crépuscule du Soir</i> ” (“Evening Twilight”) (1861)	608
6. “Jenny” (1870)	610
7. “To a Common Prostitute” (1900)	619
8. “The Ruined Maid” (1901)	620
9. “Frankie and Johnnie” (early 1900s)	620
10. “The House of the Rising Sun” (1937)	623
Appendix C. Documents by Sex Workers	625
11. World Charter for Prostitutes’ Rights (1985)	625
12. Sex Workers’ Manifesto (1997)	627

13. Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers Code of Practice for Working with Peer Educators (2004)	634
14. Documents from the European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration (2005)	636
15. Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry (2000)	654
Appendix D. Legal Documents and Commentary	660
16. The Mann Act (1910)	660
17. The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others	663
18. International Human Rights Standards and the Rights of Sex Workers (2005)	670
19. On Laws Affecting Sex Workers (2003, 2005)	680
20. "Crime, Sex, Money and Migration: The Negotiations on the United Nations Protocol on Trafficking in Persons" (2003)	686
21. What Is "Demand" in the Context of Trafficking in Persons?	700
Selected Bibliography	703
Index	753
About the Editor, Advisors, and Contributors	773

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

Abolition
Abolitionism
Abortion
Abstinence
Acton, William
Actresses
Addams, Jane
Addiction
Adler, Polly
African Literature, Postcolonial
Ah Toy
Alcohol and Drinking Establishments
American Literature
American West, 19th Century
Amsterdam
Anatomical Museums
The Anatomie of Abuses
Ancient Rome
Ancient World
Aquinas, Thomas
Arab Gulf
Arab Mediterranean
Artists' Models
Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22
de Junio" de El ORO
Attitudes toward Prostitution,
Sociopsychological
Augustine, Saint
Auletris
Australia and New Zealand
Australian Mace Scandal
Ballet
Bangkok
Barr, Candy
Bellocq, Ernest J.
Bible
Blue Books
Blues
Brady, "Diamond Jim"
Brel, Jacques
British Literature
Brothel Tokens
Brothels
Butler, Josephine
Call Girls
Camp Followers
Canadian Literature
Caribbean
Central America
Central and East Africa

- Central and Eastern Europe
 and Central Asia
 Cézanne, Paul
 Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918
Chansons de Bilitis
 Chen, Yuanyuan
 Chicago
 Child Prostitution
 Child Prostitution, Cultural and Religious
 Chinese Literature
 Clients
 Clothing
 Colette
 Colonialism and Prostitution in Africa
 Comfort Women
 Commodification
 Comstock, Anthony
 Condoms
 Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866,
 and 1869
 Contraception
 Courtesans
 COYOTE
 Crack
 Crime
 Criminalization of Clients
 “D” Street
 Dance Hall Girls
 Debby Doesn’t Do It for Free
 Decriminalization
 Degas, Edgar
 de Lorme, Marion
 Desert Harlots
 Desire
Devadasi
 Dickens, Charles
 Directories
 Diversion Programs
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor
 Drexelius, Claudia
 Duplessis, Marie
 Dutch Masters
 Dworkin, Andrea
 Entrapment
 Escort Agencies
 Eugenics
 Fallen Woman Trope
Fanny Hill
 Fantasy and Science Fiction
 Female Boarding House
 Feminism
 Films
 Films, Cult
 Films, Documentary
 Films, Exploitation
 Five Points, New York City
 Foat, Ginny
 Forced Prostitution
 France, Second Empire
 Franco, Veronica
 Free Love
 French Cinema
 French Literature
 García Márquez, Gabriel
 Geisha
 Gentlemen’s Clubs
 Globalization
 Gold-Diggers
 Goldman, Emma
Grandes Horizontales
 Guidebooks
Gunsmoke
 Gwyn, Nell
 Habsburg Monarchy
 Harm Reduction
 Havana
 Henry II
Hetaera
 Hip-Hop
 HIV Interventions for Long-Distance
 Truckers in India
 HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes’ Rights
 Movement
 Hog Ranch
 Hollander, Xaviera
 Holland’s Leaguer
 Hong Kong
 Hoover, J. Edgar
 Human Rights
 Imperial Chinese Theater

- Imperial Russia
 Incest
 Institutionalization
 Internet
Intolerance
 Jack the Ripper
 Japanese Cinema
 Jewett, Helen
Kama Sutra
 Kanhopatra
 Keeler, Christine
 Kimball, Nell
 Kink
 Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig
Klute
Kuttani-mata
 La Paiva
 Latin American Cinema
 Latin American Literature
 Laundresses
 League of Nations
 Legal Approaches
 Leigh, Carol, a.k.a. Scarlet Harlot
 Leite, Gabriela Silva
 Li, Shishi
 Liang, Hongyu
 Licensed Prostitution, Nevada
 Liu, Rushi
 London
 Longo, Paulo
 Los Angeles
 Lovelace, Linda
Lucian's Dialogues of the Courtesans
 Lulu
 MacKinnon, Catharine
 Madams
 Magdalen Homes
 "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"
 Male Prostitution
 Male Prostitution, Victorian Literature
 Male Stripping
 Mandeville, Bernard
 Mann Act
 Marriage
 Mary of Egypt
 Mary Magdalene
 Masoch, Leopold von Sacher
 Mata Hari
 Mayhew, Henry
 McDowall, Reverend John R.
 Medieval Literature
 Medieval Prostitution
Melas
 Memoirs
 Microbicides
Midnight Cowboy
 Migration and Mobility
 Miller, Henry
 Mines
 Misogyny
Moll Flanders
 Montez, Lola
 Munsinger, Gerda
 Murder
 Mustang Ranch
My Secret Life
 National Vigilance Association (NVA)
 Nazi Germany
 New Orleans
 New York City
 Nonoxynol-9
 Occupational Safety and Health
 Opera
 Organized Crime
Pallake
 Paraphilias
 Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste
 Paresis Hall
 Pathology
 Patriarchy
 Pearl, Cora
 Peer Education
 Peking Opera
 Pelagia
 Penal Colonies
 Penny Dreadfuls
 Phryne
 Pimpmobiles
 Pimps
 Pinzer, Maimie

- Poetry
Porne
 Ports
 Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)
Pretty Woman
 Prison
 Profumo Affair
 Prohibition
 Protestant Reformation
 Purity Campaigns
 Purity Movements
 R&R
 Race and Ethnicity
 Rahab
 Rape
 Rape, Statutory
 Rechy, John
 Reform
 Religion
 Renaissance
 Research Ethics
 Resident Activism
 Retrogressive Dynamic
 Richard, Marthe
 Riehl, Regine
 Rites of Passage
 Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of
 Rock Music
Rode Draad
 Romantic Literature
 Sabatier, Appolonie
 Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World
 Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary
 Sade, Marquis de
 Sadie Thompson
 Sadoomasochism
 Sai, Jinhua
 Salvation Army
 Sanger, William Wallace
 Sappho of Lesbos
 Scapegoating
 Scarlet Alliance
 Seamstresses
 Serial Killers
Sex Work
Sex Worker—Only Communication Tools
 Sexually Transmitted Infections
 Shakespeare, William
 Shanghai
 Shoes
 Shore, Jane
Sins of the Cities
 Sisters of the Good Shepherd
 Slang
 Societies for the Reformation of Manners
 Soiled Doves
 Sonagachi Project
 South Asia
 Southeast Asia
 Speculum
 Sprinkle, Annie
 Steen, Jan
 Stigma
 St. James, Margo
 St. James Infirmary
 Storyville
 Street Offences Act of 1959
 Street-Based Prostitution
 Stripping
 Strozzi, Barbara
 Survival Sex
 Syphilis
 Tan Bazar
 Tel Aviv
 Temporary Marriage
 Tenderloin Districts
 Tenofovir
 Terminology
 Thaïs
 Theodora, Empress of Byzantium
 Toppelzones
To Beg I Am Ashamed
 Tokyo
 Touching Base
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de
 Tourism
 Trafficking
 Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda
 Transactional Sex
 Transgender Sex Workers

- Ukiyo-e
Unions
United Nations Trafficking Protocol
Utamaro
Venice
Venues and Labor Forms
Vermeer, Johannes
Victims of Trafficking and Violence
 Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA)
Victorian Novels
Vie d'une Prostituée
Violence
Voyeurism
Weimar Republic
West Africa
Western Europe
Westward Expansion
White Slavery
Wilde, Oscar
Window Prostitution
Wolfenden Report
Woodhull, Victoria
World Health Organization
The World of Suzie Wong
World War I Regulation
Wuornos, Aileen
Yoshiwara
Zola, Émile

TOPICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

ARTS AND CULTURE

African Literature, Postcolonial

American Literature

The Anatomie of Abuses

Ballet

Blues

British Literature

Canadian Literature

Chansons de Bilitis

Chinese Literature

Dutch Masters

Fallen Woman Trope

Fanny Hill

Fantasy and Science Fiction

Films

Films, Cult

Films, Documentary

Films, Exploitation

French Cinema

French Literature

Geisha

Gunsmoke

Hip-Hop

Imperial Chinese Theater

Intolerance

Japanese Cinema

Kama Sutra

Klute

Kuttani-mata

Latin American Cinema

Latin American Literature

Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*

Lulu

Male Prostitutes, Victorian Literature

Medieval Literature

Melas

Memoirs

Midnight Cowboy

Moll Flanders

My Secret Life

Opera

Peking Opera

Penny Dreadfuls

Poetry

Pretty Woman

Rahab

Rock Music

Romantic Literature

Sadie Thompson

Sins of the Cities

To Beg I Am Ashamed

Ukiyo-e

Victorian Novels
Vie d'une Prostituée
The World of Suzie Wong

CONCEPTS

Eugenics
Feminism
Free Love
Globalization
Marriage
Migration and Mobility
Misogyny
Patriarchy
Race and Ethnicity
Reform
Religion
Scapegoating
Stigma

CRIME

Criminalization of Clients
Jack the Ripper
Murder
Rape
Serial Killers
Rape, Statutory
Trafficking
Violence
Wuornos, Aileen

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Abortion
Abstinence
Addiction
Condoms
Contraception
Crack
Harm Reduction
HIV Interventions for Long-Distance
Truckers in India
Incest
Microbicides
Nonoxynol-9
Occupational Safety and Health

Paraphilias
Pathology
Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)
Research Ethics
Sexually Transmitted Infections
Speculum
Syphilis
Tenofovir

INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Anatomical Museums
Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22
de Junio" de El ORO
COYOTE
Debby Doesn't Do It for Free
League of Nations
Magdalen Homes
National Vigilance Association (NVA)
Prison
Rode Draad
Salvation Army
Scarlet Alliance
Societies for the Reformation of Manners
Sonagachi Project
St. James Infirmary
Touching Base
Unions
World Health Organization

LEGAL ISSUES AND STATUTES

Abolition
Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918
Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866,
and 1869
Criminalization of Clients
Decriminalization
Diversion Programs
Entrapment
Human Rights
Legal Approaches
Licensed Prostitution, Nevada
Mann Act
Organized Crime
Penal Colonies

Profumo Affair
 Prohibition
 Rape, Statutory
 Street Offences Act of 1959
 Trafficking
 Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda
 United Nations Trafficking Protocol
 Victims of Trafficking and Violence
 Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA)
 Wolfenden Report
 World War I

PEOPLE

Acton, William
 Adler, Polly
 Ah Toy
 Aquinas, Thomas
 Augustine, Saint
 Barr, Candy
 Bellocq, Ernest J.
 Brady, "Diamond Jim"
 Brel, Jacques
 Butler, Josephine
 Cézanne, Paul
 Chen, Yuanyuan
 Colette
 Comstock, Anthony
 Degas, Edgar
 de Lorme, Marion
 Dickens, Charles
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor
 Drexelius, Claudia
 Duplessis, Marie
 Dworkin, Andrea
 Foat, Ginny
 Franco, Veronica
 García Márquez, Gabriel
 Goldman, Emma
 Gwyn, Nell
 Henry II
 Hollander, Xaviera
 Hoover, J. Edgar
 Jack the Ripper
 Jewett, Helen
 Kanhopatra
 Keeler, Christine
 Kimball, Nell
 La Païva
 Leigh, Carol, a.k.a. Scarlot Harlot
 Leite, Gabriela Silva
 Li, Shishi
 Liang, Hongyu
 Liu, Rushi
 Longo, Paulo
 Lovelace, Linda
 MacKinnon, Catharine
 Mandeville, Bernard
 Mary of Egypt
 Mary Magdalene
 Masoch, Leopold von Sacher
 Mata Hari
 Mayhew, Henry
 McDowall, John R.
 Miller, Henry
 Montez, Lola
 Munsinger, Gerda
Pallake
 Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste
 Pearl, Cora
 Pelagia
 Phryne
 Pinzer, Maimie
 Rechy, John
 Richard, Marthe
 Riehl, Regine
 Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of
 Sabatier, Appolonie
 Sade, Marquis de
 Sai, Jinhua
 Sanger, William Wallace
 Sappho of Lesbos
 Shakespeare, William
 Shore, Jane
 Sprinkle, Annie
 Steen, Jan
 St. James, Margo
 Strozzi, Barbara
 Thaïs
 Theodora, Empress of Byzantium

Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de
Utamaro
Vermeer, Johannes
Wilde, Oscar
Woodhull, Victoria
Wuornos, Aileen
Zola, Émile

PERSONNEL AND PHENOMENA

Abolitionism
Actresses
Alcohol and Drinking Establishments
Artists' Models
Auletris
Australian Mace Scandal
Blue Books
Brothel Tokens
Brothels
Call Girls
Camp Followers
Child Prostitution
Child Prostitution, Cultural and
 Religious
Clients
Clothing
Comfort Women
Courtesans
Dance Hall Girls
Desert Harlots
Desire
Devadasi
Directories
Escort Agencies
Female Boarding House
Feminism
Forced Prostitution
Gentlemen's Clubs
Gold-Diggers
Grandes Horizontales
Guidebooks
Hetaera
HIV Interventions for Long-Distance
 Truckers in India
Hog Ranch
Holland's Leaguer
Institutionalization

Internet
Kink
Klute
Laundresses
Madams
Male Prostitution
Male Prostitution in Victorian Literature
Male Stripping
Mustang Ranch
Paresis Hall
Peer Education
Pimpmobiles
Pimps
Porne
Purity Campaigns
Purity Movements
R&R
Resident Activism
Retrogressive Dynamic
Rites of Passage
Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World
Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary
Sadie Thompson
Sadomasochism
Seamstresses
Sex Work
Sex Worker—Only Communication Tools
Shoes
Sisters of the Good Shepherd
Slang
Soiled Doves
Street-Based Prostitution
Stripping
Temporary Marriage
Terminology
Tourism
Transactional Sex
Transgender Sex Workers
Venues and Labor Forms
Voyeurism
White Slavery
Window Prostitution

PLACES AND ERAS

American West, 19th Century
Amsterdam

Ancient Rome
 Ancient World
 Arab Gulf
 Arab Mediterranean
 Bangkok
 Central America
 Central and East Africa
 Central and Eastern Europe and Central
 Asia
 Chicago
 Colonialism and Prostitution in Africa
 "D" Street
 Five Points, New York City
 France, Second Empire
 Hapsburg Empire
 Havana
 Hong Kong
 Imperial Russia
 London
 Los Angeles
 Medieval Prostitution
 Mines
 Nazi Germany
 New Orleans
 New York City
 Ports
 Protestant Reformation
 Renaissance
 Shanghai
 South Asia

Southeast Asia
 Storyville
 Tan Bazar
 Tel Aviv
 Tenderloin Districts
 Toppelzones
 Tokyo
 Venice
 Weimar Republic
 West Africa
 Western Europe
 Westward Expansion
 Yoshiwara

RELIGION

Augustine, Saint
 Bible
 Desert Harlots
Devadasi
 Magdalen Homes
 Mary of Egypt
 Mary Magdalene
 Pelagia
 Protestant Reformation
 Religion
 Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World
 Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary
 Salvation Army
 Sisters of the Good Shepherd

PREFACE

Prostitution is a sensitive and controversial topic, encompassing both sex and money. The *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work* is the first major reference on these topics. Although extensive research has been undertaken, there has been no definitive collection of resources and information available in a convenient and useful form. This encyclopedia intended as both a primer of scholarly investigation into the sex industry and as a resource to learn more about its many facets. This encyclopedia encourages further exploration of prostitution and offers guidance on what has been documented and what is ripe for further exploration.

The term “sex work” encompasses prostitution plus other forms such as phone sex, pornography, stripping, and erotic dancing. However, the focus here is on prostitution. Related sex work entries, such as on geisha, stripping, and dance hall girls, are viewed through the lens of prostitution.

The reader will gain insight into why prostitution has persisted, through time and in most cultures, despite nearly ubiquitous censure. The structure of the sex industry in various locales and venues under various legislative and social approaches is illuminated as well. The book is directed at a general audience.

The *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work* includes 341 entries on important social, cultural, geographic, and medical topics related to prostitution. This information was collected over three years, with contributions by 179 experts in the field who were asked to write about their specific topics. Contributors came from many fields, including advocacy, history, literature, law, and the social sciences and represent a wide range of views on prostitution. Distinguished contributors include Laura Agustín, Priscilla Alexander, Stephanie Budin, Jo Doezema, Gail Phetersen, Helen Self, and Thomas Steinfatt.

Entry topics range over time from antiquity to the present and address all regions of the world, with an emphasis on the West and the past 250 years. Most entries include cross-references and suggested further readings for more study and research. More than 20 sidebars, the overwhelming majority of which are from primary sources, accompany the entries. The appendix of primary resources includes an additional 20 texts.

How to Use This Book

The *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work* is a reference work about prostitution past and present, worldwide and especially, in the United States. With 341 entries on health, cultural issues, migration, boom towns, legislation, technology, notable figures, literature, movies, and more, this two-volume encyclopedia is a foremost resource devoted to this high-interest yet sensitive topic. Most entries conclude with suggestions for further reading on the topic, including books, articles, Web sites, and films.

As prostitution is ubiquitous, the entry list is wide-ranging. Entries are extremely specific, such as the Australian Mace Scandal or any entry devoted to a single person; others describe abstract ideas such as “desire,” as they relate to commercial sex. Entries can discuss extreme acceptance or persecution of prostitution or new approaches to regulation or fads in sexual practices. Every attempt has been made to include such phenomena as *devadasi* and *les grandes horizontales*, as well as the emergence of syphilis in Europe, among other notable topics. Some historic eras or locales have been marked by phenomena related to prostitution, such as Ancient Rome or Hong Kong, and they are included. Whether to include entries about specific nations was hotly debated. Ultimately, it was judged that including only selected country entries would create an impression that there was a greater degree of prostitution in some places than others, without accounting for travel, migration, local custom, and attitudes toward overt and covert sexual activity in general and commercial or transactional sexual activity in specific. Therefore, regional entries (e.g., Southeast Asia or Western Europe) endeavor to offer an overview, while local entries (e.g., New York City or Bangkok) and historical entries (e.g., Habsburg Monarchy or Renaissance) offer greater depth in examining these topics.

Entries are organized alphabetically. An Alphabetical List of Entries as well as a Topical List of Entries will help readers to quickly find topics of interest. Items appearing in **boldface** print within an entry are also entries in and of themselves. Cross-references are also made at the end of the text of an entry with the standard “See also ...” listing. A comprehensive index provides further access.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the editorial staff at Greenwood Press, Wendi Schnauffer, Anne Thompson, and Mariah Gumpert, for their unflagging enthusiasm and attention to detail. Rachel Given-Wilson and Theresa Anasti, my research assistants, deserve accolades beyond what I can bestow here. Invaluable advisors to this project were Laura Agustín, Priscilla Alexander, Elizabeth Bernstein, Andrew Hunter, Kamala Kempadoo, Helen Self, and Nancy Wingfield. Additional thanks go to Priscilla Alexander for recommending me for this project. This work would never have been completed without the 179 contributors who wrote for this volume.

Enormous gratitude goes to Veronica Magar and Carol Jenkins, in whose homes much of this work was edited. Boundless moral and technical support came from Melynda Barnhart, Patricia Clough, Patricia Ditmore, Koren Gaines, Angus McIntyre, John Neilson, and Juhu Thukral. Julie Bates, Nel van Beelen, Peter Bloch, Elizabeth Cohen, Will Crutchfield, Judy Dunaway, Cheryl Overs, Andrew Porter, Tracy Quan, Rebecca Schleifer, Andrew Sorfleet, Juhu Thukral, Petra Timmerman, S-C Tsai, Matthew Weingarden, and Nancy Wingfield read draft entries and offered corrections, constructive criticism, and marvelous editing advice. There are many more people who deserve acknowledgment, too many to list here. Although they know who they are, I hope they recognize the depth of my gratitude for their unending input and support.

INTRODUCTION

Prostitutes have long been an object of disgust combined with envy. This encyclopedia adds to the enormous literature on prostitution, a literature built upon the combined human fascinations with sex and money. A frank discussion of either sex or money is rare; open investigation into what may be modern society's two most covert topics is generally out-of-bounds in polite society. This taboo reinforces itself with the lack of information it imposes on the topic of transactional and commercial sex. Despite the extensive research into commercial sex, there has been no single expansive yet compact resource on the topic. A great deal remains to be explored: I gained an enormous amount of knowledge about prostitution in the course of working on this project, but what became most clear to me during this effort is the vast amount that remains unknown, undocumented, and unspoken. This may be the first book of its kind addressing the sex industry, but it will not be the last.

Terminology

The terms "sex work" and "prostitution" are used nearly interchangeably throughout this encyclopedia. "Sex work" is a phrase created in the last 30 years to refer to sexual commerce of all kinds. Prostitution has varying definitions in different contexts. Some of these are based on the definition of prostitution in law, or what is illegal. Legal definitions change over time and place, leading to great confusion if one relies on one definition from the criminal code or one from the civil code, as they do not travel well. Despite the difficulty of terminology, prostitution as a sexual exchange for money or other valuables is the general definition of prostitution for this work. In that sense, the term "sex work" is appropriate in its inclusivity.

"Sex work" was conceived as a nonstigmatizing term, without the taint of the words "whore" and "prostitute." The point of the term was to convey the professionalism of the sex worker rather than her lack of worth as seen by much of society. However, many prostitutes do not identify themselves as sex workers and view the term with some contempt. One sex worker, Gary Rosen, wrote, "Derek got me into hustling. I called it sex work because I went to college and

lived in San Francisco, but he just called it hustling” (Sycamore 2000, 35). Others recognize its usefulness and vary it according to the impression they wish to create with other terms, including “prostitute,” “whore,” and “harlot.” In Australia and New Zealand, “sex work” has become the most accepted term. In the Philippines, it is “prostituted woman,” to convey the opinion that no woman would choose to engage in prostitution.

Although prostitution is the focus of these volumes, other jobs in the sex industry are also subject to the problems that prostitution faces, including prostitution charges and harassment. Strippers have been charged with prostitution, and social stigma manifests in surprising ways.

Defining prostitution is made difficult by varying legal definitions and murky presumptions. Although prostitution is at the nexus of sex and money, the general definition of compensated sexual activity may take in far too much: financial situations are haggled before many marriages, and every cultural or religious interpretation of marriage includes sexual activity. Legal definitions offer another pitfall, as they change greatly over time and space. For example, in some places, sadomasochistic play falls under the rubric of prostitution and in others it does not. The motive behind commercial sex for the sex worker is clearly not mere romance or physical gratification, yet physical enjoyment is not excluded for prostitutes. Nor is it required.

The Network of Sex Work Projects uses a definition of sex work recommended by and created with sex workers. This definition is used by many sex workers’ organizations:

Negotiation and performance of sexual services for remuneration

- ♦ with or without intervention by a third party (any managers, madams, pimps, business owners, and colleagues making referrals)
- ♦ where those services are advertised or generally recognized as available from a specific location
- ♦ where the price of services reflects the pressures of supply and demand.

In this definition, “negotiation” implies the rejection of specific clients or acts on an individual basis, which stipulates the right to decline a client or activity. Indiscriminate acceptance by the worker of all proposed transactions is not presumed—such acceptance would indicate the presence of coercion.

History

Prostitution has been euphemized as “the oldest profession.” Anthropologists show that in even the most primitive societies, there is usually one woman who lives outside the village who engages in transactional sex or overt prostitution. Prostitution is well documented in antiquity and is alleged to have financed the production of some of Egypt’s pyramids. The stratification of prostitution in Ancient Greece is widely reported. Courtesans have been linked to high culture as inspiration and producers and performers of opera, ballet, Chinese literature, and French literature. Japanese geisha and hetaerae in ancient Greece were cultural treasures for their extensive training in the arts of music and dance. History documents changes in attitudes toward prostitution, including the tolerant acceptance of prostitution during the Middle Ages and the condemnation of prostitution beginning in the 16th century with the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. Moral panics promote greater attention to prostitution and have been used to restrict female autonomy, as illustrated in Victorian London, with the mob response to both William Stead’s “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” and Jack the Ripper’s violence against

women. In both cases, women and girls were expected to stay close to home rather than society being expected to respond to violence against women.

Helen J. Self has pointed out how attempts to prevent and/or regulate prostitution have punished some women, usually working class and poor women, for behavior that would be entirely innocent when engaged in by others (2003, 2). Laura Agustín (“A Migrant World of Services,” 2003) describes how prostitute advocacy has been one way wealthy women professionalized social work and made a career out of the reform of “wayward” women. This phenomenon generally took the form of upper-class and middle-class women attempting to change the way poor people lived.

Prostitution continues to fascinate and exists in all societies, even in enforced closed situations such as prison. Covert and overt prostitution is easily found in contemporary urban locations, and all cautions against commercial sex only serve to increase the fascination. Prostitution takes myriad forms and occurs in an enormous variety of venues. Some manifestations of the sex industry are permutations designed not to contravene local laws. Consider, for example, the wide variety of sexual activity for hire legally in Japan, where prostitution is rigidly interpreted as sexual intercourse for money. *Enjo kosai*, or assisted, compensated dating, can lead to sexual activity, but as it is not an overt arrangement, it is not usually considered prostitution by law enforcement. Another Japanese example is “soapland,” where a woman bathes a man by lathering herself up in order to lather him up with her soapy body. Sexual intercourse is not generally a feature of “soapland,” yet there is no mistake that this is a sexual service.

Other cultural permutations may look like prostitution to some but not to others. It is customary in some parts of Africa for a visitor, and especially a lover, to bring a gift to the host or hostess. In places where soap is prohibitively expensive, soap is a desired and welcome gift. This has led to stories of women selling sex in exchange for soap, which taken out of context, is unfathomable to Westerners. Such gift giving may appear to be “hiding in plain sight.” The most overt forms of prostitution may be on the street or indoors, particularly in the windows seen in parts of Western Europe, such as Amsterdam. Women, usually scantily dressed, stand in the window of a ground-floor or second-story room. The room is small and has a bed and a washroom. When a customer arrives, the woman closes the curtains. New Zealand has decriminalized prostitution, and no form of consensual commercial sex is restricted. This means that street prostitution is unhindered as is prostitution in more discreet venues. Prostitution is prohibited throughout the United States, with the exception of some rural counties in Nevada. Regulations in Nevada favor large businesses over independent, one-woman brothels. The Mustang Ranch closed in 1999, but in its heyday it housed 300 registered prostitutes. Licensed prostitution in Nevada is the only legal prostitution in the United States, but the restrictive conditions can be difficult. This is one reason that most of Nevada’s prostitutes operate against the law in the major cities of Las Vegas and Reno. Sex workers in Argentina have organized a union to which they pay dues, called AMMAR. AMMAR has suffered for its strong stance against corruption and violence: Sandra Cabrera, its most outspoken member against police brutality and corruption, was murdered on January 28, 2004.

Sex Work as Labor

Why do women, men, and transgenders sell sex? Sex sells. The prevailing presumption that women who sell sex have no other option does not bear scrutiny. Kingsley Davis (1937) has clearly described that, although economic want is a motivating factor for sex workers, it is not the

sole factor. Not all poor and destitute women sell sex. Whereas the need for money is a strong push, it is not the only push into prostitution. Indeed, most needy people do not engage in sexual commerce. Poverty is not the only root but economics is a strong root: most people I have interviewed say that money is the reason they remain in the sex industry. However, they also stay for the autonomy and flexibility it offers, and some people do prefer it to other work for more than merely economic or purely practical reasons. Many prostitutes supplement an income of a more mainstream source with part-time prostitution. Income from prostitution may provide money for a more comfortable existence than a person might otherwise be able to enjoy. Others turn to prostitution to support expensive habits, whether they are luxury items or drugs. In some cases, as in many other professions, prostitutes take up the occupations of their parents. However, economic constraints certainly contribute to prostitution, and money remains the most common reason given when asked why people sell sex (Thukral, Ditmore, and Murphy 2005).

As money is the most motivating factor, but not enough to encourage all poor women to become prostitutes, it is important to examine working conditions and available opportunities. Consider that when the two “occupations” of respectable women were domestic work and marriage, most women in prisons and Magdalen Homes for prostitution had been domestic servants. Domestic service offered harsh labor with low wages and was frequently accompanied by sexual harassment, seduction, and rape. To date, domestic servitude is a staple of contemporary cases of trafficking in persons. Drudgery could well motivate a person to accept faster money for what may not actually be more distasteful service. Considering the conditions of available options, it becomes easier to grasp why some women would engage in sexual transactions on a professional and overt level or an amateur and unspoken level, as with “charity girls.”

Prostitution, for sex workers, is an occupation that sex workers’ rights activists wish to see recognized as labor. However, the carnal nature of prostitution and the emotional response to the idea of prostitution set it apart from other work. For example, similarly physically intimate occupations, such as dentistry and medicine and even made-to-measure tailoring, or perhaps the removal of body hair, are not about physical pleasure delivered bodily. Other work to satisfy bodily appetites, such as food preparation, is not as physically close as sex work. Professions similarly ostracized as sex work deal with the dead or the disgusting, such as undertakers, sanitation workers, tanners, and slaughterhouse workers. Certain sexual activities, including sexual commerce, may disgust some, but many have deemed prostitution preferable to these and other professions.

When a prostitute is asked whether he or she enjoys their work, they may respond with the old adage, “there are two wrong answers: yes and no.” Sexuality is more complex, and it is a misconception that prostitutes hate their clients. In fact, prostitutes need their clients. Clients may be difficult, and there are always things that people would prefer not to deal with, but this can be said of most other work and is even true of personal interactions with lovers and romantic (as opposed to commercial) partners. Perhaps better questions to ask would be what, if any, other paid or unpaid work does the individual prostitute in question do; what would improve the conditions of sexual commerce; would he or she wish to change occupations; and if so, to what?

Prostitutes have been pathologized in many ways, for assumed events before they began sexual exchanges, for entering the sex industry, for the interpreted effects of the sex industry, and for men’s desires. Perhaps the most common question of this sort is whether prostitutes are more or less sensual or sexual than others. Some sex workers may be, and many may not. Prostitution and commercial sex are more widespread than either nymphomania or frigidity,

and assumptions that prostitutes are sexually deviant in these ways are not useful. Rather than seeking a pathology behind a person's involvement in commercial sex, it may be better to view the question as one of opportunity.

Repercussions and Ramifications

Social opprobrium has enormous consequence for prostitutes, suspected sex workers, and their families and loved ones. Women suspected of loose morals have been detained and physically examined, even subjected to "instrumental rape." They have been institutionalized in Magdalen Homes and asylums, or lock hospitals, reform schools, and prisons. The widespread lack of occupational safety measures and even the recognition of sexual labor encourages workplace abuses to continue rather than change. Sex workers who register with authorities in places where prostitution is regulated may lose the right to privacy regarding their medical records and history. The ramifications of social stigma faced by sex workers are in some ways codified by local laws and social strictures. Entries addressing legal approaches such as regulation and prohibition highlight the ways this is effected.

The worst abuses in any workplace approach conditions of slavery; the sex industry is no exception and trafficking into the sex industry is rightly the subject of outrage, leading to moral panics, public outcry, and legislation. All have mixed results of raising awareness, often without promoting accurate information, but not always with the desired outcome of effectively combating such abuses. In the worst-case scenarios, the remedies enacted exacerbate trafficking by forcing migrants under further scrutiny and restriction.

Further repercussions include ostracization. Why are prostitutes seen as adjacent to society rather than part of it? Prostitutes are generally only deviant in overtly exchanging sex for valuables and not in their living conditions or aspirations. The stigmatization of sex work affects many more people than just sex workers. In India, numerous programs for sex workers take great pains to enroll the children of sex workers in school because they face greater difficulty finding spouses when their parents are associated with the red light areas. Romantic and paying partners of sex workers are discredited because of their relationships with prostitutes. Perhaps the most vilified and invisible man in American society is the "john," or paying client, of a sex professional. Society shuns known prostitutes and is often vindictive. Laws against prostitution lead not only to punishment of prostitutes with fines and imprisonment, but also with the near total lack of legal recourse when crimes are committed against prostitutes, no matter how violent. Even murders of prostitutes have gone uninvestigated for years, with dire consequences as numbers rise. Consider the case of various serial killers who preyed upon prostitutes with impunity as they seemed to anticipate that no one would investigate these crimes, sometimes even labeled "no human involved" (Fairstein 1993). Still more devastating is the realization that had police taken seriously information offered by the spouses of two women killed by the Green River Killer, Gary Ridgway, in the United States, these two women might have lived. Further, the women later murdered by Ridgway, who confessed to killing 48 women, many of them teenagers, may also have lived. This was not and need not be the case. There are instances on record from 19th-century New York of prostitutes seeking financial reimbursement in the case of damage to property (Cohen, P.C. 1998). Legal remonstrations against prostitutes themselves are used almost exclusively against women and transgender women. Far fewer male prostitutes face difficulties from law enforcement than women. Fewer still face the moral instruction and impositions of reformers.

Reformers can be more vindictive than police and the law. What is it that makes some religious and female reformers so need to instruct other women that if these women disobey, they are often deemed fair game for exposure, punishment, and imprisonment? In addition, their advocates may be accused of being pro-prostitution, a term seemingly akin to pro-abortion (Coalition against Trafficking in Women 1998). Why is it that female prostitutes face greater censure than male prostitutes? It is not, in this day and age, that gay male sexual activity is beyond the pale of polite acknowledgment. Reformers, however, appear to feel far more comfortable instructing women rather than men about sexual conduct.

Reformers and social workers can be great allies against violence but also difficult for sex workers who are viewed as unfit parents solely because of their occupation. Despite this, “whore stigma” (Pheterson 1996) extends from prostitutes and other sex workers even to social workers and other advocates for the human rights of sex workers. Advocates for the human rights of sex workers, including the Nobel Peace Prize recipient Doctors Without Borders, have been misconstrued as “pro-prostitution,” a term uncannily like “pro-abortion.”

The Persistence of Prostitution

Considering all the social repercussions faced by sex professionals, why would anyone sell sex? Because men, and it is predominantly men, buy sex. In short, sex sells. The libido is a fundamental human drive. The contemporary abolitionist feminist who describes “demand” has this aspect of sexual commerce spot on. Yet, even as prostitution is denounced and then hidden, it is allowed to continue. Prostitution has not disappeared in even the most promiscuous and adulterous societies, although the ranks of the professional may decrease as the number of sexual opportunities with amateurs increases. This has not eclipsed commercial sex entirely, as such opportunities are not usually to be had by all, and the wealth of a much older or otherwise unattractive man may induce someone who would prefer to keep company with a young man to indulge him.

One of the strongest forces that keeps women in particular in the sex industry is that once they are known to have been in the sex industry, it is nearly impossible to transition into another line of work. This can be institutionalized, as in the case of registered prostitutes in Switzerland, who must remain unregistered for three years before taking up another type of work. In addition, an arrest record prevents other opportunities from arising.

Sex workers primarily cite remuneration when asked why they exchange sex for money. Sex workers can choose from a variety of workplace venues, from the highly structured and supervised to the cavalier. Some take advantage of the lack of regulation of sex work and the disregard for the well-being of prostitutes to exploit them mercilessly, in poor conditions, sometimes akin to slavery. The worst cases of abuse meet the definition of trafficking in persons. Sexual commerce is easy to enter, with few prerequisite skills. This is not to say that sex workers require no skills; indeed, prostitutes might have sexual skills, the ability to make others feel at ease, and general social skills. The most important may not be sexual at all but rather the ability to entertain, converse, and interact comfortably with a broad cross-section of primarily male society. Entrepreneurial sex workers can build a business with a smaller initial outlay than many other endeavors require. Prostitution can generate cash quickly and so tempt people in immediate, and often temporary, financial need.

Prostitutes meet a wider range of people from a broader variety of social and economic backgrounds than they might in other fields. The same is true for clients, for whom one attraction

of prostitution is sexual access and activity, often with partners whom they would not otherwise meet, or for activities that may be frowned on at home. Sexual opportunity is the clear motivation for a person seeking out sex workers. The attraction of prostitution is clear for the geriatric, infirm, or awkward, who might not otherwise find themselves able to interact with potential sexual partners whom they deem desirable. “Deviant” activities differ in each society but have encouraged some specialization in kinks in the sex industry. Sadomasochism, fetishes, oral and anal sex, among other activities, are considered distasteful to some, although some of these activities have recently found wider acceptance and even normalization in some places.

Schopenhauer called prostitutes “human sacrifices on the altar of monogamy” in his famous essay “On Women.” Thomas Aquinas and A.J.B. Parent-Duchâtelet ascribed social benefits to prostitution as a containment of promiscuity. Parent-Duchâtelet likened prostitution to a sewer—necessary but best unseen. Others have alleged that prostitution alleviates sexual crime, such as rape and child sexual abuse, although this is generally not accepted as valid. Descriptions of prostitution as an aid to marriage in that philandering men will not leave their wives for prostitutes as they might for romantic and uncompensated amours does not account for the sex drives of wives or for the fact that many men do not seek out sex workers. Availability of commercial sex is less likely to secure marital stability than the consequence of social mores, and economic security of women is likely to enable divorce. Men’s libido is deemed normal and acceptable, while women’s is not generally accepted to the same degree, even in the most modern societies. Female chastity is enforced, while male chastity is in some places considered suspect. Considering these constraints and social mores, it follows that a covert outlet for male desire in the form of prostitution is institutionalized, if also derided. Gay and lesbian relationships are as a rule based on monogamy as much as heterosexual marriages. However, there is no gender-based sexual double standard by which same-sex couples restrain each other.

Further Issues

Other issues surrounding prostitution abound, for example, child and adolescent prostitution; the range of genders of prostitutes, including men and transgender sex workers; migration and mobility and trafficking in persons, and more. Below is a short description of these most notable issues and the entries in this encyclopedia that pertain to them.

Infection and Blame

Prostitutes have been blamed for the spread of venereal infection, and with the emergence of new sexually transmitted infections, they have at times borne the brunt of epidemics. However, as the understanding of transmission of any emergent disease grows, sex workers are often the first to adopt precautionary measures. Witness the use of condoms by professional sex workers in places where this knowledge has been well shared and affordable condoms made available. Where the HIV epidemic is at its worst, marriage, not promiscuity, has become the clearest indicator of a woman’s risk of infection. Where sexual infection is a risk, the popularity of virgins, who have had no obvious risk of sexual transmission, increases. Increased demand increases price, and as virginity can easily be faked, many prostitutes are willing to pretend in order to earn more.

The entries Chamberlain-Kahn Bill, condoms, HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes’ Rights Movement, sexually transmitted infections, syphilis, scapegoating, R&R, and World War I discuss some of the impact that concern about infection has had on prostitutes.

Mobility and Trafficking

Periodic panics about “white slavery” arise, generally leading to greater interest in prostitution. The conflation of prostitution with trafficking remains a popular and erroneous trope. Trafficking occurs in every industry, but the salaciousness of sex has proven irresistible to the popular imagination. At best, this concern leads to reforms that increase safety and address the working conditions of prostitutes. At worst, this cyclical panic devolves into hysteria, which is then used for political aims, such as xenophobic policies around the movement of people and/or greater scrutiny by law enforcement and other authorities of women in general. Varying degrees of each of these possibilities are described in the following entries: abolition, abolitionism, Josephine Butler, League of Nations, migration and mobility, 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons (in the Appendix), Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, United Nations Trafficking Protocol, white slavery, and William Stead and “The Maiden Tribune of Modern Babylon.”

Gender Diversity in Sex Work

Most people’s image of a prostitute or any kind of sex worker is a woman or perhaps an adolescent girl. Sex workers include men and transgenders as well. Some entries, such as male prostitution, male stripping, and transgender sex workers are gender-specific, while many of the details in more general entries such as desire and stigma have equal import for all genders.

Children and Youth

Child prostitution is a worldwide problem. However, the elision of child and youth is problematic with regard to sexuality of any sort. When does childhood end and young adulthood begin? There is little recognition that, although adolescence has a younger onset because of better nutrition, the age of consent and the average age of marriage have dramatically increased. It is to be expected that adolescents will experiment with sex, although transactional sex is a different issue. Most would argue that youth should never be taken advantage of through commercial sex. The definition of *child* as a person under 18 may be legally accurate but lacks consideration of the differences between small children and adolescents and can equate 16-year-olds with infants. Yet sexual exploration before the age of 18 is typical, and generally, legally accepted. In many places, marriage is common before the age of 18. In the West, most advocates for youth who encounter minors involved in transactional sex or overt prostitution work almost exclusively with adolescents. They describe the inadequacy of law enforcement approaches to enable minors to transcend their circumstances. Problems of a different nature are explored in the entry on child prostitution: cultural and religious. These issues are explored in entries addressing minors, under the clear headings child prostitution; child prostitution: cultural and religious; trafficking: politics and propaganda; and the less obvious Contagious Diseases Acts, *Devadasi*, William Stead, Oscar Wilde, and white slavery, among others.

TIMELINE

- ca. 630 B.C.E. Sappho of Lesbos born.
- 18 or 17 B.C.E. Rome passes laws against adultery with “respectable” women.
- 18 B.C.E. and 9 C.E. Rome passes laws prohibiting marriage between prostitutes and freeborn Romans.
- 19 Roman senators forbidden to practice prostitution.
- 40 Emperor Caligula introduces taxation of prostitution in Rome.
- 498 Taxation of Roman **brothels** ends.
- 529 *Codex Justinianus* allows the marriage of actresses in Rome, enabling Emperor Justinian to marry **Theodora**.
- 618–907 Tang Dynasty in China begins long association of **courtesans** with Chinese literati.
- 907–1279 Song Dynasty in China further cements association of courtesans and literati with *cí* poetry.
- 1161 King **Henry II** establishes regulation of prostitution in England, introducing the first regulated red light district in Western Europe.
- 1193 Japan introduces regulated brothels by Imperial Edict.
- 1227 Pope Gregory IX officially sanctions conversion movements, leading to the introduction of **Magdalen Homes**.
- 1265–1273 **Thomas Aquinas** works on the unfinished *Summae Theologiae*, which rationalizes prostitution as protection for other women’s chastity.
- 1416 **Venice** (Italy) requires that prostitutes wear yellow scarves.
- 1523 Augsburg (Germany) closes official brothels.
- 1534 Basel (Switzerland) closes official brothels.
- 1536 Nordlingen (Germany) closes official brothels.
- 1537 Ulm (Germany) closes official brothels.

- 1539 Venice health department gains jurisdiction over prostitutes, leading to expulsion of many and restrictions imposed on remaining prostitutes.
- 1540 Southwark (**London**) expels prostitutes.
- 1553 Regensburg (Germany) closes official brothels.
- 1566–1572 Pope Pius VI banishes prostitutes from Rome.
- 1578 **Amsterdam's** licensed brothels are closed down in rebellion against ruling Spain.
- 1583 Philip Stubbes publishes *The Anatomie of Abuses*, an influential treatise attacking vice in Elizabethan England.
- 1607 Britain begins expelling prostitutes to penal colonies, such as **Australia and New Zealand**.
- 1617 The Japanese Shogun licenses operation of brothels in **Yoshiwara**, Edo's red light district.
- 1623 King Philip IV of Spain officially bans brothels throughout his domains.
- 1641 **Sisters of the Good Shepherd** founded in France.
- 1642 London playhouses closed by heavily Puritan Parliament.
- 1643 **Chen Yuanyuan**, concubine of General Wu, is taken captive in Shanghai after which Wu founded the Qing dynasty as he pursued the captive Chen.
- 1668 Actress **Nell Gwyn** becomes the mistress of King Charles II of England.
- 1670 Street lighting is installed in **Amsterdam**.
- 1722 *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, by Daniel Defoe, is published.
- 1729 **Bernard Mandeville** publishes *The Fable of the Bees, or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*.
- 1772 **Marquis de Sade** is sentenced to death in France after being convicted of sodomy and of poisoning two prostitutes.
- 1795 End of the Dutch Republic and beginning of legal reform of prostitution.
- 1834 Decree bans prostitutes and public dancers from Cairo, Egypt.
- 1836 **Helen Jewett**, a prostitute, is murdered in **New York City**. **Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet's** "*De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris considérée sous le rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration*" ("On prostitution in the city of Paris from the point of view of public hygiene, morality and administration") is published.
- 1840 China opens borders to emigration.
- 1847 **Hong Kong** closes brothels. Author **Charles Dickens** and philanthropist Angela Burdett Coutts open Urania Cottage Home for Homeless Women.
- 1851 Committee of Vigilance is formed in San Francisco.
- 1852 Giuseppe Verdi's **opera** *La Traviata* about a courtesan debuts at Teatro la Fenice, Venice, Italy.

- 1857 Hong Kong re-introduces regulation of brothels. After original Mormon settlers leave San Bernardino, California, a period of lawlessness begins that coincides with a thriving red light district around **D Street**.
- 1858 **William Sanger** publishes *The History of Prostitution*.
- 1861 Emancipation of Russian serfs promotes urbanization.
- 1861–62 **Henry Mayhew's** *London Labour and the London Poor* is published.
- 1863 Edward Manet paints *Olympia*, depicting a reclining prostitute.
- 1864 First **Contagious Diseases Act** is passed in the United Kingdom; others follow in 1866 and 1869.
- 1865 **Salvation Army** is founded as the Christian Mission in the United Kingdom.
- 1868 First attempt is made to regulate prostitution in Shanghai.
- 1869 **Josephine Butler** founds Ladies National Association to fight the Contagious Diseases Acts in the United Kingdom.
- 1871 and 1874 **Chicago** institutes regulations of prostitution.
- 1873 Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use, called the Comstock Act, is passed in the United States.
- 1880 **Émile Zola's** novel *Nana*, about a prostitute, is published in France.
- 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act is passed in the United Kingdom. William Coote founds **National Vigilance Association** in the United Kingdom to abolish trafficking and regulated prostitution worldwide. **William Stead** incites a **white slavery** panic with the publication of "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon."
- 1886 Contagious Diseases Acts are repealed in the United Kingdom.
- 1888 **Serial killer Jack the Ripper** terrorizes London.
- 1889 Central Station is built in Amsterdam making the city accessible to sailors and travelers.
- 1890 **Australian Mace Scandal**.
- 1893 William Stead publishes *If Christ Came to Chicago*.
- 1897 Brothels in Amsterdam are forcibly closed. **New Orleans'** red light district **Storyville** opens.
- 1899 Imperial British East Africa Company is established in Nairobi, Kenya, and street prostitution proliferates.
- 1900 **Habsburg Monarchy** begins system of regulation of prostitutes.
- 1903 Prostitutes clearly included in list of people excluded from the United States.
- 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic is signed by 12 European nations. The United States agrees to abide by it but does not sign.
- 1904 French author **Colette** incites a riot by baring her breast and simulating copulation onstage at the Moulin Rouge.
- 1906 **Regine Riehl** trial opens in Vienna.
- 1910 **Mann Act** passes in the United States.

- Second International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic is signed.
- 1911 Chicago Vice Commission issues *The Social Evil in Chicago*.
- 1912 Morality laws prohibiting prostitution are enacted in the Netherlands.
- 1916 D. W. Griffith's film *Intolerance* is released in Hollywood.
- 1917 New Orleans' Storyville red light district is shut down.
Anarchist **Emma Goldman** publishes "The Traffic in Women."
- 1918 **Chamberlain-Kahn Bill** codifies internment for women suspected of prostitution near military bases in the United States.
- 1919 18th Amendment prohibits **alcohol** in the United States.
- 1920 Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues," generally credited to be the first **blues** record, is released by the New York office of Okeh Records.
- 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children is signed.
- 1926 *The Miraculous Mandarin* **ballet** debuts in Cologne, Germany.
- 1927 Germany's Law for Combating Venereal Diseases outlaws state-regulated brothels and decriminalizes prostitution in general.
- 1928 Chinese Nationalist Government bans prostitution in the areas it controls.
- 1929 Child **marriage** is outlawed in India.
- 1931 Social worker and Hull-House cofounder **Jane Addams** receives the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1933 Prostitutes are targeted in **Nazi Germany** for imprisonment.
International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age is signed.
- 1939 Nazi decree orders the establishment of brothels for the military.
- 1946 France closes brothels.
- 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others is signed.
"Gunsmoke" debuts on American radio.
- 1952 **Wolfenden Report** is published in the United Kingdom.
- 1958 **Venice** closes formerly tolerated brothels.
- 1959 Street Offences Act is passed in the United Kingdom.
Fidel Castro takes control of Cuba and his regime interns prostitutes.
- 1961 **Profumo Affair** erupts in the United Kingdom.
- 1964 **Jacques Brel** releases the song "Au Suivant."
- 1967 U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara arranges military **R&R** in **Bangkok**.
- 1971 Nevada introduces **licensed prostitution**.
- 1973 *Roe v. Wade* case makes **abortion** legal in the United States as part of the right to privacy.
COYOTE is founded in San Francisco.
- 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is signed.
- 1982 **Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22 de Junio" de El ORO** is founded.

- 1984 The *Rode Draad*, a prostitutes' organization, is founded in Amsterdam.
- 1985 First World Whores' Congress is held in Amsterdam.
- 1986 Second World Whores' Congress is held in Brussels.
- 1987 *Sex Work*, edited by Frédérique Delacost and Priscilla Alexander, is published.
- 1989 **Scarlet Alliance** is founded in Australia.
- 1991 Network of Sex Work Projects is founded by **Paulo Longo** and Cheryl Overs.
- 1992 **Sonagachi Project** is founded in Kolkata, India.
- 1995 First "John School" is founded in San Francisco.
- 1998 Sweden criminalizes purchase but not selling of sexual services.
- 1999 Law reform in Amsterdam declares prostitution a normal occupation.
St. James Infirmary is founded in San Francisco.
 Jesmin of **Tan-Bazar** is murdered in Bangladesh.
- 2000 **Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000** passes in the United States.
United Nations Trafficking Protocol is signed.
A Guide to Best Practice: Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry is published.
- 2001 International Union of Sex Workers (IUSW) is founded in London.
 The Sonagachi Project hosts the Millennium **Mela**.
- 2002 Sex work performance troupe **Debby Doesn't Do It for Free** is founded in Australia.
 International Union of Sex Workers joins the GMB, British General Union.
- 2003 U.S. Leadership against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act is passed.
 Sex work of all kinds is decriminalized in New Zealand.
- 2004 **Tenofovir** PREP trial in Cambodia is cancelled.
 Sandra Cabrera, denouncer of police corruption and secretary general of sex workers' rights group AMMAR, is killed execution-style in Argentina.
 Thousands protests the closing of brothels in Korea. After the protests, 15 Korean sex workers begin a hunger strike in November.
- 2005 Hunger strike by Korean sex workers protesting the closure of brothels ends in January.
- 2006 First wrongful dismissal case won by the GMB, British General Union, for the sex workers branch on behalf of a chat line operator.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
PROSTITUTION AND SEX WORK

A

ABOLITION. The term “abolition” was first applied, in its literal sense, in England and the United States to the antislavery movement during the 18th and 19th centuries. As a child, the famous British campaigner, **Josephine Butler**, learned from her father of the “hideous wrongs” inflicted on Negro slaves and was particularly moved by accounts of the sexual slavery endured by women. As an adult, she launched the Campaign for the Repeal of the **Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869** (CDAs). The images of slavery continued to haunt her. In 1869, she founded the Ladies National Association (LNA) to fight the CDAs, followed in 1875 by the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, later to be known as the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF, formally constituted during a conference in Liverpool in 1875 and still in existence). Like the LNA, this organization fought for the abolition of state-regulated prostitution, not for the unrealistic goal of the abolition of prostitution per se. The Repeal Campaign, which lasted for 17 years, finally succeeded and the protective legislation that followed in the Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLA) of 1885 became known as “abolitionist” legislation. The CDAs were not repealed until 1886.

Britain ruled an empire, and abolitionist legislation spread around one-third of the world. However, it was resisted by the military authorities in India and Malta, which preferred to retain the old regulatory system common across Europe.

The work of **William Coote** and the **National Vigilance Association**, formed after the CLA Act of 1885, set in motion a global movement to abolish state-regulated prostitution and **trafficking** (also called the white slave trade or **white slavery**). This encompassed much of Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, and many other places. After the first two international conventions, the issue was adopted by the **League of Nations** in 1919 and finally by the United Nations.

In 1915, the British branch of the IAF amalgamated with the LNA to form the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH)—fighting for justice and equality for prostitutes within

Abolition

THE *VIGILANCE RECORD* FEBRUARY–JULY 1899

International Congress on the White Slave Traffic
From a speech by Lady Battersea

“We have to create in many a moral sense where it is extinct or has never existed; we have to make others understand that what they call a merry, if a short life, is, in many cases, a living death, and always the death of what is sweetest and most precious in womanhood. We have to learn how to attack, alarm and punish those whose days are spent in leading the innocent, the foolish or unthinking to their ruin; and it is for the latter purpose that an International Congress may be so useful.”

HOUSE OF COMMONS (UNITED KINGDOM),
PROTECTION OF PROSTITUTES BILL, 6 MARCH 1979,
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE, 5TH SERIES, COL. 1097

The Rev. Ian Paisley

“The person who has been caught up in prostitution through exploitation, victimisation, or by her own choice, has lost the greatest thing in life—the purpose for which she came into the world. She had lost her goal. All of us here today remember our mothers, and thank God for them. We all remember the sanctity of the family and the joy and peace that flows from family life.”

the legal system of Britain. In 1962, this quaint and outdated title was changed to the Josephine Butler Society (JBS).

The original organ of the IAF was the much-quoted *Shield*. It continued as the journal of the AMSH/JBS until 1970, when the title was changed to *News and Views*.

Confusion over the term “abolition” has been created by the re-emergence of an “anti-trafficking” movement during the latter part of the 20th century and into the 21st century. Many of the organizations involved, such as Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW), have adopted the term “abolition” in its literal sense, claiming that society and politicians should strive to abolish prostitution and trafficking in the name of human rights.

However, there is a darker side to this story, because anti-trafficking campaigns, both historical and contemporary, have been used as a means for regulating female migration and preventing women from traveling. In more recent times, the United States has supported the work of the new abolitionist movement and put political pressure on poor countries by withdrawing aid if they fail to adopt proscribed anti-trafficking policies.

See also Appendix documents 17, 19, and 20; Legal Approaches; Mann Act; Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda; United Nations Trafficking Protocol; Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA); White Slavery.

Further Reading: Ditmore, Melissa. “Trafficking in Lives: How Ideology Shapes Policy.” In *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo, Bandana Pattanaik, and Jyothi Sanghera. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press, 2005; Donovan, Pamela. *No Way of Knowing: Crime, Urban Legends, and the Internet*. New York: Routledge, 2003; Jordan, Jane. *Josephine Butler*. London: John Murray, 2001; Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Melissa Hope Ditmore and Helen J. Self

ABOLITIONISM. Abolitionism is a term that refers to a particular ideological and legal approach to prostitution. The approach has its roots in 19th-century **feminism** and is still a potent force in contemporary politics around prostitution. “Abolitionism” was a term borrowed from the campaigns against the slave trade. However, “abolitionism,” when used in relation to prostitution, did not refer to the **abolition** of prostitution, but rather to certain laws enacted in England and Wales in the 1860s. These laws were known as the **Contagious Diseases Acts**.

Under these acts, any woman who was suspected of prostitution could be detained by the police and forced to undergo an internal examination. The Contagious Diseases Acts were an example of the approach to prostitution known as “regulationism,” a medically inspired system that was intended to control the spread of venereal disease, particularly **syphilis**, by registering and medically examining prostitutes. Harnessing rational scientific arguments to moral disapproval, “regulationists” argued that state regulation was the only way to control venereal disease. “Innocent” women and girls needed protection from immorality; however, once fallen, it was society that needed protecting from the immoral woman. The best way to protect society, argued regulationists, was to register and medically control prostitutes. France was the European pioneer of regulationist systems.

Thus abolitionism arose as a movement against the state regulation of prostitution. The leader of the abolitionist movement was **Josephine Butler**, a passionate public speaker and prolific writer. Butler and other abolitionists argued that men were responsible for prostitution, placing the blame for prostitution squarely on the shoulders of unbridled male lust. No women could be said to truly consent to prostitution. The feminist abolitionist campaigners were able to construct a broad coalition of social groups, including working men’s organizations and religious organizations. They were also joined by the burgeoning “social **purity**” movement, whose notions of sexual chastity were more repressive and wider than the original Butlerite agenda.

When the Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed in 1886, Butler and her followers turned their attention to the fight against “white slavery.” In the abolitionist vision, prostitution and white slavery would come to an end if laws targeted those who made money from prostitutes, rather than the prostitute herself. Eventually, the abolitionist campaign was eclipsed by the campaign for social purity, as the emotive issue of white slavery succeeded in whipping up public concern to a fever pitch.

In other European countries and the United States as well, feminists initiated or became involved in the drive to abolish prostitution and white slavery. As in England, these campaigns were increasingly dominated by repressive moralists, as alliances were forged with religious and social purity organizations. The purity reformers’ relationship with the prostitute herself was ambiguous: although professing sympathy for the lost innocents sacrificed by white slavers, they severely judged girls and women whose immodest behavior led them into a life of shame. Most purity reformers espoused an approach to prostitution that has been termed “prohibitionist.” Particularly in the United States, purity reformers had much success with getting prohibitionist systems in place. Prohibitionist systems of regulating prostitution make the act of prostitution itself illegal, and thus prostitutes themselves are subject to arrest.

All these approaches to prostitution: regulation, abolition, and **prohibition**, are in place in various legal systems today. Most existing systems contain elements of all three approaches. Those legal systems that follow most closely an abolitionist approach aim to end prostitution through penalizing those who are perceived to profit from it, such as brothel owners or those who offer advertising space to prostitution businesses. In recent years, this list has grown to include sex workers’ clients in countries such as Sweden. Although prostitution itself is not a crime under abolitionist systems, in practice it is sex workers who are often targeted by abolitionist laws. For example, abolitionist laws prevent prostitutes working together (lest one be arrested for pimping), block prostitutes’ attempts at union-forming (considered as unlawful “promotion of prostitution”), and bar them from legal redress in cases of violations of their labor, civil, and **human rights**.

Abolitionism is still a powerful philosophy among contemporary feminists, both in the West and in the developing world. The strongest advocate for abolitionism internationally is the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW). Like their foremothers, contemporary “neo-abolitionist” feminists deny that prostitution can be considered a true choice or legitimate enactment of the will. Because all prostitution is inherently **violence** against women, they argue, no true consent is possible. Therefore, for neo-abolitionist feminists, all prostitutes are victims. **Male prostitution** and **transgender sex workers** do not figure high on the neo-abolitionist feminist agenda, as they do not fit into the neo-abolitionist analysis of prostitution as a system of male sexual violence perpetrated against women.

The contemporary sex workers’ rights movement has faced intense opposition from neo-abolitionist feminists. In particular, neo-abolitionist feminists oppose the idea, promoted by sex workers’ rights advocates, of prostitution and other forms of sex work as labor. Neo-abolitionist feminists reject the term “sex work,” preferring the term “prostituted women.” Sex workers’ rights groups demand recognition of their human and civil rights, including through application of labor laws to their workplaces. Neo-abolitionist feminists argue for the criminalization of third parties, such as brothel owners and clients. They do not support the criminalization of sex workers themselves, but advocate for their rescue and rehabilitation. Confusingly, both of these positions are variously referred to as “**decriminalization**.”

Like their 19th-century foremothers, contemporary abolitionist feminists have an ambiguous relationship to prostitutes and other sex workers themselves. On the one hand, “prostituted women” who agree with the feminist abolitionist analysis of their situation are accepted and supported. For example, the group WHISPER (Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt), composed of former prostitutes who campaign for the eradication of prostitution, has a good working relationship with CATW. On the other, there are the vocal and often politically active sex workers around the world who campaign for acceptance of sex work as legitimate work. These male, female, and transgender sex workers present a conundrum for neo-abolitionists. The inability to comprehend a self-chosen sex worker identity means that neo-abolitionist feminists perceive sex workers’ rights advocates as being in league with “**pimps**” and “**traffickers**.” Neo-abolitionist feminists argue that the notion of “sex workers’ rights” is simply a front for the big business of the sex industry and have accused prominent sex workers’ rights advocates of being in the pay of sex industry bosses.

Like the 19th-century feminist abolitionists, contemporary abolitionist feminists have been able to strengthen their political presence through coalition-building around the renewed international concern with the issue of **trafficking** in women. Many of these coalition partners are unlikely supporters of feminist causes and include conservative religious groups and anti-**abortion** activists. Through these coalitions, neo-abolitionist feminists have been able to influence international law and national government policies. In keeping with the abolitionist legacy, today’s feminist abolitionists campaign against the purchase of sexual services by men, or what they term “demand.” In Sweden, this has resulted in the criminalization of customers of sex workers, a national policy that Swedish sex worker organizations claim forces them to work under clandestine and dangerous conditions.

In response to global concerns around trafficking, feminist abolitionists support practices of forced “rescue” of sex workers from **brothels**, particularly in the developing world. These “rescues” have been vigorously opposed by local sex worker organizations, as the “victims” are usually arrested, deported, and/or placed in jail-like “rehabilitation centers.”

In the United States in particular, the abolitionist position has had much influence on foreign and domestic policy. For example, the U.S. Leadership against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act of 2003 prohibits the disbursement of U.S. development funding to organizations that support the idea of prostitution as work. International sex worker organizations, such as the Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP), claim that this policy has great potential for harm, as HIV is one of the greatest threats to the health of sex workers in the developing world.

Further Reading: Barry, Kathleen. *The Prostitution of Sexuality: The Global Exploitation of Women*. New York: New York University Press, 1995; Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) Web site www.catw.org; Crago, Anna Louise. "Unholy Alliance." www.alternet.org; Ditmore, Melissa. "New U. S. Funding Policies on Trafficking Affect Sex Work and HIV-prevention Efforts World Wide." *SIECUS Report* 33 (2005): 26-29; Doezema, Jo. "Ouch! Western Feminists' 'Wounded Attachment' to the Third-World Prostitute." *Feminist Review* 67 (2001): 16-38; Empower Foundation. Report by Empower Chiang Mai on the human rights violations women are subjected to when "rescued" by anti-trafficking groups. Network of Sex Work Projects. www.nswp.org; Shapiro, Nina. "The New Abolitionists." *Seattle Weekly*, 24-31 August 2004; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Jo Doezema

ABORTION. Abortion is used to terminate unwanted pregnancies. Historically and in places where birth control is not widely available, prostitutes may have had more abortions than do women with fewer sexual encounters. However, where there is available and affordable birth control, it cannot be assumed that prostitutes have more abortions than other women. Safe sex precautions also prevent pregnancy. Prostitutes are more likely to practice safe sex and use **condoms** with their clients than people (including prostitutes) in romantic or long-standing relationships. Unwanted pregnancy may have driven some women to prostitution as domestic servants, and other women frequently lost their jobs when their condition was discovered by their employers. In places where abortion was not legal, it was widely practiced in varying degrees of sanitation.

Abortion has been legal in the United States since 1973 with the ruling in *Roe vs. Wade* (410 U.S. 113, 1973), as part of the right to privacy. An unsuccessful lawsuit brought in Florida, referred to as "Jane Roe II" after the earlier case, used the same privacy argument to challenge legal restrictions on prostitution. The logic used was that other activity involving women's reproductive organs—noncommercial sexual activity and pregnancy—was legal and protected by the right to privacy, and that this should be extended to all activity involving the reproductive organs.

The celebrated case of *Roe vs. Wade* contended that "State criminal abortion laws, like those involved here, that except from criminality only a life-saving procedure on the mother's behalf without regard to the stage of her pregnancy and other interests involved violate the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which protects against state action the right to privacy, including a woman's qualified right to terminate her pregnancy."

Tonette B. Lopez

ABSTINENCE. Abstinence has been the predominant social policy approach to "high-risk" behavior in the United States, which is usually based on the premise that specific categories of behavior are inherently objectionable and should be eliminated, even when the relative risk of harm is low.

An abstinence approach to consenting sexual relationships for pay has been heavily influenced by a moral/criminal sanction value system, often with draconian consequences. Women apprehended for provision of sexual services for pay have often been prosecuted for their actions rather than provided with alternative sanctions.

Marijuana use and sexual intercourse among unmarried consenting adults are other common examples. Advocates of a **harm reduction** approach point out that only a small percentage of teenagers and young adults who are committed to complete drug and sexual abstinence are successful in maintaining complete abstinence. Thus, the theoretical possibility of complete abstinence is illusory, making abstinence a quantitative possibility not a qualitative reality.

Abstinence has been promoted in relation to drugs and sex, but it is with respect to prevention of infection that abstinence programming may have the greatest effect. The “ABC approach” to HIV prevention advocates abstaining from sex for unmarried people, being faithful to one’s married partner, and using condoms. In practice, HIV prevention programs that promote abstinence often do not discuss **condom** use, the only effective method of HIV prevention for sexually active people, including but not limited to prostitutes and their clients. Nor is ABC an effective strategy for women and girls who face **rape** or sexual coercion, even in marriage; sex workers who face **violence** from police and clients; or children who rely on “sugar daddies” for their basic necessities. ABC also discriminates against lesbians and gay men, who cannot legally marry in most jurisdictions throughout the world.

Changes in funding appropriation have created artificial condom shortages and led to decreased funding for HIV prevention programs for sex workers. Two lawsuits challenging funding restrictions that prioritize abstinence have been brought against the U.S. government in 2005.

See also Abolition; Abolitionism.

Further Reading: Ditmore, Melissa. “Trafficking in Lives: The Impact of New International Anti-trafficking Law in Asia.” In *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo, Bandana Pattanaik, and Jyothi Sanghera. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press, 2005; Ditmore, Melissa. “Hysterical Policy: Morality in New Laws Addressing Trafficking and Sex Work.” Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, Washington, DC, 23 June 2003. http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/Ditmore_Melissa.pdf; Human Rights Watch. “Ignorance Only: HIV/AIDS, Human Rights and Federally Funded Abstinence-Only Programs in the United States; Texas: A Case Study.” September 2002. <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/usa0902/>; Human Rights Watch. “The Less They Know, the Better: Abstinence-Only and HIV/AIDS Programs in Uganda.” March 2005. <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/uganda0305/>.

Gayle Thomas and Melissa Hope Ditmore

ACTON, WILLIAM (1814–1875). William Joseph Acton was a British physician and sexologist. As one of the nation’s leading authorities on lower-class prostitution and venereal disease, he was a major advocate for the **Contagious Diseases Acts**. His *Prostitution, Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects* (1857) initiated widespread debate concerning the problems posed by prostitution and venereal disease, and dispelled many misconceptions concerning lower-class prostitutes. In the substantially revised 1870 edition of the work, Acton argued for national implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

Before publication of Acton’s research, the blame for prostitution and the spread of venereal disease was placed on lower-class prostitutes, women who were thought to be inherently

depraved and immoral. In contrast, Acton's work contended that male sexual **desire** and the socio-moral consequences of overpopulation are the main causes of prostitution. Acton proved his point by providing a systematic, scientific study of male sexual practices, the different types of prostitutes, and the social causes that underwrote prostitution. According to his findings, women became prostitutes out of economic necessity. He made the startling revelation that prostitution was only a temporary trade. Once they achieved financial stability, most women left its practice and rejoined respectable society as wives and mothers. Additionally, Acton provided suggestions for limiting prostitution's detrimental physical, moral, and social effects. These included informing men and women about venereal diseases, teaching men to control their sexual urges, instructing poor women in housewifery, paying both men and women a living wage for their labor, and encouraging early marriages. Acton also suggested that the poor be encouraged to immigrate *en masse* to Britain's colonies. Such a move would alleviate the problems of overpopulation, provide the poor with employment, and, in turn, discourage promiscuity by making marriage a more economically viable option for people of all classes.

See also Institutionalization; Sexually Transmitted Infections.

Further Reading: Fisher, Trevor. *Prostitution and the Victorians*. New York: St. Martin's, 1997; Hess, Marcy A. "Discursive Decontamination: Domesticating the Great Social Evil in Early Victorian Novels." PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2001; Mahood, Linda. *The Magdalens: Prostitution in Nineteenth Century London*. London: Routledge, 1990; Mort, Frank. *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Marcy A. Hess

ACTRESSES. The assumption that all actresses are whores and all whores are actresses is an enduring myth of female sexuality. At least until the 20th century, audiences assumed that women who were willing to expose themselves on stage were also willing to perform sexually. This belief had material consequences: biographies, **memoirs**, and histories of actresses detail the affairs with wealthy and aristocratic men in which these women participated as well as the unwelcome assaults that took place both inside and outside the theater. Most histories of prostitution begin with the Greek *auletrides*, or flute girls, who entertained at private functions as early as the 5th century B.C.E. These musician/dancers were noted as both accomplished entertainers and sexually voracious women; thus, the association between actress and prostitute is situated within the foundations of Western culture. In the 21st century, prostitutes' rights activists validate sex work through reference to theatrical foundations as well as maintain that prostitution is a performance and prostitutes might be offered status as actresses.

Though most European performance traditions link prostitution and acting (e.g., female commedia players were assumed to be prostitutes and many early modern French actresses supplemented their acting incomes with affairs with rich and titled audience members), Restoration actresses were especially notorious for their sexual availability. When King Charles II returned to England, he decreed that all women's roles were to be played by women, overturning several centuries' convention; most historians agree that the novelty of female performers, coupled with an antitheatrical tradition, solidified assumptions about the actresses' commercial sexuality.



Emily Pott (18th-century courtesan) as Thais (lover of Alexander the Great, who looted Persepolis and set fire to its palaces). The Art Archive / Garrick Club.

Actress **Nell Gwyn** started as an orange seller in the theater pit, became the mistress of playwright and fellow performer Charles Hart, and then captured the attention of Charles II while performing. Gwyn became one of Charles II's official mistresses; their son was made Duke of St. Albans. Though Gwyn is the paradigmatic actress/whore, most other Restoration actresses engaged in liaisons with audience members, either by choice or by force. Restoration theaters allowed audience access to the dressing rooms and invited male audience members to watch the actresses changing. Some actresses, such as Gwyn and Elizabeth Barry, undoubtedly welcomed the financial security and social status these liaisons offered; others, such as Rebecca Marshall, Anne Bracegirdle, and Mary Saunderson Betterton strove to develop as professional actresses, separating performance from prostitution. In England and the United States in particular, Restoration actresses, whose sexuality was often the most salient component of their performances, were the model against which later professional actresses struggled to define themselves.

Though the performance/prostitution link is especially visible in Western, European contexts, it is cross-cultural.

At the same time that French star Sarah

Bernhardt was renowned for her acting ability and reviled for her promiscuity, Binodini was India's most celebrated actress as well as its most notorious concubine. In contemporary India links remain: the Kerala province is noted both for the development of *kathakali* dance drama and its prostitute caste. In Japan, of course, the **geisha** is understood to excel at conversation, music, and dance entertainment, and sexual activity.

By the middle of the 20th century, the association between prostitution and acting weakened. The notoriety of the casting couch obviously suggests that actresses' sexuality remained a key component of their professional identity, but actresses are no longer automatically assumed to be whores. Instead, contemporary prostitutes' rights activists mobilize performance metaphors and the tradition of the actress/whore to legitimate sex work as well as explain interactions between prostitute and client.

See also Artists' Models; Leigh, Carol; Montez, Lola; Peking Opera.

Further Reading: Bell, Shannon. *Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994; Pullen, Kirsten. *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Kirsten Pullen

ADDAMS, JANE (1860–1935). A social activist and sociologist best known for her role as founder of Hull-House, a settlement home for women in Chicago, Jane Addams worked vigorously for women's suffragette and international peace, for which she was awarded the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize. She was head of the Woman's Peace Party, the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She rallied for women's rights and their global roles on the assertion that women were neither superior nor inferior to men. She believed that women had a special role, that they should be connected to their families and that higher wages, better living conditions, and more opportunity for extended education would deter women from the possibility of prostitution. She focused intently in her writing about the corruption of women's chastity in every major city. For Addams, women working as prostitutes were no more than slaves. Addams asserted that if the economic needs of women were met, they would not have to turn to prostitution to support themselves. In *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, Addams evaluated rural and immigrant working-class girls who had moved to Chicago and became involved in prostitution, also known as the white slave trade. This book offered accounts of women forced into prostitution. Addams argued that women were susceptible to the white slave trade because there was a lack of moral justice and that radical social change was necessary.

See also Purity Movements; White Slavery.

Further Reading: Addams, Jane. *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*. Champaign: Uni-



Jane Addams. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



International League of Peace and Freedom in Washington, D.C., 1919. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

versity of Illinois Press, 2002; Addams, Jane. "Twenty Years at Hull-House." In *Written by Herself: Autobiographies of American Women: An Anthology*, ed. Jill Ker Conway, Vol. 1. New York: Vintage Books, 1992; Meigs, Cornelia. *Jane Addams: Pioneer for Social Justice*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.

Anne Marie Fowler

ADDICTION. The term "addiction" can be applied to a diverse range of activities, including gambling, eating, romantic relationships, and sexual encounters, signifying an intense and powerful attachment to an object or behavior, which is marked by preoccupation, a compulsive level of involvement, and psychological and/or physical dependence. It is often used to refer to relationships with psychoactive substances, both legal and illicit, which are characterized by an overwhelming desire to engage in intoxicant use, often with a corresponding destructiveness resulting from the involvement.

There is no inherent connection between addiction to drugs and prostitution. Addiction is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for engaging in prostitution and vice versa, though addiction to intoxicants has been posited as one of the primary factors driving entry into prostitution since the late 19th century. Tales of Chinese immigrants seducing young women with opium, luring them into the sex trade once under the drug's spell, were among the many cultural narratives forming the impetus for the first antidrug legislation measures in the United States in the 1870s and 1880s. Addiction has been particularly associated with the lower strata of the sex trade, namely **street-based prostitution** and working-class or lower-class **brothels**. The association between addiction and prostitution became particularly prominent in the mid- to late 1980s when a potent, smokeable form of cocaine, dubbed "**crack**," appeared on the urban landscape, particularly in low-income neighborhoods already experiencing high rates of poverty and **crime**. The introduction of crack correlated with increasing numbers of individuals, particularly women, turning to prostitution to support the cost of their habits, exchanging sex for money or drugs, followed by a corresponding increase in HIV infection rates associated with high-risk behaviors resulting from a powerful drive to secure the drug.

The intersection between addiction and prostitution is complex and varies according to multiple factors, including the environment in which prostitution occurs, the economic strata of the worker, the degree of independence, and/or the involvement of a partner or another third party such as a pimp. When addiction and prostitution coexist, there are three possible trajectories: addiction may precede prostitution, nascent addiction and entry into prostitution may occur simultaneously, or addiction may surface subsequent to involvement in prostitution.

In the first scenario, known as the "drift theory," addiction precedes entry into prostitution by playing a causal role in the decision to engage in prostitution. This pattern describes "addict-prostitutes," who often explain their vocational choice as the most effective means of supporting the cost of their drug use. Here, the connection between addiction and prostitution is driven by economic necessity. This holds particularly true for women, who have traditionally been much less likely to support themselves through property-based crimes, such as breaking and entering or auto theft. Individuals falling within this category tend to explain their vocational choice as a consequence of the deviant associations and **stigma** attached to both drug use and prostitution.

It is also possible for levels of drug use and dependence to increase after one becomes involved in prostitution for reasons gleaned from Jennifer James's (1976) interviews with "addict-prostitutes," whose addictions were cited as the primary reason for engaging in prostitution. Reasons cited for drug use are: "the drugs 1) made it easier to work, 2) increased their ability

to withstand emotional and physical stress, 3) were available in their working environment, 4) helped them to relax after work, 5) could be easily purchased with their earnings and 6) gave them a lot of pleasure" (p. 607). In those instances where entry into prostitution occurs simultaneously with a developing addiction, one or more of these functions similarly characterize the relationship between addiction and sex work. That is, substance use may serve as a coping mechanism for stressful working conditions and increasing levels of drug use are supported by the income generated through prostitution. The same holds true in instances where engaging in prostitution precedes the development of a subsequent addiction. These individuals have been described as "prostitute-addicts," who identify primarily as prostitutes who view any identity associated with their addiction as secondary. For "addict-prostitutes," the converse holds true, and they consider themselves to be, first and foremost, "addicts" who engage in prostitution to support their addiction.

Multiple theories of how and why people become addicted to intoxicants have been proposed and prevailing views have had a corresponding effect on subsequent laws and regulatory statutes aimed at limiting access and the desirability to consume such substances. Before the late 18th century, addiction primarily meant "given over to habit or vice" and signified a fondness for or an attachment to a behavior, while simultaneously acknowledging the free choice of the individual. The modern concept of addiction as a medical disease characterized by powerlessness, loss of control of one's impulses, and compulsion originated with Benjamin Rush in the late 18th century, where it was specifically applied to habitual **alcohol** consumption. It was this idea that came to drive the temperance movement, which built momentum in the 19th century and culminated in the 18th amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1918, outlawing the sale of alcoholic beverages. A similar fervor surrounding the use of cocaine and narcotics resulted in the passing of the Harrison Narcotics Act in 1914, in essence prohibiting these substances outside of a doctor's prescription and only for "legitimate medical purposes." The moral/criminal model of addiction, evidenced by these prohibitive laws and the zealous prosecution of drug users and sellers, has prevailed during the 20th century. This perspective (which has also been applied to prostitution) has operated in tandem with the concept of addiction as a disease entity subject to treatment by the medical field. The tension between these two views, which are often held simultaneously, demonstrates an inconsistency that has served to muddle the concept of addiction and impacted the effectiveness of society's response. Another school of thought places more emphasis on the psychological and sociological determinants of addiction, defined as "set" (individual-level characteristics, such as beliefs, personality, and expectations) and "setting" (cultural and social factors). The idea that the phenomenon of addiction is a myth, a social construction that fails to explain highly variable behavior patterns within a single framework, has been argued as well. Currently, the well-delineated terms "substance abuse" and "substance dependence" have replaced "addiction" as clinical diagnostic categories in an attempt to avoid the ambiguities associated with the concept.

Further Reading: Davies, John Booth. *The Myth of Addiction*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998; James, Jennifer. "Prostitution and Addiction—Interdisciplinary Approach." *Addictive Diseases* 2, no. 4 (1976): 601–18; Levine, Harry. "The Discovery of Addiction: Changing Conceptions of Habitual Drunkenness in America." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 15 (1978): 493–506; Maher, Lynne, and Ric Curtis. "Women on the Edge of Crime: Crack Cocaine and the Changing Contexts of Street-Level Sex Work in New York City." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 18 (1992): 221–58; Peele, Stanton. *The Meaning of Addiction*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998; Ratner, Mitchell, ed. *Crack Pipe as Pimp: An Eight City Ethnographic Study of the Sex-for-Crack Phenomenon*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1992; Sterk, Clare E. *Tricking*

and *Tripping: Prostitution in the Era of AIDS*. Putnam valley, NY: Social Change Press, 2000; Zinberg, Norman. *Drug, Set, and Setting: The Basis for Controlled Intoxicant Use*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.

Michael Carden

ADLER, POLLY (1900–1962). Polly Adler was a New York madam from the 1920s to the 1940s who wrote an autobiography, *A House Is Not a Home*. She was notorious for her high-class parlor houses in locales across New York City, her clientele that included gangsters such as Dutch Schultz, her insistence to work with instead of against other **madams**, and her kind treatment of her girls. Born in a Russian village on April 16, 1900, as Pearl Adler, she moved to the United States to pursue an education but worked factory jobs in near-poverty conditions. In part, the 1919 18th Amendment, which made alcohol illegal but no less desirable, made possible the underworld of mobsters, gangsters, madams, and prostitutes. Four-foot-eleven and busty Adler began her work accidentally when a gangster paid her to look after his apartment with the agreement that he could stop by and visit a girl that stayed there for a price. Adler thought opening a house would be a temporary enterprise, but her other business ventures fell through, and she quickly discovered she was good at her profession. She knew how to pay off a cop, create an inviting parlor house, maintain a business even through the Depression, manage a domestic staff, and hire the best-looking and best-dressed girls in New York. Her house became more than a bordello; it was a gathering place for intellectuals, business tycoons, government officials, and wealthy men and women. She was arrested many times but only convicted once and spent a month in prison. She retired in 1945, went to college in Los Angeles, and wrote her book. She died in Hollywood in 1962.

See also Brothels; Organized Crime.

Further Reading: Adler, Polly. *A House Is Not a Home*. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1950.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

AFRICA. See Central and East Africa; West Africa.

AFRICAN LITERATURE, POSTCOLONIAL. The postcolonial situation in Africa is characterized by fragmented nation-states whose rulers are dictatorial, corrupt, and oppressive and who leave little room for opposition from citizens. Citizens mostly live in cycles of **violence** and poverty as a result. Several African writers have attempted to find the most effective symbols of representing the African situation and have invariably selected prostitution as a strong tool that captures the inhumanity, decay, and suffocation in most African states. Such writers include renowned Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong’o, who uses the prostitute figure in several of his works such as *Petals of Blood* and *Matigari*, and Sembene Ousmane in *God’s Bits of Wood*, who also uses a prostitute to narrate the woman as a victim of the state.

Quite beyond just using the prostitute as a figure of representation, some African writers find it more effective to write the prostitute alongside schizophrenic narrators to capture the madness prevailing in African states. Prostitution in African literature has therefore been used to represent postcolonial degeneration, and writers have used insane narrators to describe it as a symbol of decay, constantly calling attention toward reading madness and prostitution as synonymous

representations of fragmentation and failure in the Africa leadership system. However, where madness is viewed as nihilistic, prostitution becomes a site of subversion, resistance, and hope in the context of a failing system of leadership in Africa.

Dambudzo Marechera's "House of Hunger," published in the controversial collection of short stories *The House of Hunger* in 1978, winner of the prestigious Guardian Fiction Prize in 1979, engages with the politics of an ailing Zimbabwe, significantly using prostitutes who survive despite the violent conditions of their existence. A schizophrenic narrator telling stories of five prostitutes is used to show Zimbabwe's inability to rise above a colonial degenerative state. Julia represents disease as a symbol of the degeneration although she survives it herself. This survival is interpreted as the people's will to live beyond the obvious fragmented state of their existence. The narrator's mother, also a prostitute, uses her sexuality to overcome poverty, whereas Nester, described as "the Queen of whores," shows the alternative way of surviving beyond structures of power set in place by family, school, and church. Patricia, the narrator's white girlfriend, becomes a prostitute to defy the system of segregation between whites and blacks, and Immaculate becomes a symbol of hope against the violence that she suffers at the hands of her "boyfriend" by showing her will to live beyond such violence.

Okey Ndibe, author of *Arrows of Rain* (2000), writes about prostitution in a context of military violence. In the book, civilians live in fear of the wrath of their dictator while prostitutes become victims of this dictatorship as well as ironic symbols of morality in society. *Arrows of Rain* is an ironic narrative of the African state where prostitutes are innocent victims whose sexuality is misread as degenerative while dictators, the corrupt perpetrators of violence, leave citizens no choice but to worship them. Questions about legitimacy of prostitution arise when Ndibe deals with prostitutes as victims of a violent state rather than as causes of decay in society. Most of the prostitutes are raped and murdered ruthlessly by military men against whom no one can stand for justice. *Arrows of Rain* is narrated by Bukuru, a madman, telling the story of a prostitute called Iyese who is brutally raped and murdered by Bello, the president of the factional Madia nation.

See also Murder; Rape.

Further Reading: Marechera, Dambudzo. *The House of Hunger*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1978; Ndibe, Okey. *Arrows of Rain*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000; Senkoro, Fikeni. *The Prostitute in African Literature*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1982.

Dina A. Ligaga

AH TOY (1828 OR 1829–1928). Ah Toy (also recorded as Ahtoy, Atoy, Attoy, Atoi, Achoy, and Ah Choy), known for her independence, height, bound feet, and dealings with the California court system, was San Francisco's first prostitute, madam, and one of its earliest entertainers in the mid-1800s. In either 1848 or 1849, 20-year-old Ah Toy arrived in California as one of the first Chinese settlers. For years to come, she was one of only a handful of Chinese women when Chinese men numbered in the hundreds and then the thousands as immigration increased. During her many court appearances she often arrived in outlandish attire. Because her occupation was a madam she was charged with keeping a disorderly house and beating one of her girls. Ah Toy also attempted to bring charges against men who paid her with brass filings instead of gold. She married a wealthy Chinese, Henry Conrad, on May 22, 1850, but evidence of his commitment to Ah Toy is unclear. In 1851, a Committee of Vigilance was organized to

improve San Francisco. The head brothel inspector, John A. Clark, soon became Ah Toy's lover and deported two of her business rivals. In China, women and girls were sold to brothel owners for \$30–\$90; in California, they sold for \$300–\$3,000. In 1852, several hundred Chinese prostitutes arrived, and Ah Toy quickly became an activist in establishing other Chinese **brothels** while also expanding her own establishment. Though it was rumored Ah Toy left San Francisco in 1857, she actually disappeared from public record after March 1859. However, her fame lived on, and several female prostitutes claimed the identity of Ah Toy in their dealings with the law. An obituary notice in the San Francisco *Examiner* on February 2, 1928, announced Ah Toy's death at nearly 100 years of age.

See also Madams.

Further Reading: Gentry, Curt. *The Madams of San Francisco: An Irrelevant History of the City by the Golden Gate*. New York: Doubleday, 1964.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

AIDS. *See HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement; Sexually Transmitted Infections.*

ALCOHOL AND DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS. The link between wine, women, song, and sin has its origins in the mists of human history. **Poets** have celebrated and moralists condemned these connections. Only recently, however, have historians, anthropologists, and sociologists started to explore the dimensions across time, space, and ambiance. These last two categories are central to the study of the relationship between prostitution and drinking establishments. The central questions are: How often has drinking been involved in prostitution, and how often has prostitution occurred in various types of drinking establishments? Exploring the spatial and emotional aspects of prostitution provides a key to unlocking the historical and sociological dynamics of a profession often considered "the world's oldest."

Across history almost all societies have recognized the importance of this link. The Chicago Vice Commission at the turn of the 20th century merely echoed the sentiments of political, religious, and medical moralizers connecting prostitution and drinking establishments. After the **brothel**, the Chicago Vice Commission noted, the most important space of prostitution was "the saloon, and the most important financial interest, next to the business of prostitution, was the liquor interest. As a contributory influence to immorality and the business of prostitution there is no interest so dangerous and so powerful in the City of Chicago." The Vice Commission then listed other nefarious connections between saloons and prostitution: prostitutes frequented saloons and also recruited young women in these drinking establishments; the entertainment, the "popular ragtime songs with indecent parodies" of the era, added to the allure for the young women; and the "abnormal" profits (180 percent on beer, 300 percent on liquor) on the alcohol sold in connection with prostitution made drinking establishment prostitution attractive to the liquor trade at the retail and wholesale level. The report concluded that the brothel and saloon were virtually identical. "Instances have been found, where prostitutes actually live in rooms over the saloon . . . in much the same way as inmates appear in the parlors of regular houses of prostitution Many saloons are actually houses of prostitution." Not surprisingly, the commission recommended that it was necessary "absolutely to divorce the sale of liquor from prostitution" (Connolly 1980, p. 95–96).

However, most prostitution in history has occurred outside of bordellos and has been clandestine. It would seem likely that much clandestine prostitution throughout history has been connected either to drink or to drinking establishments. But, this is not the case. Few systematic studies have been done on the relationship between prostitution and drinking establishments for several reasons. First, most commercial sex in drinking establishments was clandestine and thus appeared only in police reports rather than in laws. In general police reports do not survive across history to anywhere near the frequency of laws and regulations. Second, the more general relationship between drink and venal sexuality often took place within the context of festivity and recreation, a form of human activity this is usually enjoyed rather than recorded. Third, the fact of commercial sex in drinking and eating establishments or wherever alcoholic beverages are being consumed undermines a dichotomy most societies have wanted to preserve: between the “virtuous” and “fallen” woman, and between areas or districts of “vice” and “virtue” in society. As a result, almost every society has relegated the records and story of clandestine prostitution to the periphery. Even the question of alcohol consumption and drunkenness in houses of prostitution has been only schematically covered, as it is seen to be peripheral to the main narrative.

Although few historians have systematically explored the links between prostitution and drinking establishments, what they have discovered is important. For example, Judith Walkowitz, in her classic *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (1980), explored the possibility that women engaged in sex work in drinking establishments had a greater amount of autonomy vis-à-vis their clients and solidarity among themselves during the 1860s and 1870s, a time during which formal brothels were in decline and before prostitution in public houses faced severe and systematic repression. Although Walkowitz found more initiative and solidarity among English prostitutes than did historians studying other cities and countries during the 19th century, the point nevertheless seems to be that drinking establishments did have a profound effect on the nature of the trade. This was true both for the sex workers and their customers. Along with the question of autonomy, studying prostitution in relation to drink and drinking establishments provides a way to explore the rituals of seduction and pleasure in which prostitution was imbricated. Exploring the relationship between prostitution and drink also permits an interrogation of the relationship between public and private lives, especially the relationships between work, family, and recreation, and the degree to which sex workers and their clients believed the relationship to be a one-dimensional sexual transaction or whether it could lead to some sort of ongoing relationship.

Despite gaps in the archives and the scholarly literature, an outline of the overall evolution of relations between prostitution and drinking establishments can be sketched. Fear of virtually all types of sexual immorality in drinking establishments can be found from the origins of human civilization, for instance, in Hammurabi’s law code in ancient Mesopotamia. Prostitutes were a common sight at the banquets and festivals in ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Greek courtesans, the *haetarae*, are especially famous for their central role in the banquets (symposia) of Athens and other ancient Greek city-states. An analogous function in Asian society has been preformed across the centuries by what is called in Japan a **geisha**. Similar functions for upper-class prostitutes (**courtesans**) can be found in the ancient societies of Africa and the Americas. The almost universal development of the bordello or the harem across cultures was almost certainly tied to the use of various types of alcoholic drinks, although this seemingly obvious constant has never been systematically studied or even addressed in the general studies of prostitution.

The relationship between prostitution and the ambiance of drink became especially obscure in Europe during the Middle Ages because of the decline of cities and the resulting decline in literacy and record keeping. The relationship between prostitution and drinking establishments only returned when these preeminently urban institutions reappeared after 1000 A.D. across Europe. Brothels in **medieval** European cities were linked with taverns, bath houses, and rowdy and drunken behavior. Western European society was exceptionally tolerant of prostitution and drinking the century after the onset of the Black Death (the bubonic plague after 1350) and the coming of the stricter moralities of the **Renaissance** and Reformation periods and a crisis in the European economy. This brief age of toleration and license lasted roughly from 1400 to 1500.

After 1800, the trend was for prostitution to branch out from the house of prostitution to hotels, cafés, dance halls, concerts, and music halls, and the streets. Such a move on the part of registered prostitutes merely increased the amount of clandestine commercial sex already occurring in drinking and eating establishments. Often in times of economic downturn or personal economic emergency, poor working women would turn to prostitution to survive. In some instances, what started as a venal affair would end in **marriage**. This was not at all surprising because, for most women, prostitution stemmed from desperate circumstances rather than some innate predisposition. Nevertheless, the notion of the “born prostitute” became popular in the late 19th century because of the highly influential **eugenics** theories of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, and this notion was embraced by politicians, police forces, and scholars across the Western world.

The most indelible images and insightful comments on this trend of prostitution in public places come from the world of literature and especially art. The French novelist Jean Karol Huysmans, who became notorious for his depictions of various types of unusual sexuality, noted how late 19th-century Parisian men desired to create the illusion in cafés, beer, or concert halls that they were making love rather than buying sex. The world of the café contained so many different types of encounters that this illusion could be more fully sustained than in any bordello. Late 19th-century painting is filled with images of prostitutes and drinking establishments by artists such as Edouard Manet, James McNeil Whistler, Henri de **Toulouse-Lautrec**, Vincent Van Gough, and Pablo Picasso.

One of the most powerful statements is in Manet’s “Bar” at the Folies Bergère (1881–82). This painting, particularly the complexity of the woman’s face behind the counter and the ambiguity and anticipation it contains, has inspired numerous interpretations and continuing and abundant commentary. Manet captures this woman at the very moment when the possibility of a sexual overture is about to be made. Amidst the bright lights and the gaudy and multicolored bottles of alcohol, the viewer is witness to the ambiguous adventure of drink and prostitution. Is the woman selling more than just a drink and what could this lead to? Paris often became the paradigm for leisure, entertainment, nightlife, and sophisticated prostitution around the world. For example, by the early 20th century, **Havana** was often referred to as the “Paris of the Caribbean”; Guatemala City was given that title for Central America; Buenos Aires for South America; Beirut for the Arab world; and **Bangkok** for East Asia. Each of these cities had its own distinctive set of cafés and music halls in which a seductive and sophisticated prostitution has flourished.

The rise of sex **tourism** and the emergence of AIDS have made the study of the relationship between prostitution and drinking establishments vital. Thailand’s commercial sex bar scene for foreign tourists has been especially well studied by scholars and has been covered in the controversial novel by the contemporary French novelist Michel Houellebecq (*Platform*, 2001). In general, it has been found that the move from the bordello to the drinking establishment has led to a decline

in the transmission of AIDS. Among African truckers, it has been found that sexual encounters along the truck routes have not led to a spread of the disease among the local populations.

The continuing relevance of the relationship between prostitution and drinking establishments stems from the dramatic and ongoing growth of cities. As cities continue to grow, from Shanghai, to Calcutta, to Ibadan, to Rio de Janeiro, so will the number of bars and prostitutes in them. The rise of the AIDS virus, however, has complicated attempts to alleviate poverty and achieve upward mobility. Understanding the sexual networks of such bars will be important in the ongoing fight against AIDS.

See also *Hetaera*; New Orleans.

Further Reading: Brennan, Denise. *What's Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004; Bullough, Vern L. *The History of Prostitution*. New York: University Books, 1954; Cavan, Sherri. *Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior*. Chicago: Aldine, 1966; Clark, Timothy J. "A Bar at the Folies Bergère." In *The Painting of Modern Life: Manet and His Contemporaries*, ed. Bradford Collins. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991; Collins, Bradford, ed. *Twelve Views of Manet's Bar*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; Connelly, Mark Thomas. *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. *Global Women: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Gysels, M. et al. "Truck Drivers, Middlemen and Commercial Sex Workers: AIDS and the Mediation of Sex in South West Uganda." *AIDS Care* 13, no. 3 (June 2001): 373–85; Haine, Scott W. *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; Herbert, Robert L. *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988; Humphreys, Laud. *Tearroom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places: Enlarged Edition with a Retrospect on Ethical Issues*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1982; Lewis, James C. et al. "Beer Halls as a Focus for HIV Prevention Activities in Rural Zimbabwe." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 32, no. 6 (2005): 364–70; Myers, Ted et al. "Gay and Bisexual Men's Sexual Partnerships and Variations in Risk Behavior." *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 115–27; Pickering, Helen et al. "Sexual Networks in Uganda: Casual and Commercial Sex in a Trading Town." *AIDS Care* 9, no. 2 (1997): 199–208; Roberts, Nickie. *Whores in History*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992; Sanger, William W. *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects throughout the World*. New York: Medical Publishing, 1910; Schifter, Jacobo. *Latino Truck Driver Trade: Sex and HIV in Central America*. New York: Haworth Hispanic/Latino Press, 2001; Steinfatt, T. M. *Working at the Bar: Sex Work and Health Communication in Thailand*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002; Thanh-Dam Truong. *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South-east Asia*. London: Zed Books, 1990; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

W. Scott Haine

AMERICAN LITERATURE. The prostitute as a fully developed, believable, or sympathetic character is largely absent from American canonical literature. When she appears in earlier works, it is usually as a minor or secondary character and she seldom survives to the end of the piece or is cast in a positive light. Her bad behavior is always seen as worse, or as having more serious consequences, than comparable bad behavior by male characters. The reasons for this have to do primarily with Americans'—particularly American males'—inability to deal with women's sexuality.

American literature begins with the Puritans, for whom sex was strictly a reproductive activity. Puritan theology attributed to women, particularly middle-class Protestant women whose duty it

was to remain firmly in the domestic sphere, a special purity or chasteness; women were considered passionless. This Puritan/Victorian concept about women was firmly held and made dealing with prostitutes, and the attendant question of women's sexuality, problematic for writers and readers. Women were considered paragons, of a higher moral code than men, innately proper, sexless. The idea that women could experience sexual desire was frightening to many in society, as the awkwardness in the way the prostitute has been portrayed in American literature testifies.

Prostitutes began to receive serious literary attention in the mid-19th century, although their characters were usually given limited roles, and on into the 20th century. They often appear as stereotypes rather than as rounded, fully realized characters, even when they are main characters. Some of these stereotypes have relatively positive connotations. The prostitute who shows up as the "whore-with-a-heart-of-gold" is usually portrayed as loving and even innocent. Kitty Duval in William Saroyan's *The Time of Your Life* (1939) is one such character. This stereotype is also a stock character of Westerns where one of the few interior settings is the saloon and the only female characters are prostitutes. Another positive stereotype is the prostitute who is "saved"—she is a woman who is at heart virtuous and who has fallen; she is redeemed from a life of sin, usually by a man who risks his own reputation to save her (as happens with Corrie in William Faulkner's *The Reivers*, 1962). Sometimes the prostitute redeems herself, as do the heroines in Harold Frederic's *The Lawton Girl* (1890) and David Graham Phillips's *Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise* (1917).

However, the negative stereotypes of prostitutes are more common. For one type of prostitute, her struggle to survive is what leads her to prostitute herself. Survival can mean something as basic as food and shelter, or it can mean a desire for material gain; literary critics put Theodore Dreiser's Carrie Meeber (*Sister Carrie*, 1900) in the latter category. Carrie is not really a prostitute per se, but a kept woman; she uses her sexuality to get ahead in life, first with a traveling salesman who frees her from her job in a shoe factory, then later with bar owner Hurstwood. Carrie is one of the few prostitutes in literature to actually be in a better position at the end of her novel than she was at the beginning. Hurstwood is destroyed as a result of his relationship with her. Another typical category for prostitutes is the "seduced and abandoned" stereotype where the loss of her virginity, often at the hand of a villain who does it purposely, forces her into a life of prostitution because she has no other choice. *The Evil That Men Do* by Edgar Fawcett (1989) presents such a villain who ruins the lives of young girls in the city. Stephen Crane's heroine in *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) is also seduced and abandoned. Prostitutes in this category often die at the end of their stories, sometimes at their own hand. Similar to this stereotype are the prostitutes who are victims of society, those young women of the lower classes born in poverty and forced by life into degrading situations. Joaquin Miller's Dottie in *Destruction of Gotham* (1886) is such a victim. Prostitutes such as Dottie cannot be rescued (although the male protagonist in the novel does rescue Dottie's daughter), nor do they display any strength of character. They may or may not survive. Many of these prostitutes show up in minor bit parts and function as symbols for plot, setting, or characterization.

Women writers tend to treat prostitutes more empathetically, usually finding a way to explain their behavior either through the character's background and personality, their unique circumstances, and/or society's expectations and limitations. Louisa May Alcott's *Work: A Story of Experience* (1873) included a minor character Rachel, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *We and Our Neighbors* (1875) included the minor character Maggie. These subplots were compassionate portraits about society's indifference to women who were forced by circumstance into a life that they then could not escape. Another sympathetic prostitute is Belle Watling in *Gone with the Wind* (1936), again a minor character. Margaret Mitchell's Belle runs her **brothel** to

support her child; she also donates money to the Confederate Cause, is treated sympathetically by Miss Melanie, and is told by Rhett Butler that she is the only one who understands him. Erica Jong's Fanny in *Fanny: Being the True History of Adventures of Fanny Hackabout-Jones* (1980) is the heroine of the novel, a fully realized character who is funny, strong, and quite able to take care of herself in spite of her life and times. John Steinbeck often featured prostitutes and prostitution in his novels. In *East of Eden* (1952), Cathy Ames, who marries the honest and kind Adam Trask, is a violent prostitute both before and after her marriage, and seemingly a force of darkness and obsessive self-interest, although Steinbeck appears to soften toward her at the end of the novel. In *Cannery Row* (1945), and its sequel, *Sweet Thursday* (1954), prostitutes are seen as friendly and almost wholesome, and are favorably contrasted against hypocritical townspeople.

As restrictions against what could and could not be published relaxed, and as pornography became an ever-increasing market in the United States, the image of the prostitute lost its status as a taboo in literature. The women's liberation movement also exposed archaic notions of women's sexuality, which made it less an issue for writers and readers alike. Depictions of prostitutes in latter 20th-century literature are more realistic and less likely to be romanticized or sentimentalized, but the stereotypes about prostitutes are pervasive. Prostitutes are not as prevalent in canonical literature as in popular literature, particularly genres such as detective fiction.

In her novel *Fanny*, Erica Jong gives a long list of synonyms for the word prostitute. Most of them refer to a woman's body or to animals; all of them make her an object. Traditionally, she has been an object that has been feared. Sarah Appleton Aguiar writes in *The Bitch Is Back* (2001) that the prostitute is dangerous to men because of her "innate knowledge of his fears, weaknesses, and desires"—knowledge men fear she uses to her advantage and to their ruin (29). Her knowledge also earns her distrust both for and from her fellow females, frequently dooming her to a literary life apart from everyone.

From her early appearance in literature as an irredeemable deviant to a victim of society or male predation to a competent businesswoman, the role of prostitute in American literature is one measure of the role of women in American culture.

See also Fallen Woman Trope.

Further Reading: Aguiar, Sarah Appleton. *The Bitch Is Back: Wicked Women in Literature*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001; Fessenden, Tracy, Nicholas F. Radell, and Magdalena J. Zabrorwska. *The Puritan Origins of Sex: Religion, Sexuality, and National Identity in American Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2001; Hapke, Laura. *Girls Who Went Wrong: Prostitutes in American Fiction, 1885–1917*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1989; Horn, Pierre L., and Mary Beth Pringle. *The Image of the Prostitute in Modern Literature*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1984; Trask, Michael. *Cruising Modernism: Class and Sexuality in American Literature and Social Thought*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Althea E. Rhodes

AMERICAN PLAN. See Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918.

AMERICAN WEST, 19TH CENTURY. Most prostitutes in the trans-Mississippi West of the second half of the 19th century entered that profession out of necessity. Except for Asians—specifically Chinese—and a few belonging to the infamous "white slave trade," "fallen women" gravitated to the vice trade in the interest of advancing their economic expectations.

American West

The single crib was simply a shanty with a narrow door, on one side of which were small double casement-windows, usually with padded ledges. It was divided into two small chambers, one of which, about six feet square, was used as a reception-room, while the other was known as the "workshop." In the former room there was seldom any furniture except a built-in window-seat and a chair or a couch, although the Mexican and Spanish harlots usually added a small altar with a figure of the Holy Virgin and other religious images. The "workshop" was just large enough for a three-quarter-size iron bed, a wash-stand with a marble top, and a kerosene stove on which always bubbled a kettle of hot water.

From Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1933).

But few women, except for a lucky few endowed by natural beauty, sexual skills, financial resources, or shrewd business acumen, succeeded.

Prostitutes were largely penniless women. They led lives of dissipation marked by physical abuse, drug overdose, disease affliction, and even suicide. Stratification along the lines of race, class, and age established a hierarchy within the profession, which in turn hindered economic mobility. The average "fancy lady" in the frontier era of Helena, Montana, reportedly earned twice what a miner made, and some of the members of the demimonde became established landowners, yet that was not the norm across the region.

Women joined countless male pioneers who made the conscious choice of migrating to the American West, believing opportunity

existed in the Herculean effort required to extract wealth from indomitable nature. Yet much of the work was physically demanding. Untrained to shoulder this work burden, women found themselves excluded from most frontier industries.

Women could find work in sex-typed professions. But their labor as teachers, clerks, secretaries, **laundresses**, waitresses, dressmakers, actresses, and milliners gave them neither adequate monetary returns nor a high social status. Moreover, the demand for such jobs exceeded the supply, forcing them to compete with one another. In Comstock Lode, Nevada, for example, less than 10 percent of the adult females were engaged in these so-called respectable occupations.

Economic necessity drove women into prostitution. But the women's pre-industrial, agrarian-oriented experience accustomed them to accept the exigencies of the flesh trade. Many hailed from a pre-industrial experience that made heavy demands on women. Class or racial domination characterized their existence. The women harbored few expectations of escaping the endless labor, legal inequalities, and daily monotony. In moving from manual to sexual labor, these women faced little necessary adjustment in their worldview.

Concomitantly, rambunctious economic development, rapid urbanization, and a shortage of women in that region destabilized social norms. Though families did migrate to the West, many more men came as bachelors or unaccompanied by their families. In the Comstock Lode, with a boom-or-bust economy that hinged on silver bonanzas, the ratio of women to men hovered between 1:2 to 1:3, while the estimated number of "soiled doves" fluctuated between around 300 and 150, depending on the largess of the ore strikes. San Francisco in the 1850s grew overnight from an isolated hamlet to a bustling transient center for miners and merchants in search of speckles of gold. The city's lopsided sex ratio, one that reached the peak of one female to three males in the 1850s, and a prevailing sexual ideology that proscribed adultery and deemed respectable women as "passionless," also set the stage for vice establishments to mushroom.

In most Western cities and towns, the flesh trade developed near or around the central business district and away from residential neighborhoods. Opulent "parlor houses," cheap

brothels, and decrepit cribs were embedded in a vice district that housed other related establishments, including dance halls, saloons, gambling dens, and boarding houses. Women plied their trade in all of these establishments.

The segregation of prostitution from legal commercial enterprises and residential areas protected polite society. In San Francisco, the bordellos were typically on or near streets that connected the business district to the suburban areas; customers could thus conveniently reach the district from either work or home while still maintain the façade of respectability. In Salt Lake City, the core of the underworld business zone was on a narrow street on the interior of a block, as opposed to being on the outside streets of the same district. The fallen women were thus less visible to passersby.

As was the case in most Eastern cities, the red light districts in Western urban centers often were located in poor sections of the town or in racial-ethnic enclaves. In Salt Lake City, the center of the predominately male Chinese community was Plum Alley, barely 20 feet to the east of Commercial Street. Chinese immigrants were lumped together with other persons of color and prostitutes as “less desirable” people. Similarly, Sonora Town—Los Angeles’s Mexican barrio—became a vice district while the Chinese ghetto within Sonora Town was derogatorily called “Nigger Alley.” The spatial pattern of prostitution suggested that race and sexuality were implicated in determining the parameters of social respectability.

Most of the prostitutes, regardless of their racial-ethnic backgrounds, were young and single, demographic aspects reflective of the demands of the profession. Older and married women, while never the majority, sometimes participated in this sex-for-sale trade. For most women, however, fading beauty was a liability, and by the age of 30, many turned to other professions. The flesh trade was indeed diverse and motley in many ways.

Although most prostitutes in the West were Anglo-Americans, black, Mexican, Asian, and Native American prostitutes were not uncommon. Like their Anglo-American peers, black, Mexican, and Asian women appeared in all parts of the West—in cosmopolitan cities, cattle towns, mining camps, and military forts. And all of these “loose women” endured social ostracism. But those prostitutes of color, unlike their white peers, suffered from racial discrimination in an era of jingoistic nationalism, heightened xenophobia, and racial segregation that relegated them to the bottom of the prostitution hierarchy. In Sacramento, California, the census schedules of 1860 showed that none of the prostitutes of color—Mexican, black, or Chinese—owned any property whatsoever, even though they made up three-quarters of the city’s demimonde, whereas those few who did report of owning some personal property or real estate were all whites.

Black, Mexican, and Asian prostitutes shared one commonality: not only were they isolated from mainstream society but also from white prostitutes. In San Francisco, by the 1880s, black “soiled doves” huddled together in a separate part of the vice district, living in cribs located along narrow alleys, close to where Chinese peers sold their bodies. Few were found in the opulent parlor houses or bordellos, and few developed professional or social relationships with white prostitutes.

Some black prostitutes followed black cowhands and soldiers to far-flung frontier settlements. In these rural areas populated by mostly whites, quite often these black women served only black customers. However, rigid racial division within the houses of prostitution might not have always prevailed in the heterogeneous, urban populations of medium-sized cities such as Laramie, Wyoming.

In the early gold rush halcyon days, some of the Mexican and other Hispanic women in the cities were indentured prostitutes whom the press mockingly labeled “greaseritas.” In San Francisco of the 1850s and 1860s, they labored exclusively in the cantinas of Little Chile, a

predominately Hispanic crowded enclave, and rarely enjoyed economic mobility. However, in the next decade, a few women did venture beyond that enclave to work and live.

In more remote parts of the American Southwest, Mexican prostitutes typically congregated near military forts, often bartering sexual favors for necessities from the American soldiers. In San Antonio, Texas, the presence of a nearby military fort ensured the demand for black and Mexican prostitutes remained high. Mexican women, probably still suffering from the recent legacy of racial conflict that led to the Mexican War of 1846–48, however, were the most scorned group. But begrudging unofficial toleration in the interest of meeting the needs of lonely soldiers allowed these women some modicum of control of the economic exchange.

Like other prostitutes of color, Chinese prostitutes were scattered all over the vast region. But Chinese women faced one unique experience that no other group did: enslaved or **forced prostitution**. Debilitating social conditions in China led to the sale of daughters to procuring agents on the pretext that the young women could secure work or betrothal in “Gold Mountain” (California). Procurers also sometimes kidnapped and trafficked them to America for this sex trade. Like African American and Mexican women, Chinese prostitutes inhabited decrepit cribs in a racially segregated part of the town or city. Very few of these women attained the economic security akin to that enjoyed by some white **madams** or prostitutes.

Unlike the dominant white culture, Chinese society did not necessarily deem prostitutes as unredeemable women unsuited for marriage. In the frontier West, the Chinese community was overwhelmingly male; for example, until 1900, the sex ratio in California for this ethnic group was at least 20 men to every woman. Faced with a gauntlet of restrictive immigration laws designed to retard family formation, and antimiscegenation laws that proscribed interracial unions, Chinese men turned to prostitutes for matrimony.

Although all groups of prostitutes left an impact on society’s management of law enforcement, the economy, or social ideology, perhaps the legacy of Chinese prostitution was the only one that hindered community formation: a misleading dominant perception that all Chinese women were lewd or loose persons—an image shaped in part by the sensationalist reporting of the lives of Chinese prostitutes—fueled exclusionary laws in the late 19th century.

Compared with other women of color, Native American prostitutes were far less visible in the American West. Much of their participation in prostitution was the outcome of unequal Native American–white relations. In gold rush California, starvation, Native American wars, and sexual assaults were the desperate circumstances that necessitated prostitution. Native American women also joined Mexican women in offering sexual services at military forts. Grinding poverty arising from the mismanagement of Native American reservations drove desperate women to resort to selling their bodies.

Already saddled with physical risk and personal disorder, prostitutes also often ran afoul of the law and order of frontier communities. Unsavory characters sometimes occupied these public offices. In an era of frenzied economic development and a primitive communication system, public authorities enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in running their communities. Thus, officials had the opportunity to establish the social order on their own terms as well as to improve their personal economic standing and social status. For example, sheriffs in small towns collected a monthly fee from various establishments, including gambling dens, bordellos, liquor stores, and theaters. Other officials such as the mayors or city councilmen were known to tolerate the existence of prostitution in the interest of promoting the economic growth of their town or city. Public apathy gave these public officials free rein to deal with prostitution, even though keeping a bawdy house was always a common law crime. Such was the case in Houston,

Texas. A major railroad center, that city's economy boomed in the late 19th century, which soon prompted the emergence of disorderly houses to serve the transients and native city dwellers. The city fathers tolerated the presence of these establishments, and only closed them down and jailed a few "**soiled doves**" during election times.

Yet as the 19th century wore on, the mentality of Eastern reformers keen to cleanse cities of immorality caught up with the settlers of Western towns and cities. As the frontier era gave way to the period of settlement and family formation, toleration of vice districts became strained. In Helena, Montana, after several decades of operating in the main business district of that city, in 1885, the bawdy houses and their residents were forced out of the main street. A subsequent proposal by some members of the city council to issue licenses to these women was turned down, and instead, quarterly fines were levied on them. The women were now subjected to periodic harassment. Similarly, after the passage of a revised disorderly house state statute in 1907, the bawdy houses in Houston, previously scattered all over the city, were all forced to relocate to a specified part of the city.

Except for a few prostitutes who received the assistance of social agencies or left the flesh trade for a stable marriage, most of them stumbled through life without any means of leaving the physical and emotional hazards of the industry. In the developing Western region, churches and other relief-oriented organizations prescribed morality rather than training programs offering new skills that would have enabled the women to rejoin the larger society. Not surprisingly, few women were attracted to those endeavors.

A large number of women turned to alcohol and drug addiction to find psychological succor; perhaps even suicide was a better option than the dreary life of a prostitute. For some prostitutes, death sometimes arrived unannounced. Because these women could not practice abstinence or withdrawal, they sometimes resorted to **abortion**. In Butte, Montana, between 1900 and 1917, 23 women died as a result of a botched procedure (Murphy 1987, pp. 197–98). Women resorted to such desperate measures after suffering the cycle of failed marriages (common law or otherwise), monetary exploitation, physical abuse by spouses or **pimps**, and unwanted pregnancies.

Prostitution in legendary Western lore had for a long time been portrayed in romantic terms. "Whores with hearts of gold," these white women were supposed to embody kindness and warmth as well as the quality of sensuality. They earned a good living and achieved some modicum of fame. Yet the true Western prostitutes hailed from diverse racial backgrounds. Their lives demonstrated the negative impact of the intersections of race, class, and gender in a region marked by social instability and uncontrolled economic growth. Their industry benefited various parties but rarely themselves. Their collective story is a reminder that the settlement of the West was sometimes a process fraught with exploitation and oppression, and hardly one of straightforward triumphant progress.

Further Reading: Barnhart, Jacqueline Baker. *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849–1900*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986; Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865–1890*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985; Cott, Nancy. "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850." *Signs* 4 (Winter 1978): 219–36; De Graaf, Lawrence B. "Race, Sex, and Region: Black Women in the American West, 1850–1920." *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (May 1980): 285–313; Goldman, Marion S. *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981; Hurtado, Albert L. *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999; Lotchin, Roger W. *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974; Mackay, Thomas C. *Red Lights Out: A Legal History of Prostitution, Disorderly Houses, and Vice Districts, 1870–1917*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1987; Murphy, Mary. "The Private Lives of Public

Women: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878–1917.” In *The Women’s West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987; Nichols, Jeffrey. *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002; Peffer, George Anthony. *If They Don’t Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999; Petrik, Paula. *No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana 1865–1900*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1987; Riley, Glenda. “American Daughters: Black Women in the West.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Spring 1988): 14–27; Shumsky, Neil Larry, and Larry M. Springer. “San Francisco’s Zone of Prostitution, 1880–1934.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 7, no. 1 (1981): 71–89; Tong, Benson. *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Benson Tong

AMSTERDAM. Amsterdam has a worldwide reputation as a city for prostitution. This is based on the fame of its red light district, called *Wallen*, *Walletjes*, or *rosse buurt* in Dutch. The red light area is one of the main tourist attractions of the city. Situated in one of the oldest and most beautiful parts of the city, scantily dressed women beckon passing men from lighted shop windows. This open and visible prostitution has long been tolerated and has been legal since 1999. The open red light area and the toleration of soft drugs have earned Amsterdam a reputation as a modern Sodom. Writers and filmmakers from all over the world like to situate their prostitution scenes in Amsterdam.

Amsterdam’s prostitutes have operated for some 700 years in this same neighborhood, the harbor district. The prostitution district has always been near the entrance to the city: Amsterdam was most easily reached by ship, and the Central Station was built in 1889 on an artificial island in the harbor, which made it accessible to sailors and travelers.

The first documentation of prostitution in Amsterdam dates from the 13th century, when Amsterdam was only a small fishing town. During the later Middle Ages, the trade was allowed but restricted to certain side streets. Married men and priests were forbidden to enter the police-supervised **brothels**. This regulated tolerance was similar to that in other European towns at the times and in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church, that prostitution was, this side of Paradise, a necessary evil. Prostitutes were seen as sinners who could be saved: as elsewhere, a Magdalene nunnery was instituted for repentant prostitutes.

The Reformation did not look kindly on the toleration of prostitution. The new Christian interpretation of policing morality was not of the forgiving of sins, but of the punishments of moral offenses as crimes. It was deeply and widely feared that God would punish society for sins committed and permitted. Amsterdam’s licensed brothels were closed down in 1578 during the revolt against the city’s overlord, the King of Spain, when the city joined the Protestant rebels. The Protestants won; henceforth, any sexual immorality was defined and persecuted as a **crime**. Until about 1800, some 20 percent of all formal judicial activity was directed toward the suppression of the sex trade.

With more than 200,000 inhabitants, in the 17th century Amsterdam was the third largest city in Europe, after London and Paris. It had grown into a center of traffic and trade and, above all, an important port, where every year thousands of sailors were recruited and discharged, creating a large demand for venal sex. On the supply side, there was a huge surplus of women among the lower classes, mostly poor immigrants who had little chance of finding a husband. Prostitution thrived, especially from 1670 on, when street lighting was installed and nightlife boomed. Travel guides and semipornographic descriptions of the city’s attractions such as *Het Amsterdamsch Hoerdom* (1681)



Dutch prostitutes held an open house to give the public a peek behind the curtains of Amsterdam's famed Red Light District, hoping to stave off an attempt by city politicians who want to shut them down. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

exploited and magnified the city's growing reputation for sexual vice. Amsterdam's reputation as a center of prostitution from the last decades of the 17th to the beginning of the 19th century was comparable with today's. Visitors to the city invariably paid a visit to a *speelhuys* or *musicoo*, ostensibly a tavern where music was played and one could eat, drink, and dance, but in reality a place where prostitutes picked up customers and customers prostitutes. Most tourists also visited the *Spinhuys*, the female **prison**, where one, for a small entrance fee, could gape at convicted prostitutes.

Many believed that prostitution in Amsterdam, although forbidden, was in effect tolerated as a necessary evil. **Bernard Mandeville**, born a Dutchman, wrote in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714–29),

Where six or seven Thousand Sailors arrive at once, as it often happens at Amsterdam, that have seen none but their own Sex for many Months together, how is it to be suppos'd that honest Women should walk the Streets unmolested, if there were no Harlots to be had

at reasonable Prices? For which Reason the Wise Rulers of that well-order'd City always tolerate an uncertain number of Houses, in which Women are hired as publickly as Horses at a Livery-Stable; there being in this Toleration a great deal of Prudence and Oeconomy.

However, at no time was prostitution in Amsterdam simply tolerated. With the help of a relatively small police force, many formal and informal methods of fighting and controlling prostitution were used, from “harassing” brothels and confiscating capital, to raids of prostitutes, prison sentences, and exposure on the scaffold. The police, moreover, forced the prostitution business into self-regulation, by following up on what was unacceptable, for example, having young girls as prostitutes or causing disturbances in the neighborhood. At that time, prostitution was mostly to be found in small brothels, with a **madam** as its head.

The end of the Dutch Republic in 1795 meant a restructuring of the entire legal and moral system. Amsterdam’s legislators, physicians, and authorities joined the international debate on prostitution as necessary for curbing male sexual lust, and on the advisability of bringing prostitutes under medical control to prevent the spread of **syphilis**. From 1810–13, when the Netherlands were annexed by Napoleon, the French introduced such a system to regulate prostitution in Amsterdam.

In the Code Pénal of 1811, which remained valid after the French occupation, prostitution was no longer defined as a crime; only the seduction or enforcement of minors into prostitution was penalized. The central government of the by-now Kingdom of the Netherlands urged the cities to reintroduce medical control of prostitutes. Amsterdam officially refused to comply, but in reality it used an unofficial system of medical control and licensing of prostitutes. The city, which after more than a century of stagnation was growing fast, was more than ever the center of prostitution in the country. Most of it was still to be found near the harbor, from “French” women in large luxury brothels, to dancers and barmaids in the many places of entertainment, to poor immigrant German girls in lower-class brothels.

As elsewhere, the toleration of prostitution and the forced medical control of prostitutes became one of the key political issues of the last decades of the 19th century. In city after city, the regulations licensing brothels were withdrawn; in Amsterdam all brothels were forcibly closed in 1897. Statute laws were only changed in 1911, when a comprehensive morals bill was passed. Prostitution as such was not criminalized, but organizing and profiteering from prostitution were penalized. Brothels were forbidden and largely disappeared from the public eye, but plenty of prostitutes could still be found as waitresses, hostesses, and singers in bars and cafés, as “masseuses” in massage parlors, as “shop assistants” in tobacco shops or art galleries.

Gradually the prostitution came into the open again, and, in the 1930s, the first women who sat visibly behind large windows appeared. The introduction of electricity made red lights possible, and some 40 years later, adequate heating and the sexual revolution made the prostitutes drop most of their clothes. These women worked on their own, paying rent to or sharing profits with the landlords, but many shared their earnings with others. Crime also had its home in the red light district, but on the whole, the neighborhood was under control. There was a *modus vivendi* with the neighbors and a balancing act with the police and the vice squad. Most prostitutes were from the Netherlands, and among the clients sailors were still prominent, as they had been for centuries. Penicillin had suppressed venereal diseases.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, it was believed and expected that the sexual revolution would put an end to, or at least greatly diminish, prostitution. Instead, the sexual revolution legitimized and boosted the sex business, and the media willingly catered to the semipornographic attrac-

tion of prostitution. The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s had a greater impact in the Netherlands than anywhere else. In Amsterdam's red light district, not only prostitution, but also sex clubs and pornography shops proliferated. Soft drugs came to be openly and visibly tolerated. The media portrayed prostitution positively. In 1984, a prostitutes' union was founded, the *Rode Draad* ("Red Thread"), subsidized since 1987. The *De Graafstichting*, a state-funded research institute for the study of prostitution, actively promoted the acceptance of sex work.

The prohibition of brothels of 1911 had long been deemed obsolete, and since 1987, committees discussed and drafted a new prostitution law. This law was finally introduced in 1999. Prostitution was officially and openly stated to be a normal occupation for the first time, and prostitutes were to have a right to all social and medical benefits enjoyed by employees of other legal businesses. However, prostitutes now have to register, possess an official work permit, and pay taxes. The law also authorizes local authorities to make detailed bylaws and so regulate prostitution at a local level.

The legalization, discussed in a time of liberal sentiments, has turned out to be the opposite of a "liberalization" of prostitution. In the 1980s, the atmosphere in the red light district changed with the introduction of hard drugs; later, international **organized crime** threatened to take over the district. The police recovered the red light district to some extent, but drug **addiction** among prostitutes and traffic of women still are unsolved problems. Confronted with the dark side of prostitution, Amsterdam used the legalization to tighten the control of the sex trade. First, the city anticipated the new law by introducing in 1996 a local bylaw requiring all entrepreneurs in the business to apply for a license. The applicants must not have a criminal record, the premises have to meet strict safety and health regulations, and the women employed must have a work permit. Prostitution is restricted to the red light district and a few (also traditional) streets in other parts of the town. Streetwalking was only allowed on one location, the *Theemsweg*, away from the center, where there were facilities and supervision provided.

The result is that there is now much less visible, open prostitution in Amsterdam. In spite of possible benefits, women with a work permit have so far declined to come into the open and proclaim themselves prostitutes and pay taxes. Prostitutes from outside the European Union cannot work legally in prostitution. Many of the windows of the red light district are currently empty. In 2003, after continuing problems with addicted and illegal women, the *Theemsweg* was closed, and streetwalkers are not allowed anywhere in Amsterdam. The object of the legalization, to recognize prostitution as a normal profession, and so decriminalize it, has not been fulfilled. Prostitutes have transferred their activities to other cities, but it is feared that most prostitutes working illegally, from Eastern Europe, Asia, South America, and some African countries, have been driven underground and further into the clutches of criminals. Times have changed. The *Rode Draad* will shortly lose what is left of its subsidy, and the *De Graafstichting* has been closed since January 1, 2005.

See also Ports; *Tippelzone*; Window Prostitution.

Further Reading: Brants, Chrisje. "The Fine Art of Regulated Tolerance: Prostitution in Amsterdam." *Journal of Law and Society* 25, no. 4 (1998): 621–35; van de Pol, Lotte C. *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996; van de Pol, Lotte C. "The History of Policing Prostitution in Amsterdam." In *Regulating Morality: A Comparison of the Role of the State in Mastering the Mores in the Netherlands and the United States*, ed. Hans Krabbendam and Hans-Martien ten Napel. Antwerp, Belgium: Apeldoorn, 2000, pp. 97–112; van de Pol, Lotte C. *La puta y el ciudadano. La prostitución en Amsterdam en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2005.

ANATOMICAL MUSEUMS. Anatomical museums were one of the most popular forms of entertainment at European fairs at the end of the 19th century. Freak shows for many visitors, they were primarily places of public education devoted to the prevention of social diseases, and as such, were associated with antiprostitution public health messages. Most of the exhibits were anatomical wax models depicting the symptoms of diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera, and **syphilis**, with the educational purpose of making visitors aware of the potential threat of these scourges. These anatomical sculptures were particularly effective when presented alongside wax models of “normal” body states, such as functioning organs, stages of embryo development, and different kinds of child deliveries (natural childbirth, induced labor, etc).

At the end of the 19th century, the medical profession started trying to find ways to reduce the increasing number of deaths caused by syphilis. The lack of an effective treatment meant that doctors needed to find a means of prevention. However, their medical capacity was hindered by moral values. Syphilis is a sexually transmitted infection, and prostitution was one of the most significant means of transmission. A particular and judgmental social attitude toward venereal diseases developed as a result of their association with prostitution. Instead of setting out a concrete plan to prevent the spread of syphilis, the medical profession focused on the moral cause of the phenomenon. In medical literature, prostitutes were presented as the root cause of deviant sexual behavior and of the depravity, debauchery, and reckless manners that were threatening the “good health of the nation.” The subsequent “witch hunt” for prostitutes during the Belle Époque revealed a social paradox. As public scapegoats, these women become the focus of the doctors’ plan of action for how to deal with the problem. In concrete terms, this moral agenda limited public prevention policies to cases in which syphilis was transmitted by prostitutes. In this context, the anatomical museums became one of the only popular structures able to provide practical information about the risks of sexually transmitted diseases.

The highlight of the museum was the venereal diseases room. Isolated from the rest of the collection by a red velvet curtain and highlighted by subdued lighting, hundreds of anatomical wax castings showed the skin symptoms of syphilis: granulating skin eruptions on the face, body, and tongue; suppurations or excrescences located on the sexual organs. These models confronted the public with the visible marks of the disease. The aim of this prophylactic lesson was not only to warn the visitor against the dangers of the disease through a simple popularized discourse, but also to frighten them into limiting risky sexual behaviors. The explanatory discourse, which was presented on boards and in booklets, indicated a moral condemnation of sexuality and a belief in the safety of science. One 1886 museum catalogue, for example, stated that the anatomical waxes “teach us not to expend excessively our natural energy which has to be used in a proper way. This behavior could become an obstacle to an excessive passion, a bastard promiscuity where we lose both DIGNITY and HEALTH.”

The impact of these museums was significant. Although prostitutes remained the official source of transmission, the fair’s exhibitions embodied a different approach to the disease, quite novel in a 19th-century context, by openly confronting the public with the reality. Soldiers, who were particularly affected by the disease, often visited anatomical museums. The well-known link between prostitution and garrison life led the museums to offer a special discount for soldiers. This practice was illustrated by Belgian artist Félicien Rops (1833–98) in a watercolor entitled *The Hygiene Lesson*, which depicts an officer and a private facing the wax body of a young syphilitic woman. This indicates the frequenting of the museums by soldiers as well as pointing an accusing finger at prostitutes: the caption reads “Sergeant to Private. When you will be next to the beauty, Chamberlain, the order is to remember this particular.”

Considering that other preventative actions against syphilis, such as posters and information campaigns, were often limited by social factors such as illiteracy, fear of doctors, access to health care, and moral discourse, the museums, which were widely accessible and popular, had a significant effect on the public. The popularization of science and the visual attractiveness of the wax models gave clear and realistic information about syphilis. Many prostitutes were also models for the museums' wax castings, which may be seen as an appropriate way to get to the root of the problem.

See also Scapegoating; Sexually Transmitted Infections.

Further Reading: Lemire, Michel. *Artistes et Mortels*. Paris: Chadaud, 1990; Parish, Lawrence Charles, Gretchen Worden, Joseph A. Witkowski, Albrecht Scholz, and Daniel H. Parish. "Wax Models in Dermatology." *Studies of the College of Philadelphia* 13, no. 1 (1991): 29–74; Schnalke, Thomas. *Diseases in Wax: The History of the Medical Moulage*. Chicago: Quintessence Publishing, 1995.

Chloé Pirson

THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES (1583). In 1583, Philip Stubbes published the first edition of *The Anatomie of Abuses*, a vitriolic polemic enumerating the many vices of Elizabethan society in England. This remarkably popular treatise, which went through four printings in as many years, influenced especially the antitheatrical polemicists who would attack the London playhouses until they closed, at the behest of the heavily Puritan Parliament, in 1642 (Stubbes himself never identified with the radical Protestant movement). Although *The Anatomie of Abuses* covers a wide range of vices supposedly engendered by urban culture—including but by no means limited to wantonness, sodomy, idolatry, cozenage, and idleness—one of the most intriguing is Stubbes's insistence that dramatic productions promoted, indeed induced, whorish inclinations in female spectators and voracious sexual appetites in men. In particular, Stubbes contended that by staging acts of intimacy and cuckoldry, plays were, on the one hand, engendering a dangerously licentious atmosphere, and, on the other, presenting veritably imitable instances of indecency. So, the mere presence of characters such as Kate Keepdown, the madam of a brothel in **William Shakespeare's** *Measure for Measure*, would entice female spectators into the profession of whoredom. Interestingly, in spite of Stubbes's tendency to think in nonsequiturs, he was in some ways right about the playhouse's role in the persevering subculture of prostitution. Literary scholars and historians have unearthed numerous sources acknowledging the presence of prostitutes regularly soliciting customers during dramatic performances. In fact, it is rumored that some playhouses located in the Liberties of London actually housed **brothels** that operated during and after regular business hours.

Further Reading: Pollard, Tanya, ed. *Shakespeare's Theater: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004; Stubbes, Philip. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. Ed. Margaret Jane Kidnie. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2002.

Lee Y. Blouin and David L. Orvis

ANCIENT ROME. Prostitution in ancient Rome was widespread and constituted an important aspect of the economy in terms of upper-class investment, state revenue, and female employment. Highly exploitative in nature, it also enjoyed great symbolic importance. The vast bulk of the legal, literary, documentary, and archaeological evidence derives approximately from the period 200 B.C.E.–250 C.E. and most of this by far concerns the prostitution of women. The literary

and legal evidence is by and large Rome-centered, and some of the most important documentary sources, such as inscriptions, hail from the periphery of the empire. The highest concentration of material remains is found in Pompeii.

Law and Public Policy

Gender in Rome was a well-differentiated category in a number of respects, including civic status. Female prostitutes were far from the social equals of respectable women, as their role in cult, separate and inferior, demonstrates clearly. Prostitutes were excluded from certain cults celebrated by respectable women and relegated to others, either by themselves or as part of a group of nonrespectable women. In other aspects of civic status, matters were a bit more complex, though consistently tending to their disadvantage. All women were barred from office-holding and political activity in general. Male prostitutes and **pimps** were excluded from such participation as a matter of routine, as well as from service in the army. Under the Republic, they appear to have received consistently negative attention from the censors, the officials charged with a sort of moral oversight of Roman society. Prostitutes and pimps of both genders were disadvantaged in terms of the role they were allowed to play in the civil and criminal courts. In principle, they were barred from making pleas on behalf of others (or more generally representing others) in the Praetor's court (the main forum for private law litigation in Rome), from bringing criminal accusations, or from acting as witnesses. Prostitutes and pimps suffered from a low position viewed from the perspective of both legal disability and social prejudice and so were assigned to a core category of disgrace that included a very few other types, such as actors and gladiators.

Statute law also regulated the status of practitioners of prostitution, most notably, the **marriage** and adultery legislation from the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The first, actually two laws passed in 18 B.C.E. and 9 C.E., prohibited marriage between freeborn Romans and a small number of socially despised types, including prostitutes and pimps. Thus, it made into a legal rule what had previously been subject to severe social disapproval, backed up by censorial sanction. It is doubtful that the law had much relevance for upper-class spouse selection. In any case, Augustus was careful not to punish prostitutes overmuch, allowing the unmarried among them to receive as much as one-fourth of a decedent's estate through testamentary bequest. Liability for adultery and criminal fornication under the Augustan adultery law, passed in 18 or 17 B.C.E., was grounded in the respectable status of the female partner. This meant by contrast that sexual relations with some types of women deemed nonrespectable, including prostitutes and procuresses, were exempt from the statutory penalty. At the same time, the law created nonrespectable statuses for the complaisant husband, punished as a criminal pimp, and the adulteress, who was assimilated to a prostitute most visibly through the imposition of the toga, the prostitute's badge of shame. Augustus was adept at exploiting the symbolic power of prostitution for his moral and political purposes.

A later piece of legislation, passed by the Senate in 19 C.E., forbade members of the senatorial and equestrian orders, the top ranks of Roman society, to practice prostitution. The incident that sparked this law occurred when a member of the senatorial order named Vistilia attempted to register as a prostitute to escape prosecution for adultery. The Senate closed this statutory loophole and punished Vistilia for adultery.

The state taxed prostitution, a fiscal initiative that was introduced by the Emperor Caligula in 40 C.E. and continued until its abolition in 498 C.E. Caligula's purpose at minimum was to raise as much money for the state as possible, a goal realized in such abundance that, where possible,

responsibility for collection of the tax was transferred from civilian tax collectors to the military, evidently for reasons of security. The rate of the tax was set at the price of one sexual encounter per day, though a different rate prevailed in Egypt, where civilian tax collectors continued to operate, as they did in Palmyra, on the eastern fringes of the empire.

Roman private law granted an extraordinary protection for a master who did not want his or her slave to be prostituted by a new owner after sale. It recognized the “real” validity of a restrictive covenant on sale “that a slave woman not be prostituted,” enforced by penalties of reacquisition by that master or of freedom for the slave. It seems that emperors and jurists extensively elaborated and aggressively applied the rules for this covenant, though it cannot be known how often it was actually invoked by masters selling their slaves. A Roman version of the honor-shame syndrome best explains how an owner



Couple in a brothel, 1st century A.D., Pompeii, Italy. The Art Archive / Archaeological Museum Naples / Dagli Orti (A).

might retain an interest in the sexual integrity of a slave even after alienation, that is, transfer of property to a new owner. Rules relating to prostitutes and prostitution also arose in other areas of the private law, ranging from inheritance to theft. The major concerns voiced by the jurists in this connection were grounded in questions of honor-shame and economics, meaning in the latter instance both the exploitation of prostitutes and extravagant behavior with regard to them.

Members of the elite regarded **brothels** as places of dirt and disorder, and so it is not surprising that they were subject to the oversight of public officials, in Rome, the *aediles*. There is some very tenuous evidence that regulations governed the hours of operation for brothels. A large part of maintaining public order lay in the policing of status-distinctions between respectable women and prostitutes and in collecting taxes and payments for the lease of public property where sex was sold. There were exceptional circumstances, such as a water-theft scandal in the mid-1st century B.C.E. that invited a relatively high level of official intervention. Contrary to what has sometimes been assumed, Roman public policy did not dictate the location of brothels, removing them to side streets and out of the way places, in a form of the “moral zoning” so familiar from cultures in later periods. Some property owners may have had scruples about operating a venue for the sale of sex on their premises, but in general terms, a desire for profit determined the number and location of brothels, an interest shared by the state itself.

Economics

The sale of sex in the Roman world was a cash-rich enterprise that provided investors with relatively large profits compared with the cost of urban real estate, whether leased or purchased,

and, if necessary, the price of slaves bought to work as prostitutes. Members of the upper classes had good reason to avoid identification as pimps because of the social censure and civic disabilities this entailed, but such evasion was fairly easy to accomplish through the use of slaves and others as middlemen. Prostitution was widespread and associated with a number of places and events that drew large numbers of potential clients, such as circuses, baths, festivals, and circuit-courts. The male consumer found it to be both readily available and relatively inexpensive. Employment opportunities for women in the Roman economy were bleak at best, and it is persuasive that some women were drawn into the profession by the lack of realistic alternatives and the prospect of some level of material ease. If so, however, it is just as likely that this prospect, however modest, was an illusory one, given the highly exploitative character of venal sex in the Roman world. To be sure, many, if not most, female prostitutes were probably vulnerable to compulsion by slave owners and aggressive pimps, and that explains why they entered prostitution in the first place and remained afterward.

The vast bulk of material evidence for prostitution comes from Pompeii, an Italian town buried by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. Though the state of this evidence presents great challenges to the identification of brothels and other venues where sex was sold, scholars have located with varying degrees of confidence at least 41 possible brothels, of which about half seem more certain than the rest, and 13 possible *cellae meretriciae* or cribs, which were one-room venues for sex, lying off a street or in the back of a bar. Three subtypes of brothel emerge from the archaeological remains at Pompeii: the purpose-built subtype, with a lone specimen that also stands out as the most certain example of a brothel anywhere in the Roman world; the tavern subtype, featuring rooms in the back and/or upstairs and evidently the most numerous of the three; and a subtype associated with lower-class lodgings but without a tavern. Sex was very likely sold in or near other well-frequented locations in the city, such as bath complexes, some of which were associated in turn with brothels. Scholars have tentatively identified brothels in a number of other Roman towns, including Rome itself, Dura-Europos on the eastern border of the empire, Ostia (the port of Rome), and Sayala in Lower Nubia.

See also Ancient World; Male Prostitution.

Further Reading: McGinn, Thomas A. J. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004; McGinn, Thomas A. J. *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Thomas A. J. McGinn

ANCIENT WORLD.

Mesopotamia

Prostitution in Mesopotamia is extremely difficult to study because of the problem of vocabulary. Until recently, it had been assumed that the words *kar.kid* (Sumerian) and *harimtu* (Akkadian) meant simply “prostitute.” However, it is now more commonly recognized that these terms refer not to prostitutes, but to single women not under the authority of a father figure. Such a woman can be a prostitute, but is not necessarily one. As such, all previous studies of Mesopotamian prostitution based on the terms *kar.kid* and *harimtu* must be reevaluated.

Nevertheless, some data offer varying degrees of reliable information about prostitutes in Mesopotamia. The sale of sex for money is attested in one document only—a religious text dedicated to the warrior/sex goddess Ishtar/Nanaya. Here the goddess sings (ll. 19–24):

When I stand against the wall, it is one shekel,
 When I bend over, it is one and a half shekels.
 Do not dig a canal, let me be your canal;
 Do not plough a field, let me be your field;
 Farmer, do not seek a damp place,
 Let me be your damp place.

A most famous *harimtu* in Mesopotamian literature is Shamhat who seduces and civilizes the wildman Enkidu in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (between 2750 and 2500 B.C.E.). In his dying moments, Enkidu offers a curse and a blessing on Shamhat, often seen as an etiological myth for negative and positive aspects of life as a prostitute in Mesopotamia (possibly qualifying Shamhat as a *harimtu* who is also a prostitute) (VII, ll. 116–60):

[The junction] of highways shall be where you sit!
 [A field of ruins shall be] where you sleep!
 The shadow of the rampart shall be where you stand!
 [Thorn and] briar shall skin your feet!
 [Drunk and] sober shall strike your cheek!

 [Governors] shall love you and noblemen too! ...
 No soldier shall [be slow] to drop his belt for you,
 Obsidian he shall [give you], lapis lazuli and gold!
 Earrings and jewellery shall be what he gives you! (tr. A. George 1999, 58–59)

A final piece of literature that may refer to prostitution comes from the early first millennium. In these “Counsels of Wisdom” (ll. 72–74), it is advised:

Do not marry a *harimtu* who has countless husbands,
 An *isbartishtu* who is dedicated to a god,
 A *kulmashitu* whose favors are many.

Although the precise definitions are still wanting, it would appear that *harimtu* (who, in the *Epic of Erra* [IV, ll. 52–53], is alternately described as one “whom Ishtar deprived of husbands”) and the *kulmashitu* are, at best, women of unregulated sexuality, possibly considered to be promiscuous, maybe prostitutes.

There is no clear textual evidence for male prostitutes in ancient Mesopotamia.

Israel

The practice of prostitution in ancient Israel is somewhat clearer. The most common word for “prostitute” is *zonâ*, which refers to any woman engaging in unauthorized sexuality, be it prostitution, adultery, or premarital sex. A secondary term for prostitute is *qedesh* (male)/*qedeshah* (female). The direct meaning of both terms is made evident in Genesis 38, where Tamar disguises herself as a prostitute to seduce her father-in-law Judah. Judah refers to her as a *zonâ* when seducing her, and his servant calls her a *qedeshah* when bringing her payment.

Prostitution was considered to be officially unacceptable, if generally tolerated (the hero Samson visits a prostitute in Judges 16:1), by Israelite standards. Priests could not marry (former) prostitutes, and daughters of priests caught in prostitution were burnt to death (Lev. 21:7–9). The laws of Deuteronomy (23:19) expressly forbade prostitution among the Israelites: “There shall be no *qedeshah* of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a *qedesh* of the sons of Israel.”

The understanding of prostitution in the **Bible** is only complicated by the use of prosti-tutional imagery when referring to religious infidelity to Yahweh. This is especially blatant in Ezekiel (16:25–33), when the prophet condemns Israel as a whoring, worthless bride:

at the head of every street ... you prostituted your beauty, offering yourself to every passer-by, and multiplying your whoring. You played the whore with the Egyptians, your lustful neighbors, multiplying your whoring, to provoke me to anger.... You played the whore with the Assyrians, because you were insatiable.... You multiplied your whoring with Chaldea, the land of merchants.... Gifts are given to all whores; but you gave your gifts to all your lovers, bribing them to come to you from all around for your whorings.

Greece

The ancient Greeks had female and male prostitutes who functioned at a full range of economic levels. At the bottom of the social/economic scale were the *pornai* (sing. *pornē*), common whores who either worked in the city streets or brothels (*ergasteria*). In Classical Athens (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.), references to both types appear in the comedic literature and the archaeology. The streetwalkers inhabited the main city port—the Piraeus, and the old potters' quarter-cum-cemetery—the Kerameikos. Aristophanes, in his *Knights* (l. 1400), refers to the fate of one Paphlagon, who will end up: "There [at the city gates by the Kerameikos], chronically drunk, fighting with the whores and drinking filthy bath water," while in his *Peace* (ll. 164ff.), the hero Trygaeos, soaring over the Piraeus on a dung beetle, looks down upon "a man taking a crap right by the whores!"

To what extent the streetwalkers were better or worse off than the brothel workers is unclear. According to comedic authors of the late Classical period, brothel workers spent the day naked, flaunting their wares for passersby, either pulling men into the brothel or arranging themselves into a semicircle so that their buyer might better make his selection. It appears that during their "time off," brothel workers spun and wove cloth. So much is evident on numerous vases depicting (naked) women either spinning or putting away textile equipment as men approach and offer them goods or money. Likewise, Building Z3 in the Athenian Kerameikos, long suspected of being a brothel, contained numerous spindles and loom weights, attesting to the inhabitants' "sun-lighting" jobs.

Somewhere between the streetwalker and the brothel worker were those prostitutes who worked in *oikemata* (sing. *oikema*), "little houses," or cribs. Male prostitutes, seldom associated with **brothels**, were commonly found here, if the words of the orator Aeschines (*Against Timarkhos*, §74) are right: "You see these men who sit in the *oikemata*, who openly admit to practicing this profession. They are forced to it by necessity, but even they cover over their shame and close the doors!"

In the 6th century, evidence appears for a new type of prostitute in Greek society. Called variously singers, *auletrides* (flute players), *psaltria* (harp players), and *kitharistria* (lyre players), these were trained, professional musicians and entertainers who also happened to have sex with their clients. Male equivalents of these existed, and, to judge from the vase paintings, young male "wine servers" as well. As with many prostitutes of all levels, these prostitutes were often slaves, usually under the authority of a **madam** or **pimp** (*pornoboskos*, literally a "whore herder"), and their economic value was highly regarded. In one medical text from the Hippocratic corpus, the author noted that "a kinswoman of mine owned a very valuable singer, who used to go with men. It was very important to her that this girl should not become

pregnant and thus lose her value” (Demand 1994, p. 31). These entertainer-prostitutes would normally be employed to entertain at the *symposia*, or ancient Greek drinking parties, playing, dancing, serving wine, and singing at the beginning, and ending the evening by having sex with their hosts.

Demand for such prostitutes was such that some cities had to have ordinances to regulate their work. Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians* (§50), noted that the city had 10 city commissioners whose duties included “seeing that the *auletrides*, *psaltriaí*, and *kitharistriaí* are not hired for more than two *drakhmai*, and that if more than one person wished to hire the same girl, they cast lots to decide.”

At the far end of the social/economic spectrum were the *hetairai*, literally “female companions.” There is continued debate as to what, exactly, is the difference between the *hetairaí* and the *pornê*. *Hetairai* are generally understood to have been better educated than the *pornai*, thus intellectual as well as physical “companions.” A certain degree of economic autonomy was available to the *hetairai*, which was another important point of difference, as was the fact that, while *pornai* were hired for one “hop in the sack,” *hetairai* were hired for their company, including sex, sometimes even for long-term engagements. One such long-term engagement for a male “companion” appears in a 4th-century legal case written by the Athenian Lysias (*Against Simon*, §22), where the defendant claims that this Simon had paid 300 *drakhmai* to one Theodotos for sexual access and exclusivity.

Nevertheless, while that *hetairai* may have had some degree of education and autonomy, they were just as likely to be slaves as the *pornai*. According to the ancient Greek historian Herodotos, one of the most famous *hetairai* in Greek history—Rhodopis—was “brought to Egypt by Xanthos the Samian to ply her trade. Kharaxos of Mytilenê, son of Skamandronymos and brother of the poet Sappho, paid a large sum to free her from slavery. Having in this way obtained her freedom, she remained in Egypt where she amassed a great fortune through her beauty” (§§2. 135–36). Likewise, in 5th-century Corinth, the girl Neaira was purchased by Nikaratê for use as a prostitute. Years later, two of her most common clients got together to purchase her for their exclusive use. Eventually, they agreed to sell her to another client—Phrynion—who brought her to Athens and made excessive use of her person, to the point that Neaira was reportedly raped during dinner parties by guests and wait-staff (Apollodoros [“Demosthenes”] 59).

In spite of such difficult beginnings, it was possible for all types of prostitutes to rise on the social ladder. Like Rhodopis, they might eventually qualify as *megalomisthoi*, “high priced” prostitutes who lived in the lap of luxury. Some could even become the official significant other of a single client, blurring the lines between hired prostitute and dedicated concubine.

Rome

The two most common words for prostitute in Latin were *scortum*, literally “leather bag,” referring to a male or female prostitute, and *meretrix*, a “woman who earned.” The difference between these words was mainly one of attitude: *scortum* was deliberately derogatory and insulting, while *meretrix* was neutral (much as the difference between “whore” and “prostitute” in English). The most profane of the “whores” were the *lupae*, literally “she-wolves.”

Roman prostitutes worked on the streets, in graveyards, in brothels (*lupanaria*, *fornices*) and in cribs (*cellae*), as well as at inns, baths, circuses, and social functions in the homes of employers. According to the *Lex Julia et Papia* (23.2.43): “We maintain that a woman openly practices prostitution not only where she does so in a brothel, but also if she is accustomed to do so in a tavern or inn or anywhere else where she manifests no concern for her modesty.” Brothels were treated

much as any other business: Wealthy investors bought them and their staffs for the purpose of generating profit. Suetonius even recorded that the Emperor Caligula “put a brothel in the palace, where he furnished several cubicles decorously and put in them matrons and freeborn boys” (*Life of Gaius*, 41). Brothels are often distinguished archaeologically not only by the many rooms, but by the prevalence of erotic art throughout the building.

Cribs are much smaller, consisting of a room with a stone bed at one end (originally covered by a mattress, no doubt). Some of a more elaborate bent might also contain flower pots, erotic art, and latrine niches. At Pompeii, where a number of such structures have been excavated, cribs show up throughout the city in all manner of social contexts. There was no “red light” district.

There were generally two ways for a person to wind up a prostitute in ancient Rome. The most common was through slavery, including war captives (Dio Chrysostom 7.133): “hapless women or children—captured in war or purchased for cash—and exposed for shameful ends in filthy cribs throughout the city... Neither barbarian nor Greek women—formerly free but now living in complete and utter bondage—should [pimps] put in such shameful constraint... mating humans who feel shame and revulsion with lecherous and dissolute men in a pointless and fruitless physical union ending in destruction rather than generation.”

It was also possible for families to sell their daughters into prostitution when they fell on hard times. Because a girl’s virginity and sexuality technically belonged to her father (or, in his absence, mother) before her marriage, the *pater familias* did have the authority to sell that sexuality for familial profit. So much is expressed in a lawsuit from 4th-century C.E. Egypt, when a senator—Diodemus of Alexandria—murdered a prostitute. The prostitute’s mother, one Theodora, a pauper, asked for financial compensation: “This is why I gave my daughter to the pimp, so that I might have a means of support. Now that my daughter is dead I am deprived of my support, and on this account I ask that some small amount, appropriate for a woman, be given for my support” (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992, p. 125).

In either event, the prostitute usually lost his or her autonomy to the pimp (Latin: *leno*). As Pseudo-Quintilian put it (*Maj. Decl.*, 14.7): “You who may not shut out cripples or disdain the dregs of society, who are accessible to the drunk, sold to the wanton, and, which is the ultimate in cheapness, granted nightly to the public.” Nevertheless, there is one known case from the Republican period of a *meretrix* being allowed to deny access to a customer, when the prostitute Manilia cast rocks at a high-ranking and rather drunk government official to remove him from her door. He tried to sue for injuries, but the local law court sided with Manilia (Aulus Gellius 4.14.1–5).

Likewise, some prostitutes worked independently. Work contracts from 2nd-century C.E. Elephantine, for example, were arranged between the state and the prostitutes themselves, not through *lenones*. Some prostitutes could even become quite affluent. As Macrobius recounted in his *Saturnalia* (1.10.16): “Laurentia, having become wealthy through prostitution, left the fields of Turacem, Semurium, Lintirium, and Solinium to the Roman people upon her death, and she set up a magnificent sepulcher for herself and annual rites of honor.”

This was hardly the norm, though. Prostitutes probably did bargain to a certain extent over fees, but prices were often posted alongside a prostitute’s name in her *cella*. The usual price for a common *meretrix* was 2 *asses* (*as* is the Roman equivalent of a penny)—the price of a loaf of bread, although attested prices could go up to as much as 23 or even 32 *asses*. Some of the lower prices were payment for “nonstandard” sex, such as fellatio and cunnilingus, apparently offered at a discount. Such sums may seem small, but the ability to service several customers left early Imperial prostitutes earning more than the average urban laborer.

The Romans did not think highly of prostitution, and there were legal and religious penalties against the trade. The *Lex Julia et Papia* “brands with infamy not only a woman who practices prostitution, but also one who has formerly done so, even though she has ceased to act in this manner, for the disgrace is not removed.” Such women and men could not marry outside the class of freedpersons; could not be members of the senatorial or equestrian orders, or the army; and were barred from municipal honors. Women who spent time in a brothel, even if they never actually had sex, could not be priestesses (Seneca’s *Controversia* 1.2), and prostitutes were banned from many religious ceremonies.

In general, it was men who made use of the bodies of male and female prostitutes in the ancient world. Bought sex might therefore be either heterosexual or homosexual for male clients. In one famous Classical Athenian law case—*Against Timarkhos*—the defendant is accused of prostituting himself to men so that he might afford his favorite luxury—female prostitutes. There is very little evidence for women making use of prostitutes of either sex. One possible datum is the Latin term *mulier secutuleia*, a “chasing woman,” presented as a woman so desperate for sex she pays for it.

See also Hetaera; *Porne*; Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World.

Further Reading: Adams, J. N. “Words for ‘Prostitute’ in Latin.” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 126 (1983): 321–58; Assante, Julia. “The *karkid/harimtu*, Prostitute or Single Woman?” *Ugarit Forschungen* 30 (1998): 5–96; Bird, Phyllis. “‘To Play the Harlot’: An Inquiry into an Old Testament Metaphor.” In *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy Day. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989, pp. 75–94; Cohen, Edward E. “An Economic Analysis of Athenian Prostitution.” In *Courtesans and Prostitutes in the Ancient World*, ed. Laura McClure and Christopher Faraone. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006; Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998; Demand, Nancy. *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994; Flemming, Rebecca. “*Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit*: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999): 38–61; George, Andrew. *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian*. London: Penguin Books, 1999; Lefkowitz, Mary R., and Maureen B. Fant. *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992; Loomis, William T. “Prostitutes and Pimps.” Chap. 9 in *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, pp. 166–85; McGinn, Thomas A. J. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004; McGinn, Thomas A. J. *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Stephanie Lynn Budin

AQUINAS, THOMAS. Thomas Aquinas (1224 or 1225–74) was born to an aristocratic family from Roccasecca in central Italy. Aquinas entered the Dominican order in 1243, and his unfinished *Summa Theologiae* (1265–73) represents the most coherent statement of his philosophy.

Aquinas is regarded as the greatest Western philosopher of the 13th century, in part because his views in his work the *Summa Theologiae* (*ST*) influenced the attitudes toward sex that were held as a standard in the Middle Ages. Although he regarded prostitution as a vile act against the law of God (*ST* 2–2.32.7.), a deplorable occupation (*ST* 2–2.87.2.), and forbidden by the sixth commandment (*ST* 1–2.100.11), he discussed prostitution via the tolerable beliefs of **Saint Augustine**. Augustine did not condone prostitution but understood that human nature would always produce a want for sex: “Banish prostitutes ... and you reduce society to chaos through

unsatisfied lust" (De Ordine 2.12). Aquinas believed that prostitution could not be dismissed entirely even though fornication itself was sinful. Aquinas compared prostitution with a sewer in a palace: without the sewer, the palace would be filled with pollution; similarly, if the prostitute was eradicated, the world would be filled with "sodomy." In addition, Aquinas believed that prostitution should exist to save the chastity of other women; just as the use of food is for the preservation of life; so are venereal acts for the welfare of the human race (*ST* 2–2.153. 2). Thus, this rationalization of prostitution as a necessary evil encouraged the toleration of prostitution in medieval communities and the Church. Bishops ran and owned **brothels** in London and Westminster during the 15th and 16th centuries, and they were not only owners but many were also clients as well. However, although prostitution via Aquinas's beliefs was tolerated for the benefit of the community, prostitutes were excluded from the Church if they continued their work, but there was always hope of their conversion.

See also Medieval Prostitution; Religion.

Further Reading: Bullough, Vern L., and Bonnie Bullough. *Sexual Attitudes: Myths and Realities*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1995; Bullough, Vern L., and Bonnie Bullough. *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*. New York: Crown Books, 1987; Dauphin, Claudine. *Brothels, Baths, and Babes: Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land*. Vol. 3. Dublin, Ireland: University College, 1996; Internet Medieval Source Book. Aquinas on Sex. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aquinas-sex.html>; Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Sharmain van Blommestein

ARAB GULF. The Gulf States' citizens enjoy among the highest standards of living in the Arab world. Gross domestic product, per capita, is \$22,420 in the United Arab Emirates; \$19,844 in Qatar; \$17,170 in Bahrain; \$16,240 in Kuwait (all classified by the United Nations Development Program as enjoying "high human development"). In Oman, GDP per capita is \$13,340; and in Saudi Arabia, \$12,650 (both classified by the UNDP as "medium human development"). Yet the standard of living citizens enjoy is distinguished from that of migrant laborers, because in the Gulf countries, workers are likely to be foreign. About 55 percent of Bahrain's labor force is foreign, 58 percent of Kuwait's, 60 percent of Oman's, 58 percent of Qatar's, 35 percent of Saudi Arabia's, and 90 percent of that in the UAE. Most Arab Gulf-area States are parties to the International Labor Organization's convention no. 105 (1959) prohibiting forced labor, which Kuwait ratified in 1961, Saudi Arabia in 1978, the UAE in 1997, Bahrain in 1998, and Oman in 2005. However, of the 14 nation-states currently classified as "tier three" for their failure to control human **trafficking**, four are in the Gulf. Most victims of human trafficking arrive in their destination countries for various forms of commoditized sexual and domestic labor. During the decade since the end of state socialism, markets have become one of the leading means by which the Gulf's civil and economic citizens gain access to foreign women's labor and foreign women's bodies. So the increasing visibility of young women trafficked from the Commonwealth of Independent States into the Gulf States for sex work, as well as the trafficking of women from Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and Nepal for domestic labor, is best understood in the context of a predominantly foreign work force, deprived of rights under the national labor laws and international labor conventions. States' laws are beginning to recognize what feminist political theorists recognize, which is that domestic labor and sex labor are congruent. Although Bahrain's labor laws do not apply to domestic workers, draft labor legislation prohibits sexual assaults against

employees. In each state, sex is legal only between married persons: men's and women's sex outside legal **marriage** is criminalized as *zina* (illegal sex, adultery, fornication).

Contemporary prostitution is a distinct cultural and historical phenomenon, which developed in Britain, the United States, and Australia during imperialism. In Britain, professional prostitution emerged from developments precipitated by the **Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869**. Under the acts, plainclothes policemen could identify women in military towns as “common prostitutes” who could be compulsorily subjected to gynecological examination for venereal disease, and, if infected, confined to a lock hospital. Once listed as “common prostitutes” under the Acts, women found it hard to have their names removed from the register or find other employment. Such women had often rented rooms in boarding-house **brothels**, run by women with families to support who also took in other lodgers in addition to the prostitutes. Because the 1885 Act gave police powers to close the brothels and against soliciting, prostitutes turned to pimps for protection. Prostitution shifted from being female-controlled to male-controlled. Feminist scholars' and activists' research into **violence** against women in the Arab world suggests that Arab states' regulations permitting domestic violence borrowed some of their most gender-coercive terms from European states' 19th-century laws and administrative regulations.

Just as Arab Gulf States' current laws governing prostitution and domestic labor follow British laws in professionalizing sex labor, so too do modern states' administrative regulations make foreigners vulnerable to sexualized violence. Under laws currently in force in the Arab Gulf States, women—not their clients—are penalized for sex work. Bahrain's penal code criminalizes soliciting for prostitution in a public place, with up to two years' imprisonment (article 329), and the Ministry of Interior Criminal Investigation Directorate, and the Capital Governorate's Municipal Council raid private apartments and hotels when neighboring residents complain about suspected “unlawful activities.” Oman penalizes persons for living partly or whole on the proceeds of prostitution, by means of a fine and three months' imprisonment (criminal code, article 221). In Oman, any foreigner who commits an act against “public order or good morals” or who does not have a legal source of income may be deported (law 16 of 1995, articles 31 [1] and 31 [5]). In Qatar, the penal code prohibits prostitution for one's livelihood (penal code, article 207), as well as establishing a place for prostitution (article 205). The penal code in the United Arab Emirates criminalizes habitually engaging in or practicing prostitution (federal law no. 3 of 1987, article 363). In the UAE, those who habitually engage in or practice prostitution are subject to criminal penalties (penal code, article 368).

Not only does the state criminalize those who engage in sex work, but state regulation of entry and exit means that Arab Gulf States deny individuals' travel based on objective criteria such as previous convictions abroad, as well as subjective criteria. Bahrain's courts issue deportation orders in cases of migrants' criminal convictions, as well as for other reasons in the “public interest” (article 25 [2] [b]). Bahrain's Aliens Act (immigration and residence) denies entry if the immigration officer believes the migrant has been convicted in Bahrain or elsewhere of a **crime** that makes entry into Bahrain undesirable (article 5 [2] [c]). Bahrain's health inspectors can also deny entry for unspecified “health reasons” (article 5 [2] [b]). The UAE issued a decree specifically prohibiting unmarried women under the age of 31 from the Commonwealth of Independent States from entering the country, unless accompanied by a male relative, or visiting the UAE specifically for business purposes. It is reported that Saudi Arabia deports women suspected of working as prostitutes.

Such states depend on individual (male) citizens' sponsorship to regulate labor migration, institutionalizing gender hierarchies as immigration law. In Oman, a sponsor obtains a work permit before employing a migrant (royal decree no. 35/2003). Only licensed agents may import migrant workers (royal decree no. 35/2003). Those who employ migrants without a permit are subject to fines (royal decree no. 35/2003, article 10). Without the original sponsor's consent, a migrant laborer cannot work for another person (executive regulation of law no. 16/1995, article 24). In the UAE, a sponsor must notify immigration authorities within 48 hours of hiring a migrant and terminating a migrant's employment. Work permits are only issued at sponsors' requests. Foreigners who enter the country must register with the authorities within seven days, as well as of any change of address. Hotel owners have 48 hours to notify the authorities of a foreign guest. Such administrative systems leave migrant workers vulnerable to gender-based violence from their sponsors, on whom they depend for their legal status and work permits. In Saudi Arabia, most migrant workers entered the country under the control of Saudi sponsors. Only those who entered under the recent Council of Ministers Decree no. 166 may keep their international travel documents with them or travel within the kingdom. Only those who entered under decree no. 166 can obtain a drivers' license, obtain a telephone line, or buy or rent a residence without their sponsor's prior approval. Only for those who entered under decree no. 166 do the terms in their employment contract supersede sponsorship rules.

The Arab Gulf States' laws penalize those who pimp for strangers less severely than the penalties specified for those who abuse minors under their legal guardianship and/or within the family unit. In most Arab Gulf States' legal codes, living off others' prostitution receives comparatively light sentences, when compared with the sentences handed down for threatening, tricking, or compelling others to enter into prostitution. Such differences appear to condone commercial prostitution, while strengthening family's rights over adolescents' sexuality (those with civil rights most vulnerable to "duress, threats, and tricks"). Likewise, inconsequential punishments for procurement appear to condone commercial prostitution, reserving stern penalties for those who abuse their wardship over their family members and national citizens under their legal custody. For example, Qatar forbids leading a person to engage in lewd acts with another or enticing that person to reside in a prostitution establishment whether within the country or abroad. If convicted, violators are subject to a fine and three years' imprisonment (penal code, article 205). If the victim is the child or legal ward of the perpetrator, the penalty increases substantially, to life imprisonment. In the UAE, any person who induces or entices a male or female person into prostitution, if convicted, is subject to a fine and imprisonment of up to one year, or, if the victim is younger than 18 years, up to two years' imprisonment (penal code, article 363). Persons are forbidden from establishing, keeping, or managing a place for prostitution (article 365); and one who is convicted of exploiting others through prostitution is subject to up to five years in **prison** (article 366). However, a person convicted of using duress, threats, or tricks to induce another into prostitution is subject to up to 10 years' imprisonment (penal code, article 364). If the victim is the child or legal ward of the perpetrator, the penalty may be still greater (article 367). Similar laws are in effect in Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia.

Although Gulf States' laws follow Britain's 19th-century pattern of professionalizing and criminalizing solicitation and sex work, creating a role for the pimp to introduce clients to sex workers, and subjecting convicted **pimps** to comparatively mild punishments, Arab Gulf States

differ from Britain's historical experience. In Britain, the general display of women's bodies and sexual parts, either in representation or as live bodies, became central to the sex industry, consisting of a mass market for pornographic books and films, widespread networks of strip clubs and peep shows, and marketing of sex tours. In the Arab Gulf States, comparatively weak penalties for commercial sex contrast with strong state controls over lewd publications. In Bahrain, all forms of pornography are prohibited, without distinction between adult and child pornography. In Kuwait, pornography is illegal. In Oman, any person who produces, keeps, distributes, or exposes pornographic letters or pictures or other indecent matter, if convicted, may be fined and imprisoned (penal code, article 224). Qatar's radio and television censorship office reviews materials for pornography. Saudi Arabia prohibits importation of pornography in any form, as well as any items that depict or display the female anatomy (other than for medical purposes). It would seem as though state legitimacy is derived from protection of the public sphere from symbols of women's commoditized sexuality, while commercial sex with women is widely available.

Prostitutes enjoy no union protection. They can always be refused payment by men who claim that their demands have not been met.

See also Arab Mediterranean; Migration and Mobility.

Further Reading: Calandruccio, Giuseppe. "A Review of Recent Research on Human Trafficking in the Middle East." *International Migration* 43, nos. 1/2 (2005): 267–99; Fisk, Robert. "A Nation's Best-Kept Secret: The Women Lured to Lebanon with a One-Way Ticket into Slavery." *The Independent*, 6 July 2002; Freedom House Country Reports. Freedom House Web site <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/index.htm/>; The Protection Project. "Human Rights Report of North Africa and the Middle East." <http://www.protectionproject.org/main1.htm>; United Nations. "The Arab Human Development Report 2004." http://hdr.undp.org/reports/detail_reports.cfm?view=912; U.S. Department of State. "Trafficking in Persons Report." 14 June 2004. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/>.

Elizabeth Bishop

ARAB MEDITERRANEAN. In the Arab Mediterranean, Egypt's military modernizations and France's military occupation of Algeria transformed professional sex during the 1830s. Modern militaries and the spread of disease within them required the professional description, registration, and medical inspection of prostitutes. Colonial settlement initiated a labor **migration**, and regional markets transformed economic relations between women and men, Europeans and Arabs. Artists, photographers, and *belles lettrists* depicted commercial sex in the Mediterranean. Elsewhere in the Arab Mediterranean, labor migration was significant to prostitution's administrative regimes.

In Egypt, military conscription dislocated local communities and disrupted family life. The army isolated married men, complaining that domestic life threatened soldiers' discipline and that enlisted men would share their rations with their families. At the same time, the military's demand for conscripts deprived the economically marginal of their primary breadwinner and pushed women into prostitution. Separated from their wives, men frequented prostitutes, increasing the spread of venereal diseases. Four years after the beginning of systematic con-

scription, it was realized that **syphilis** was on the rise and that medical experts were needed to deal with what already must have seemed like an epidemic.

A disease with a lengthy recovery, syphilis necessitated removal of a considerable number of men from active service. The Egyptian Army's chief physician, French-born Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey, wrote a treatise on venereal diseases in the form of a personal letter in Arabic to each regimental doctor.

On receiving this letter you must conduct an examination on all the men whose health you are required to look after, officers, NCOs, and soldiers alike. Those affected with [syphilis or scabies] have to be set aside, and particular care has to be given to the syphilitic. You have to check their genitalia, their anuses and their mouths for signs of the disease. This examination is to be conducted once every week.

Clot-Bey's treatise went on to instruct regimental doctors how to carry out an examination for venereal disease, preparation of an ointment to treat the symptoms, and how to apply this ointment. Although the internally distributed treatise was clinical in tone, a subsequent work published for a French metropolitan readership credited the spread of syphilis to a free and dangerous sexuality that Clot-Bey considered characteristic of Egyptian society. Islamic law permitted men easy access to divorce, and as a result of the climate, women were characterized by a "voluptuous temperament," according to Clot-Bey.

As much as local law or indigenous customs, Clot-Bey held prostitutes responsible for the spread of syphilis. State authorities should monitor prostitutes, he counseled, to establish a first line of defense against the disease. France's state intervened in the trade, and he thought Egypt should as well.

Muhammad Ali Pasha's May 1834 decree banned prostitutes and public dancers from Cairo. Not so much a stain on public morality, prostitutes and the taverns they worked were considered a menace to military discipline and soldiers' health. "Public women" (*al-nisa' al-mashurat*, or *al-nisa' al-fawahish*) were usually apprehended on military premises with a liberal amount of liquor and were considered a threat to the discipline of the troops and to public order. Although the Egyptian Army took steps toward Clot-Bey's ideal of nationwide control, this control was not entirely effective. Even though sex workers had been prohibited from practicing their trade around the military camps and in big cities, French novelist Gustav Flaubert found soldiers' prostitutes in Cairo who let themselves be taken along the aqueduct in exchange for a few paras. Outside Cairo, prostitutes and *ghawazi* (the name reserved for public dancers, as opposed to the more "refined" *awalim*) were free to pursue their trade in towns the south of the country, particularly Isna. When Flaubert visited Egypt in 1849–50, he knew that no prostitutes were to be found in Cairo, that they had moved on to Upper Egypt. Likewise, women worked the bustling *mulids*, or saints' festivals, in Tanta and Dessuq in the Delta, which "were known to abound ... in female entertainers."

While the French in Egypt's military recommended extended controls over Egyptian prostitutes, the French military occupation of Algeria nurtured the sexual **commodification** of the Arab woman and prostitutionalization of the Muslim female. European prostitutes portended the next century's profound transmutation of populations in Algeria. Europeans' subsistence migration transformed the Arab Mediterranean's economic frontiers, recreating that seen in the

New World. In Algeria, military grants provided land to ex-army officers; private experiments in colonization, often Utopian in nature, purchased seized lands; the state sponsored settlement schemes. Yet many who arrived enjoyed neither French nationality nor any connection to the French state, and thus little hope of acquiring land legally. For these people, rumors of wages two to four times higher than those offered in Malta or Sicily transformed Algeria into a magnet for unskilled laborers. In Bone alone, by 1850, of approximately 7,000 resident Europeans, at least 2,500 were Maltese: many Maltese and Sicilians were undocumented, so a significant percentage of settlement in Algeria and Tunisia was *sub rosa*, spontaneous, and undertaken by socially marginal people.”

As the century wore on, European men outside the colonial hierarchy wrote travel accounts, quasiscientific ethnographies, and sensationalist fiction about the colonized Arab Mediterranean. The **rape-murder** of a young Algerian woman opens Hector France’s *Musk, Hashish and Blood* (1854), which then chronicles sexual exploits throughout Algeria as the author visits **brothels** and daughters of the Awlad Na’il, a Saharan tribe whose women marketed sex to amass a dowry. Not only men wrote about Algerian women; so, too, did European women. An Arab woman named Achoura bent Said was protagonist for Isabelle Eberhardt’s *Pages d’Islam* (1900). Achoura’s likeness is displayed in the showcase of a photographer’s shop, probably in Algiers. Dressed in distinctive tribal garb, Achoura is described as “an Ouled Nail” girl. By the turn of the century, “daughter of the Awlad Na’il” was synonymous with “prostitute.”

Pieds noirs and metropolitan citizens alike purchased photographs and postcards of Algerian women, and Malek Alloula’s *The Colonial Harem* (1986) reveals this visual preoccupation with veiled or semiveiled Arab female bodies. Initially, numerous military officers—often sympathetic to indigenous society—sketched folkloric renditions of North African women in luxuriant native costumes. By the turn of the century, posed and lurid photographs and oil canvases of Arab *filles de joie* in seductive poses transformed Muslim women into Europeans’ sex objects. For either, the ideal spectator was a man in Algeria denied sexual access to respectable Muslim women. A native woman’s photographic image provided him visual erotic access to the inaccessible. Before the probing, manipulative camera, Algerian women (robed or disrobed) were transformed into nudes.

As through literary and visual representations, so too did colonial authorities raise the issue of women in Algeria society in bureaucratic or semiofficial prose obliquely. Official military records bear few references to European women’s organized or freelance sex work. Military authorities recruited European females to serve for colonial troops from the 1840s. General Louis-Christophe-Leon Juchault de La Moriciere (1806–65) ordered the commanding general in Tlemcen “to proceed with the recruitment and organization of a special female personnel who will bring cheerfulness, if not health, to the men.”

The only published account of the colonial sex trade was Edouard Duchesne’s *De la prostitution dans la ville d’Alger depuis la conquete* of 1853. Duchesne complained that native Arab women were unlettered, that “education is the best weapon against vice and sin.” He also invoked “misery,” the loss of native landed wealth, destruction of native handicrafts and industries, all stemming from the French conquest, as leading causes for Arab women’s turn to prostitution. Whereas in France impoverished women earned money as **seamstresses** or **laundresses**, Duchesne explained to his reader, no suitable work existed in the public sector for honest but poor Muslim women. As Duchesne pointed out, “in looking at the question of nationality and prostitution, it

is probably certain that the French soldiers seek out Arab women due to their strangeness and newness." Walking the streets of colonial cities, Arab women were not alone: Duschene noted the "extreme repugnance of women of the Midi [the North Mediterranean] for manual work," a northern European stereotype of Sicilian and other Mediterranean women.

Duchesne's awareness of the role of poverty and ignorance in forcing native women into prostitution contradicted his representation of Arab Muslim society as distinctly perverse in the domain of sexuality and morals. Duchesne considered the large numbers of Arab female prostitutes in Algiers striking and explained their prevalence by pointing to—what he considered—the indigenous population's debased moral state to Islamic law and traditions. As he explained to his reader, North African girls, nubile when young, were married off at an unnatural age to protect virginity and family honor. "Sexual activity on the part of young people enervates them and leads to the degradation of the race; this also leads to premature aging." Likewise, he blamed Arab women's frequent bathing, their laziness, and early pregnancies. Algerian men, lusting after younger flesh, divorced or repudiated haggard wives after a few years of **marriage**. According to Duchesne, such women, left with little means of support, had little recourse save the brothels where their clients were colonial men. Such cross-cultural sexual encounters threatened political barriers between ruler and ruled; moral boundaries were at risk as well: "the exchange of vice and methods of sexual debauchery between indigenous and European prostitutes was the consequence of the mixing of the populations."

Although Duchesne and other colonial authorities were alarmed by any threat to the health of the French Army's tens of thousands of soldiers, there lurked another, perhaps larger, menace behind the discussions of female prostitution: that of sexual relations between European and indigenous men. European males' heterosexuality was at risk in Algeria because, according to Duchesne, "homosexuality is rampant" in the native society. Duchesne explained Arab Muslim deviance by invoking Africa's weather—"in this [hot] climate, passions run higher"—and Muslims' socioreligious conventions. With Algerian women covered and secluded, and "young Algerian men are so handsome and go about in public unveiled, side by side with veiled females, homosexuality is thereby encouraged." Whether in Algiers or Paris, so-called Islamic sexual practices were invoked to argue against extending a full civic status to include Algerian men.

Tunis governed Christian or European females' entrance into the country more effectively than the French military and colonial authorities in Algeria. Until 1856, it was forbidden to bring a married woman to live in the country without written permission from the ruling Bey. Such permission was known as a "ticket," or *teskara*; Egyptian prostitutes later used the same word for their professional registration. Single women were forbidden entry altogether, unless a male guardian of high rank and proven morality could assure her conduct. Consular responsibilities implicitly entailed sexual policing. Without regard to jurisdiction, when it came to disobedient or "wanton" females, Ahmad Bey, his ministers, and the various consuls tended toward agreement regarding proper norms and sanctions when faced with recalcitrant or wayward women."

In Tunis, as with those charged with violent crimes, those accused of sexual violations were frequently deported. In 1876, Britain's local consul-general received a confidential letter from Ahmad Bey's private secretary regarding an unnamed Maltese woman. It would seem from the document's elliptical references that the Tunisian authorities had arrested her for prostitution. Although her clients were not named, that the matter was raised by a high-ranking Muslim

dignitary suggests that her customers were Muslims. Britain's consul, whose jurisdiction included Maltese in Tunisia, punished her with expulsion from the country by the first outbound ship, accompanied by an "injunction never to return to the country again." In addition, Wood promised the Bey's secretary that the woman in question would be placed with a family back in Malta "to guarantee her conduct."

Further Reading: Clancy-Smith, Julia. "Islam, Gender, and Identities in the Making of French Algeria." In *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism, 1830–1962*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998, pp. 154–74; Clancy-Smith, Julia. "Marginality and Migration: Europe's Social Outcasts in Pre-Colonial Tunisia, 1830–81." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002; Fahmy, Khaled. "Prostitution in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.

Elizabeth Bishop

ARTISTS' MODELS. Female models who pose partially or fully nude have been confused with prostitutes since ancient times. In 19th-century Europe, models were increasingly associated with prostitutes for several reasons: the professionalization of the art business made payment to models a focal point of the activity—posing became, like prostitution, an unofficial "job"; a network of models, actresses, and prostitutes formed, and some women did move between the professions; as public urban space emerged as a modern concern and as the rise of urbanization caused an increase in prostitution in cities such as Paris and London, an unwed and self-supporting woman was inevitably labeled a prostitute. Prostitutes and models roamed the streets. The latter were sought by artists at "model markets," squares where male and female models congregated and waited for work. In addition, models were often from the lower classes, and this led many to willfully or unconsciously confuse them with prostitutes. The issue of nudity is an oft-cited link between the professions: both life models and prostitutes are paid to remove their clothes. The association of nudity and money sealed the association of the model and prostitute in the bourgeois public's mind.

In 19th-century Paris, models were aligned with prostitutes more and more as the century progressed. Models were blamed for the artist's downfall in literature (in the Goncourt brothers' novel *Manette Salomon* and **Émile Zola's** *The Masterpiece*), and this theme meshed well with the Romantic view of the artist as a genius driven mad by society (here, by women). But there were defenders of the model, among them even Zola, who stated in his notes for *The Masterpiece* that models do not in fact sleep with their artists. Others rose to the defense of models for reasons less admirable—the defense of models could be a pretext for disclosing all the salacious activities thought to be those of models.

Certainly, some women have and do continue to work in both professions; however, modeling has been a profession of its own, worthy of analysis on its own terms. Western culture continues even now to conflate the two categories of women, given the emphasis on the body and the exchange of bodies for money that both entail.

See also Actresses.

Further Reading: Bignamini, Ilaria, and Martin Postle. *The Artist's Model: Its Rôle in British Art from Lely to Ety*. Exh. Cat. Nottingham, England: Nottingham University Art Gallery, 1991; Borzello, Frances. *The Artist's Model*. London: Junction Books, 1982; Hollander, Elizabeth. "Artists' Models in Nineteenth Century America: A Study of Professional Identity." *Annals of Scholarship* 10, nos. 3–4 (1993): 281–303; Honour, Hugh. "Black Models and White Myths." In *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Karen C.

C. Dalton. Vol. 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989; Jimenez, Jill, ed. *Dictionary of Artist's Models*. London: Fitzroy-Dearborn, 2001; Lathers, Marie. *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001; Postle, Martin, and William Vaughan. *The Artist's Model from Etty to Spencer*. Exh. Cat. London: Merrell Holberton, 1999.

Marie Lathers

ASOCIACION DE TRABAJADORA AUTÓNOMAS “22 DE JUNIO” DE EL ORO.

The Ecuadorian association of sex workers (Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas “22 de Junio” de El ORO) is one of the oldest organized groups of sex workers in Latin America, founded on June 22, 1982. The spark to organize was ignited by a physician working in the health department where the women went to receive their mandatory check-ups. In this period, it was still novel for women working as prostitutes to have confidence in an organization of this type. “How can a whore lead other whores?” was the way many women thought of the association in the early days. Throughout the years, the association has worked to improve the conditions of the women working in the brothels (and more recently, with street workers too). It has taken actions to improve hygiene by demonstratively throwing away all the dirty mattresses in the brothels after the owners paid no heed to its requests. In 1988, a strike was organized to protest the announced price increases for renting the rooms. The members of the association locked themselves in one of the brothels for a week to reach this goal. The organization grew rapidly because of the economic crisis that Ecuador was experiencing.

In 2000, it organized the first general strike, which included a list of demands ranging from better security and improved hygiene to stable rent prices. In the more than 25 years of its existence, the activities of the association have expanded. Not only does it continue to provide services for individual sex workers, set up special funds, and give Christmas baskets on the holiday, but also, it has grown to be an organization with the objective of changing public opinion and guaranteeing the rights of sex workers as professionals. It has published books, taken to the streets—something that is not extremely common because many sex workers try to protect their anonymity—collaborated on theatrical works, published a magazine, and organized photo exhibitions to reach this goal. It was influential in creating the program “La Sala,” a drop-in center for sex workers to increase their empowerment and to promote good sexual health. Since the late 1990s, the association has begun to receive financing from international women’s funds such as Mama Cash in the Netherlands and the Global Fund for Women in the United States, both of which have as one of their priorities the support for sex workers’ organizations and their activities.

The association is one of the few sex workers’ organizations that is integrated into a local feminist network, working side by side with feminists and mutually supporting each other’s activities. Often feminist and sex worker organizations do not see eye to eye, because they have differing ideological backgrounds. The former are commonly feminist abolitionists claiming sex work to be a form of sexual slavery, and the latter are advocates for sex workers’ rights. This often causes more tensions than collaboration. However, in this case, the organizations in El ORO share a common perspective. One joint initiative in 2003 was a seminar organized in Quito. With the upcoming parliamentary debates over a new prostitution law, the seminar sought to change political thought in this regard from a mentality that has been called a-legal—not legal, not illegal—tolerated and controlled—to one that comes from a sex worker/**human rights** perspective.

Further Reading: Asociación de Trabajadora Autónomas “22 de Junio” de El ORO en Fundación Quimera. “Trabajadoras del sexo. Memorias Vivas.” 2002; Manzo Rodas, R., M. Briones Velasteguí, and T. Cordero Velásquez. “Nosotras, Las Señoras Alegres.” Quito: Abrapalabra Ediciones, 1991.

Lorraine Nencel

ATTITUDES TOWARD PROSTITUTION: SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL. To judge from popular culture portrayals, prostitutes and other sex workers arouse a gamut of reactions: celebration, sympathy, contempt, disgust, and anger. The task of the social psychologist, though, is to go beyond the conventional wisdom and empirically assess these attitudes, while offering theoretical reasons why people at large might feel and think the way they do about prostitution. Social psychologists have not studied prostitution. Many existing studies offer decidedly banal approaches; for example, finding that men visit prostitutes because of three factors labeled “ease,” “engagement,” and “arousal.”

There are probable bases for emotional and moral reactions to prostitutes and prostitution. Sex work is a stigmatizing behavior in almost all world cultures, although in some places, the **stigma** is more transient. Ex-prostitutes in Thailand, for example, apparently do not carry the kind of “past” they would in other societies. Research on judgments of the stigmatized points to two main things that increase disapproval—if the stigma is a result of a voluntary action, and if the stigma harms others. Ideally, then, if a person practices prostitution involuntarily or harmlessly, judgments of that person should be neutral.

Debate surrounds whether prostitution is harmless and voluntary. In a recent study, Ann Cotton, Melissa Farley, and Robert Baron (2002) identify such beliefs as “Prostitutes enjoy their work” and “Women are prostitutes because they want to be” as “prostitution myths.” The study links these beliefs to “**rape** myths”—ideologies that put the onus for being raped on women rather than men. Yet these beliefs are also de-stigmatizing, tending to normalize prostitution. Some advocacy groups would instead define the myths of joy and autonomy as ideals too frequently violated in practice. Too often, the ways out of stigma for any marginalized group are a Hobson’s choice: to be cast as unwilling victims, or to be the subject of rosy celebrations that ignore the negative side of “the life.”

Even these escape routes may not be enough. Victimization does not always bring sympathy; many studies show that, to maintain their views of a just world, people will devalue even blameless victims of misfortune. Stigma is interesting precisely because it evokes irrational judgments. Perceptions of unwillingness and harmlessness only mitigate, but do not eliminate, its consequences. Evolutionary psychologists would argue that attitudes toward prostitution start from a negative baseline for the same reason that promiscuous sex is seen negatively, people with facial birthmarks or deformities are shunned, and indeed any form of social deviance involving the body raises eyebrows. In this view, people unconsciously strive to protect themselves against any trait or behavior that might signal a risk of infectious disease.

Rational or not, deep-seated contagion concerns can explain the physical disgust reactions many people, including some sex workers themselves, feel in societies where sex is regarded negatively. Some degree of disgust can be expected toward any job title that comes into contact with negatively regarded bodily substances—toilet cleaners, undertakers, gynecologists, butchers. Studies by Paul Rozin and others have underscored the irrational nature of contagion, showing that people are hesitant to eat chocolate in the shape of fecal matter, wear a sweater previously worn by a cancer patient, or drink orange juice garnished by a plastic cockroach. Sex

work, no matter how protected and antiseptic, can be expected to arouse the same aversion. Disgust and its close cousin contempt—an aversion on grounds of social status rather than physical grossness—are also notably directed by some sex workers at their **clients**. After all, they are participating in the same activities.

Anger is another moral reaction to prostitution, one tied to perceptions of harm and the violations of rights. Like a sharp weapon, moral anger needs a target and can have very different consequences depending on where it is aimed. Anger at prostitutes themselves, for violating conservative sexual norms, differs from anger at **pimps** and johns on feminist grounds. In studies of emotion structure, though, anger and disgust are very closely aligned. It takes very little for mere disgust to turn into anger, and to find a backup in the assumption of harm to others. Research by Jonathan Haidt and Matthew Hersh (2001) showed a tendency among political conservatives to justify their disgusted reactions to private, consensual sexual activity by presuming that they harm other people.

Instead of compartmentalizing “prostitution,” one controversial recent theory in social psychology offers an economic account of heterosexual relations—in effect, turning all heterosexuals into prostitutes and clients. Roy Baumeister and Kathleen Vohs, in a 2004 review of norms about female and male chastity, attractiveness, and prostitution, observed that society treats female sexuality of all kinds as an economic resource to be obtained by men. Male sex clients interviewed by Monica Prasad (1999) go a step further and see the sex-money exchange in prostitution as being morally superior to the hypocrisy of “normal” heterosexual relations. Despite these views, the social consensus tends to place sex in that category of goods for which an economic exchange is a “taboo trade-off.” Trading sex for money simultaneously violates conservative morality’s chastity values, and liberal morality’s abhorrence of sex where inequality of power exists. For these reasons, the stigma attached to prostitution will likely weather most social changes and trends.

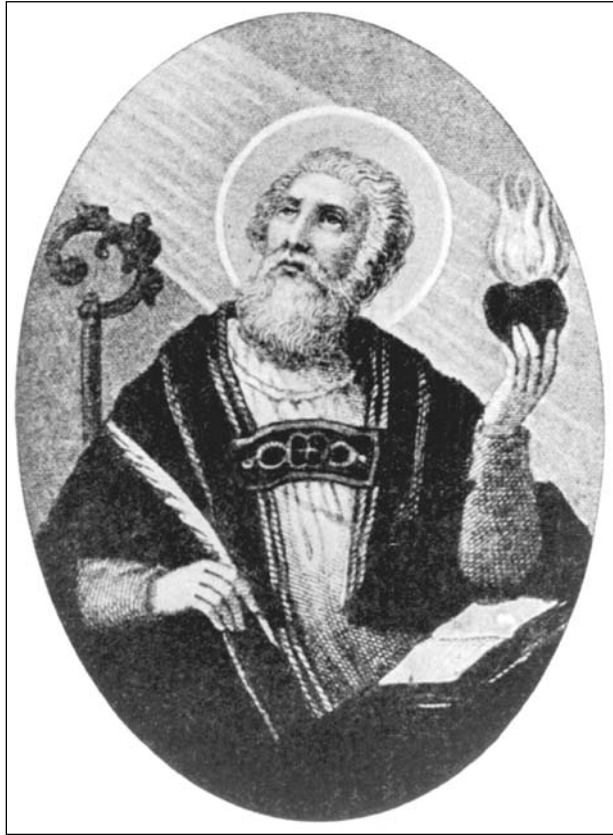
See also Pathology.

Further Reading: Baumeister, Roy F., and Kathleen D. Vohs. “Sexual Economics: Sex as Female Resource for Social Exchange in Heterosexual Interactions.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 8, no. 4 (2004): 339–63; Cotton, Ann, Melissa Farley, and Robert Baron. “Attitudes toward Prostitution and Acceptance of Rape Myths.” *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 32, no. 9 (September 2002): 1790–96; Haidt, Jonathan, and Matthew A. Hersh. “Sexual Morality: The Cultures and Emotions of Conservatives and Liberals.” *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 31, no. 1 (2001): 191–221; Prasad, Monica. “The Morality of Market Exchange: Love, Money, and Contractual Justice.” *Sociological Perspectives* 42, no. 2 (1999): 181–214; Rozin, P., J. Haidt, and C. R. McCauley. “Disgust.” In *Handbook of Emotions*, 2nd ed., ed. M. Lewis and J. Haviland, pp. 575–94. New York: Guilford Press, 2000; Tetlock, Philip E., Orié Kristel, Beth Elson, Melanie Green, and Jennifer Lerner. “The Psychology of the Unthinkable: Taboo Trade-offs, Forbidden Base Rates, and Heretical Counterfactuals.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78 (2000): 853–70.

Roger Giner-Sorolla

AUGUSTINE, SAINT. Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430), along with Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory the Great, was one of the four Doctors of the Church who were instrumental in defining the parameters of the early Christian church. Formally educated in rhetoric, he developed a keen interest in philosophy and flirted with Manichaeism but became disillusioned with that religion. While teaching in Milan, Augustine heard Ambrose, then Bishop of Milan, preach, and he began to realize that his misconceptions about Christian doctrine and his objections to the **Bible** were unfounded. He was baptized in 387, returned to Africa in 388, and maintained his status as bishop of Hippo from 396 until his death in 430.

Augustine's importance rests in his achievements in defining and defending Christian doctrine during a time of upheaval and heresy. In responding to Manichaeism and the Donatist and Pelagian controversies, Augustine laid the foundation of Christian theology and influenced all subsequent Western theology for 800 years. In a short passage in *De ordine* 2.4.12, Augustine discussed prostitution. He compared the nature of the prostitute with that of the hangman, one who was abhorrent in character yet necessary for the proper functioning of society. Augustine stated that removing prostitution from society would unleash uncontrollable lust and promote degeneracy. Augustine never equivocated about the nature of prostitution, but he did recognize its place in the natural order. Augustine avoided the moral implications of prostitution, but in a later text, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, he condemned the act, stating that intercourse should only be engaged in by married couples for the sake of procreation and that women who engage in prostitution were damned by divine law.



Saint Augustine. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

See also Aquinas, Thomas; Religion.

Further Reading: Fathers of the Church. New Advent Web site. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/>; Russell, Robert P., trans. *Divine Providence and the Problem of Evil: A Translation of Saint Augustine's De ordine*. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1942.

Clinton P. E. Atchley

AULETRIS. The *auletris*, or flute player, provided musical accompaniment at the Greek symposium, a drinking party enjoyed by aristocratic males. She normally was a slave under the control of a male brothel keeper. Xenophon in his *Symposium* described a guest as bringing with him to the party an *auletris*, along with various other entertainers. Another passage discussed the instructing of a servant to bring an *auletris* from the brothel so that the guests "might be entertained by her playing and made glad." In a reversal of sympotic protocol, Socrates at the beginning of Plato's *Symposium* dismissed the flute player with the words, "Let her play to herself, or if she wishes, to the women within." Comic fragments allude to flute girls offering their services to men on the streets, suggesting that they were not simply hired for their musical abilities alone.

Although the *auletris*, as a common prostitute, may have been identified with casual sex and brothel slavery, she could escape her origins and gain a more enduring attachment such as that of a concubine. A few flute players rose to the ranks of famous, wealthy courtesans and were often

associated with the Hellenistic monarchs. For example, the *auletris* Lamia, allegedly the daughter of an Athenian citizen, was the mistress of both Ptolemy I Soter and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Although much older, Lamia so mastered Demetrius with her charm that he immediately declared his exclusive devotion to her. To flatter Demetrius, the Athenians built a temple in honor of Lamia. She in turn is said to have built for the Sicyonians an art gallery that contained famous works of 4th-century masters. Lamia was also known for her quick and sophisticated wit. Her surviving jokes blend coarse sexual double entendres with literary allusion.

See also Ancient World; Brothels.

Further Reading: Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin's Press; 1998; Kurke, Leslie. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999; McClure, Laura. *Courtesans at the Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Laura McClure

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. Australia and New Zealand are the two nations where **occupational safety and health** standards for the sex industry are part of mainstream dialogue. **Scarlet Alliance** led the way in 2000 by publishing its Occupational Health and Safety Guide to Best Practice (compiled by the dedicated OH&S Working Group), and in 2003 the Guide was adopted in part by the New Zealand Department of Labor (OSH Division), with local sex worker input to make it relevant to New Zealand sex workers. Since 2003, all varieties of prostitution have been decriminalized in all areas of New Zealand. Each state and territory in Australia legislates prostitution independently. New South Wales has decriminalized prostitution, while in Queensland, Victoria, Australian Capital Territory, and Northern Territory, **street-based prostitution** is prohibited but other **venues and labor forms** are licensed by strict regulatory frameworks. Sex work is criminalized in Western Australia, Tasmania, and South Australia, though prosecutions are ad hoc and generally targeted at street-based sex work. Historically, Australia and New Zealand inherited the British legal approach to prostitution by which all related activities such as advertising, brothel keeping, living off the earnings of prostitution, and soliciting were criminalized, although prostitution itself was not.

The **decriminalization** of prostitution in New Zealand was particularly dramatic—the Prostitution Reform Act passed by one vote. Parliament was divided; one member abstained and the final count was 60 votes for decriminalization and 59 against. Sex workers had worked toward this for years and began their campaign by speaking out and putting a human face on prostitution, while at the same time describing the effects of prohibitions on their lives.

Both Australia and New Zealand have strong national prostitutes' rights organizations: Scarlet Alliance in Australia and the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective. Sex workers in Australia have also formed a performance troupe, **Debby Doesn't Do It for Free**, to present their messages in a fun and memorable fashion. They have shown video and art installations as well as performed at international and local festivals and conferences. "Red Light Radio" in the mid-1990s was a radio show made by sex workers, featuring stories on the sex industry in Australia. It aired a one-hour program weekly for 10 weeks in Adelaide, South Australia. **Touching Base** is an organization that brings sex workers and people with disability together. Sex workers can learn about the needs of the disabled and those who care for the disabled can gain increased awareness of the sex industry and access issues.

Australia's sex work history is marked by controversy, industry peaks, and particular hardships felt by sex workers. In one incident, after the Assembly's Speaker's mace was stolen from the Speak-

er's Chambers in Melbourne in 1891, the press reported that it had been hidden in a well-known brothel. In Western Australia, during the late 1800s, the gold mining town of Kalgoorlie had a thriving red light area with old stables in which women still receive clients. The police in Kalgoorlie openly condoned sex work; 1902 saw the first documented agreement in Australia between sex workers and police, albeit restricted to specific areas. This "Containment Policy" was used in Perth in the early 1900s. In New South Wales, Kings Cross was the center of the early urban sex industry. Tilley Devine, a sex worker who emigrated from England in the 1920s, was an infamous figure in Kings Cross and dominated the industry through **violence** and determination from 1938 until 1968. As a young street-based sex worker, she stabbed a client and spent three years in Long Bay Jail and bought her first house on her release. At the height of her reign, she had 18 **brothels** in the east Sydney area and the best cocaine in Sydney. Her last stand was at 191 Palmer Street, East Sydney, where she held off takeover bids from rival operators until bought out by Joe Borg. Borg, an immigrant from Malta, was a high-profile brothel owner, owning (among other areas) the entire of Woods Lane Kings Cross, which he turned into brothels. In May 1968, he was killed in his car by a car bomb. It was speculated at the time that crooked police and other elements of **organized crime** were involved, however, the murder was eventually credited to fellow Maltese community members who were jealous of his power in the sex industry. "Bag men" at the time delivered money from the brothels and gambling dens to police; some say this practice continued right up until decriminalization in New South Wales in 1996. Simone Vogel, Borg's colleague, left Sydney at the time of his murder and is credited with setting up the first Australian "massage parlors"—sex industry premises masquerading as massage only.

At the same time, Shirley Finn was the well-known West Australian brothel **madam**, known for her wild parties and lesbian affairs. She was murdered in 1975, her body found in a parked car near the Royal Perth Golf Club in South Perth, where she resided. The allegation of corrupt police involvement in the **murder** was raised in a State Royal Commission (Commission of Inquiry into the Matters Surrounding the Administration of the Law Relating to Prostitution 1976), but no charges were filed. The West Australia Police announced that they would reopen her files as a "cold case" in June 2005. Finn is still remembered in Western Australia; her portrait is hanging on the wall in one of the rooms of the well-known Perth brothel "Langtrees."

Sex workers in Queensland also had their share of police corruption and suspicious unresolved sex industry murders allegedly at the hands of police. Under the leadership of Detective Sergeant Frank Erich Bischof, police in 1959 padlocked the doors of known brothels and stood police next to the locks. However, a "red shilling" from brothel owners would see the doors opened for the night. Shirley Brifman worked in brothels at the time and claimed that the police would come back during the night and take more money from the madams to allow them to stay open. Police closed the Margaret Street brothels allegedly in favor of the National Hotel where Bischof and his staff had easier access to the corrupt monies they pressured from the sex industry. Brifman gave evidence during the Royal Commission and was later called again to the witness box to finally charge some of the corrupt police who were known internally as the "rat pack." She was mysteriously found dead a few days before the perjury trial of Detective Tony Murphy. Although her name is famous, there were also many other Queensland sex workers who had evidence and mysteriously went missing during this time.

See also Australian Mace Scandal; HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes Rights Movement.

Further Reading: Adams, Simon, and Raelene Frances. "Lifting the Veil: The Sex Industry, Museums and Galleries." *Labour History* 85 (2003): 36 pars. <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/85/adams.html>; Demaere, Kate. "Decriminalisation as Partnership: An Overview of Australia's Sex Industry Law Reform Model." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 14–15. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Dickie,

Phil. "Civilising the Sex Trade." Brisbane Institute, 25 July 2001. http://www.brisinst.org.au/resources/dickie_phil_prostitution.html; "A Guide to Best Practice: Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry." 2000. Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations Web site. http://www.afao.org.au/view_articles.asp?pxa = ve&pxs = 100&pxsc = &pxsgc = &id = 204; "A Guide to Occupational Health and Safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry." 2004. Department of Occupational Safety and Health of New Zealand Web site. <http://www.osh.dol.govt.nz/order/catalogue/235.shtml>; Hughes, Robin, "Ray Whitrod, Full Interview Transcript." Australian Biography Project, Australia Film and National Library of Australia. 19 October 2000. <http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/whitrod/interview8.html>; McKewon, Elaine. *The Scarlet Mile: A Social History of Prostitution in Kalgoorlie, 1894–2004*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 2005; Mistress Emma and Mistress Kate. "Scarlet Alliance Joy Bus Tour." *Slit Magazine* 8 (2005): 30–37; Perkins, Roberta. "Sexual Health and Safety among a Group of Prostitutes." In *Sex Industry and Public Policy: Proceedings of a Conference Held 6–8 May 1991*. Sally-Anne Gerull and Boronia Halstead, eds. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1992, pp. 147–53; Perkins, Roberta. *Working Girls: Prostitutes, Their Life and Social Control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991; Perkins, Roberta, and G. Bennett. *Being a Prostitute: Prostitute Women and Prostitute Men*. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985; Scarlet Alliance Web site. <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au>; West Australian Police. "Police Re-open Shirley Finn Murder File." 23 June 2005. www.police.wa.gov.au/MediaAndPublicAffairs/MediaReleases/3232.pdf; Woodward, Charlotte, and Jane Fischer. "Regulating the World's Oldest Profession: Queensland's Experience with a Regulated Sex Industry." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 16–18. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Wotton, Rachel. "The Relationship between Street-based Sex Workers and the Police in the Effectiveness of HIV Prevention Strategies." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 11–13. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Wright, Raymond. *Who Stole the Mace?* Melbourne, Australia: Victorian Parliament Library, 1991.

Elena Jeffreys

AUSTRALIAN MACE SCANDAL. On the night of October 8, 1891, the Victorian Legislative Assembly's Speaker's mace was stolen from the Speaker's Chambers in Melbourne, Australia. A little more than a year after the disappearance of the parliamentary device, the press came up with a shocking solution to the ongoing mystery of the mace. It was widely and volubly touted in the press and on the streets that prostitutes and parliamentarians had taken the mace to an upscale brothel in the notorious red light district of Little Lonsdale Street, where it was used for less-than-proper parliamentary proceedings, and then left in the keeping of the brothel. The mace has never been recovered.

Further Reading: Wright, Raymond. *Who Stole the Mace?* Melbourne, Australia: Victorian Parliament Library, 1991.

Kathryn Ferguson

B

BALLET. Some ballets feature plots about prostitutes, for example, *Miraculous Mandarin* and *Manon Lescaut*. The *Miraculous Mandarin* ballet was written and composed by Béla Bartók in 1918 but not performed until 1926 because of its sexual storyline. It was originally written by Menyhért Lengyel (1880–1974) and is based on a tale of prostitution, **murder**, and theft. The ballet entails a young girl's coercion into prostitution and thievery by thugs; they force her to lure unsuspecting rich men into a deathtrap so that they can steal from the victims and kill them. However, one victim—the Mandarin—seems to be immune to death despite the brutal attacks by the thieves because he is mesmerized by the young girl's beauty and his passion is aroused by her dance; he eventually collapses and dies but only when the girl satisfies his desires. Similarly, Giacomo Puccini's *Manon Lescaut* (1890–93) based on Abbé Antoine-François Prévost's novel *L'Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux de Manon Lescaut* relates a tale of a young girl who is swayed from entering a convent to runaway with her poor student lover, and her circumstances, mesmerizing beauty, and her love of money and materialism lead to a life of prostitution. She is arrested for prostitution and deported and eventually dies.

To understand the link, fictional or factual, between ballet and prostitution, one must delve into 19th century Europe when the Romantic ballet in the first half of the period and later the ballet specific to the Paris Opéra, in the time of the Impressionist painter **Edgar Degas**, set the standard for ballet as it is known today. Ballet flourished as an institutionalized form of dance and modern art, and not only objectified and celebrated the feminine form but liberated, empowered, and at the same time, scrutinized and controlled the feminine body. The Romantic period's family-oriented training of dance gave way to the institutionalized training in ballet schools and academies, which is when the prostitute and ballet dancer association is thought to have formed. The ruins and innovations of the French and Industrial revolutions, respectively, in the 18th and 19th centuries had launched dance into a whole new perspective. The grandeur of dance had declined from the royal male performances to the *mediocre* female performances. The leaders of this change discouraged male performers so as to emulate the female form with the

goal that dance encouraged sensual stimulation of the dancing body, called attention to sexuality, and aroused emotions. However, not only did the performers in dancing change, but the climate encouraged the upsurge of the working class and the loss of women's assignment to domestic roles. As can be gleaned from Degas, Impressionism demonstrated the themes of working women, specifically for Degas, the working ballerina and prostitute. It has been noted that the Impressionists had a "tendency to conflate women's work" and from their paintings one learns that "middle- and upper-class men's leisure is sustained and enlivened by the labor of women" (Broude and Garrard 1992, p. 234). The Paris Opéra Ballet's backstage was the prestigious venue for sexual rendezvous, and ballerinas were stigmatized by the blemish of "working-class origins and sexual impropriety" (Hanna 1988, p. 125). These working women—ballerinas—who sustained men's leisure were a source of "sexual titillation and even gratification" as these middle- and upper-class men, *abonnés*, as they were called, were opera subscribers; the ballerinas were their *courtesans*, and they were the ballerinas' shady guardians. In effect, female dancers were believed to be the "demimonde or echelons of prostitution," and, therefore, the term "ballet girl" had a "pejorative connotation until the mid-twentieth century" (Hanna 1988, pp. 124, 125).

Perhaps, like the nonconformists in the Impressionistic movement in the later half of the 19th century, some of these stories of sexual impropriety might have been rumored by cynics who disagreed with the idea of dancing and working women; however, questionable or not, the century personified these ideas and some less fortunate dancers did leave the theater to engage in prostitution.

Degas's paintings and sculptures of ballerinas show ballerinas in their genuine environment, not as beautiful swans, but as hardworking ordinary women behind the scenes of the Paris Opéra. Degas even painted the *abonnés*, in top hats and black suits hungrily observing their human investments.

The connection between prostitution and ballet is true-to-life and born out of the 19th-century ballet movement where the reality for young ballerinas coming from working-class families caused them to work and dance and sometimes be taken advantage of physically and financially. Modern ballet also offers an example of prostitute roles. In George Balanchine's *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*, a teenage Suzanne Farrell danced the role of a prostitute who is raped on top of a parked car.

See also *Actresses; Artists' Models; Opera*.

Further Reading: Broude, Norma, and Mary D. Garrard. *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992; Garafola, Lynn. Ed. *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet Studies in Dance History* (Unnumbered). Wesleyan University Press, 1997. <http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=45217>; Hanna, Judith Lynne. *Dance, Sex and Gender: Signs of Identity, Dominance, Defiance, and Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Sharmain van Blommestein

BANGKOK. Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, is a cosmopolitan city of more than 8 million people and has a reputation for ubiquitous commercial sex. This has been encouraged because Thailand was the site of rest and recreation (R&R) for American troops stationed in Southeast Asia through the Vietnam War. However, sex work in Thailand and in Bangkok has a far longer history than this would imply, and locals rather than visiting foreigners make up the bulk of clientele. Brothels in Thailand date at least to the Ayuthaya period (1350–1767). Polygamy

was widely practiced by wealthy men who took concubines until the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Prostitution intensified in Bangkok during this time, much as it did in **Hong Kong** and other centers of trade in Asia. In Bangkok, brothels were clustered in the Chinese quarter, where many unattached male Chinese laborers lived who came from poor areas in China after China opened its borders for emigration in 1840. At least two temples built by Chinese prostitutes still stand in Bangkok's Chinatown.

Prostitution was a theme of film and print in the early 20th century and continues to this day. There are numerous examples of the lampooning of elite men's indulgence in polygamy and prostitution in Bangkok's popular press in the first half of the 20th century. Many of the novels, films and columns of this time portray prostitutes as sympathetic people but still carry a moralistic message that it is better for women to remain chaste than to indulge carnal desires. The nascent feminist press of the time also questioned the sexual double standard by which women were ruined by sexual activity but men were not, and in which prostitution was a constant topic. Although the elite women who published the feminist magazines and articles would most probably have shunned prostitutes in person, some articles highlight that some feminists saw prostitutes' interests in line with their own in the face of the sexual double standard.

Prostitution is illegal in Thailand but flourishes nonetheless. There are many **venues** including brothels and bars, where assignments can be made. Go-go bars are legal entities and men can meet women at the bars. Men can "buy out" a girl by paying a fee to the bar. In such situations, sex and other money are negotiated elsewhere, so the go-go bar is not technically or legally considered a venue for prostitution. The visibility of the bars contributes to the perception of the Thai sex industry as catering to Westerners. The bars are known for elaborate shows involving women inserting and removing improbable items from their vaginas, such as ping pong balls and lengths of ribbon, but in 2004 the government limited what was permitted. The bars have become tamer. These bars tend to be open to foreign visitors and are very public, while many brothels are closed or gated and less accessible in part because outsiders may not recognize them unless they have signs in English and other Western languages. Some independent sex workers are not attached to any one establishment. **Street-based** prostitution is also common.

Bangkok is also associated in the popular imagination with **trafficking or forced prostitution**. Although coercive situations exist in the sex industry, most people are not forced into the sex industry. Most prostitutes and sex workers in Bangkok and elsewhere have opted for their occupation from among a small range of limited economic opportunities. However, Bangkok's status as an international city with greater opportunities than most other places in Thailand has led to greater migration to the city from elsewhere within Thailand. Migrants also come to Bangkok from neighboring countries such as Myanmar and Cambodia. Women may enter the sex trade in a small town and eventually move to a larger city or provincial capital. Those who are ambitious aspire to relocate to Bangkok. The most ambitious may aspire to emigrate from Thailand to an industrialized nation.

Prostitution in Thailand openly includes male and **transgender sex workers** as well as women. Bangkok has thriving gay and transgender (*khatoey*, *prapad song saow*) communities, including commercial sex. There are gay and transgender go-go bars and brothels that are similar to those featuring women. Some of the clubs are extremely lavish. Men and transgender sex workers also work independently and on the streets. One phenomenon that is present but not unique to Bangkok are sex parties with sex workers hired to entertain. This is stereotypical at Western bachelor parties, but in Thailand it is also common for groups of men to have sex with other men.



A young Thai ladyboy, or transvestite, smiles and dances “her” way through a crowd of foreign tourists as others dance on a stage (background) at Phuket’s overdeveloped Patong Beach, 2002. Stephen Shaver / Getty Images.

See also Male Prostitution; Migration and Mobility.

Further Reading: Barmé, Scot. *Woman, Man, Bangkok Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002; Jeffries, Leslie Ann. *Sex and Borders Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2002.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

BARR, CANDY (1935–2005). Candy Barr, born Juanita Slusher, was a former burlesque star who began as a teenage prostitute and subsequently led a dramatic life. Barr was one of the few burlesque performers who openly discussed having been a high-priced prostitute. Once she began commanding high prices for her stage appearances, she ended her private entertaining. In 1951, one of her patrons forced her to cooperate in his filming of their liaison, and the footage, titled *Smart Alec*, became one of the most popular stag films of its era. She has been called “the first porn star,” although no other footage of her performing sex on film has emerged. The FBI later prosecuted the producer for exploitation of a minor, with Barr’s assistance. She proceeded through a series of working-class jobs and freely discussed working as a high-priced prostitute during this time. She began performing in burlesque after taking a course in Barney Weinstein’s “school for strippers” and stopped working in prostitution thereafter, making up to \$100,000 a year as a star stripper during the mid- to late 1950s. She stayed in the public eye partly because of high-profile events such as coaching Joan Collins for a striptease scene in a movie, shooting

(wounding, not killing) her husband, serving as a witness in gangster Mickey Cohen's 1961 trial for income tax evasion, serving three years and four months for possession of marijuana, and being a friend to Jack Ruby, the assassin of Lee Harvey Oswald. *Smart Alec* is featured in most compilations of historical pornographic films. In 1976, at the age of 41, Barr posed nude for *Oui* magazine, and in 1977, dated *Playboy* founder Hugh Hefner, in spite of having sued his magazine for running a still from the stag film. In an interview, she was asked whether she considered herself a survivor. She replied, "I don't know about that. I'm an exister." She has had a career in dog-breeding and has worked to help rehabilitate drug addicts. She can be seen performing in the *Best of Burlesque* DVD and the 1964 film *My Tale is Hot*.

See also Stripping.

Further Reading: Sullivan, Steve. *Va Va Voom!: Bombshells, Pin-ups, Sexpots, and Glamour Girls*. Los Angeles: General Publishing Group, 1995.

Jo Weldon

BARS. See Alcohol and Drinking Establishments.

BELLOCCQ, ERNEST J. (1873–1949). An established commercial photographer in **New Orleans**, Ernest J. Bellocq is best known for his series of images of prostitutes and brothels. These pictures documented the women of **Storyville**, historically known as the red light district where legalized prostitution existed in **New Orleans** from 1889 to 1917. In spite of the reports that he was deformed and of lewd character, Bellocq was actually quite handsome and is believed to have been born to an aristocratic Creole family. His primary subjects were ships and shipbuilding, Catholic school portraits, and Chinese opium dens, though these pictures are lost. Some believe it was Bellocq's personal interests that led him to photograph the Storyville prostitutes. It is more likely that these portraits were commissioned either by the sitters or were intended to be included as illustrations for the **Bluebooks**, **guidebooks** that offered detailed information on the prostitutes, including their name, address, and some personal information relative to their trade. The two houses where Bellocq is known to have photographed the women were run by octoroons (white with 1/8 black ancestry), a significant fact because Bellocq was also an octoroon. Although his pictures appear to document a scandalous period in New Orleans, they more closely portray the everyday life of working-class prostitutes and serve to define an unvarnished glimpse of the sexual and economic differences in early 20th-century New Orleans. His work inspired French director Louis Malle's Hollywood movie *Pretty Baby* (1978) and poet Nathasha Tretheway's book *Bellocq's Ophelia* (2003).

Further Reading: Rose, Rex. "The Last Days of Ernest J. Bellocq." *Exquisite Corpse: A Journal of Letters and Life*, No. 10 (1999). http://www.corpse.com/issue_10/gallery/bellocq; Wallis, Brian, Curator. "The Mysterious Monsieur Bellocq." International Center of Photography Web site http://www.icp.org/exhibitions/bellocq/ICP_brochure_bellocq.pdf.

Anne Marie Fowler

BIBLE. The Hebrew and Christian scriptures evidence widely conflicting depictions of prostitution. In some texts prostitutes appear as heroines, as in the story of **Rahab**. Other texts depict prostitutes as normalized members of society. Still other texts depict acts of violence and wrath

against those who “play the whore,” that is, women who are not necessarily prostitutes or even women. Biblical prostitution can be examined in three ways as “real” prostitution, metaphorical prostitution, and **sacred prostitution**.

Biblical Prostitution

The most basic definition of prostitution is to trade sex for money or material goods. Depending upon the status of the woman involved, biblical prostitution could be either a licit or an illegal act. The vacillating portrayal of the heroine Tamar shows this status ambivalence in the same story where having sex with her as a prostitute is at first morally neutral, but in her identity as a daughter-in-law of Judah, the penalty is death (Gen. 38:24). This text also shows how the sexuality of women and girls was viewed as the property of their male guardians. Thus, adultery or premarital sex was akin to theft of a man’s sexual property. Having unsanctioned sex with such a woman is to “treat her like a prostitute” in the story of Dinah in Genesis 34:31. It is thus illegal for such women to be prostitutes in the biblical law code, and the penalty is death by burning (Lev. 21:9; Gen. 38:24). Priests were forbidden to marry prostitutes or to allow Israelite daughters to be sold into prostitution (Lev. 21:7,14; 19:29). Women without such ties (e.g., widows, orphans, aliens, and perhaps temple slaves) could engage in prostitution without criminal sanction though perhaps with social disdain (Prov. 7:10–27 and Sir. 9:3–9). Two heroes of the book of Judges, Samson, and Jephthah are connected to prostitutes (Jdgs. 11:1, 16:1) and King Solomon judges a dispute between two prostitute mothers (1 Kgs. 3:16–28). Rahab, the prostitute of Jericho, is a heroine and incorporated into the people of Israel (Jos. 2,6:17–25). Her memory continues to the time of the Christian scriptures where her faith is extolled as comparable to Abraham’s (Heb. 11:31) and her hospitality is a model for others to follow (Jas. 2:25). She is also listed with other sexually suspect women, Tamar, Ruth, and Bathsheba, as an ancestress of Jesus (Mt. 1:4).

In Christian texts, Jesus is depicted as habitually associating with disreputable persons such as “tax collectors and sinners” (see Mk. 2:15; Mt. 9:10,11:19; Lk. 7:34, 15:1–2). Two New Testament texts that appear to substitute “prostitute” for “sinner” have led some scholars to conclude that prostitutes were among the many such outcast figures with whom Jesus associated (Mt. 21:31 “tax collectors and prostitutes shall enter the kingdom of God before you” and Luke 7:36–50 where “a woman from the city” and a “sinner” anoints Jesus’ feet). Many recent feminists scholars have questioned whether Jesus really associated with prostitutes or whether this may have been ancient slander designed to delegitimize women leaders in early Christianity. Liberation scholars assert that prostitutes would have most surely been among the poor to whom Jesus directed his ministry. Pauline literature denounces prostitution, but it is male clients of prostitutes who are condemned, not prostitutes themselves (1 Cor. 5–7). In the era of the Christian text, most prostitutes were slaves and all slaves were deemed sexually available to their masters. For these women, the sexual **abstinence** demanded by Paul would not have been an option. Either slaves were not able to join the Christian movement, or, the Christian community did not require sexual continence from its slave members.

Metaphorical Prostitution

The most violent and negative portrayal of prostitution in the Bible is in the deployment of the whore metaphor. The 8th-century prophet Hosea is credited with the invention of the metaphor of the brazen harlot, a figure for Israel, God’s wayward and unfaithful wife (Hos. 1–4). What is actually being punished with violence is not prostitution per se, but a kind of metaphorical

adultery. Many subsequent prophets reuse the popular metaphor (Isa. 1:21, 23:15–18; Mic. 1:7; Am. 7:17; Jer. 3:1–10; Nah. 3:4–7; Ezek 16 and 23, Rev. 17–19). It is generally a city or territory labeled “whore” that is punished for its infidelity to God by being invaded by conquering armies who plunder, **rape**, and burn. The male leadership of Israel is depicted in this feminized manner to shock it into repentance. Often the crime that is punished is economic injustice perpetuated against the poor, via excessive taxation, when rulers acquire expensive imports obtained through inequitable trade, for example, food staples for arms or luxury items with foreign superpowers. This commodity fetishism and abuse of the poor becomes tantamount to religious apostasy and is portrayed as adoption of the idolatrous religion of Israel’s trading partners. Prostitution thus becomes transmuted into the metaphor par excellence for religious apostasy from the god of Israel, YHWH, who has a special concern for the poor.

Sacred Prostitution

With such analysis of the prostitute metaphor in Hosea and new text discoveries, many recent scholars have reevaluated the evidence for the existence of sacred prostitution in the Hebrew Bible. The main evidence for cultic prostitution was from the 5th-century Greek historian Herodotus reporting that all Babylonian maidens had to serve as prostitutes in the temple of Mylitta (see *Histories* 1.199). The basis for translating the Hebrew word *qedeshah* as “cult prostitute,” which literally means, “consecrated” or “sacred,” is weak. In the story of Tamar in Genesis 38:21–22, the word for prostitute, *zonah*, was thought a synonym for the word *qedeshah*. These texts in conjunction with Hosea 4:14 formed the basis for translating the other instances where the word *qedeshah* appears in the Bible (Deut. 23:17–18; 1 Kgs. 14:24, 15:12, 22:46; 2 Kgs. 23:7) to mean “sacred prostitute.” Assyriologists once thought that the cognate terms in Akkadian and Ugaritic texts also indicated that *qedeshah* meant a “cultic prostitute,” but the new consensus is that it merely indicates “temple personnel,” perhaps of slave status without any cultic sexual responsibilities. *Qedeshot* were perhaps in the category of unattached women able to engage in prostitution without criminal penalty.

See also Ancient World; Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World.

Further Reading: Bird, Phyllis. *Missing Persons and Mistaken Identities*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997; Corley, Kathleen. *Private Women, Public Meals*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993; Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schuessler. *In Memory of Her*. New York: Crossroad, 1985; Glancy, Jennifer. *Slavery in Early Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002; McClure, Laura, and Christopher Faraone, eds. *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005.

Avaren Ipsen

BLUE BOOKS. Especially popular from the late 19th through early 20th century, bluebooks (blue books) served as detailed print guides to red light districts and vice services in many cities. The term “blue book” refers back to the published social registries popular with members of high society known as blue bloods. Some of the most famous and most often referenced were produced and used in the **Storyville** district of **New Orleans** during the years of legalized prostitution. They were, however, also produced in many locales that had strict laws against prostitution. The books provided basic facts such as contact information and physical locations for **brothels**, prostitutes, gambling establishments, and the like. In addition to the vitals, these **guidebooks**

often rated and reviewed the services provided by the establishments and individuals mentioned. The more elaborate **directories** also included discussions of the physical attributes of the women mentioned and graphic portraits of high-profile prostitutes, **courtesans**, and **madams**. Some blue books were quite explicit in their description of services while others never actually mentioned sex or sex acts but rather discussed facilities and other physical attributes of the brothels/bordellos. Today similar information can be found in a variety of locations and forms on the **Internet**. Many modern sites continue to describe both available services and review erotic service providers.

Further Reading: Arceneaux, Pamela. "Guidebooks to Sin: The Blue Books of Storyville." *Louisiana History* 28 (1987): 397–405; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1994; Idem, Semper. *The Blue Book, a Bibliographical Attempt to Describe the Guide Books to the Houses of Ill Fame*. New Orleans: privately printed, 1936.

Jennifer Adler

BLUES. The first recorded blues artists were women. Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues," released in 1920, is generally credited to be the first blues record. Blues started to receive mainstream critical notice when Bessie Smith released "Downhearted Blues" in 1923. Women such as Gertude "Ma" Rainey, Ida Cox, and Alberta "Fluffy" Hunter, recorded songs that reflected the reality of black women in the early 20th century. Blues lyrics often involved issues of sexuality and money; quite a few touched explicitly on the experience of prostitutes. Unlike the pulp novels of this period, early blues singers did not portray prostitutes as fallen women. Rather their experiences are recounted in a straightforward manner. Songs such as "Tricks Ain't Walking No More," "Down in the Alley," and "Good Time Flat" recount troubles that working women had with money, their **pimps**, and the law. The songs that do disparage prostitutes, such as "You Can't Give It Away," are generally told from the point of view of the woman whose man goes to a prostitute; the prostitute is treated with no more rancor than any woman who steals another's man.

The black women who sang the blues in the 1920s and 1930s were beginning to explore their own sexual and financial agency. Many had parents and grandparents who were old enough to remember slavery, and the accompanying lack of choice in their romantic relationships. Female blues singers were not coy about expressing their own sexual needs and prowess.

I got nipples on my titties big as the end of my thumb
 I got something 'tween my legs'll make a dead man come
 Oh daddy, I'm gonna shave 'em dry
 Gonna grind you daddy, grind you till you cry

— "Shave 'em Dry" (performed by Lucille Bogan)

Many blues songs addressed the financial struggles that women faced. Songs such as "I'm Down in the Dumps" and "House Rent Blues" explore the too-common experience of a woman trying to get by financially after her man has left her. These songs generally conflate the sexual frustration and the financial desperation of the singer. The themes of sexuality and money come together in songs such as "Furniture Man," where the female singer offers her sexuality in exchange for forgiveness of debt. Many songs from the 1920s use the blues tradition of humorous metaphor, with women talking about selling food or other commodities.

I own a secondhand furniture store and I think my prices are fair,
 Course this real cheap guy I know came in one day.
 Saw this chair he wanted to buy, but he wouldn't, claimed the price was too high.
 So I looked straight in the eye, and this was my reply ...
 If I can't sell it, I'm gonna sit down on it. I ain't gonna give it away.

—*"If I Can't Sell It, I'm Gonna Sit Down on It"* (performed by Ruth Brown)

The bulk of women's songs about prostitution are sympathetic to working women. "The House of the Rising Sun," covered by a wide range of artists, tells the story of a girl in a brothel. Although prostitution is presented as a poor life for a girl, the woman herself is not presented as evil.

If I had listened what Mamma said,
 I'd a' been at home today.
 Being so young and foolish, poor boy,
 Let a rambler lead me astray.

A large number of blues songs concern the challenges faced by women on the game. "Tricks Ain't Walking No More" examines the issues faced by a prostitute in a buyer's market.

Sometimes I'm up, sometimes I'm down,
 I can't make my livin' around this town
 'Cause tricks ain't walkin', tricks ain't walkin' no more.

(performed by Lucille Bogan)

"Good Time Flat Blues" explores the problems that prostitution's illegality presents for its practitioners. The police are presented as obstacles to a successful business.

I can't keep open, gonna close the shack,
 I can't keep open, gonna close the shack,
 The chief of police, done tore my play house down,
 No use grieving, I'm gonna leave this town.

(performed by Maggie Jones)

Police are treated more sympathetically in "Down in the Alley." The narrator is attacked by a john but refuses to be victimized. She uses the police to protect herself from inappropriate behavior.

You took me in the alley, you knocked me down
 Now I'm gonna call every copper in this town
 You got me down in the alley
 You got me down in the alley
 You got me down in the alley
 Now you got your business fixed all right.

(performed by Memphis Minnie)

As blues became more popular, more men moved into the field, and women became less prevalent. By the late 1920s, men had effectively taken over the blues. Prostitutes are portrayed less sympathetically in songs with male singers.

I don't want a woman who walks the street at night
 She meets so many papas, she jes' can't treat you right.

—“Streetwalkin’ Blues” (performed by Clarence Williams)

As blues became more male-dominated, songs about prostitutes became less common, and women’s sexuality was presented more as something to be won or taken than to be purchased.

See also Appendix documents 9 and 10.

Further Reading: Brown, Cecil. *Stagolee Shot Billy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003; Carby, Hazel. “It Just Be’s Dat Way Sometime: The Sexual Politics of Women’s Blues.” *Radical America* 20, no. 4 (July 1986): 9–22; Davis, Angela Y. *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude “Ma” Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998; McLary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

Suggested Listening: Various Artists. *Flashbacks, Vol. 3—Copulation Blues: Hot & Sexy*. Trikont, 2000; Various Artists. *Street Walkin’ Blues: 25 Plaintive Paecans to the World’s Oldest Profession*. Mojo Records, 1996.

Jennifer Gutbezahl

BRADY, “DIAMOND JIM” (1856–1917). Born above his father’s waterfront saloon on New York City’s Hudson River and named James Buchanan Brady after President Buchanan, Brady used good humor, intelligence, and talent for self-promotion to work his way up from teenage baggage handler for the New York Central Railroad to become a multimillionaire salesman of railway equipment. Believing that diamonds were a symbol of success, he sported as many as possible and earned the best-known nickname in the era known as the Gilded Age and Gay Nineties. A gourmet and gourmand, Brady weighed well over 300 pounds. He ate huge meals from breakfast to midnight suppers, often downing several steaks and lobsters at each sitting. The restaurateur Charles Rector called him his “best 25 customers.” To obtain lucrative contracts for passenger and freight cars and other equipment, Brady provided customers New York’s classiest prostitutes and Broadway chorus girls. Suspected of being homosexual, he was a frequent companion of America’s most famous star of operettas and Broadway musicals, “American Beauty” Lillian Russell. They often rode his gem-studded, gold-plated bicycles. Later named the world’s greatest all-time salesman by *Fortune* magazine, Brady was a style-setter. Everyone wanted to be near him, wear what he wore, and eat what he ate. When he died of gastrointestinal complications, he left much of his estate to philanthropic organizations, including the Brady Institute at Johns Hopkins Hospital. Because he had no heirs, his fabulous household furnishings and art collections were sold at auction. Hundreds of his pins, rings, and cuff links were broken up and the diamonds sold to jewelers. Brady’s funeral attracted thousands of the rich and famous and numerous ex-prostitutes and showgirls his patronage made rich.

Further Reading: Jeffers, H. Paul. *Diamond Jim Brady: Prince of the Gilded Age*. New York: John Wiley, 2001.

H. Paul Jeffers



“Diamond Jim” Brady. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

BREL, JACQUES (1929–1978). Jacques Brel, the Belgian singer-songwriter who epitomizes the golden age of popular literary *chanson* in France during the 1950s and 1960s, dealt with a variety of personal and social themes in his large and varied repertoire. Although there are relatively few references to prostitution in his work, it is those songs that make reference to the subject that are among the best known in the English-speaking world. Notable examples include “*Au suivant*” (“Next”) (1964), a first-person account of a young and inexperienced army conscript who catches his first dose of **syphilis** from a female prostitute; “*Amsterdam*” (1964), a pastiche of a traditional sea shanty in which the narrator sympathizes with the impoverished female prostitutes working at the Dutch port, and “*La Chanson de Jacky*” (“Jackie”) (1965), in which the narrator, a fantasist, dreams of running a vice den.

These various representations of prostitution caused little controversy in France, given the long-running tradition of relatively open attitudes toward sexuality in general. However, certain English-language adaptations of Brel’s songs that included references to prostitution generated heated debate when they were released in the United Kingdom, and became the subject of media and music-industry censorship. The BBC received complaints from listeners of Radio 2 (known mainly for playing middle-of-the-road music) following the release in December 1967 of “Jacky,” an adaptation of Brel’s “*La Chanson de Jacky*,” recorded by the American-born singer-songwriter Scott Walker. The song was deemed suitable by the BBC only for late-night radio and reached number 22 in the UK singles charts. When “Jacky” later appeared in Walker’s 1968 solo album

Scott 2 along with an adaptation of Brel's "Au Suivant" ("Next"), Walker's record company chose not to release a single from the album as was common practice, but instead opted for a less contentious nonalbum song, "Joanna," a syrupy ballad that reached the UK Top 10.

Further Reading: Watkinson, Mike, Pete Anderson, and Scott Walker. *A Deep Shade of Blue*. London: Virgin Books, 1995.

C. Tinker

BRITISH LITERATURE. British Literature has considered prostitution in essentially three ways: a necessary social ill ripe for satire, a serious social problem including women's inequality in law and marriage, and as a metaphor for writing for the literary marketplace. The treatment and characterization of prostitutes within British texts reflect each of these attitudes. The canonical texts and authors discussed here highlight the importance of the figure of the prostitute. Unlike in **French Literature**, there has not yet been extensive critical attention paid to the significance of prostitution in British Literature.

Chaucer referred to prostitution and illicit sexuality in *Canterbury Tales*. He used casual references to prostitution and pandering to describe the moral deficiency of a character. The free discussion of sexuality in parts of *Canterbury Tales*, for instance, "The Wife of Bath's Prologue" lends itself to the satirization of prostitution as found in "The Shipman's Tale."

The Elizabethan and Jacobean comedies satirized prostitution. Although the prostitute becomes a figure of fun to be abused, she also represents a social problem that can be solved with beatings and imprisonment, or marriage. Elizabethan and Jacobean comedies used variants of the term "whore" or "whoreson" as derogation. **William Shakespeare's** *Measure for Measure* (1602–3) offers one example of the prostitute as a figure of ridicule: Mistress Overdone, a minor character, is a bawd who in her youth was a prostitute and having aged becomes a brothel-keeper. Her name, Mistress Overdone, suggests that she is not to be taken seriously. Doll Tearsheet in *Henry IV, Part II* (1598), is Shakespeare's most fully drawn prostitute, who responds to her ill treatment by Falstaff with dignity. Prostitution within Shakespeare's comedies is tolerated as a necessary social evil; in his tragedies the slander of infidelity is enough for women to be murdered.

Jacobean tragedies often end in the death of the woman accused or called a whore. Plays notable for this are William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604) and John Ford's *Tis a Pity She's a Whore* (1633). *Othello* murders Desdemona because he fears her infidelity, and he refers to her as a whore. Iago kills his wife, Emilia, after calling her a whore. *Othello* hinges on only the suspicion of infidelity. In *Tis a Pity She's a Whore*, all the women are murdered for their reported or actual sexual transgressions. Annabella's guardian Putana is less implicated with sexual activity than Hippolyta, the lusty widow, or Annabella. But the name Putana itself contains a reference to prostitution because variations of *putta* mean prostitute in both Spanish and Italian.

The connection between marriage and prostitution that Jacobean tragedies suggest continues throughout later literary references to prostitution. Marriage functioned as a means by which women could make their fortune without education or access to professional employment. The equation of women's mercenary marriage with prostitution is intrinsically ironic. Married women's inability to own property in their own right in Britain until 1882 meant that marriage rendered them dependent on their husbands.

This irony is not lost on either Daniel Defoe in *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *Roxana* (1724) or Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and *Maria or the Wrongs of*

Woman (1798). Defoe's *Roxana* exemplifies the dangers faced by a woman with her own money in marriage; her first husband takes her money, abandons her, and she becomes a prostitute. Moll Flanders is one of the most famous examples of a prostitute in British literature. Moll is kept by a succession of men, becomes a pickpocket, and is transported to Virginia. John Cleland's *Fanny Hill or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749), like Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, ends happily for the protagonist despite her having been a prostitute. The opening pages of *Fanny Hill* offer a fictionalized account of procurement that would continue to concern the British public until the 20th century. Cleland's novel is notable for Fanny's initial seduction having been performed by a woman; throughout much of the novel, women rather than men betray her.

Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* considered among other things women's lack of education as putting them in the position of prostitutes in relation to their husbands. In *Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman*, prostitution and marriage are intertwined to the extent that Maria's husband attempts to prostitute her. Maria's keeper in the mental asylum, Jemima, enters into domestic service only to become impregnated by the master of the house, is forced to leave her place of employment, and, after aborting the child, to enter into prostitution as the only means by which she could feed and house herself. One of the significant wrongs of woman in this novel is the advantage taken of women's sexuality at a time when they lacked the right to obtain housing, employment, or control of their own money on equal terms with men. Mary Wollstonecraft was also concerned with women's intellectual and moral freedom, without which women were little more than slaves, making their marriages formed without moral, intellectual, or even economic freedom a form of prostitution.

Where Wollstonecraft's used images of prostitution to highlight the tyranny under which women lived, her contemporary William Wordsworth used the idea of prostitution metaphorically. Wordsworth dreaded publication and considered writing for the literary marketplace a form of prostitution. The male Romantic poets used images of the prostitute in their poetry as figures to be feared, such as in Coleridge's *Death-in-Life* in "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," or figures of pity in Wordsworth's "The Reverie of Poor Susan."

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) refers to prostitution obliquely and in terms that will become more familiar throughout the 19th century. Lydia Bennett runs away to London with Wickham and lives with him unmarried for a time until her relations and Darcy can prevail upon him to marry her. Austen's narrator notes how the news of Lydia's marriage disappoints the potential for gossip among her neighbors that they would have found had she entered into prostitution or been forced to live in seclusion. Austen's narrator invokes the idea that once a woman's good name is lost, it cannot be reclaimed, while at the same time the narrative transgresses that idea by allowing Lydia to marry.

The Victorians did not resolve the problem of prostitution with marriage. Nineteenth-century literature had two traditional endings for women: marriage or death. In Victorian literature, the fallen woman dies after much suffering and repentance. Elizabeth Gaskell's *Esther* in *Mary Barton* (1848) and the title character of *Ruth* (1853) exemplify the repentant fallen woman. Nancy in **Charles Dickens's** *Oliver Twist* (1838) is a fallen woman who sacrifices herself to save Oliver; Dickens may have funded homes, rescue and reform prostitutes, but he did not imagine their rehabilitation in his narratives except as exiles in the colonies. The perception of having fallen, like Maggie Tulliver in George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), is enough for a heroine's story to end in death. The belief in the irredeemable loss of a woman's character after having sex outside of marriage contributed to the population of prostitutes in **London**.

William Stead's newspaper article "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," published in 1885 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, caused a moral panic about **white slavery**. White slavery consisted of the sale of British women and girls into forced prostitution abroad; those concerned about white slavery frequently cited the destinations of continental Europe and South America for the women, although many were seduced and compelled to work in **brothels** in London. Stead was a colleague of **Josephine Butler's**.

George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* (1916) plays upon ideas of prostitution and reform in its subtext. The plot is ostensibly to teach a Cockney to speak the King's English, but it is littered with references to prostitution. Selling flowers outside of a theater, as Eliza Doolittle does when she meets Higgins, was a common cover for prostitution. In her visit to Higgins's house, Eliza initially refuses the chocolates he offers her because she fears them to be drugged. Drugging chocolates that then made the women who ate them unconscious was a common ploy used by white slave procurers. Eliza's father comes after her in order to sell Eliza to Higgins, also recalling Stead's "Maiden Tribute" and the moral panic about white slavery. George Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (1893) hinges on the discovery by Mrs. Warren's daughter that not only is Mrs. Warren a former prostitute but also that she continues to be a brothel keeper. Shaw is sympathetic to Mrs. Warren but condemns the man who advanced her the money to open the brothels and continues to profit from the exploitation of the prostitutes. This attitude reflects Shaw's Fabian views. For him, sexual exploitation is treated with the same moral disgust that he considers the more general exploitation of the laboring poor.

Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938) refers to marriage as a profession, creating from the outset a connection to prostitution. Throughout the essay, Woolf connects marriage to prostitution because of women's unequal access to education and employment, and the surrendering of intellectual liberty to the marketplace with prostitution. For Woolf, the problem of prostitution is not in the selling of sex for money but in the selling of intellectual freedom. Images of prostitution feature throughout most of Woolf's *oeuvre*, functioning as a commentary on women's freedom and on writing for the literary marketplace.

Angela Carter equates marriage and prostitution in *The Sadeian Woman* (1979) by arguing that marriage is a form of sexual activity by contract. Many of her novels and short stories consider female sexuality, with *Nights at the Circus* (1984) portraying prostitution more directly than the others. Fevvers, the female protagonist in *Nights at the Circus*, makes two seemingly unbelievable claims; the first is that she is a woman with natural wings, and the second that she is still a virgin. Fevvers was raised in a brothel, and Lizzie, who would later manage her trapeze act, was the brothel keeper. *Nights at the Circus* departs from stereotypical views of turn-of-the-century prostitution and brothels. The first brothel Carter depicts in the novel is a joyful house full of women who love their profession in direct contrast with the second brothel, which functions as an erotic freak, showing its inmates forced into sexual slavery. *Nights at the Circus*, a joyful carnivalesque, moves beyond stereotypes of prostitution in order to exploit the transgressive possibilities inherent in female artistry and spectacle.

See also Medieval Literature; Romantic Literature; Victorian Novels.

Further Reading: Carter, Angela. *The Sadeian Woman*. London: Virago, 1979; Haselkorn, Anne M. *Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy*. Troy: Whitson, 1983; Mudge, Bradford K. *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Parsons, Deborah. *Streetwalking the Metropolis*. New York: Oxford University Press,

2000; Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Lisa Shahriari

BROTHEL TOKENS. Brothel tokens are metal slugs, chips, or paper chits used for payment in a brothel. A patron would purchase a token to use to pay the prostitute he saw. Use of brothel tokens kept money in the hands of brothel keepers. At the end of a shift or week or a month, the employed prostitute would turn in her tokens for her share of payment. Although tokens could be used to manipulate a worker to stay until payday, it also eliminated the chance that she could be robbed of cash earnings. A contemporary parallel is the “funny money” used in some **gentlemen’s clubs** to pay **strippers**. Clubs take their cut at the time the funny money is cashed in by the dancer.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

BROTHELS. The term “brothel” comes from the Old English *brothel*, past tense of *brethen*, meaning “to decay,” “degenerate,” or “go to ruin.” In the 15th century, the word came to denote a worthless person or prostitute, and in the 16th century, *brothel-house* was confused with the unrelated *bordel* and shifted meaning from a person to a place.

At its most basic, a brothel provides a place in which to conduct commercial sex, and brothel owners extract a profit by facilitating client-prostitute exchanges. To the customer, the brothel provides a readily accessible place where a man can release his sexual tensions and fulfill his sexual fantasies. More practically, the brothel provides a room, a prostitute, and sexual service for a fee. To prostitutes or “working girls,” the brothel provides safety, serviced rooms, clientele, and good pay. Brothels provide security and administration that individual women would find difficult or bothersome to provide for themselves. The **madam** or the manager takes client calls, screens clients, and sets appointments for the women in their employ. In effect, the brothel prostitute pays for these services by turning over a portion, or “cut,” of her earnings to the brothel.

Brothels are often well managed with clear-cut “house” rules, fixed schedules, and well-defined procedures and routines. Brothel owners set shifts, working hours, and pay rates, and dictate the services that workers are expected to provide.

Operating hours are generally from 10 A.M. to midnight or later, with a shift change around 6 P.M. Anywhere from two to ten or so women are present during a given shift depending on the size of the brothel.

Brothels

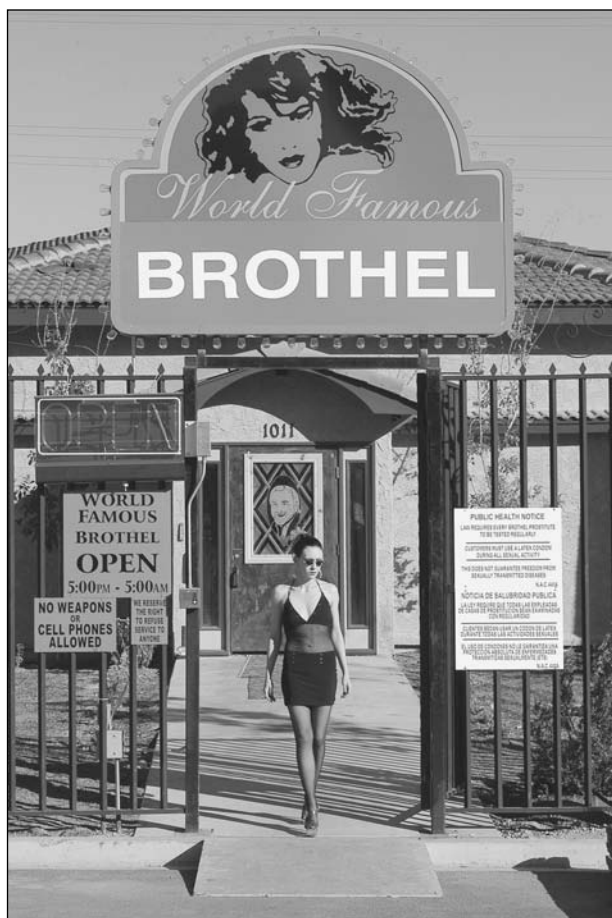
From the 1919 memoir of a prostitute:

I knew it was against the rules in any first-class house to talk to the pianist.

This is a rule which is never observed, but landladies make it, because in every society there must be some one who is lower on the social scale ...

This particular man was a harassed-looking middle-aged man who had a family of four children to support, and who wanted to be home with them at night instead of thumping out syncopated trash for people who did not give a rap what he played, so long as it was something that did not make them think. The present-day craze for rag-time has floated up from the brothel. So have most of the other crazes, unless it is the one for immodest dressing. No “decent” house of that period would have tolerated some of the styles that are seen on the streets to-day.

From Anonymous, *Madeleine: An Autobiography* (1919; repr., New York: Persea Books, 1986; 2004), 148.



Salaizia, who prefers to be called a courtesan, walks through the front gate on opening day at the World Famous Brothel (formerly the Mustang Ranch), east of Reno, Nevada, 2005. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

Well-organized brothels generally employ a manager or madam, who may or may not be the brothel owner, assistant managers (known as “phone girls” as a main feature of their job is to answer telephone calls), a cleaning person, a security person, and, sometimes, a house lawyer. In many brothels, however, the owner, along with the help of the prostitutes, runs the administration of the business as well as providing service to the customers.

Brothels are usually located in single-family houses or apartments, sometimes occupying several apartments in a single building. As brothels, for the most part, are located in residential buildings, room arrangements are conventional, including a kitchen, living room, bedrooms, and one or more bathrooms. Furniture ranges from sparse to luxurious, depending on the class level of the establishment. Living room furniture might include a sofa and club chair and perhaps a bar or liquor cabinet. This would be the case particularly if the introduction or “line up” of women takes place in the living room. Bedroom furniture would, of course, include a bed. Additional furnishings might include a bedside table for holding small items such as lubricant, tissues, massage oil, and the like, and shelves or a dresser for holding linens.

Rates are generally charged for the period of time a client will spend with a practitioner, an hour or half hour, with extensions generally charged at the normal rate unless a discount is negotiated. The service provided is fairly standard and varies little from brothel to brothel, though some brothels may specialize in particular services such as bondage and domination, sadomasochism, or anal sex. The service generally includes manual release (“hand job”), oral sex (“blow job”), and/or intercourse (“full service”), or some combination thereof. Other services can be negotiated between the client and the prostitute for an additional fee or tip. Safe sex policies vary from brothel to brothel, but few encourage the performance of unsafe sex, and many brothels require condom usage as a condition of employment.

Brothel prostitutes receive a portion or “cut” of the rate paid by the customer, the average cut being 50 percent. Cleaning or linen fees and fines for lateness and absenteeism can effectively reduce the amount earned by brothel prostitutes.

The primary prerequisites for employment as a brothel prostitute are physical attractiveness, the ability to attract and maintain a clientele, and reliability.

A “line up” is performed every time a client enters the brothel, unless he has made an appointment for a particular woman ahead of time. In some places, the women assemble in the living room or parlor and introduce themselves to the client as a group. In other places, the client is directed to a bedroom, and the available women file in one by one to introduce themselves. The client, in either case, lets the manager or madam know whom he would like to see, and the chosen practitioner joins him in the assigned bedroom. Price and service are usually spelled out over the phone and the client is not allowed to discuss these on the premises. Once in the room, the client tells the practitioner how long he wants to stay, and she reports this to the madam or manager who keeps time, knocking or ringing an intercom when time is up.

Although some brothels are sustained purely by word of mouth and referrals, most must advertise their services to stay in business. The main method of advertising is through print media, such as local newspapers and magazines, some targeted to a general audience, others targeted specifically to patrons of the sex industry. Since the late 1990s, **Internet** advertising has flourished among practitioners of the sex trade. Some brothels develop their own Web sites, while others post photos of available women on referral sites that cater to the sex trade. Advertisements generally include a photo of one or more of the actual women available for hire at a particular brothel, the general location of the brothel, and the telephone number. Brothel Web sites may also show the interior of the brothel and provide profiles of the women available.

Prostitution and related activities, including brothel keeping, are punishable offenses in the United States, except in certain municipalities in the state of Nevada. Although enforcement is uneven, the threat of arrest is a constant concern to brothel workers. Brothel workers employ formal and informal methods to avoid prosecution as best they can. These might include screening clients before setting an appointment, making clients get completely undressed and checking for wires before performing any service, using passwords or “codes” to identify regular clients, and, above all, relying on instinct.

See also Licensed Prostitution, Nevada; Venues and Labor Forms.

Further Reading: Albert, Alexa E. *Brothel*. New York: Random House, 2001; Barlow, Caroline. “A Brothel Owner’s View.” In *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, ed. Roberta Perkins. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press, 1991, pp. 133–39; Blain, Roxy. “A Female Sex Worker’s View.” In *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, ed. Roberta Perkins. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press, 1991, pp. 113–25; Brents, Barbara G., and Kathryn Hausbeck. “State-Sanctioned Sex: Negotiating Formal and Informal Regulatory Practices in Nevada Brothels.” *Sociological Perspectives* 44 (2001): 307–32; Diana, Lewis. *The Prostitute and Her Clients: Your Pleasure Is Her Business*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1985; Heyl, Barbara Sherman. *The Madam as Entrepreneur: Career Management in House Prostitution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1979; Heyl, Barbara Sherman. “The Madam as Teacher: The Training of House Prostitutes.” *Social Problems* 24 (1977): 535–45; , Morton, James. “Legalising Brothels.” *Journal of Criminal Law* 68 (2004): 87–89; Symanski, Richard. *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution in Western Societies*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.

Karen De Riso

BUTLER, JOSEPHINE (1828–1906). Josephine Butler was a campaigner for social reform in Great Britain who hailed from a prominent family. Her most controversial activities concerned the taboo



Josephine Elizabeth (Grey) Butler. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

topic of prostitution. Throughout her life, she maintained a keen interest in expanding educational opportunities for women. But partly as consolation after tragically losing a young daughter in 1863, Butler began to lend her considerable energies to charitable and “rescue” work with street prostitutes, to the successful campaign to repeal the so-called **Contagious Diseases Acts**, and eventually to the desired **abolition** of the sex trade altogether. Butler attacked what came to be known as “the white slave trade” or “the social evil.”

Butler was particularly incensed by the “double standard of morality” that indicted unchaste women yet regarded libidinous behavior among men as natural. She believed that men needed to become as chaste as she believed women naturally were. Deftly weaving women’s rights and evangelical Christian perspectives, she helped change popular impressions of prostitutes, from amoral harlots to exploited, redeemable victims. Butler saw the very existence of prostitution as an indictment of male supremacy and a cruel class system that forced poor women out onto the streets. Her “rescue” work was based on the idea that any other form of gainful employ-

ment would be preferable to women and girls in prostitution; this turned out not always to be the case.

Reform of legislation was a more successful arena for Butler. The Contagious Diseases Acts required women identified as prostitutes to submit to forced internal (**speculum**) examinations for venereal disease. Butler helped shape popular opposition to this law by arguing that the forced exam provision was itself an affront to female purity, raising the specter of unlucky, chaste women who might be caught up accidentally in such a dragnet. Further, she argued, the law was a form of regulationism that enabled “the social evil” to continue.

Butler later joined forces with the Booths (the founding family of the **Salvation Army**) and exposé journalist William Stead to expose the trade in teenage prostitutes. The group of activists gained publicity by engineering the purchase of a girl for five pounds and documenting it in the previously staid *Pall Mall Gazette*. The sensational story incited a public clamor for reform. Although Stead was jailed for a short time, Butler and her peers were successful at raising the age of consent for sex from 13 to 16.

See also White Slavery.

Further Reading: Hollis, Patricia. *Women in Public, 1850–1900: Documents of the Victorian Women's Movement*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1979; Petrie, Glen. *A Singular Iniquity: The Campaigns of Josephine Butler*. New York: Viking Press, 1971; Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Pamela Donovan



CALL GIRLS. Call girls generally handle their own businesses and work alone rather than in a brothel. Private call girls do not advertise but instead rely on a loyal clientele. Because of this, they may have long relationships with their clients. Call girls form cliques within which they refer clients to each other. When such a referral is made, either a reciprocal “date” or a financial cut is expected in return. A call girl may work for a **madam** or an agency as well as working for herself. Many call girls begin this way.

Independent escorts may advertise to work for themselves rather than for an **escort agency**. It is common for escorts and agencies both to advertise on the **Internet**. An independent escort may build up a clientele and eventually stop advertising. At that point, she would have become a private call girl.

Further Reading: Quan, Tracy. *Diary of a Manhattan Call Girl*. New York: Crown, 2002; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

CAMP FOLLOWERS. Camp followers are people who follow military, mining, or other mobile groups of men to provide one or more services, including sex, housekeeping, cooking, and laundry. The structure and function of sexual networking at military encampments reveal the legal, medical, and aesthetic cultures that support warfare, **patriarchy**, racism, and capitalist expansion. During the wars of the U.S. Army against Native Americans, camp-following **laundresses** also sold sexual services to decamped soldiers and lived directly behind military barracks in hastily erected sod buildings, log huts, and hog sheds closer to creeks, stables, and outhouses than to hospitals, markets, and mess halls. Their sexual and domestic labor maintained barriers between officer and enlisted and between “good” women (officers’ wives and daughters of clergy) and “bad” (“fallen women”). Cooks and laundresses, slaves and wives, nurses and spies have followed

soldiers to the battlefield, dressed wounds, borne children, shaved beards, heated bathwater, had their venereal infections treated, cooked food, and provided drinking, gambling, and sexual companionship.

Racial and ethnic boundaries in camp following, as in brothel forms of prostitution, are typically crossed only one way. Brothels staffed by Japanese women overseas generally did not allow Japanese customers during and between the two world wars for fear that women would form attachments and waive prices. Japanese soldiers and officers forged new and maintained existing ethnic boundaries while occupying Korea, Manchuria, and the Pacific in state-sponsored brothels (euphemistically called “Comfort Stations”) at military encampments. Caucasian officers and soldiers were throughout American history allowed to keep non-Caucasian mistresses, domestic servants, and sexual playthings.

Military authorities have either officially mandated prostitution or tacitly, if grudgingly, accepted it. Garrison towns emerged during interstate level conflicts and frontier expansion and became chain bachelor communities riddled with both conventional contradictions of class, gender, and race, but with added elements of military social structure and protocol, too. More than 100 garrisons were fortified or newly erected along the U.S.–Mexico border between 1865 and 1917 to protect U.S. sovereignty. They often aroused civil protest because they increased drinking and gambling and made sexual networking more conspicuous, leading to accusations of increased venereal infection and moral decline. Latina camp followers eventually became situated more stably in the brothels and flophouses of shantytowns and red light districts and were joined by Anglo women, both during the 1840s when General Zachary Taylor’s men fought Mexico and many decades later when General John J. Pershing led further punitive expeditions. During the boom periods of 1870–90 in Kansas, enterprising merchants, saloon owners, **madams**, and women in prostitution followed the cattle sold in Texas all the way to Kansas settler camps, swelling towns such as Abilene, Wichita, and Dodge City. Latinas and Anglo-American women today still migrate seasonally alongside Latino laborers in border zones, selling sexual services in male dormitories and bars to agricultural workers consigned to live in labor camps without women or family.

Garrison towns and the social and sexual functions provided by camp followers have engendered migration and demographic shifts, biracial marriage and offspring, changes in land tenure systems and legal statutes, and moral crusades. The five countries–wide complex in the Pacific has been described as a transnational garrison state and galvanized unprecedented anti-American sentiment lingers today, flaring up specifically when schoolgirls are raped and when the finger of blame for **sexually transmitted infections** and HIV is pointed only one way.

The meaning and implications of “choice” and “follow” are not always clear. Japanese and Korean agents (military and civilian) kidnapped or otherwise tricked women and girls from

Call Girls

Louise, who used to work on the street and now is an independent escort, learned the business while working for another woman, to whom she paid a cut of her earnings. “She taught me how to navigate New York and she definitely showed me how reviews worked, and internet ads worked, how to be an independent escort in New York City. I was new to New York, to the sex scene, and it was very useful. I don’t regret that I worked for her.”

Referrals made between independent sex workers earned a commission between 20% and 40%. When asked what she got in return for the percentage she gave colleagues for referrals, Lily responded, “The date!” Lisa said, “I get to see their clients, easy clients, and it’s their client.”

From Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Dittmore, and Alexandra Murphy, *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City* (New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005). <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/Behind-ClosedDoors.html>:

their homes, workplaces, and schools in Korea, China, and other countries in **Southeast Asia** from the early 1930s to World War II's end to serve as *Chong Shindae* ("Women's Volunteer Corps"), becoming in effect the sexual slaves of the Japanese Imperial Army. In no sense can these 200,000 or more women and girls suffering state-sanctioned mass **rape** be said to have *followed* men to their encampments, but neither have all camp followers been prostitutes, for wives of officers have followed their husbands to camps, if not also into battle. Yet other women did not so much follow as pave the way. Japanese *karayuki-san* stowed away on ships bound for the Torres Straits in the 1890s and established brothels that brought sexual and economic intercourse to the emergent pearl-shell and sea-cucumber industries on Thursday Island. Ghanaian women have been migrating to the Ivory Coast since the late 1960s to seek reciprocal transactions at camps and in barracks with migrant laborers and disciplinary force members.

Women nowadays also follow different kinds of warriors to less militarized camps; for example, the ballplayers who migrate annually to training camps, and the plumbing contractors and politicians, the gynecologists and gem salesmen who decamp at the bars and hotels that dot convention circuits. Some women and girls in Papua New Guinea ride public motor vehicles to long-haul truckers' overnight camps, while others paddle their canoes upriver to sell garden produce and sexual services to workers decamped at sites of resource extraction such as sawmills and oil exploration camps.

See also Comfort Women; Migration and Mobility; R&R; Race and Ethnicity; Venues and Labor Forms.

Further Reading: Butler, Anne. "Military Myopia: Prostitution on the Frontier." *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* 13, no. 4 (1981): 233–50; Sandos, James. "Prostitution and Drugs: The United States Army on the Mexican-American Border, 1916–1917." *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (1980): 621–45; Sturdevant, Sandra Pollack, and Brenda Stoltzfus. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. New York: New Press, 1992.

Lawrence Hammar

CANADIAN LITERATURE. Prostitution in Canadian literature can be discussed in the context of three chronological periods. The first period, roughly spanning the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, is characterized by moral panic and subsequent urban renewal campaigns in Britain and in Canada. Victorian anxieties surrounding female sexuality and prostitution are equally present in Canadian texts from this era. The second period begins around **World War I** and ends in the early 1960s and is characterized by significant social and political changes as newly enfranchised women join the workforce in support of Canadian war efforts. Many Canadian writers in this period interrogate traditional female stereotypes and explore cultural anxieties provoked by changing gender roles. The third period, from the late 1960s to the present, incorporates **globalization** and the sexual revolution, as well as second- and third-wave **feminism** and related activisms. It is perhaps not surprising then that this period in Canadian literature includes more explicit sexuality and more representations of prostitution than either preceding period.

Pre-Confederation and late 19th-century Canadian literature typically exhibits Victorian social and moral anxieties, particularly "fallen woman" stereotypes and colonial racism. *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852), Susanna Moodie's Canadian "memoir," illustrates such racism and fears of transgressive female sexuality. Moodie is disgusted by the "degenerate" Irish women who are

her neighbors in Upper Canada, and she suggests that these promiscuous and “prostitutional” women embody certain communicable social evils that Moodie attempts to keep separate from her middle-class English family life.

Half a century later, narrators in Métis writer Pauline Johnson’s collection of stories, *The Moccasin Maker* (1913), work to combat colonial racism such as Mrs. Moodie’s, and, simultaneously, to comply with Victorian moral codes. Johnson’s narrators regularly assert that the mixed-race heroines in these stories are neither licentious “squaws” nor fallen women.

Many texts published after World War I up to the 1960s expose and question lingering Victorian moral codes such as these and examine social and cultural anxieties associated with women’s growing economic and sexual freedom. For example, Charles Yale Harrison’s *Generals Die in Bed* (1930) tells the story of a young soldier who fights in World War I. The night before he ships out, the young man’s regiment frequents a number of **brothels** in Montreal, and their drunken banter when they return to barracks indicates their belief that sexual “servicing” is their due, as soldiers and patriots. The next day, a young woman he does not know breaks from the crowd to kiss the soldier as he marches in a farewell parade. He clings to her, fantasizing about running away, afraid of going to war. Yale’s text thus connects female promiscuity and prostitution with soldiers’ images of comfort and home, even as he highlights ways that such public female sexuality dangerously “disarms” or distracts soldiers from their patriotic mission.

Similarly concerned with the “dangers” of female promiscuity and its links to prostitution, Gabrielle Roy’s *The Tin Flute* (1945) includes the story of an attractive young waitress living in Montreal. Her job enables her to meet a young man whom she dates until he rapes and leaves her. The woman soon discovers she is pregnant and uses her good looks to attract and marry an unsuspecting young soldier. As the woman narrowly escapes the **stigma** of unwed motherhood in this conservative Catholic culture, Roy’s narrative highlights similarities between **marriage** and prostitution.

Perhaps because the sexual revolution and second-wave feminism produced a generation of writers concerned with the emancipation of their female characters from restrictive social and moral codes, representations of prostitution in Canadian literature have become increasingly common in the last four decades. However, prostitutes in texts from the 1970s and 1980s continue to function primarily as symbols of political oppression or resistance. For example, Adele Wiseman’s *Crackpot* (1974) tells the life story of a prostitute living in Winnipeg’s Jewish quarter around World War II. *Crackpot*’s heroine naively falls into prostitution at a young age, enjoys her work, and earns enough to support herself and her blind father after her mother’s death. Although this young protagonist works out of her bedroom in the house she shares with her father, she, her customers, and her neighbors—including the local rabbis—take pains to ensure her father believes she is a private teacher. Wiseman thus uses this prostitute to explore, among other things, Old versus New World Jewish communal traditions and social hierarchies, familial love, and Canadian socialism. In doing so, Wiseman illustrates the “natural” place of prostitution in current social contexts.

Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale* (1985) similarly uses prostitution to interrogate forms of political and sexual oppression and resistance. In this novel, a middle-class North American woman survives an extremist religious revolution and thus becomes a “handmaiden” in the biblical sense to a childless “Commander” and his wife in the newly established police state of Gilead. With handmaidens’ and wives’ social responsibilities in Gilead reduced to childbearing and child rearing, respectively, Atwood’s text overtly illustrates the sexual exploitation of women that radical second-wave feminists suggest underlies Western culture. However, even in

this intensely regulated world, an underground brothel system exists. This underground form of female prostitution is at the heart of political resistance in Gilead, even as Gilead's oppressive society is organized around another form of female prostitution.

Daphne Marlatt's *Ana Historic* (1988) likewise describes female sex work as a potential site of resistance to oppressive patriarchal social structures. Intrigued by a passing reference in a Canadian history book to a woman whose first name is not given, Marlatt's middle-aged female protagonist imagines a name and writes a personal history for this woman. As Marlatt's protagonist prepares to leave her own passionless heterosexual marriage and begin a lesbian affair, she first imagines her historical heroine achieving similar sexual and self-fulfillment in her dreary colonial life. Interestingly, the historical heroine only finds this fulfillment in the town brothel. She has an affair with the madam, a woman who freely acknowledges the suppression of female **desire** often inherent to her work as well as the unique social and sexual freedom she enjoys, living as she does in the margins of colonial society.

In the last decade and a half, a growing body of Canadian literature treats sex work and sex workers as more than "a social issue" or the embodiment of restrictive sociopolitical times. Third-wave, or post-1980s feminism, as well as queer theory and activism, and increasingly powerful national and international prostitutes' rights movements have perhaps contributed to and/or been influenced by these increasingly multifaceted and complex representations of prostitution. For example, Dionne Brand's *At the Full and Change of the Moon* (1999) includes a black protagonist whose experiences as a prostitute teach her self love. And Rebecca Godfrey's *The Torn Skirt* (2001) features an adolescent white girl who becomes a street kid because she idolizes a young prostitute who may or may not be another persona in her increasingly fragmented psyche.

In contrast, some contemporary representations of sex work continue to expose and undercut forces that "naturalize" the dangers inherent in current forms of female prostitution. Tomson Highway's *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (1998) details a series of ghastly rapes and murders of aboriginal sex workers in Edmonton. And Evelyn Lau's narrators in *Fresh Girls and Other Stories* (1993) describe the dark and often depressing working conditions they experience in a Vancouver brothel. Highlighting again some of the class and race issues with which texts such as Brand's, Godfrey's, Highway's, and Lau's engage, Maggie de Vries's *Missing Sarah* (2003) is a pieced-together biography of de Vries's adopted sister, a young woman of mixed race who chooses sex work and street life over high school and a dysfunctional but loving family life in a white middle-class Vancouver suburb. De Vries's sister is one of the many missing women presumed dead after police investigators found her DNA on a suspected murderer's property in 2002.

A number of contemporary Canadian texts feature extended first-person narratives that insist on prostitutes' right to tell and interpret their own stories. For example, the guest editors of feminist journal *Fireweed's Sex Work Issue* (1998) introduced this collection of short stories, poems, and essays as texts written, selected, and edited entirely by sex workers without editorial assistance or critical analyses by academic feminists or other "experts." Similarly, Nelly Arcan's novel, *Whore* (published in English in 2004), features a female protagonist who shares and analyzes the story of her life and work in a Montreal brothel. Arcan's heroine asserts that she finds in her profession means of resisting and undercutting the effects of her suffocating Roman Catholic upbringing and education. Tamara Berger's female heroine in *The Way of the Whore* (2004) also unapologetically chooses prostitution. And although she invites readers to analyze and understand the sexual pleasure she experiences in her work, she repeatedly complicates any understanding of this pleasure by reminiscing about the sexual "initiations" she participates in as a young girl with her cousin and his friends, and with a pedophilic older man.

Historical and contemporary representations of prostitution in Canadian literature have inspired and developed alongside a variety of sociopolitical and cultural moments in Canadian and international history.

See also Fallen Woman Trope; Feminism.

Further Reading: Bell, Shannon. *Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994; Brock, Debi. *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998; Campbell, Maria. *Halfbreed*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973; Dickinson, Peter. *Here Is Queer: Nationalisms, Sexualities and the Literatures of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999; Maggie's & the Prostitutes' Safe Sex Project. www.walnet.org/csis/groups/maggies/; McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Shawna Ferris

CARIBBEAN. Caribbean countries have entered the world economy through the **violence** of Spanish, British, French, Danish, and Dutch imperialisms, the massive extermination of native populations, slavery, and indentured labor. Today they are influenced by U.S. political, economic and military influence. Prostitution has occupied an important, if ambivalent, position in the history of the Caribbean. It has functioned as the economic expression of constructions of the area and its people as "exotic," as a source of income for women and men in economies increasingly dependent on **tourism**, and as a means of survival through rural-urban, intraregional, and international migrations.

The perception of Caribbean bodies as exotic "others" in the European imagination begins with the chronicles written by Christopher Columbus and numerous other colonial entrepreneurs and travelers seeking to quench the thirst of publics eager to consume new natural landscapes, resources, and customs. These representations underlined the behavioral, physical, and sexual excess represented by these native bodies, contributing to the constitution of a European modern "self" in opposition to these "others." Crucial to images of feisty and sexually dissolute Caribbean men and women were their black and brown skins, which were fundamentally linked to racist perceptions that denied their humanity. These images have survived in the colonial/tourist imagination as alternatives to the complexities of Western identities and modern life. Be it as they provided an alternative world to colonial travelers or a space of entertainment and leisure of today's tourists, Caribbean peoples' physicality and sexuality are deeply tied to the construction of their bodies as desirable commodities to be had by outsiders. Indeed, the exchange of goods and capital for sexual favors has been so pervasive in the region as to constitute an inevitable point of reference and contention in discussions of local and national identities, even among populations who are not directly involved in sex work.

Prostitution has also operated as a point of reference for the negotiation of local hierarchies of power. In postemancipation and postcolonial Caribbean societies, local elites have generally put forward conceptualizations of national identity that could allow them to exercise power over poor and marginalized populations. Morality and hygiene campaigns, crucial to early definitions of the nation, advanced national womanhood as the "norm" when it conformed to ideals of respectability linked to the domestic sphere and to reproduction. Prostitutes, whose sexual agency was exercised outside of the domestic sphere and who tended to be predominantly working-class and dark-skinned women, became the targets of these campaigns by social reformers, feminists, and nationalist leaders. For postemancipation and postcolonial Caribbean societies,

it was important to fashion nationalist projects endorsing forms of femininity that stood at some distance from colonialist representations of Caribbean women. However, the legacy of the erotic Caribbean body survived in the sexualized image of the brown/black working-class woman. Nationalist leaders and intellectuals often sung the praises of working women of mixed race and working-class backgrounds. The alleged sensuality and sexual licentiousness projected onto these women served as an antidote, in the nationalist imaginary, to the sanitized wives and mothers of the nation. This legacy continues to haunt the ways that various Caribbean states deal with their economic dependency on tourism.

Poor women were the main targets of hygiene and morality campaigns, for prostitution had been one income-generating activity for women who had few economic sectors available to them. The cultivation of crops for export meant that, from the very beginning, economic activities in the Caribbean were directed at consumption by Europeans and North Americans. Although women participated in some activities related to the cultivation of sugar cane and bananas, for instance, their labor prospects within these central arenas of economic life were more limited than those of men. Prostitution was and continues to be a highly stigmatized activity, which often occurs in the context of exploitative relations. Nevertheless, it has been one of the few areas in which working class and poor women could sometimes exercise autonomy over their working conditions. Depending on the island, country, or region of the Caribbean, the sex trade could be organized around **brothels** and bars through the mediating presence of **pimps**. However, this has not been uniformly the case. The organization of sex work in some locations allowed women to work independently or through informal arrangements made with local establishments targeting potential clients as well as local authorities.

The visibility of men and women in contemporary Caribbean prostitution owes much to the historical role played by the sex trade in the daily lives of poor people in the region. However, recent economic and social trends have put men and women in positions where prostitution appears to be one of very few ways to survive. The decline in the world prices of sugar and the receding economic viability of traditional agricultural economies have been substituted by high rates of unemployment and growing numbers of Export Processing Zones, tax-free regions used by multinationals to reduce manufacturing wages in “developed” nations and that prefer the labor of young women seen by employers as “docile.” The growth of economic activities tied to tourism is another major development in the region. Along with these processes, states have generally only cracked down on prostitution and other informal activities when they have threatened the reputations of their countries as preferential tourist destinations. Otherwise, there has generally been state tolerance of the entrance of young women into sexual/economic exchanges with foreign men.

Fundamental transformations in the relationship of the Caribbean region to the global economy have also put men in positions where prostitution seems like a viable economic activity. The growth of gay sex tourism since the 1970s has been coupled with the increasing numbers of women tourists looking to engage in sexual/economic exchanges with local men. Crucial to these exchanges has been the construction of hyper-masculine Caribbean males. They may be seen as the sexually insatiable beach boy (Jamaica), *sanky panky* (Dominican Republic), or *jinettero* (Cuba), but representations of the sexual prowess of Caribbean males build on the racist legacies of colonialism and slavery.

The sexualized images of Caribbean men and women as objects of desire have often incorporated the immobility of these populations, in contrast to the mobility of colonial entrepreneurs, travelers, and tourists. However, it has become increasingly clear that apart from being a

viable economic activity for people of limited means and though girls are generally much more vulnerable to sexual coercion into sex **trafficking** than boys, prostitution has given some men and women the opportunity to move out of their areas of origin in pursuit of social and economic advancement. In the Caribbean, the demand for sexual services has acted as a “pull” factor for rural populations unable to sustain their loved ones on earnings from agriculture. Population displacement of Haitian female and male sex workers to tourist destinations in the Dominican Republic, and of Cuban, Haitian, and Dominican prostitutes to smaller Caribbean islands such as Curacao, are examples of displacements within the region that have been produced by the unevenness of the development of sex tourism economies.

Finally, prostitution has provided some men and women from the Caribbean with opportunities to migrate internationally. The demand of sex workers from particular nationalities in Europe, for instance, suggests that there may be differences in the way in which specific national/ethnic groups are perceived within the sex trade. But a consideration of these particularities should also take into account immigration policies in sending and receiving countries as well as governmental deficiencies or relative tolerance to the proliferation of sex trafficking operations. It is almost impossible to make exact calculations of their international presence, but the number of Dominican women and girls migrating abroad for prostitution has been estimated to be somewhere between 50,000–65,000. This estimate makes the Dominican Republic fourth in the world, second in the Americas, and a leader in the Caribbean in numbers of women and girls leaving the country for such purposes. This number, which is considered high in relation to the region but especially in relation to the overall population of almost 9 million in this country, has brought a visibility to Dominican women in the world sex trade that many Dominican women migrants have to negotiate regardless of whether or not they engage in sex work. As a country heavily dependent on remittances, the overall proportion of estimated Dominican prostitutes begs the further question of the economic benefits that activities connected to prostitution bring to this country. The visibility of the prostitution and sexual trafficking of Dominican women has been investigated and exposed most within **human rights** scholarship and advocacy. Scholars in other fields have only recently begun to wrestle with questions raised by these activities in the daily lives of the men and women sex workers as well as their **clients**.

For regions such as the Caribbean, the legacies of violent colonialisms, slavery, and indentured labor survive in the ways that prostitution is part of a larger network of economic activities that render countries and peoples dependent on the patterns of consumption of people from richer countries. But even within fields of severely restricted agency and unequal power relations, men and women from the region have found creative ways of negotiating the inequalities and chains of exploitation within which they live, including sexual exchange.

See also Globalization; Migration and Mobility; Stigma.

Further Reading: Alexander, M. Jacqui. “Imperial Desire/Sexual Utopias: White Gay Capital and Transnational Tourism.” In *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*, ed. Ella Shohat. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998, pp. 281–305; Kempadoo, Kamala. *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor*. New York: Routledge, 2004; Kempadoo, Kamala, ed. *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999; Padilla, Mark. “Looking for Life: Male Sex Work, HIV/AIDS, and the Political Economy of Gay Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic.” PhD diss., Emory University, 2003; Sheller, Mimi. *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Carlos Ulises Decena

CENTRAL AMERICA. The few studies of prostitution in Central America have tended to focus on the individual countries rather than the region as a whole and underscore the differences in the generally state-regulated systems of commercial sex in the past. For example, in the early part of the 20th century, vast differences existed in state policies toward prostitution in Guatemala and in Costa Rica. The economic development of the two nations followed similar trajectories of booms in coffee exporting in the second half of the 19th century, but labor relations and the role of the state in enforcing them differed significantly. In Guatemala, any woman, prostitute or not, convicted of bad conduct could be legally incarcerated in a house of prostitution for a period of three years. Individual women and their debts were bought and sold between **madams**, a practice legal until 1906, and rigorously enforced by the state. In Costa Rica, by contrast, the system was not repressive, as prostitutes in violation of the regulation laws were rarely incarcerated and paid light fines. Evidence suggests that prostitution was heavy in such countries as Panama (with its long history of economies of transit), but the role of prostitution there as well as the rest of Central America has yet to be comprehensively analyzed.

Today, the **globalization** of sex—that is the opening of national borders to the great demand for all forms of sex—has made **tourism**, including sex tourism, a staple of the economies of all nations of Central America, reflecting the willingness of governments to bring in foreign exchange (mostly dollars), regardless of the social costs. In all nations of Central America, prostitution is legal or semilegal for varying ages of men and women, yet relaxed enforcement of laws prohibiting underaged prostitution has resulted in abuses, while the concern over HIV/AIDS has replaced past fears of **syphilis**. The most developed sex tourism industry, equaling that of “eco-tourism,” is centered in Costa Rica where **Internet** enticements claim that country to be the “Thailand of the West.”

Throughout the isthmus, the presence of organized rings of pedophiles and procurers, large flows of money, and advanced technology have been responsible for the **trafficking** of children as sexual merchandise, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Moreover, the case of Honduras, arguably the poorest nation of all, illustrates the human devastation wrought by AIDS. The online **human rights** organization LibertadLatina.org estimated in January 2004 that in San Pedro Sula, Honduras’ second-largest city located near the Atlantic **ports**, as many as 240,000—nearly one-half of all residents—are infected with HIV/AIDS, placing this country in league with the most severely affected areas of Africa. A 1998 study of prostitutes in Central America (excluding Panama and Belize) showed that Honduras was the most affected country, with 54 percent of all reported cases of AIDS in the five countries, and that lack of education, along with the refusal of prostitutes’ **clients** to use **condoms**, has led to this epidemic throughout Central America.

Further Reading: Hayes, Anne. *Female Prostitution in Costa Rica: Historical Perspectives, 1880–1930*. New York: Routledge, 2006; Madrigal Pana, Johnny. “En las trincheras de la confianza. Una encuesta sobre el condón en las trabajadoras comerciales del sexo de América Central.” San José, Costa Rica: Editorial ILPES, August 1998; McCreery, David. “‘This Life of Misery and Shame’: Female Prostitution in Guatemala City, 1880–1920.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18 (1993): 333–53.

Anne Hayes

CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA. Prostitutes in Central and East Africa could be broadly classified into categories, including outdoor and indoor commercial sexual workers who sell themselves for material and monetary purposes. They include streetwalkers, individuals who roam East Af-

rican coastal beaches, juvenile sex workers, and the subtler forms of prostitution such as **trans-actional sex** and concubines. These categories of prostitutes transcend gender, age, ethnicity, and class boundaries and take various forms, such as the ubiquitous city brothel practitioners and transnational prostitutes that commonly operate on the trans-Africa highway network.

Researchers on gender and sexuality in Africa have characterized prostitution variously as a heterosexual and homosexual practice. However, they have been preoccupied with the heterosexual aspects of prostitution and ignored the fact that same-sex relations were also prevalent but probably not openly practiced in many parts of Africa because indigenous cultural perceptions of sex shunned homosexual relations. Thus, the preoccupation with heterosexual prostitution has limited understanding and production of knowledge on prostitution as an all-encompassing phenomenon. Instead, researchers have focused on the so-called wayward or the wicked women such as the prostitutes and those females who did not adhere to gender roles the way they were culturally defined in masculine terms. These women were portrayed as individuals who abandoned “proper” gender roles and opted, instead, to engage in licentious sexual activities. They sold sex and stripped their bodies naked for the amusement and sexual gratification of men, chiefly for material and monetary gain.

Historically, outdoor prostitution was least known or practiced in Central Africa because the few incidences of prostitution were confined to those women who served as concubines of wealthy men. Many African cultural systems disapproved of males who engaged in sexual relations with women other than their own recognized partners, including wives or concubines. They rebuked and punished the males who engaged in licentious sex with heavy fines that acted as deterrent of such behaviors. Yet some scholars have argued that the practice of exchanging women from one community with another during times of distress as in the case of the Maasai and Kikuyu of Kenya during the droughts and famines of the 1890s constituted practicing prostitution. Recent cultural studies in the communities reveal, however, that such exchanges were undertaken as security measures that promoted good neighborliness rather than acts of prostitution. Indeed, such arrangements were considered to be proper **marriage** by the communities.

Folklore has romanticized the sexuality of Manyema women, who served as concubines of 19th-century long-distance Zanzibari traders and *waungwana* (gentlemen) along the East and Central African slave and ivory trade networks. The Manyema women attached themselves to *waungwana* men and exchanged domestic and sexual services for food and clothing. Tales also abound about the numerous concubines in Muslim-dominated East African coastal cities such as Zanzibar, Malindi, Pemba, Mombasa, Ujiji, Unyanyembe, and Tabora. These women entertained and served as sexual playthings of the upper-class men. The concubines resided in harem quarters set aside by their lovers who visited them at will for sex.

The main categories of outdoor prostitutes discerned in contemporary Central and Eastern Africa emerged with the establishment of colonial cities and the concomitant economic and social relations. The colonial state in Africa tended to encourage prostitutes as a service to the working male labor force in urban areas. The oldest form of prostitution in Nairobi, the street-walkers, has been associated with the establishment of the city in 1899 by the Imperial British East Africa Company.

The women who later turned to prostitution first arrived in Nairobi in search of a livelihood after drought and famine had devastated their plants and animals. These women walked from street to street in search of males who were employed on colonial projects; the women then sold

sexual services to those workers. They reverted to prostitution because the colonial state preferred to employ the men rather than women. The streetwalking prostitutes were present in the colonial cities such as Lubumbashi, Brazzaville, Kinshasa, Dar es Salaam, Kampala, and Libreville. They contracted the sale of sex to their clients in places other than their own residences.

Other forms of prostitution, including indoor prostitution, emerged in urban areas at the beginning of the 19th century because of industrial development and the imposition of taxes on single women by the colonial state. By the early 1920s, indoor sex work was widespread in the East and Central African region. Although taxation of women aimed to control prostitution by compelling the single women to get married, it increased commercial sex in urban areas instead.

The taxes only led the women to seek additional means of supplementing their already low incomes by practicing indoor forms of prostitution. Extant medical records indicate that as early as the 1906 **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) had become a menace among both Congolese and European workers. Consequently, by the 1910s, Belgian doctors were already encouraging European males to take “upright” sanitized concubines as lovers, known euphemistically as *ménagères* (housekeepers), among the African population to avoid transmission of STIs. On the other hand, African males were encouraged to marry so as to control the spread of STIs. In some instances, the state extended monetary rewards to the men who opted to marry.

The women who entered cities did so in search of better fortunes after running away from failed rural marriages, for example, and they were subjected to medical examination. Such migrant women expected to make money by rendering sexual and semidomestic services to the more financially stable industrial male workers and miners rather than their poor rural counterparts. They would in turn use the money to support their kinfolk in the rural area without disclosing the type of employment they were engaged in. Such women merely told their folk at home that they were engaged in petty hawking business ventures or were working for wealthy European employers as housemaids.

The tourist-oriented bar and hotel forms of prostitution are practiced by women and men based in urban areas. The forms are prevalent in areas frequently visited by tourists and other business visitors. These forms of prostitution took root in the 1960s when the region's governments undertook an aggressive policy to promote tourism by opening tourist resorts and hotels on the coastal belt and in wildlife reservations. The government of Kenya, in particular, encouraged wealthy Europeans to purchase land and build holiday resorts and villas on the Indian Ocean coastline.

The villas are rented to visitors to the region and are sometimes used for their sexual activity with prostitutes when absentee-owners are back in Europe or Asia. During the rule of Idi Amin Dada, the former military leader of Uganda in the 1970s, high-ranking officials forcefully occupied and used one prominent hotel in the country they nicknamed the “Nile Mansions” for sexual exploits with prostitutes. Thus, the military regimes in the 1970s in most of Central Africa came to be associated with the rise of prostitution as young soldiers seized the opportunity to engage in sexual activities with prostitutes.

Licensed as well as unlicensed tourist guides have over the years swarmed the coast to make a living from the flourishing tourist trade, and many are involved in different kinds of prostitution. It is common knowledge that some Europeans and Asian tourists have visited the Indian coast beaches and exclusive resorts in search of cheap sexual experiences with “exotic” African women. Young prostitutes are romanticized as the *ndogo-ndogo* or the “juicy young ones.” It has been reported in the local media that the coast cities of East Africa are among the leading places with high numbers of STIs and HIV/AIDS infections.

The bar and hotel prostitutes constitute another type of prostitution that emerged in colonial times and has increased threefold since the countries in the region attained independence in the 1960s. The prostitutes frequently visit drinking establishments, bars, and hotels in urban areas in the hopes that they might find men to sell sex to. Some of them have rented rooms in the hotel and drinking establishments and employed men to solicit clients on their behalf.

Studies on gender relations and sexuality in East and Central Africa reveal the development of prostitution in the region, encompassing Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, and the Central African Republic, to be a function of the historical experiences associated with the hustle and bustle of the rising urban culture involving labor **migration**, demographic redistribution, widespread unemployment, and the increasing income disparities among the individuals in the countries of the region, with women standing out as the most affected individuals.

That prostitution is a major cause of the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and the deadly scourge of HIV/AIDS that is ravaging most of Africa cannot be denied. In fact, government medical records and the Christian missionary reports during the colonial and postcolonial periods of the region bear testimony of the correlation between prostitution and the spread of **syphilis** and gonorrhea among immigrant laborers in mining and industrial urban settings. Prominent musicians such as the late Congolese composer Luambo Luanzo Makiada (a.k.a. Franco) and the Tanzanian musician Remy Ongala have lamented the transmission of STIs by absentee partners working in urban and industrial areas to their spouses on return to rural areas. They have particularly attributed the rise of HIV/AIDS to sex with multiple partners.

The literati and other contemporary African artists have warned populations against indulgences in promiscuous sexual activities with multiple partners and prostitutes. They have argued



Solange, 25, bottom left, and two other sex workers are pictured at a compound in the Congolese capital Kinshasa, 2005. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

that prostitutes have been the major sources of STIs and HIV/AIDS, explaining why the latter illness was received initially in Africa with contempt. This led to people suffering from the HIV/AIDS-related sicknesses to hide their infections. HIV/AIDS-related illnesses have been surrounded by euphemisms of all sorts, being described as the “slimming disease” or as some kind of curse. That the scourge has many euphemisms stems in part from the fact that it was initially associated with prostitutes and promiscuous sexual practices.

Prostitutes on the trans-Africa highway catered to the sexual needs of long-distance migrant truckers and truck drivers plying the region’s urban areas of Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala, Bujumbura, Kigali, Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Libreville, Bangui, Brazzaville, and N’djamena. This form of prostitution can be traced from the time trailers and truckers began to increase their activities along East and Central African highways in the 1960s. Initially, only petroleum-product truckers dominated the region. However, the increase in commerce between the region and Asian countries and the inability of the railroad to handle the trade led to the increase of truckers and burgeoning of night stops for the truckers on the transnational highway network. The night stops became a hub of prostitution and nightlife in general, and the prostitutes gravitated toward the transnational highways.

Further Reading: Bakwesegha, Christopher J. *Profiles of Urban Prostitution: A Case Study from Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1982; Becker, Charles, Jean-Pierre Dozon, Christine Obbo, and Mouriba Touré, eds. *Experiencing and Understanding AIDS in Africa*. Paris: Codesria, 1998; Grosz-Ngaté, Maria, and Omari H. Kokole, eds. *Gendered Encounters: Challenging Cultural Boundaries and Social Hierarchies in Africa*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Hodgson, Dorothy L., and Sheryl A. McCurdy, eds. *“Wicked” Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001; Kinyamba, Shomba. *La Prostitution Son Vrai Visage Au Zaïre*. Lubumbashi: Editions Africa, 1987; Muga, Erasto, ed. *Studies in Prostitution (East, West and South Africa, Zaire and Nevada)*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980; Werbner, Richard, and Terence Ranger, eds. *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. London: Zed Press, 1997; White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Hannington Ochwada

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA. Social and economic disarray in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union severely limited many women’s ability to support themselves, thus precipitating a surge in the number of sex workers across Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEE/CA) in the late 1980s up to the present. Drug use and HIV/AIDS began reaching epidemic proportions in several countries of the region, notably in the former Soviet Union. A comprehensive survey of organizations working with sex workers throughout CEE/CA have offered sobering proof that in most parts of the region, the plight of sex workers grows bleaker every day because of a lethal combination of economic desperation, surging health risks, discrimination, and **violence**.

The growing prevalence of sex work, drug use, and HIV are increasingly intertwined. Sex workers are more likely to engage in high-risk behaviors that greatly increase the possibility of HIV transmission, such as injecting drugs and unprotected sex. At the same time, they have limited access to the kind of services and assistance that can help them address these risk behaviors. Current policies and legislation have failed to protect sex workers. National drug policies, including prohibition or restriction of harm reduction services, discrimination at health care services, police corruption, and widescale **trafficking** of women, all serve to further marginalize sex

workers. In cases where sex work is not technically illegal, it is still not tolerated and discrimination pervades. Such attitudes greatly impede sex workers' access to public health services, including drug treatment and HIV prevention services. These multiple vulnerabilities are also further compounded by underlying social issues such as lack of education and economic opportunities.

Nearly all countries in CEE/CA have experienced an increase in sex work, largely stemming from economic necessity, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The increase in explicitly commercial sex work has occurred concurrently with a growing emphasis on the economic value of sexual relations in general, a development that reflects widening differentials in wealth. Many individuals have undoubtedly profited during the ongoing transitions to market-based economies, but the living standards of most, and in particular women, have declined. The sex industry appears to be growing especially rapidly in the countries of Central Asia, which are the poorest parts of the former Soviet Union. One report from the late 1990s indicated that 1 in 4 women in Kazakhstan would engage in sex work at some time in her life (Thomas 1997). This estimate was supported a few years later by findings from a survey conducted by a pedagogical institute in Almaty; about 40 percent of respondents reported having at some time accepted financial remuneration for sex (Schonning and Buzurukov 1999). The available evidence clearly indicates that sex work is a common phenomenon in the region. However, accurate estimates on the number of sex workers are difficult to obtain for a number of reasons, including the transient nature of sex work and of sex worker populations, ambiguous definitions as to what constitutes sex work, and the often-murky legislation regarding sex work that prevails in the region.

Structure of Sex Work

Evidence from the published literature and reports suggest that in CEE/CA and elsewhere, the sex work industry can be roughly divided into three distinct levels or types: street workers, apartment workers, and hotel ("elite") workers.

Street workers. The "lowest" and most dangerous level includes women who work on the streets, often in bus and railway stations. They are most likely to inject drugs, have lower rates of condom use, and be migrant workers, all factors that tend to isolate them from HIV and **sexually transmitted infection** (STI) prevention and care services. As a result, risky behaviors such as injecting drug use and unprotected sex are relatively high, as are rates of HIV and STI infection.

Apartment workers. The second group consists of women who usually work in groups under a manager, often a woman. They operate from apartments, saunas, or on the street. This type of sex work is more formalized and professional. Injection drug use is less common, and if it occurs, it is more likely to be concealed from clients and management. Members of this group are also more likely to have greater access to treatment for STIs, although this access tends to be limited to private care services.

Elite/hotel workers. A third group comprises "elite" sex workers who tend to work from hotels and through advertisements in newspapers and magazines. They are least likely to be intravenous drug users and often have relatively good access to treatment for STIs. Members of this group are often found to be one of the hardest to extend outreach services to because they may not associate themselves with other groups of sex workers and may also have security protection that monitors their activities.

Across the region, most sex workers served by "harm reduction organizations" work from the street. Sex workers who inject drugs are more likely to work from the street than in more organized systems (hotels or apartments) where drug use is discouraged. Sex workers are

reportedly increasingly working through **Internet** sites; for obvious reasons, behavioral data on these individuals and estimates of their numbers are difficult to collect.

Studies indicate that sex workers in the region are young, often teenagers, and thus highly vulnerable to coercion and unable or unwilling to obtain access to comprehensive HIV and STI prevention information and services—or even unaware of what constitutes risky behavior. It is thought that approximately 80 percent of sex workers in the region are under 25 years old. For example, 95 percent of a sample of 383 sex workers interviewed in Estonia were 18 or younger (UNICEF, 2001b); less dramatically, project data from Russia indicate that most sex workers are younger than 25. In Saratov oblast, Russia, 75 percent of 385 sex workers surveyed were between the ages of 20 and 29, and 10 percent were younger than 18 (O&K Marketing 2000). In Balakovo, 75 percent of street sex workers were under 25 and 20 percent were younger than 18. In Belarus, harm reduction projects estimated that nearly all of their **clients** in Minsk were between the ages of 15 and 30.

In a survey conducted in a medical center in Latvia ($n = 1,080$), the average age of sex workers was 30.5 years, with 21 percent between the ages of 13 and 19 (Kurova et al. 1998). Of those responding to this study, 38 percent had been working as sex workers for less than a year. A survey of 96 sex workers in Lithuania indicated that the average age was 25 years, with ages ranging from 17 to 43 (UNICEF 2001a). According to project data from that country, most projects' clients were between 20 and 29 years old.

Project data from Central Asian countries indicated most clients were between the ages of 24 and 28. One survey, from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, showed that the majority of 180 officially registered sex workers were aged between 16 and 25 (Thomas 1997).

Studies suggest that sex workers who inject drugs may be even younger than those who do not. Among sex workers accessing a needle and syringe exchange service in Volgograd, Russia ($n = 83$), the age range was from 12 to 26 (Ryabenko 2001). According to that survey, both the average length of drug use and the average period of sex work were four years. In a community recruited survey of intravenous drug users in Togliatti, Russia, of whom 37 percent were sex workers, the average age was 24 years, compared with 27 years for male non-sex working intravenous drug users ($P = 0.0005$) (Platt et al. 2005).

Data from the projects that responded to the survey mirror those contained in most literature. The average age of sex workers contacted by the projects was between 20 and 30 years, but most were between 20 and 25. The youngest age was 13 years and the oldest was 40. More detailed information about sex workers under 18 years of age was provided by the projects in Minsk, Belarus (5% of the 150 sex workers surveyed); Tashkent, Uzbekistan (13% of 1,400 sex workers); and Odessa, Ukraine (10% of 600 sex workers).

Sex workers routinely have sex with both paying customers and individuals who do not pay. Unlike the former, members of the latter category are generally people with whom sex workers interact on a regular basis; some may be boyfriends or husbands, others are casual friends or acquaintances. The level and extent of risky behaviors on the part of sex workers often differ greatly depending on the partner's category. Sex workers are less likely to use **condoms** with nonpaying customers for numerous psychological, emotional, and physical reasons ranging from implicit trust to a desire to have a child. Whatever the reasons for this dichotomy in condom use, one of its major consequences is increased risk of HIV transmission to and from non-paying customers. This risk is further heightened by the fact that often there is little difference in rates of injecting drug use between paying and nonpaying partners.

Across the region there is a wide range both in the number of clients reported by sex workers and the likelihood of having one or more regular non-paying partners. According to one survey of sex workers attending an STI clinic in Moscow, the range of clients per week was between three and 40, with an average of nine (Loseva and Nashkoev 1999). In Togliatti, Russia, female who inject drugs and involved in sex work reported an average of two clients per day, over half of whom were new clients (Lowndes et al. 2002). In a study of 385 sex workers in Saratov, Russia, a range of 11–100 clients per month was reported; among married sex workers in that survey, 55 percent reported having had at least one casual partner besides their husband in the past month without receiving money (O&K Marketing 2000). A cross-sectional survey of female detainees in a Moscow prison ($n = 400$) showed that the mean number of male sex partners within the previous 12 months for women reporting sex work ($n = 190$) was 168, versus two for those not reporting sex work ($p = <0.01$) (Khromova et al. 2002). In Georgia, sex workers reported having between 8–10 clients each week (Stvilia et al. 2003).

A survey of 116 sex workers in three cities in Serbia (Belgrade, Nis, and Kragujevac) indicated that the mean number of clients per month varied between cities, with 46 reported in Belgrade, 8 in Nis, and 28 in Kragujevac (UNICEF 2002). Nearly one-third of those surveyed had permanent partners.

In addition to husbands, boyfriends, and casual acquaintances, nonpaying partners of sex workers may also include men who use force (including **rape**) or power to obtain sex. Such encounters can be brutal and violent, thus representing major threats to sex workers' overall health and well-being. In most countries of the former Soviet Union, there are anecdotal reports of police using sex workers' services. Observers have described a system known as *subotnik*, which is a Soviet term referring to voluntary (but in fact obligatory) monthly civil service provided free of charge—in this situation, it refers to sex workers being obliged to provide free sexual services to the police in exchange for limiting harassment or avoiding arrest. One woman is often forced to service more than one person, often without condoms. Research conducted in Moscow examining the psychological profile of sex workers ($n = 242$) indicated that 38 percent of women reported being raped by their clients on more than one occasion, and 18 percent reported being raped by the police (Nashkoev 2002).

Injecting drug use is another major health risk factor in many sex workers' lives. A study from St. Petersburg indicated that slightly less than half (42%) of nonpaying partners of IDU sex workers were also injecting drugs (Benotsch et al. 2004).

The possibility of sex workers contracting and transmitting HIV to and from non-paying partners is also a major health-related concern in much of the region. Specific data about such transmission risks are scarce, but certainly they are a distinct likelihood given the fact that a large number of sex workers are married or in relationships in which they may not use condoms on a regular basis: 29 percent of sex workers surveyed in Saratov, Russia, said they were married (O&K Marketing 2000); in Balakovo, Russia, project workers estimated that 51 percent of their clients were married; and in St. Petersburg, 20 percent of sex workers surveyed were married or had permanent partners. A survey conducted in Lithuania among 96 street and agency sex workers revealed that 28 percent had a constant sexual partner; of those, 48 percent thought that her spouse/partner was sleeping with other women, 12 percent did not think so, and 40 percent did not know (UNICEF 2001a). In Georgia, a survey indicated that almost two-thirds of a small sample of sex workers ($n = 91$) had a regular partner (Stvilia et al. 2003).

National Regulations of Commercial Sex Work

Laws and policies address sex work in a variety of different ways, from regulating individual sex work itself to seeking to prohibit organized sex work. In many CEE/CA countries where sex work itself is not criminalized, the practice of prostitution is effectively rendered impossible through restrictions on organizing, advertising, and living off the proceeds of sex work. Actions taken in the name of these restrictions often lead to unlawful detention, extortion, and other violations of sex workers' rights.

The regulation of individual sex work differs from country to country in CEE/CA.

Individual prostitution is illegal (it represents an administrative or criminal offense) in most countries of the region. While some states only levy an administrative fine for prostitution, in others criminal liability is applied to people involved in the sex trade. In three countries, Albania, Romania, and Ukraine, individual prostitution constitutes a criminal offense. In others, including Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, individual sex work is directly prohibited, with administrative liability in place for those prosecuted for individual prostitution.

Respondents to the CEEHRN (2005) survey and experts from eleven countries—Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Tajikistan—said that they were unaware of any laws in their countries either directly prohibiting or directly allowing individual prostitution. Sex work is therefore considered “non-regulated” or “decriminalized.”

In two countries in the region, Hungary and Latvia, individual sex work is explicitly permitted under certain specific regulations.

The absence of legal prohibition does not mean that sex workers are free from regular abused, harassment, and detaining. There may be no direct association between legal regulations and actual police practices in several places. Some countries with more prohibitive legislation police may actually have a relatively soft approach to sex workers; in other countries the situation is quite the opposite. Legislation does not imply prosecution of sex workers, but police treat them harshly nonetheless.

The rigor of law enforcement may depend on existing attitudes toward sex work in a country as well as traditional responses by police forces. For example, Belarus and Macedonia were identified as countries where individual prostitution is prohibited; in both countries, prostitution is considered to be a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine (Law on Misdemeanors against Public Peace and Order of the Republic of Macedonia, Article 27; Administrative Code of the Republic of Belarus, Article 17.5). However, such laws are enforced differently in the two countries. In Belarus, fines were levied against a total of 4,374 commercial sex workers in 2003 (according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs), while in Macedonia only 36 commercial sex workers were punished in 2002. This difference is significant even taking into account the fact that the overall population of Belarus is five times larger than that of Macedonia.

National respondents from Russia indicated that although prostitution is an administrative offense, punishable by a fine (Administrative Code of the Russian Federation, Article 6.11), the article is rarely enforced in relation to sex workers because police often find it difficult to prove that sexual services have been sold. In reality, though, sex workers are often detained or arrested on the basis of other legal provisions covering breach of public order, hooliganism, or absence of residency permits.

The situation is not always better in countries where individual sex work is not explicitly regulated, such as Kyrgyzstan. Directives and guidelines from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and actual law-enforcement practices often contradict legislation specifically allowing individual sex work. Police regularly arrest sex workers on the street or simply threaten to arrest them in order to extort bribes. They are often detained on the basis of alleged breach of passport regime or breach of public order.

Existing legislation is much more restrictive toward organized prostitution, even in countries where prostitution itself is quasi-legal (Hungary and Latvia) or not regulated. Pimping is prohibited in all countries of CEE/CA (it is an administrative offense in Russia and a criminal offense in all other countries), with punishments varying from a fine to imprisonment. Policy-makers seem to agree with such restrictions; for example, a survey carried out in 2003 among 63 experts (law-enforcement officials, legislators, executive policymakers, medical specialists, etc) in Russia revealed that all 10 legislators questioned were in agreement that organized prostitution should remain illegal (AIDS Infoshare 2003).

Generally, prostitution markets in the countries of the region seem to have a similar pattern: local prostitution is rarely carried out on an individual basis and is most often controlled by pimps. Harsh police practices toward sex workers contribute to sex workers' increased dependence on a third party, such as a pimp, to watch out for police and to negotiate sex workers' release from custody if detained or arrested. In Bulgaria, less than 5 percent of the surveyed sex workers were working without a pimp (Arsova 2000). Individual prostitution is not regulated by law in that country; however, as in all other parts of the region, pimping is a crime in Bulgaria—and is punishable by up to three years of imprisonment and a fine. Therefore, although individual prostitution is not illegal by itself, it is in reality often heavily restricted by provisions of Criminal Codes.

Reports from the region indicate that regardless of what the laws hold, the police are much keener to go after individual sex workers than pimps. In Belarus, for example, where individual sex work constitutes an administrative offense and pimping a criminal one, more than 4,000 individuals were held liable for prostitution in 2003, while only 347 pimps were charged that year (as per the Ministry of Internal Affairs). In Bulgaria, a police report from 2000 indicated that there had been only one pimp convicted over the previous 10 years and that even that lone sentence was ultimately suspended (Arsova 2000).

Further Reading: AIDS Infoshare. "Basic Characteristics of the Commercial Sex Industry in Four Regions in Russia Where HIV/STI Prevention Activities Have Been Established under AIDS Infoshare Project Activities." Moscow, Russia: AIDS Infoshare, 2001; AIDS Infoshare. Expert Survey: "Needs of Regions in Legislative and Normative Regulation of Commercial Sex Work (Prostitution)." Vilnius, Lithuania: CEEHRN, 2003; Andrushchak, L. I., and L. N. Khodakhevich. "The Reduction of the HIV Vulnerability of Women Involved in the Sex Business in Ukraine through Social Mobilization and the Creation of Self Support Networks." *Zhurnal Mikrobiologii, Epidemiologii i Immunobiologii* 4 (2000): 118–19; Arsova, T. "Prostitution and Sex Workers in Bulgaria: Analysis of the Situation and the Risk with Regards to HIV/AIDS/STDs." Health and Social Development Foundation, UNDP, Project No. BUL/98/ 005. Bulgarian National HIV/AIDS Strategy Planning, 2000; Asia Foundation East West. "Summary Report of Baseline Characteristics of NGO Counterparts in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan." Prepared under the Drug Demand Reduction Programme in Central Asia. Moscow: AFEW, 2003; Benotsch, E., A. M. Somlai, S. D. Pinkerton, J. A. Kelly, D. Ostrovski, C. Gore-Felton, and A. P. Kozlov. "Drug Use and Sexual Risk Behaviors among Female Russian IDUs Who Exchange Sex for Money or Drugs." *International Journal of STD & AIDS* 15 (2004): 343–47; Burriss S., and D. Villena. "Adapting to the Reality of Difficult HIV Policy

Choices in Russia, China, and India." *Human Rights* (Winter 2002). <http://www.abanet.org/irr/hr/fall04/reality.htm>; Central and Eastern Europe Harm Reduction Network. *Sex Work, HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. Vilnius, Lithuania: CEEHRN, 2005; Dreizin, A. "Work with 'Street' Prostitutes in the Framework of a Harm Reduction Project in Kaliningrad." *Russian Journal of HIV/AIDS and Related Issues* 4, no. 1 (2000): 134; Khromova, Y., E. Safarova, L. Dubovskaya, S. A. Averchenko, L. Dugasheva, C. Ryan, S. O. Aral, J. St. Lawrence, J. Lewis, J. Braxton, and A. Shakarishvili. "High Rates of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), HIV and Risky Behaviors among Female Detainees in Moscow, Russia." Oral presentation, XIV International AIDS Conference, Barcelona, Spain, 7–12 July 2002; Konings, E. "Prostitution and HIV/AIDS in CEE/CIS." Geneva: UNAIDS, 1996; Kurmanova, G. "On Providing Technical Assistance to the Pilot Project—Strengthening of HIV/AIDS/ STDs Prevention among Vulnerable Groups of Young Women in Turkmenistan." Ashgabad, Turkmenistan, 1999; Kurova, T, S. M. Malceva, and P. A. Mardh. "Prostitution in Riga, Latvia—A Socio-medical Matter of Concern." *Acta Obstetricia Gynecologica, Scandinavia* 77, no. 1 (1998): 83–86; Lakhmalani, V. "The Prostitution Situation in a Number of Cities of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus." *Zhurnal Mikrobiologii, Epidemiologii i Immunobiologii* 1(1997): 102–4; Loseva, O., and M. Nashkoev. "Sex Workers: Social Origins, Sexual Behavior, Potential for Spreading STIs." *Dermatology and Venerology Bulletin* 3 (1999): 16–22; Lowndes, C. M., T. Rhodes, A. Judd, L. Mikhailova, A. Sarang, A. Rylkov, M. Tichonov, L. Platt, and A. Renton. "Female Injection Drug Users Who Practise Sex Work in Togliatti City, Russian Federation: HIV Prevalence and Risk Behavior." Oral presentation, World AIDS Conference Barcelona, Spain, July 7–12, 2002; Nashkoev, M. R. "Social-Psychological and Behavioral Characteristics of Sex Workers and the Prevention of Sexually Transmitted Infection in This Group." Moscow: Central Academic Research Institute of Dermatovenerology, Ministry of Health, Russian Federation. Russian University of Friendship of the People, 2002; O&K Marketing 2000; Oostvogels, R. "Assessment of Commercial Sex Circuits in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan." Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: UNAIDS, 1997; Oostvogels, R. "Assessment of Commercial Sex Circuits in Karaganda, Kazakhstan." Karaganda, Kazakhstan: UNDP, 1999; Platt, L. "Profile of Sex Workers in Moscow." Moscow: AIDS Infoshare, 1998; Platt, L., T. Rhodes, C. M. Lowndes, P. Madden, A. Sarang, L. Mikhailova, A. Renton, Y. Pevzner, K. Sullivan, and M. Khutorskoy. "The Impact of Gender and Sex Work on Sexual and Injecting Risk Behaviors and Their Association with HIV Positivity amongst Injecting Drug Users in an HIV Epidemic in Togliatti City, Russian Federation." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 32, no. 10(2005): 605–12; Renton, A. M., K. Borisenko, A. Meheus, and A. E. Gromyko. "Epidemics of Syphilis in the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union." *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 74 (1998): 165–66; Ryabenko, S. "Services for Sex Workers." Oral presentation, 12th International Conference on the Reduction of Drug Related Harm, New Delhi, India, April 1–5, 2001; Schonning, S., and A. Buzurukov. "Needs Assessment—Kazakhstan." *Doctors of the World* 32 (1999); Stvilia, K., L. Dershem, S. Gurrola Bonilla, N. Tsereteli, and G. Dallabetta, G. "Characteristics, High-risk Behaviors and Knowledge of STI/HIV/AIDS and STI/HIV Prevalence of Street-based Female Sex Workers in Tbilisi, Georgia—2002." Report on the Behavioral and Biomarker Surveillance Survey, 2003. Available from CEEHRN, Vilnius, Lithuania.; Thomas, R. M. "Assessment of Commercial Sex Scene in Tashkent, Uzbekistan." Tashkent, Uzbekistan: UNAIDS, 1997; UNAIDS-CAR, 2000; UNAIDS. "UN-facilitated Response to HIV/AIDS, STD and Drug Use in Central Asian Countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan)." Almaty, Kazakhstan: UNAIDS, 1999; UNICEF. "Communication for HIV/AIDS Prevention in Lithuania." UNICEF, 2001a; UNICEF. "Estonia Rapid Assessment on Obstacles and Opportunities for HIV/AIDS Communication for Young People." UNICEF, 2001b; UNICEF. "HIV/AIDS in South Eastern Europe." UNICEF, 2001c; UNICEF. "Rapid Assessment and Response on HIV/AIDS among Especially Vulnerable Young People in Serbia." Belgrade: UNICEF, 2002, pp. 1–85; UNICEF. "Walking on Two Legs: A

Developmental and Emergency Response to HIV/AIDS among Young Drug Users in the CEE/CIS/Baltic and Central Asia Region.” Review paper. Geneva: UNICEF, 2001d.

Central and Eastern Europe Harm Reduction Network

CÉZANNE, PAUL (1839–1906). Paul Cézanne was a 19th-century French artist. Although achieving very limited success during his life, since his death in 1906, he has received both critical and popular acclaim. Perhaps best known for his still-life paintings, Cézanne, like many of his 19th-century contemporaries, created works in which Parisian prostitutes were the central theme. Cézanne greatly influenced 20th-century art, most significantly the Cubist movement of the early 20th century.

Cézanne was born in Aix-en-Provence to a comfortable businessman and his mistress, who married five years after their son’s birth. After studying law briefly, Cézanne convinced his father to let him try his luck as an artist, and in 1861, he moved to Paris. He was rejected by *Ecole des Beaux Arts* and returned to Aix dejected by his failure. After a brief stint working in his father’s bank, he returned to Paris in 1862 to resume his career as an artist.

In Paris, Cézanne worked closely with a number of the artists who would form the nucleus of the Impressionist movement: Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, and Claude Monet, many of whom were interested in the portrayal of prostitutes in their works.

It was Cézanne’s friendship with Manet that resulted in his adaptations of Manet’s controversial portrait of a prostitute, *Olympia* (1863). Of Cézanne’s paintings, completed between 1870 and 1877, two were titled *Une Moderne Olympia* (*A Modern Olympia*) and one simply *Olympia*. *Une Modern Olympia* (1872–73) was exhibited in the first of the Impressionist exhibitions in 1874 to unenthusiastic criticism.

Unlike other Impressionist artists, Cézanne only concentrated on the subject of prostitution in his *Olympia* series, although he did return to the subject in *The Eternal Feminine* (ca. 1877) and *The Courtesan’s Toilette* (ca.1880).

See also Artists’ Models.

Further Reading: Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991; Pioch, Nicolas. “Paul Cézanne.” WebMuseum, Paris Web site www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/cezanne/.

Shannon Schedlich-Day

CHAMBERLAIN-KAHN BILL OF 1918. The Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918 (informally referred to as the American Plan) required the internment of all women suspected of being infected with venereal disease until effective treatment could be distributed and the quarantine of women suspected of prostitution. Under the American Plan, any woman on or near a stateside military base during **World War I** without a letter of introduction or without an escort was suspected of prostitution and therefore subject to arrest, to medical examination, and to quarantine until the status of her physical health could be assessed. Most women were interned for about 10 weeks during the war, but those who entered as juveniles were sometimes held until they reached maturity, or at least one year. The policy of quarantine resulted in prison terms, long-term commitments of women to juvenile reformatories, and permanent custodial care in homes for the

feeble-minded. A high incidence of venereal disease among incarcerated prostitutes contributed to the belief that they had weak physical constitutions to match their fragile moral ones. Those who were uninfected were, in fact, released, but with the relative newness of aseptic techniques, careless physicians sometimes spread venereal disease from one incarcerated woman to the next during medical examination. The practice of involuntary detention and medical examination was criticized by many who perceived it as physically intrusive and as an official endorsement of the double standard of morality.

See also Institutionalization.

Further Reading: Hobson, Barbara Meil. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Kate Kramer

CHANSONS DE BILITIS. The *Chansons de Bilitis* (1894) is a collection of prose poems allegedly translated from the Greek of a 6th-century B.C.E. poetess, but it is actually one of the great literary hoaxes of the 19th century. The poems were written by Pierre Louÿs—only his initials as translator appear on the first edition—who also provided a convincing introductory essay in which is included a life of the supposed author of the poems and an account of their discovery.

Bilitis is said to have grown up in Pamphylia, lived on Lesbos where she knew **Sappho**, and spent a number of years as a Temple Prostitute on Cyprus. Her tomb, it was claimed, had been discovered by a German professor named “G. Heim”—a sort of pun on the word “Geheim,” German for “clandestine” or “secret.” Heim is also stated to have done German translations of the poems and had them published at Leipzig. Although some critics were suspicious, a number of Classicists accepted the poems as genuine, to their later chagrin.

Louÿs wrote a number of additional *chansons* of a highly erotic character that were included in a posthumously and surreptitiously published *Chansons de Bilitis ... seul texte véritable et complet* (1929), and a clandestine volume of clever pastiches, possibly by Pascal Pia, appeared about 1930 as *Les Véritables Chansons de Bilitis*.

Patrick J. Kearney

CHAPBOOKS. See **Blue Books; Directories; Guidebooks**

CHEN, YUANYUAN. Arguably the most famous courtesan in ancient China, Chen Yuanyuan lived through the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and the rise of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), and inadvertently played a critical role in Chinese history. Originally named Xing Wanfen, Chen was adopted as a child by her aunt when her mother passed away. Her stepfather was a merchant who spent recklessly on opera entertainment. As a result, Chen learned quickly the skills of singing and dancing and began to perform at age eight. When the family business went bankrupt, Chen ended up as a young and well-known prostitute in Suzhou. In 1641, she was selected as a concubine for Emperor Chongzhen (1611–44). However, at that time, the last Ming ruler was preoccupied with his imperial war affairs, so Chen was kept as a courtesan by a royal family, and later presented as a gift to General Wu Sangui (1612–78), the key military commander at the Shanhai Pass who blocked the mighty Qing army from

marching into central China. In 1644, when the Ming Empire was overthrown by the peasant uprising led by Li Zicheng (1606–45), Wu's residence in Beijing was raided by a top general of Li, and Chen was taken in as a concubine. Wu was so enraged, he opened the strategic gate of the Great Wall and invited the Qing army to sweep over the Middle Kingdom. Wu proceeded as the vanguard of the invasion army, mercilessly conquering Beijing and repossessing his favorite concubine Chen. Wu was credited for the establishment of the Qing Empire and later awarded large territories in southwest China. Chen went with Wu to the Yunnan Province. However, disillusioned by the vanity of her world, Chen later changed her name to Ji Jing, became a Taoist nun, and spent the rest of her life in a mountainside convent near Kunming, China.

Further Reading: Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei: Xiapu Press, 1994.

Wenxian Zhang

CHICAGO. The record of prostitution in Chicago extends back to the city's incorporation in 1834. Young people with limited economic opportunities, and, often, a history of sexual abuse, attempted to survive in a brutal world of sexual commerce. At the same time, reformers, city officials, and **pimps** attempted to repress and control prostitutes. This fight, and the business of prostitution, developed in several stages: 1857–93; 1893–1913; 1913–30; and 1930–present.

Before 1857, sexual commerce in Chicago was loosely organized. Men and women drifted in and out of the frontier community. There were few economic options for women and not nearly enough women for every man to have a wife. As a result, heterosexual prostitution flourished in the Sands, a small area of beach where the Chicago River met Lake Michigan. Although prostitution was a violation of state law and city ordinance, little effort was made to control prostitutes. The women were known by their beribboned hats and laughingly tolerated by the population as “Cyprians,” “**soiled doves**,” and “ladies of infinite leisure.” Prostitutes identified with the Know Nothing Party, and the mayor presided at their weddings. In 1857, however, real estate developer William Ogden laid claim to the Sands. When his prostitute tenants refused to evacuate, Mayor John Wentworth led a raid that destroyed every building in the district and left the women homeless. With no other options, prostitutes reestablished business on several downtown streets.

The years 1857 to 1893 were the heyday of women-controlled **brothel** prostitution in Chicago. Along Clark Street and Custom House Place, from City Hall south to 16th Street, as many as 7,000 women engaged in prostitution. The police continued to ignore sexual commerce, the sex ratio was still skewed creating a large demand for their services, brothels offered a measure of family life for sexually abused girls, and job opportunities for women remained limited. Additionally, some women began to make large fortunes in the business. Carrie Watson was said to have the most extravagant brothel west of the Alleghenies. Vina Fields, a former slave, offered 40 women of color to an exclusively white clientele. By 1893, Watson and Fields were among the 50 wealthiest Chicagoans. Most prostitutes, however, remained on the economic fringes. Women were far more likely to wind up working in the open-air cribs of Rotten Row, in the shanties of Little Cheyenne, or in the rundown tenements of Conley's Patch than in an elite brothel. Even in the better houses, **madams** took half their earnings, alcohol and drugs were often necessary to escape the **violence** and degradation that accompanied this life, and everybody, it seemed, was trying to make money off of prostitutes. This included the city, which attempted to license and regulate prostitution in 1871 and 1874. Ultimately, this scheme was defeated by Chicago femi-

nists who argued that regulation would make it too easy for diseased and evil women to seduce respectable men.

In this period, with large sums of money to be made by some, competition was fierce. One way to survive was to specialize. Brothels that specialized in “French practices,” bondage and domination, and interracial sex did well. Madams worked together in 1887 to publish *The Sporting and Club House Directory*, a guide to the city’s sex resorts, which was sold in train stations and at newsstands. By 1893, orgies and bestiality were not-infrequent practices in Chicago brothels. In that pivotal year of the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago aldermen realized how lucrative the prostitution industry could be in financing machine politics. The connections between sexual commerce and government were detailed in an expose, *If Christ Came to Chicago*, published by English reformer William Stead in 1893.

Prostitution in Chicago changed dramatically after 1893. As politicians became increasingly dependent on prostitution, they encouraged the development of a pimp class to control prostitutes, to make sure protection payments were made, and to provide landslide electoral victories for machine candidates. These **pimps** quickly replaced women at the head of the sex business. They took 60 percent of a woman’s income for their own, eliminated the small possibility of upward economic mobility through prostitution, and used violence and extreme measures to compel women’s obedience. The main sex district relocated from downtown to near the South Side Levee around 22nd and Dearborn. There were additional sex districts on the west and north sides of the city, and informal, clandestine prostitution was practiced throughout the city. Prostitutes’ work lives became even more difficult. Pimps did not give women the latitude over client selection that madams had, women were required to service more and more customers—reformers claimed up to 30 men a night—and it became much more difficult for women to leave the prostitution business on their own terms. Many women were forced to stay in prostitution long after they had reached their limits. This made **alcohol** and drug abuse and suicide much more common than they had been in the 19th century. The biggest transformation in the prostitution industry after 1893 was the admission that men, dressed as women, were soliciting other men for “pervert practices” in the Levee.

Beginning in 1907, attorneys, journalists, and ministers began to argue that innocent country girls were kidnapped for prostitution by immigrant men and held in the city brothels as sexual slaves. They produced 22 books on the subject of **white slavery**, pursued scores of indictments, and lobbied for the passage of the 1910 federal **Mann Act**, which forbade the intrastate transportation of women for “immoral purposes.” Chicagoans touched off a nationwide white slave hysteria, but by 1914, the idea of involuntary prostitution had largely been discredited. The city appointed the first municipal commission to investigate prostitution and white slavery in 1910. In 1911, the Chicago Vice Commission issued its groundbreaking report, *The Social Evil in Chicago*. It established the economic causes of prostitution by comparing the wages of industrially employed women with those of prostitutes, concluding that it was not surprising that women turned to prostitution when the prevailing wage was so marginal and prostitution offered such high financial incentive. The commission offered the city 92 recommendations on how the problem of prostitution could be eradicated. It did not, however, call for minimum-wage legislation or economic assistance for working women. Though the vice commission was relatively sympathetic to women prostitutes, it specifically called for more laws and restraints on female impersonators and male prostitutes.

Although the report of the Chicago Vice Commission inspired similar investigations in 43 American cities, the mayor and city council of Chicago ignored the report. In 1912, they did

close the Everleigh Club, the nation's most expensive and famous brothel, and, significantly, the one lucrative resort owned by women and resistant to pimps. This inspired Chicago reformers, and they brought intense pressure to bear on the lame duck state attorney. In October 1913, he moved swiftly and closed down every brothel in the Levee. This ushered in another dramatic transformation in the lives of prostitutes.

After 1913, most prostitution in Chicago was not practiced in the relative safety and anonymity of a brothel. Women and men had to solicit on the streets and find a safe and private location to take their customers. Police surveillance of prostitutes also increased as a private reform organization, the Committee of Fifteen, sent agents throughout the city—and especially into African American neighborhoods—to entrap prostitutes. Once arrested, women were processed through the new Morals Court, which had the power to conduct gynecological and psychiatric tests on suspected prostitutes. Even before they were allowed a trial, women could be involuntarily committed for treatment of venereal infection or suspected mental impairment. The dangers of the streets, the power of the police, and the severe consequences of arrest forced prostitutes into greater dependence on third parties to negotiate the restrictions on their business. This led to more economic hardship and violence for prostitutes.

During the 1920s, Chicago's prostitution industry came under the control of **organized crime**. For white female prostitutes, this meant increased opportunities—though not freedom from male control—for sex work such as **stripping**, working in peep shows, and exotic dancing. Many of these women relocated to roadhouses operated by gangster Al Capone in suburban Cook and Will Counties. Male prostitutes and women of color were left in the city and increasingly became targets of Committee of Fifteen persecutions, and thus, of police interference in business. By 1926, black women accounted for 80 percent of arrested prostitutes, although their representation in the general population was about 6 percent. As the Morals Court saw primarily African Americans and homosexuals, they misused scientific data to conclude that prostitution resulted from hereditary mental defect, a defect that was virtually innate in persons of color and homosexuals. This fallacy has shaped prostitution policy in the city since 1930.

Today, 75 percent of those arrested for prostitution in Chicago are women of color. The safer, indoor forms of prostitution are dominated by whites, while in the less lucrative and far more violent streetwalking, nonwhites predominate. Recent studies of Chicago prostitutes reveal a high incidence of childhood sexual abuse, poverty, and low self-esteem to be characteristic of the majority. They also suggest that more socially accepted forms of sex work, such as stripping, systematically lead to the more dangerous and brutal types of prostitution. Additionally, exploitation, **rape**, violence, and abuse remain a fact of life for prostitutes. Drug use and **addiction** have increased, as have the prevalence and severity of **sexually transmitted infections**. Today, police interference in the business is sporadic and assistance to those who want to exit prostitution is limited. The best-known refuge in Chicago for women trying to exit the sex industry is Genesis House, a halfway house.

Further Reading: Asbury, Herbert. *Gen of the Prairie*. New York: Knopf, 1940; Gateley, Edwina. *I Hear a Seed Growing*. Trabuco Canyon, CA: Source Books, 1990; Linehan, Mary. "Vicious Circle: Prostitution, Reform, and Public Policy in Chicago, 1830–1930." PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1991; O'Leary, Claudine, and Olivia Howard. *The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Metropolitan Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report*. Chicago: Center for Impact Research, 2001; Raphael, Jody. *Listening to Olivia: Violence, Poverty, and Prostitution*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004.

Mary Linehan

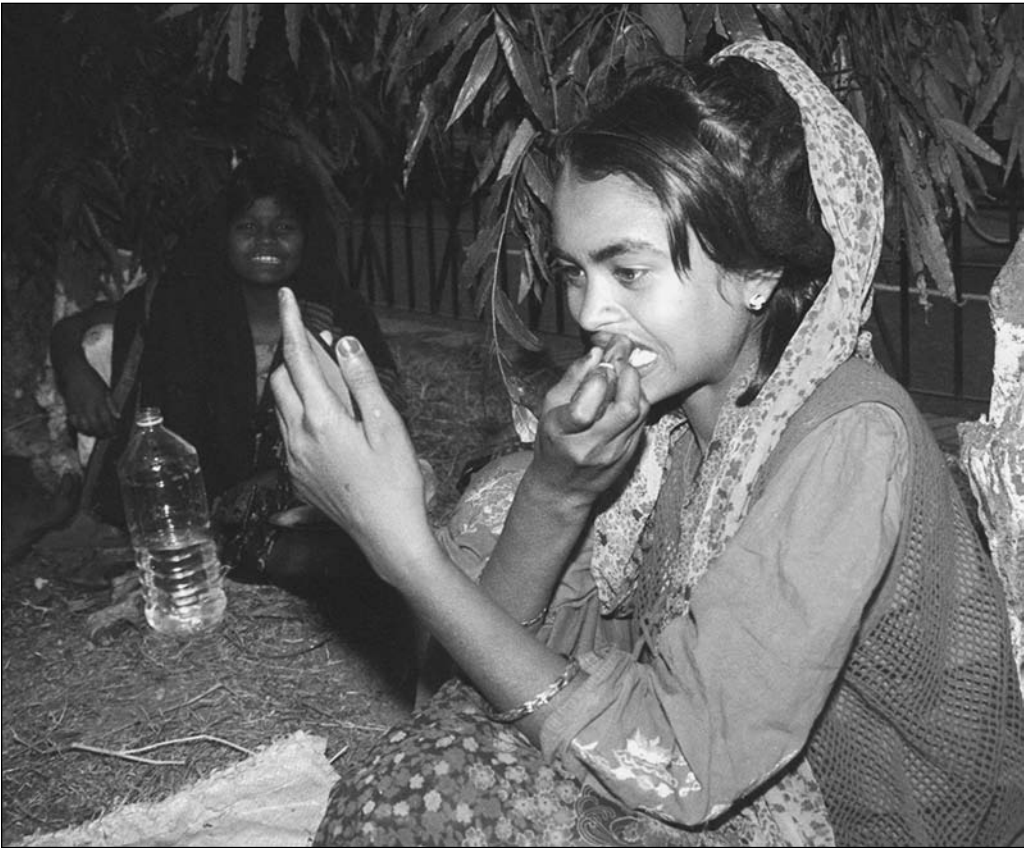
CHILD PROSTITUTION. Child prostitution generally refers to youth under the age of 18 exchanging sex for money or other financial advantage. The focus in recent years has largely been on children in Asia, particularly Thailand and the Philippines, and especially on those who sell sex to Western sex tourists. However, child prostitution has also been a prominent social issue in other social and historical contexts, for example, in Victorian England in the 1880s, where it was linked to fears over **white slavery** and **trafficking**.

Although there is debate over the definition, extent, and nature of the issue of child prostitution, the dangers to children who work as prostitutes are many. The body of a child is often too small to have intercourse with an adult man, and early sexual activity can be physically damaging. The risks of sexually transmitted diseases are high, and children's relative powerlessness means negotiating condom use is difficult. There are few long-term studies on the effects on mental health of working as a child prostitute, but certainly in the West, child prostitutes are often extremely vulnerable and have already been sexually abused.

The term "child prostitution" itself is much debated, with some commentators claiming that when a child is under age, there can be no consent or agency. Some campaigning groups, therefore, prefer terms such as "the commercial sexual exploitation of children" or "prostituted children." Others use "child sex worker" or "child prostitute" to suggest that children are not simply the passive victims that other terms imply. There is also some debate about defining child prostitution by age. Many groups take the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as their starting point and claim that all people under 18 are children and that all prostitutes under 18 are child prostitutes. This is problematic, however, in cases where national age of consent legislation is lower, and, in some instances, child prostitution might be better defined as that involving young people under the age of 15 or 16. Another pertinent distinction is sometimes made between pubertal and postpubertal children. However, all these definitions are problematic, and it is impossible to talk about child prostitution in general without an adequate discussion of the social and cultural constructions of ideas surrounding childhood, of sexuality, and of attitudes toward paid sex, in the specific context under discussion.

Recent focus on child prostitution has linked it to concerns over child trafficking and sex tourism, so that child prostitution is sometimes seen only as an issue of Western men buying sex from children in poorer countries. Yet there are many manifestations of the problem and these should be analyzed differently. First, there is that which involves trafficked children, kidnapped against their will, and taken forcibly into **brothels**. There is some evidence of Burmese and Chinese girls in Thailand, Nepalese girls in India, Vietnamese girls in Cambodia, and Eastern European girls being trafficked into Western Europe entering into prostitution this way. Second, there is a form of prostitution that involves children sold or debt-bonded by their parents. In this scenario, children are procured by middlemen or women who offer their parents cash advances for their children's services, and the children are set to work in brothels where the money they receive from customers is set off against their advance wages, and they have to work until they have paid back the money owed on them. Although parents are usually said to be tricked into allowing their children to go away and told that they will be working in restaurants and hotels, some families know what their children will be doing.

A third category involves children who live with their parents and work on a part-time basis. In the context of the developing world, these children often have foreign clients and earn considerably more than their local counterparts. There is evidence of this happening in Thailand and in Sri Lanka. There is also another group of children who live or work on the streets and who exchange sex for food, shelter, or money, which is often referred to as "survival sex." In the case of



Reshma, 14 years old, puts on makeup to attract clients in Dhaka's downtown Motijheel district, as her friend watches (background). Reshma is among 20,000 street prostitutes in the Bangladeshi capital of nine million people. Getty Images.

most Western countries, young prostitutes (usually referred to as juvenile rather than child prostitutes) belong in this category. Many have a history of abuse and have run away from home or care homes and are living on the street. Finally, there are also other instances of religiously sanctioned child prostitution, such as the *devadasi* cults of India, where young women are ritually married to a deity and are expected to have sex with higher-caste members of the community. To what extent this involves children is debatable, and some deny that this is a form of prostitution at all, with girls learning to sing and dance, not to exchange sex.

The variety of children's experiences means that it is difficult to generalize about child prostitutes or privileging one model over others. The causes of child prostitution are very different, depending on cultural context, and, as noted, ideas about a child, sexuality, and what constitutes prostitution are heavily contested. One characteristic, however, that does seem to divide child prostitutes in the nonindustrialized world with those in the West is the relationship between the children and their families. Most of the evidence on juvenile prostitution in the West points to family breakdown and an abusive relationship as factors in prostitution and the limited, and usually nonexistent, contact between children working as prostitutes and their parents or caregivers. In Asia, however, many more prostitutes are working as a way of supporting their families, and they send money home regularly. They tend to remain in much closer contact with their

families, often returning to their home villages when they have paid off the debt in their brothel or when they have earned enough money to support themselves in later life.

Not all child prostitutes are girls. Outside the West, there is very little information on boy child prostitutes, other than in Sri Lanka, where boys work as prostitutes rather than their sisters because parents protect their daughters' sexual purity but do not see a boy's worth in terms of sexual experience. It is also sometimes assumed that because child sex is such a taboo in the West, it must be the most expensive and forbidden form of prostitution. This is not necessarily the case, however, and children may also be at the bottom end of the market, unsure of the price of their sexuality, and, especially those children who are engaged in survival sex, may sell themselves cheaply for their next meal or cigarette.

Furthermore, in some instances, child prostitution is a byproduct of more generalized trafficking in women (in the case of underage women from Eastern Europe brought into the West, or from Burma into Thailand), and in other cases, it is children per se who are targeted. The links between adult and child prostitution are not clearly understood, although there is a premium within prostitution on youth and attractiveness, and, therefore, there is an inevitable overlap between the lower end of "adult" prostitution and the "higher" age range of child prostitution. The most helpful way to analyze child prostitution is to see child prostitutes as caught up in multiple sets of power relations—in hierarchies of age, gender, ethnicity, and social status. Almost inevitably, child prostitutes, in whatever context, will have clients who have more social status than they do, and the children will be at a disadvantage. This powerlessness renders them most susceptible to harm and exploitation.

Child prostitution is explicitly forbidden by international law. Article 34 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states categorically that "the State shall protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and involvement in pornography." Obtaining detailed information about the children who work as prostitutes, their clients, their lifestyles, or their earning patterns is extremely difficult. Much of the information that is available is based on conjecture or extrapolation from small samples, so there are no definitive numbers. It is unknown how many child prostitutes there are in the world (estimates for one single country range from 20,000 to 1,000,000 in Thailand and between 3,000 and 100,000 in the Philippines). There is limited information on working conditions or how long they stay in prostitution. It is also difficult to know how many children work with local clients in the indigenous market and how many work primarily with Westerners. Much of the information on child prostitutes comes from media reports and campaigning groups, which tend to focus on the most sensational and extreme side of the market—the kidnapping and trafficking of very young children and the involvement of Westerners.

The most significant of the campaigning groups against child prostitution, and the one that forced the issue into media prominence in the 1990s, is the ECPAT (End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism). It was formed in 1992 in response to the problem of Western men coming to **South-east Asia** and exploiting children, particularly in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Taiwan, and the Philippines. ECPAT has been extremely successful in raising the profile of the problem of child prostitution in Asia and now campaigns against commercial child sexual exploitation throughout the world, a change reflected in its new name, End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes. Its work has led to changes in national and international law, particularly in the area of extra-territoriality, whereby men from a Western nation can be prosecuted in their home countries for sexual crimes against children abroad (previously they had to be extradited back to the country where the crimes took place). Led by Australia, which has passed a law allowing the

imprisonment of its citizens for up to 17 years if they are found guilty of sexual offenses, Norway, Germany, France, Belgium, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Sweden (among others) have passed similar laws, and a handful of men have been prosecuted under this legislation.

If little is known about child prostitutes, even less is known about their **clients**, although some authors have distinguished between situational and preferential abusers. Preferential abusers are habitual pedophiles; they have an interest in either boys or girls of a specific age and/or size, and, whether they are in their home countries or abroad, will be sexually attracted to children of that age. Situational abusers are a more complex category. They may well not have a sexual preference for underage prostitutes but will have sex with a child in specific circumstances, believing, for example, that sexual attitudes are different abroad or that it is impossible to tell the relative ages of young women in other countries. Many studies on tourist behavior show that tourists act in ways abroad that they never would in their home countries, and those who have looked specifically at sexual behavior have shown that men who have sex with a child are more likely to do it away from home.

Another much-repeated claim is that demand for child prostitutes is increasing because children are seen as less likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS. Another variation on this claim is that men from certain cultural backgrounds believe that having sex with a virgin will cure them of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. It has been variously claimed that Chinese men will go to Thailand to have sex with a virgin for this purpose and that both Arabs and men in South Africa believe that sex with a virgin will cure them of AIDS. Such a belief is found both in Victorian England and in modern accounts of child prostitution. Such claims are difficult to evaluate, as research on actual sexual behavior is notoriously unreliable and there are very few ethnographic studies of men's use of child prostitutes.

See also Butler, Josephine; *Forced Prostitution*.

Further Reading: Ennew, Judith. *The Sexual Exploitation of Children*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986; Ennew, Judith, Kusum Gopal, Janet Heeran, and Heather Montgomery. *Children and Prostitution. How Can We Measure and Monitor the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children? Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography*. 1996. Oslo: Childwatch International Web site <http://child-abuse.com/childhouse/childwatch/cwi/projects/indicators/prostitution/>; O'Connell-Davidson, Julia. *Children in the Global Sex Trade*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.

Heather Montgomery

CHILD PROSTITUTION, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS. *Mooi-jai*, *restavek*, *trokosi*, and *devadasi* are terms used to describe children who are in the care of people and institutions other than their families where aspects of prostitution may be present. In these and other societies, sons are traditionally valued over daughters as a reflection of the greater earning power accorded to men. Care for the elderly falls to their children, leading to large families with more children and a preference for higher-earning, and thus male, children. Female children are a burden. They must be fed, cared for, and married off, which may require a dowry. Middle- and upper-class families can afford such luxuries. The poor often cannot. If a daughter can be cared for elsewhere, it helps the rest of the family economically. Yet the family loves the child and does not wish harm to come to her. In some societies, these pressures produce institutions designed to create opportunities for the rich, and also soothe the desire of the poor to remove an economic burden through giving the daughter a better chance at life. As prostitution involves the exchange of sexual services

for something of value, classifying these institutions as prostitution is somewhat questionable because the pay for the labor of the children involved, sexual or otherwise, is often little more than food and shelter when the institutions are culturally based and may involve outright slavery when the institutions concerned are religious. These institutions are forms of **trafficking** in women and children, wherein female children are moved to a new location and sexually used, but where the sex provider may receive little to no remuneration.

The *devadasi*, *mooi-jai*, and *trokosi* traditions are older than the *geisha* tradition in Japan, which became familiar to many Americans in the 1940s. The *devadasi* had artistic origins similar to *geisha*, while *restavek*, *mooi-jai*, and *trokosi* did not.

Mooi-jai and Restavek

Two examples of such systems in China and Haiti are *mooi-jai* and *restavek*. *Mooi-jai* (or *mui tsai*) is the Chinese custom in poor families, often rural, of sending a daughter to the home of a wealthier family often in a far-off city on a relatively permanent basis. This process removed the child from the traditional protections provided by her father, uncles, and brothers from sexual and other assaults, and placed her in a new home where her status was at best uncertain. Although the wealthier family normally promised to care for and educate the daughter and to treat her as one of their own, the reality was often quite different. She became fair game to the males of the new household. In addition to doing most of the kitchen and household work while the natural children played and went to school, the *mooi-jai* was subject to sexual pressures and occasionally to outright attack and could be sold into prostitution. Slavery was outlawed in **Hong Kong** in 1844, as was *mooi-jai*, in legislation passed between 1923 and 1938. The last registered *mooi-jai* was freed by 1950, though cases of unregistered *mooi-jai* continued to surface over the next decade, and informal *mooi-jai* arrangements continue to occur in Asia.

Restavek, meaning “stay with” in French and French Creole, is a similar custom in Haiti, the first country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery in 1804, and the first black republic in the world. The price of independence included hard economic times, with poor families hard pressed to feed every mouth. Many were former slaves. Polygamy and common-law unions were the most common form of household, the most practical way to survival in rural Haiti. Women had few opportunities for generating independent income. Faced with the problem of many children in such families, *restavek* was one solution. Sending a daughter to a better-off family for domestic work provided the possibility of an education for the child as well as regular meals. Perhaps when she grew up she would return home with the resources to care for her parents. But there was no effective method of keeping track of a *restavek*, including the child’s final location. **Violence** against women is a threat facing all domestic workers, and *restavek* contained the same potentials for abuse as *mooi-jai*. The custom followed Haitian émigrés to other nations, and arrests for *restavek* occur occasionally in the United States, particularly in Miami.

Trokosi

Trokosi is a system of religious slavery in Ghana. Christiane Amanpour’s televised reports on CNN brought the ancient practice into Western consciousness in the late 1990s. The concept of individual guilt in Western and most economically developed societies is not a cultural universal. In less-developed countries, particularly some in Africa and Asia, a more distributive concept of collective shame emanates from the performance of a proscribed act. In these cultures,

a transgression against another person creates a debt of repayment owed by the family of the transgressor to the victimized family, and it is also a transgression against the gods. The local shaman is the representative of the gods on earth, the mediator between the visible and invisible worlds, and the interpreter of the gods' will. The gods are harsh and can be slow to forgive, even for relatively minor transgressions. Although the debt to the other family may be repaid expeditiously, the obligation to the gods may require repayment over more than one lifetime.

The traditional form of repayment to the gods is the gift of the service of a female member of the transgressing family to the shaman. She becomes a bride of the gods, the meaning of "*trokosi*." Many females may be eligible for this duty, but with mature and older females, factors such as family status, health, and utility to the family often point to a young girl as the likely choice. A ceremony marks the passage of the female chosen by the transgressing family into *trokosi* slavery. The other females from this family remove all of the girl's clothing and all personal objects and bathe her, dressing her plainly for her new status. During her time of service as *trokosi*, she must supply her own food, clothing, and bedding, receiving nothing from the shaman. Regardless of her age, she serves him in his fields and kitchen by day, often together with several other *trokosi* slaves, and in bed at night. If the shaman dies before the debt to the gods is repaid, she comes under the influence of the new shaman as the gods' representative. If the *trokosi* slave dies before the gods' debt is satisfied, another female from the offending family must go through the ceremony and replace her until either she dies or the shaman announces that the debt to the gods has been repaid.

Devadasi

As with *trokosi* in Ghana, the basis for the Indian *devadasi* (*devdasi*) system is religious. *Devaki* (or *deuki*) is a similar system in Nepal. The term "*devadasi*" has come to represent several similar traditions in India with different names, each associated with child **marriage** to different Hindu gods. A *devadasi* girl is called a *jogini*. These child marriage forms of the *devadasi* tradition are not recorded in South Asia before the 14th century. The traditional Hindu custom and prescription was *swayambara*, wherein the woman selected her marriage partner after she came of age. Child marriage was not part of *swayambara* and not in accord with earlier Hinduism. Many lower-caste Hindus could not afford the costs associated with *swayambara*, and girls from poor families were sometimes sold at private auctions.

Devadasis, as mature artists, dancing girls, and courtesans, were well established in India by the 10th century c.e. During the period of Muslim rule, particularly from 1328 to 1720 c.e., having an unmarried daughter in the house was considered an invitation to sexual abuse from the Muslims. Unequal sex ratios within castes led to early marriage, because cross-caste marriage was forbidden. Marriage partners in a cross-caste marriage became members of the lower of the two castes, effectively discouraging the practice. Considerations of dowry, and a perceived need to maximize chances of procreation during an invasion period, also contributed to the sanctioning of child marriage. During this period, Hindu girls unmarried by the time of puberty were considered impure and thus incapable of marriage. It became shameful for a father to see menstrual blood from an unmarried daughter. By the 18th century, Indian law books suggested that the best marriage partner for a man was a girl one-third his age, and 19th-century Hindu scriptures authorized both child marriage and its early consummation.

In Hinduism, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are the three principal male gods. Although Brahma is the creator, Shiva's wife Shakti (or Parvati or Devi) is the active, manifest power that actually creates the universe. Shakti is the conscious power of god and has at least 100 different

names, each corresponding to her different manifestations, some good and some evil. Among these names are Devi (good), Kali (evil), and in some areas of India, Yellamma. In one of her forms, Kali enjoys the sexual worship of young women. Devi/Kali in the guise of Yellamma is a village goddess who has emerged from local village contexts. Yellamma is known for her great strength and is primarily and widely worshipped by the lower castes, the poor, and illiterate, and is a favorite deity among the low-caste *dalits* who seek her protection. Yellamma worship is found in small numbers in all parts of India but is more prevalent in the south where Yellamma is believed to protect a family from evil if it dedicates a daughter to her. The girl's village receives a degree of protection as well.

An elaborate ceremony, usually occurring between ages five to nine and held under a full moon, initiates the girl into her marriage to a god, and she is thus *sadasubagan*, permanently married and thus permanently blessed, and forbidden to marry anyone else or to work outside the temple. *Dasi* means *maid*, and a *devadasi* is a maid or servant of Devi. She may return home after the ceremony until puberty or may begin her service immediately. As the bride of a god, she is available to the priest as the god's surrogate, and to those he directs her to service. Her duty is to serve the poor, including sexual service without a price, or with a price the poor could afford. Yet the wealthier and more powerful in the community are more likely to receive her services because of their donations to the temple, though this is not the religious intent.

In their pre-14th-century form, *devadasi* were artists of various kinds who were also skilled in sexual practices. They could live an independent existence apart from men, with inheritance rights, wealth, and influence, living outside of the dangers of marriage such as financial dependence, domestic violence, and even occasional bride burning, unlike most women of India. Today most *devadasi* are bound by fear of punishment from Yellamma, their inability to marry, their lack of economic prospects, and, in their adult years, the scorn of the same community that sanctions *devadasi*. Their unwashed and matted hair mimics depictions of Yellamma. Their original protections, privileges, and status were removed by 19th-century British reforms that viewed *devadasi* purely as prostitution, setting the stage for the *devadasi* system to move in that direction.

Child marriage was outlawed in India in 1929, and *devadasi* as an occupation was outlawed in 1947, with reinforcing legislation passed in 1954, 1982, and 1988, in various parts of India. These laws have problems such as a requirement of photo or video evidence (1982), with no convictions ever recorded under some of the laws. Many local police do not enforce the laws and many villagers continue their Yellamma beliefs. Although the legal measures reduced the number of *jogini*, Yellamma worship and the *devadasi* system continued as an underground movement in the south. Currently, about 15 percent of sex workers in India are believed to be of *devadasi* origin.

See also Religion; Trafficking.

Further Reading: Anderson, Leslie. *Restavek: Child Domestic Labor in Haiti*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee, 1990; Jaschok, Maria. *Concubines and Bondservants: The Social History of a Chinese Custom*. London: Zed Books, 1988; Vijaisri, Priyadarshini. *Recasting the Devadasi: Patterns of Sacred Prostitution in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2004; Wisdom, Mark. *The Trokosi System*. Accra-North, Ghana: Mercury Press, 2001.

Thomas M. Steinfatt

CHINESE LITERATURE. What has captured the imagination of Chinese writers through history has not been prostitution per se, but the overlapping social phenomenon of **courtesans**,

who came to acquire a central place in Chinese literature since their historical association with the literati in the 7th century. Poets, dramatists, and novelists found a liminal space in the figure of the courtesan for constructing male sexuality and identity, and for exploring and negotiating individual desire against the normative forces of society. At the same time, as a part of their job, courtesans in China also created literature, and some were even endowed with the artistic, literary, and intellectual talent that Neo-Confucian moralists rarely encouraged in women.

The Tang Dynasty (618–907) was the beginning of the near-institutional association of the literati and courtesans that was to last until the end of the imperial era. A central part of elite experience was formed by encounters with courtesans who served the candidates for the civil service examination. Courtesans did not offer a straight exchange of sex for money, but rather a sophisticated form of sensual pleasure for their male elite clients, entertaining them with music, song, versification, games, and witty banter. Sex was a reward for the successfully playing of what effectively constituted an elaborate social game, although consummation was never automatic. There were grades and varieties of courtesans, forming a spectrum with the famous literary talent on one extreme, and the most common form of sex-for-money prostitution on the other. Short stories in the classical language such as Bo Xingjian's (775–826) *Tale of Li Wa* (*Li Wa zhuan*) and Jiang Fang's (fl. early 9th c.) *Tale of Huo Xiaoyu* (*Huo Xiaoyu zhuan*) tell of the difficult love that develops between courtesans and their clients across social stratification, which often tragically proves insurmountable at the end, despite individual desire. The bond between courtesans and literati was further strengthened by the development of *ci* ("lyric") poetry in the Song Dynasty (960–1279). This literary form was meant to be performed with specific musical tunes, and courtesans were not merely the singers but also sources of inspiration for some. For 11th-century *ci* poets such as Ouyang Xiu, Liu Yong, Qin Guan, Huang Tingjian, or He Zhu, courtesans were the objects of the male gaze, male desire, and tender longing, as well as the performers of these discourses and the supplier of sexual encounters.

Although representing the courtesan continued in the high poetic tradition by writers such as Shen Shi (1488–1565), it was soon overtaken by popular literary genres such as drama and vernacular fiction that rose in the Yuan (1279–1368) and the Ming (1368–1644) Dynasties. The emergence of the bourgeoisie during the Ming meant a first look into the domestic, and love stories about courtesans formed a substantial portion of the social drama that pits a pair of lovers against social norms and forces. In such plays, the male protagonist struggles against family disapproval and powerful competing love interests to marry a courtesan who is often an idealized image of femininity. Although often set in lower social strata that had porous boundaries, these stories are in a sense a continuation of Tang discourses on courtesans, and some of the most successful examples were adaptations of Tang fiction into drama, such as Xu Lin's (1462–1538) *Brocade Jacket* (*Xiuru ji*) or Tang Xianzu's (1550–1617) *Purple Hairpin* (*Zichai ji*). In Kong Shangren's (1648–1718) masterwork, the *Peach Blossom Fan* (*Taohua shan*), the courtesan becomes a figure of virtue through which questions of statehood during the Manchu conquest of China are refracted. Less idealized stories of the courtesan explore the human foibles, for example, Guan Hanqing's (ca. 1240–ca. 1320) *A Sister Courtesan Comes to the Rescue* (*Jiu fengchen*), or disruption of the family in plays such as *The Peddler* (*Huolang dan*) and *Butcher Sun the Younger* (*Xiao Sun tu*), both Yuan anonymous. In the burgeoning erotic literature of the Ming, prostitutes have a surprisingly small role; one might speculate that debauching amateurs were far more titillating.

Literary discourses on the courtesan changed dramatically toward the end of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912), which saw an explosion of novels about the urban **brothels** that reflected

the experience of modernity as well as the encroachment by the West. The premise of a pure romantic love, conventional in earlier courtesan tales, is realistically checked by portrayal of the necessary promiscuity in such a profession, in such “Novels of Depravity” as Wei Xiuren’s (1819–74) *Traces of Flower and Moon* (*Huayue hen*), Han Bangqing’s (1856–94) *Biographies of Shanghai Sing-Song Girls* (*Haishang hua liezhuan*), and Yu Da’s (d. 1884) *Dream of a Blue Chamber* (*Qinglou meng*). Worth noting is Chen Sen’s (ca. 1796–ca. 1870) *Mirror for Evaluating the Flowers* (*Pinhua baojian*), which features liaisons of male opera performers (who impersonate women) with their clients, as well as Zeng Pu’s (1872–1935) *A Flower in a Sea of Sins* (*Niehai hua*), in which a courtesan combines her trade with international politics in an effort to “save China” from Western imperialism.

Apart from their literary representation, many actual courtesans could compose poetry as a professional requirement, and quite a few even made real literary contributions. Two Tang courtesan poets, Xue Tao (768–831) and the “Taoist nun” Yu Xuanji (844–68), attained the highest stature. Of the 90 works that survives of Xue Tao, most are love poems addressed to her patrons, characterized by sensuous imagery and a sad undertone. Yu Xuanji’s 50 extant poems show a greater diversity in thematic matter and poetic form, encompassing, for example, elegies, travel poems, poems on historical sites, and reflective poems on her trade. Her career was cut short as she was executed at the age of 24 for murdering her maid, whom she suspected was having an affair with a client. Whether either of these two poets subverts conventional representation of women to achieve feminine subjectivity, or merely envisions herself in men’s words, remains an issue for debate.

Further Reading: Chang, Kang-i Sun, and Haun Saussy, eds. *Women Writers of Traditional China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999; Duval, Jean. *A Study of Prostitution in Shanghai at the End of the Qing Dynasty as It Appears in the “Shanghai” Novels*. Paris: VERLCA, 1972; Guan, Hanqing. “A Sister Courtesan Comes to the Rescue.” George Kao, trans. *Renditions* 49 (1998): 7–41; Larsen, Jeanne, trans. *Brocade River Poems: Selected Works of the Tang Dynasty Courtesan Xue Tao*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987; Liu, Ts’un-yan, and John Minford, eds. *Chinese Middlebrow Fiction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984; Tao, Muning. *Qinglou wenxue yu Zhongguo wenhua* (“Courtesan Literature and Chinese Civilization”). Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1993; Vitiello, Giovanni. “The Forgotten Tears of the Lord of Longyang: Late Ming Stories of Male Prostitution and Connoisseurship.” In *Linked Faiths*, ed. Jan A. M. de Meyer and Peter M. Engelfriet. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 227–47; Widmer, Ellen, and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds. *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997; Yao, Ping. “The Status of Pleasure: Courtesan and Literati Connections in T’ang China, 618–907.” *Journal of Women’s History* 14, no. 2 (2002): 26–53.

Shun-Chang Kevin Tsai

CHINESE THEATER. See Imperial Chinese Theater

CLIENTS. The client of a sex worker pays for a service, which at its most basic includes sexual activity. An overwhelming majority of clients are men. However, clients can be anyone—men, women, transgenders —of any age from adolescent to geriatrics. Prostitution may be the only sexual interactions enjoyed by some people with disabilities. There is a great deal of writing on prostitution, but very little on clients of prostitutes. The services a client receives may include massage, comfort, conversation, play-acting, or quasi-pornographic performance. For a client, the exchange is social, while for the sex worker, it is typically business. Prostitutes need their clients to make a living, and they react to clients both as a class of people and as individuals.

Clients may be imagined by those outside the trade to be old, ugly, pathological, or unsocial, but in reality clients represent a surprisingly diverse sector of humanity. The stereotypical impression that a client must seek commercial sex because he has no access to sex in a relationship is not always the case. However, many clients do not enjoy the social currency needed in order to have romantic sexual relationships with the people they sexually desire. Many seek a sex partner in a specific age range, or one whose physical beauty is above average. Prostitution provides an opportunity to engage in sexual activity with a wider range of partners than may be otherwise available.

In the United States and elsewhere, the client may be more reviled and stigmatized than the sex worker, perhaps because clients are faceless and anonymous—few people believe they know any clients. The “john” or paying client of a sex professional may be the most invisible man in American society. As such, a client of a sex worker is not a sympathetic character to many, aside from sex workers who depend on their customers for their income. Professional sex workers as a rule respect their clients’ privacy and do not disclose the identities of their patrons. The client potentially has a lot to lose—family, home—and risks public shame and humiliation if he is exposed. In North America, **diversion programs** (also known as “john schools”) prey upon this fear of discovery by targeting the arrested clients of prostitutes and fining them, thus reinforcing the stigmatization process. Secrecy and **stigma** can also create a situation conducive to blackmail, by a corrupt police officer, a sex worker or other sex industry participant. In less sordid and more straightforward scenarios, there are recorded instances of prostitutes seeking financial reimbursement in the case of damage to property by their clients on record from 19th-century **New York City** (Cline 1998).

Despite stigma, varying legal situations, and the clandestine nature of prostitution in many locales, the sex industry can be a medium for male bonding. Men may visit a sex industry **venue** while they are negotiating or finalizing a business deal. In places where men are expected to be patrons of **brothels** and other venues for prostitution, clients may be less stigmatized.

Some people may pose as clients in order to commit violent crimes. One New York City brothel worker described situations in which her workplace and the people there, including sex workers and their clients, had been robbed by men posing as patrons. She said, “These aren’t clients, they’re predators” (Thukral and Ditmore 2003). Groups of men who hire or rape prostitutes as a form of male bonding have been documented in Cambodia (Jenkins 2005; Wilkinson and Fletcher 2002). Such predation is made possible by the fact that neither clients nor sex workers are likely to report these crimes to the police.

Further repercussions for clients who report crimes against sex workers include a loss of credibility. Romantic and paying partners of sex workers are discredited because of their relationships with prostitutes. Clients who have tried to report sex workers missing have not been taken seriously by law enforcement. The conflating of prostitution with human trafficking has led to the demonization of the client as the personification of male lust, while access to female sexuality has been erroneously identified as the root cause of trafficking (Ditmore 2005). Yet evidence highlights that clients are the people most likely and in the best position to assist sex workers in coercive situations to escape or transcend their bonds (Thukral, Ditmore, and Murphy 2005).

Further Reading: Cline, Patricia Cohen. *The Murder of Helen Jewett*. New York: Random House, 1998; Ditmore, Melissa. “Trafficking in Lives: The Impact of New International Anti-trafficking Law in Asia.” In *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press, 2005; Jenkins, Carol. “Cambodian Sex Workers Conduct Their Own Research.” *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 3–4.

<http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Perkins, Roberta, ed. *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 1991, pp. 133–39; Sycamore, Matt Bernstein. *Tricks and Treats: Sex Workers Write about Their Clients*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 2000; Thukral, Juhu, and Melissa Ditmore. “Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-based Prostitution in New York City.” 2003. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>; Wilkinson, David, and Gillian Fletcher. *Sex Talk—Peer Ethnographic Research with Male Students and Waitresses in Phnom Penh*. Phnom Penh: PSI, 2002.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

CLOTHING. Throughout human history to the present day, sumptuary laws (which regulate the wearing of certain articles of clothing to reflect the moral standing of the community or require the wearing of symbolic articles of clothing to indicate moral deficiencies, or laws that regulate public displays of luxury) were used to control women and particularly as a visual means to decipher a respectable woman from a whore. Sumptuary laws were enforced in Europe until the middle of the 20th century, post World War II. For prostitutes, their dangerous display of loose sexuality threatened the moral order of respectable society and was considered a social corruption, as well as defiance against patriarchal control. Sumptuary laws attempted to control clothing related to social standing and particularly for the purposes of publicly marking prostitutes and whores. In Europe, some sumptuary laws prohibited prostitutes from wearing the high fashion garments of the day. Some laws required prostitutes to wear particular items to distinguish them from virtuous women. In Mantua and Parma, prostitutes were required to cover their dress with a short white cloak and/or display a badge on their chest. In Bergamo and Leipzig, a yellow cloak was required, and in Milan, prostitutes were required to wear a black cloak. Some cities required the wearing of striped cloaks or hoods. If prostitutes broke the sumptuary laws, punishment ranged from fines to being whipped. Respectable women were encouraged to publicly rip the garments off any prostitute who wore illegal fashionable garments or who did not wear the required cloak. Black and white and yellow were the colors of choice for clothing requirements for prostitutes in Europe. A yellow scarf or headdress was required in Vienna, Seville, and **Venice**.

Other sumptuary laws were used to shame respectable women into behaving correctly. Some sumptuary laws were designed to allow only prostitutes the freedom to dress above their station, wear luxurious items, or other clothing considered immodest as a way to shame virtuous women into compliance with sumptuary restrictions. Sometimes a prostitute’s clothing represented a mockery of noble dress, favoring an abundance of jewelry and spectacular hats. Such exaggerations of noble dress were a way for the prostitute to display a desire to move above her station or social class. In France, only public whores were allowed to wear gold ornaments and embroidered dresses and only **pimps** were allowed to wear gold rings. French prostitutes were prohibited from wearing the coif or veil and respectable women were encouraged to remove it from a prostitute as a public humiliation. In Spain, prostitutes were allowed to wear items that were prohibited to respectable women, and in Scotland, only prostitutes were legally allowed to dress above their social class. Sumptuary laws were used to maintain the lines of class difference as well as reinforce the moral division between moral and immoral women.

Sumptuary laws came to an end when ready-made clothing became widely available during the Industrial Age. Mass-market clothing removed the visible mark of social standing as now everyone was on a level clothing field. But the rising normality of ready-to-wear clothing spawned competitions between brand names that then carried social status implications. Ready-to-wear styles, however, reflected the rules of modesty of the time, which then allowed prostitutes to go against those rules by wearing styles of clothing that revealed more of their bodies than the conservative sartorial norm considered appropriate. Prostitutes who exhibited an abundance of skin, long legs in short skirts, and cleavage revealed an autonomy and ownership of their sexuality that threatened **patriarchy**, creating the illusion for the johns of controlling and owning the woman, who is perceived as dressing to please him. Conservatively dressed wives and “decent” women, however, continue to represent a socially acceptable form of female sexuality. Prostitutes have always symbolized a paradox: owning their sexuality, yet being objectified and used as a sexual object. A prostitute’s clothing can indicate both sexual freedom and pride in sexuality, and it can also objectify, functioning as an advertisement to attract customers.

Clothing represents such complex movements as a society’s moral transformation, for example, the head-to-knee swimsuit of the 1920s versus today’s G-string, or the bra burnings of the 1960s. In the 1960s, popular clothing styles became similar to that worn by prostitutes in the age of sexual freedom, allowing women and men to stray from the conservative norm. Prostitutes used the changing social norms to dictate what could be worn to greatest effect. For street prostitutes, miniskirts, halter tops, gogo boots, and bikinis all became signs of rebellion, those vestments advertising sexual availability. Prostitutes’ clothing functions to promote the product while at the same time not attract the attention of the ever-present police. In contrast, high-class **call girls** dress in designer-style clothing that reflect their separate status from the street prostitute, but in gowns and outfits that are equally revealing and unconventional.

As recent American pop culture continues to emulate and normalize the visual image of whores, female youth fashion has begun to replicate a type of prostitute style. Hollywood **films** have reinforced the social desirability of conservative dress for “good” girls over flagrantly sexual dress. Western saloon girls wore low-cut, bosom-emphasizing bright red or violet gowns and street-hardened whore characters wear stiletto heels or knee-high boots, red skirts or shirts, and fishnet nylons, or parodies of upper-class dress, similar to the earlier mockery of noble dress.

Today’s hip music culture dominates youth style, promoting images of whores and the clothes they wear, resulting in an anything-goes style that allows prostitutes to dress in a way that reflects and inspires dominant youth culture. To combat the ever-growing loose sexual style, many American schools require uniforms to force conformity to a proper moral appearance: the modern version of sumptuary law.

Further Reading: Hunt, Alan. *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996; Wiseman Jocelit, Jenna. *A Perfect Fit: Clothes, Character, and the Promise of America*. New York: Henry Holt, 2001.

Debbie Clare Olson

COLETTE (1873–1954). Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette was born on January 28, 1873, just outside of Paris in Saint-Sauveur-en-Puisaye, Burgundy, France. Author of more than 50 novels, numerous short stories and articles for periodicals of her era, this popular 20th-century French

writer was known for blurring the lines of fiction and autobiography, inventing the modern teenager, being the first modern woman to live in accordance with her pleasures, cultivating a star persona, creating her own line of chocolates and cosmetics, demanding privacy, and being one of the first women to write about the faked orgasm. Writing from her early 20s to her mid-70s, she produced several famous novels: *The Pure and the Impure* (1932), *The Vagabond* (1910), *Cheri* (1920), *The Last of Cheri* (1926), *Gigi* (1945), *My Mother's House* (1922), and *Sido* (1929). Dominant themes in her work include women's struggle for independence and self-realization, the mother-daughter bond, female sexuality within **patriarchy**, and love. Many of her characters came from the margins of society, including **courtesans**, gigolos, bisexuals, and cocottes. In 1905, Colette became a musical performer, baring her breast on stage and causing a riot when she mimed copulation at the Moulin Rouge. Her lovers and friends included Missy, Natalie Clifford Barney, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Henri Gauthier-Villars, Henri de Jouvenel des Ursins, and Maurice Goudaket. Her only daughter is Colette de Jouvenel. She suffered during the last 20 years of her life from arthritis and died August 3, 1954, in Paris, France. She was accorded a state funeral attended by thousands.

See also French Literature.

Further Reading: Colette. *Seven by Colette*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, 1955; Hardy, Valérie. *Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette*. Colette Web site <http://www.colette.org/>; *Herstory: Lesbians in the Arts: Colette*. Herstory Web site <http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Suite/9048/COLETTEbio.htm>.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

COLONIALISM AND PROSTITUTION IN AFRICA. Prostitution in colonial Africa was a profession that provided females with a substantial degree of social, cultural, and economic mobility and independence. The three major domains, which did overlap, of sexual labor in colonial Africa were urban centers, military settlements, and mining camps. Mining camps belonged to one of the numerous colonial capitalist structures that made use of high numbers of male laborers. A sizeable percentage of men recruited as **mine** laborers were from the countryside, typically far from mining camps. The severity of work in the mines coupled with the fact that mine laborers were usually prevented from taking their wives along with them provided the opportunity for independent females who migrated to the camps to earn a living through the provision of sexual services. Mine-based prostitutes in most countries in colonial Africa had the opportunity of harnessing greater resources.

The history of military settlement in colonial African varies from one part of the continent to another. Immediately after the commencement of **World War I** (1914–18) and the establishment of military camps in some African states, prostitutes also moved to places close to military settlement and provided sexual services for soldiers. Military settlement-based prostitution flourished adequately during World War II (1939–45), which saw greater involvement of African troops in different stages of war prosecution. Like the mine laborers, men recruited into the colonial army were predominantly from the villages or rural areas. The rigor or stress traditionally connected with soldiery provided the situation that made the sexual labor of prostitutes indispensable. Nigerian prostitutes who settled near military camps in Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, and most important, Kaduna, which was the headquarters of the Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force, were fondly called “ammunition wives.” Military authorities in different military camps in Africa needed to control the movement of soldiers who sneaked out

of the barracks to nearby places where they could pay for sexual services of prostitutes. During the war years, the military debated whether to institutionalize brothel keeping through a system called “controlled **brothels**.” The introduction of controlled brothels near military camps was seen as the only means of monitoring the movement of soldiers. Controlled brothels also would provide the opportunity for screening of prostitutes, whose activities were regarded as the major factor in the spread of venereal diseases, which had a high incidence among the military troops in Africa. The proposal for the establishment of controlled brothels for the troops of the West African Frontier Force in English-speaking West Africa was turned down because the government thought it would provide legitimacy for some prostitution-related activities, such as public soliciting, procuring, and living on immoral earnings, which were all criminal offenses.

Prostitution also flourished in urban centers in colonial Africa. As in most parts of the world, it was largely an urban phenomenon. African urban centers were designed to maintain a large pool of competitively cheap male laborers. The introduction of wage labor encouraged men to migrate into the city, leaving their wives and families in the countryside. Urban centers in Africa became melting pots of cultures, which produced a new pattern of outlook and social behavior, that of “urbanized” people. Significant characteristics of urban life included large numbers of social gathering places such as bars, cinemas, and other places that were stigmatized as “red light districts.”

Prostitutes provided the needed sexual adjustment within this new domain where social and economic independence was highest. All these attributes of colonial urban centers were absent in the countryside, which apart from being culturally homogenous, could not guarantee a substantial degree of social and economic independence for men and women.

A surprising aspect of prostitutes in colonial African urban spaces was that they came to be associated with specific tribes of females who migrated into new places for the purpose of earning a living through the sale of sexual relations. The name given to different types of prostitutes was sometimes determined by their places of origin. For instance, Nigerian prostitutes in the major cities of the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the early 1940s were called *Akunakuna*, the name of the village in Calabar Province of Nigeria where most of the women originated. In eastern Nigerian cities, Idoma migrant prostitutes were called *Akwato*, the name of a popular village that belonged to the Idoma. In some parts of Africa, the amount charged also determined the name given to categories of prostitutes. In this connection, migrant prostitutes from Ivory Coast who were prostitutes in the Gold Coast were called *Tutu* because they collected two-two shillings for sexual services rendered.

The type of prostitution was determined by the method adopted by the prostitute in soliciting; that is, the typology of prostitution was informed by the ways in which prostitutes attracted male customers. A good example can be drawn from Nairobi. In this important East African city, the *watembezi*, which could be likened to streetwalking, included all those prostitutes who solicited in public places such as bars, hotel lobbies, and, of course, streets. The *malaya* prostitute waited in front of her room for her customers to enter. In northern Nigeria, a form of prostitution locally known as *karuwanci* is akin to the *malaya* form in Nairobi. Practitioners of *karuwanci* did not move from one place to another but lived in special houses known locally as *gidajen mata* that men patronized.

There are several factors that inhibit an assessment of the resources harnessed by prostitutes, principal among which was that prostitution belonged to the “off-the-book sector” of the colonial economy. However, there is ample evidence to show that prostitutes accumulated wealth. A study of prostitution in colonial Nairobi has shown that prostitutes harnessed wealth and invested in landed property. *Tutu* prostitutes in the Gold Coast were able to make a profit of

between 250,000 and 400,000 francs from a two-year sojourn in the city. Nigerian prostitutes in the Gold Coast in 1933 sent 10 shillings to their relatives at home. In all, prostitution provided females with a substantial degree of economic and social mobility.

Colonial governments throughout Africa adopted divergent methods in controlling or regulating activities of prostitutes. Prostitution in most states in colonial Africa was not a criminal offense. However, several activities, such as brothel keeping, procuring, living on immoral earnings, public soliciting, and illegal guardianship, were illegal. Three major factors facilitated the process of criminalization of prostitution-related activities. The first was that prostitution, as a "deviant career," owed its origin to "modernization." The second was the moral and health considerations that allowed them to be seen as a class of people who constituted "public pollution" through their roles in the spread of venereal diseases and general "immorality." Last were the assumptions that prostitutes were responsible for an increase in crime rates and limiting the access that people who engaged in "legitimate jobs" had to decent accommodations. In 1932, arrests and prosecutions of all unattached women were carried out in colonial Asante (part of present-day Ghana). Also, in Tanganyika, Kampala-Kiguga (part of present-day Uganda), and Zimbabwe, compulsory medical screenings for venereal disease were carried out on all unmarried females who migrated into urban centers. A similar situation occurred in southern Rhodesia, where all females migrating into places close to the mines were subjected to medical screening. If wives traveled with their husbands, they had to possess marriage certificates. In Nigeria, frequent raids of brothels and houses where prostitutes and other unattached women lived were conducted between the early 1940s and late 1950s.

Further Reading: Aderinto, Saheed. "Prostitution: A Social Legacy of Colonialism in Nigeria." In *Nigeria's Urban History: Past and Present*, ed. Hakeem Tijanni. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005; Aderinto, Saheed. "Demobilisation and Repatriation of 'Undesirables': Prostitutes, Crime, Law and Reformers in Colonial Nigeria." In *Nigeria's Urban History: Past and Present*, ed. Hakeem Tijanni. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005; Bakwesegha, Christopher. *Profiles of Urban Prostitution: A Case Study from Uganda*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1982; Barkow, Jerome. "The Institution of Courtesanship in the Northern States of Nigeria." *Afrique X*, no. 1 (1971): 59–73; Hodgson, Dorothy L., and Sheryl A. McCurdy, eds. "Wicked" Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001; Little, Kenneth. *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973; Lovejoy, Paul. "Concubinage and the Status of Slaves in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria." *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 245–66; Obbo, Christine. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence*. London: Zed Press, 1980; Uchendu, Victor. "Concubinage among Ngwa Igbo of Southern Nigeria." *Africa* 35 (1965): 186–97; White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Saheed Aderinto

COMFORT WOMEN. From the early 1930s to the end of World War II, at least 80,000 schoolgirls and female villagers and factory workers, mostly Korean, but also Chinese, Indonesian, Burmese, Malaysian, Japanese, and even New Guinean, were seized by Japanese military officials and their civilian agents (often Korean) and enslaved sexually to soldiers and officers in state-sponsored "Comfort Stations" (brothels). Another 100,000 "Comfort Women" (*wianbu* from Korean, *ianfu* from Japanese) were "recruited" by Japanese and Korean middlemen who offered them work abroad as cooks, **laundresses**, and entertainers but instead consigned them to service sexually 20 to 30 soldiers daily, often many more. One Dutch-Australian woman, Jan

Duff, survived both concentration camp and Comfort Station. Her harrowing public testimony in Japan in 1992 about their structure and function included mass **rape**, lack of food, frequent beatings, venereal infections, and impregnations. Further medical and military barbarism came in the form of torture by electricity, scarring by hot iron, breasts removed by swords, and uteruses removed to prevent menstruation.

Ethnic divisions, racial prejudice, philosophical double standards about sex, euphemistic language, and appeals to the protection of the chastity of some women have always been invoked to justify the prostitution of others, for example, women in colonized towns or the wives of state officials. The brutalizing Comfort Station system was founded on both historical Japanese occupation of Korea and the state-sponsored, licensed brothel system established by Imperial Edict in 1193 c.e. Japanese officials in the 1930s argued that Comfort Stations provided valuable services to men without women—soldiers—just as licensed brothels once catered to the unmarried—the samurai—just as, throughout the 19th century from the Philippines to the Torres Straits, state-sponsored brothels enabled pearl shell and *beche-de-mer* industries to finance the Japanese government. Neither chiefs of the army and navy general staff nor commanding officers of units posted to Choson, Taiwan, Guangdong, and the Pacific saw the Comfort Station system as state-sanctioned mass rape. The Comfort Women issue was for many decades censored by military and educational authorities.

The system was organized as follows. Girls and young women, sometimes Japanese brothel inmates, were tricked, coerced, or forcibly turned over to military policemen who transported them by car, boat, truck, and sealed train to makeshift tent cities and abandoned houses in northeast China for eventual posting elsewhere. Systematically robbed of virginity and childhood, stripped and beaten, given new, Japanese, names and raped by Japanese officers, they were formed into contingents and shipped to wherever Japanese soldiers were fighting. Their term of service to the Japanese Imperial Army and the Emperor was officially finite, and a few escaped or were spirited away by friendly soldiers. In practice, however, their slavery continued 12 to 16 hours each day, during sickness, infection, and menstruation until war's end. Many died in transport or by disease or were murdered by retreating soldiers.

At war's end, many women remained where they were, for example, in Okinawa, only to then serve Americans as prostitutes (as were tens of thousands of Okinawans in Okinawa and German women in Germany). Most women were too traumatized and ashamed, too ill and infertile to return home and attempt to marry and have a "normal" life. Testimonies such as "Bitter Memories I Am Loathe to Recall" and "Taken Away at Twelve" (Howard 1995; Kim-Gibson 1999) are common.

Japanese officials denied that sexual slavery was officially sanctioned, blaming "private entrepreneurs" instead, but in the early 1990s, a Socialist member of parliament and a university professor found microfilm evidence of names and addresses of contingents of Korean women forced into prostitution throughout the Pacific. One government official had estimated that 321 million condoms would be needed. They were referred to in memos and invoices, including those written by physicians, as "war supplies" and "military cargo." Linked in the public mind to humiliating apologies made eventually by Emperor Hirohito to Koreans regarding Japanese occupation and barbarism, the Comfort Women issue was considered too shameful to admit. The Education Ministry continued to insist that Comfort Women were "volunteers," not coerced, exploited victims as suggested by legal and feminist activist discourse. State officials have since 1992 been pressed to apologize formally and completely in front of the Japanese people and truthfully and fully to reveal this shameful episode in Japanese history in textbooks and classrooms.



Former comfort women and students hold a rally in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, South Korea, 2003. They demand an official apology and financial compensation from the Japanese government. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

See also *Camp Followers*; *Forced Prostitution*; R&R.

Further Reading and Viewing: Cohen, Yehudi. "The Sociology of Commercialized Prostitution in Okinawa." *Social Forces* 37, no. 2 (1958): 160–68; Hicks, George. *The Comfort Women*. St. Leonards, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1995; Howard, Keith. *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women*. London: Cassell, 1995; Kim-Gibson, Dal Sil. *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women*. Parkersburg, IA: Mid-Prairie Books; Noriko, Sekiguchi. *Senso Daughters*. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films, 1989. Documentary film.

Lawrence Hammar

COMMODIFICATION. In a capitalist economy, market forces determine the value of goods, services, and labor, all of which are commodified; their value to society is based on their economic worth. Society, however, generally does not commodify the person performing the labor. Commodification of the human body is the reduction of a human being into an article of exchange, an object or product that is valued only for its economic usefulness and/or profit-generating potential where there

is no distinction between the labor performed and the person who performs it. Hollywood stars are human bodies that are commodified. For example, society does not usually recognize a division between the stars' labor—acting—and the stars as people.

The commodification of the female prostitute body predominates in modern culture, particularly on the Internet and in the reality show, rap/**Hip-Hop**, heavy metal, and dance club scenes. Images of prostitutes as product, to be purchased and/or traded, fuel a mainstream market that takes advantage of the modern desire for instant ownership and stimulation. These images work to fuel male desire for possession and control of a female prostitute, and, in some instances, work to reinforce a nostalgia for an earlier era when the complete control of women was a natural male right. Throughout human history, women were routinely commodified, bought, and sold in the **marriage** arena, rarely allowed autonomy outside their ownership by a husband or a male relative. The commodification of prostitutes and prostitute images is in some instances marketed to reinforce patriarchal structures. In modern society, and particularly the **Internet** age, sex products, including prostitutes both male and female, have become a desirable commodity. Sex is the ultimate cultural opiate and is vigorously marketed to the populace as a panacea for individual

isolation, which has been one result of the Internet age. In capitalist economies, widespread commodification of the prostitute to sell products, particularly **clothing**, shoes, and jewelry, has worked to normalize the image of the female prostitute, rendering her doubly commodified in the sense that as a physical object/commodity she is literally purchasable for sex, and as an image that is reproduced into various other commodities, becoming numerous fragments (such as articles of clothing or jewelry) that are then widely marketed to the public.

In some societies, prostitution is considered just another form of free market exchange, a wage/labor contract that is maintained and repeated by the person offering the services. However, for most societies, prostitutes are wholly commodified, as society does not recognize a separation between the body, property, and the labor performed. In U.S. society, however, there is little distinction between the prostitute and the service being purchased. In the instance of prostitution, commodification usually results in the devaluation of the individual on moral grounds, rather than an elevation of his or her status for providing a desired product at a fair price. Because there is a socially constructed moral value placed on the sex act itself, a spiritual and/or emotional meaning, the exchange of sex for money devalues an act that, by social standards, should transcend monetary exchange. The workings of commodification dehumanize and objectify the service or labor that is used for exchange, and male prostitutes, particularly homosexuals, are considered more morally deficient than their female counterparts, as those same socially constructed moral standards scorn homosexuality and the commodification of the male body as a greater degradation.

Some societies do view the prostitute as simply the laborer controlling and owning his or her own product; the sex act only is commodified, not necessarily the person performing it. In those societies, the prostitute's labor may carry a lower prestige than other professions, yet his or her personhood is viewed separate from the services provided. If the prostitute is free of a controlling pimp, he or she may be considered the owner/controller of her or his labor. Being in control of one's body and the labor it can perform may be seen as autonomous in the sense that the service provider has complete control over who he or she provides services for and how much that service is worth monetarily. That labor or service just happens to be performing or providing sex in response to market demands.

Further Reading: Buchwald, Emilie, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth, eds. *Transforming a Rape Culture*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1993; Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books, 2004; Scranton, Philip, ed. *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Debbie Clare Olson

COMSTOCK, ANTHONY (1844–1915). Anthony Comstock was one of the most notorious moral reformers in U.S. history. He was born in the predominately Christian town of New Canaan, Connecticut. During his early life, Comstock served as a Union Army soldier and later became a **New York City** shipping clerk. He appointed himself as an urban moral guardian and targeted **pimps**, prostitutes, pornography, and all other forms of “immorality” that he encountered on the streets of New York City. His first major accomplishment was the passage of the 1868 New York law that forbade explicit sexual literature. Five years later, in 1873, he was able to have the Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use passed which banned obscenity sent through the postal system,

including information about **abortion** and birth control. He was so successful in his morality campaign that members of Congress referred to this act as the Comstock Law. As the founder of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice and an inspector for the New York post office, he was responsible for the arrests of 3,670 individuals, including women's rights activists Margaret Sanger and **Victoria Woodhull**. He vigilantly harassed anarchist and birth control supporter, **Emma Goldman**, who wrote empathetic works on prostitutes. Comstock was so ruthless in his pursuit of suspected criminals that some women committed suicide and a few men tried to kill him. During his lifetime, he was able to destroy 160 tons of writings and art that he thought was obscene. Comstock published various works that reflected his convictions: *Frauds Exposed*, "Gambling Outrages," "Morals vs. Art," and *Traps for the Young*.

See also Condoms; Contraception.

Further Reading: Broun, Heywood, and Margaret Leech. *Anthony Comstock, Roundsman of the Lord*. New York: Boni, 1927. Reprint, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004; "People & Events: Anthony Comstock's 'Chastity' Laws." http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/pill/peopleevents/e_comstock.html.

Claudette L. Tolson

CONDOMS. Condoms are thin sheaths for the penis that keep ejaculate isolated so as to prevent pregnancy. Latex or plastic condoms also prevent the transmission of HIV and other **sexually transmitted infections**. Female condoms, sometimes called femidoms, are larger and made with an internal and an external ring to secure the condom. Condoms can be used for vaginal, oral, and anal sex. Prostitutes have been urged to use condoms with clients as condoms are currently the only effective preventive measure against HIV. An early slogan in the prostitute's rights movement in Australia was "Condoms Are for Prostitutes What Hardhats Are for Construction Workers." Condoms are immensely important in the fight against the spread of HIV through sexual contact. Condoms have been recommended for oral sex since it was found that sores in the mouth, as from herpes or burns from a **crack** pipe, are a point of entry for HIV.

Early condoms were made of linen, silk, or animal intestine. Modern condoms come in many colors, flavors, textures, and sizes. Nevertheless, some people are resistant to using condoms. Negotiating condom use is an important skill for sex professionals. Some sex workers put condoms on with their mouths, sometimes without the client's knowledge. Sexualizing condoms has become a standard part of many sex workers' repertoire.

Outreach programs for sex workers around the world make condoms available for sex workers and others. Condoms for males are inexpensive and both male and female condoms are available without a prescription. However, condoms were not always easy to acquire. Moral crusader **Anthony Comstock** investigated the sale of condoms and other birth control materials through the mail, and the Comstock Act of 1873 forbade the manufacture of contraceptives, including condoms, in the United States until after the 1920s. Condom production was labor intensive until the perfection of mass production with latex in the 1920s.

See also Contraception; HIV/AIDS and the Prostitution Rights Movement.

Further Reading: Planned Parenthood Federation of America. "Birth Control." Web site <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/pp2/portal/medicalinfo/birthcontrol/pub-condom.xml>; Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS OF (1864, 1866, AND 1869).

The Contagious Diseases Acts were originally instituted to prevent the outbreak of venereal disease in English army and navy cities such as Aldershot, Canterbury, Dover, Gravesend, and Woolwich and were a result, in part, of the work of the famed Victorian physician **William Acton**. Acton's publications, *A Complete Practical Treatise on Venereal Diseases* (1841) and *Prostitution, Considered in Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects* (1857), convinced the public that venereal disease was an eminent threat, particularly to military men. Part of the public's anxiety arose from the idea that this type of disease could weaken Britain's military might. As much as one-third of the British military was on sick leave during this time, many because of **sexually transmitted infections**.

Any woman who was suspected of being a prostitute had to undergo a mandatory genital inspection, referred to as "**speculum rape**" or instrumental rape by reformers. If the woman had a venereal disease, she was then hospitalized and treated at the expense of the government. If the woman refused this treatment, she was to be incarcerated, although this was difficult to enforce and frequently was not. Men were not subjected to this testing.

The Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed in 1886 at the urging of famous women such as **Josephine Butler**, Harriet Martineau, and Florence Nightingale, among others. The members of the Ladies' National Association, of which Butler was leader, pleaded for the repeal of the Acts because they contended that they infringed on a woman's right to privacy and that they helped to sustain a sexual double standard.

The Acts, Josephine Butler's work, and **William Stead's** revelations of child **trafficking** are the beginning of this story. It has global significance, first, because of the British Empire, and second, because it gave rise to the social purity movement that influenced the United States, Canada, and other countries. This purity movement continues in contemporary anti-trafficking campaigns.

See also Abolition.

Further Reading: Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003; Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Helen J. Self and Lisa Hartsell Jackson

Contagious Diseases Act

From the Rev. J. C. Ryle to W. Nutter, Esq., Birmingham.

Sir, I have read the paper you sent me with mingled surprise, indignation, and disgust. I willingly add my name to the list of those who protest against the "Contagious Diseases Act:" a piece of legislation, of which I know not what astonishes me most, its gross stupidity or its gross immorality.

Yours faithfully,
J. C. Ryle,
Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk.

19 March 1870

Letter published in the *Shield*, April 4, 1870.

CONTRACEPTION. Contraception is the prevention of pregnancy. Female prostitutes and other sexually active women may want to prevent pregnancy with many of their sex partners. **Condoms** are the method of contraception that is most frequently recommended for sex workers, as condoms are the only currently available method to prevent the transmission of HIV and

many other **sexually transmitted infections** through sexual contact. Before the HIV pandemic, sex workers and other sexually active people used a variety of methods to prevent pregnancy, including cervical caps, diaphragms, the Pill, intrauterine devices (IUDs), spermicides, and condoms. Other forms of birth control include hormone implants, patches, rings, and shots. Sterilization (having one's "tubes tied") is not usually reversible. Sterilization of men is a vasectomy. **Abstinence** has been the most effective way for women to avoid pregnancy throughout history, but the reliance on abstinence may have fueled the popularity of prostitutes—who by definition do not abstain from sex.

Outercourse is sexual activity that does not involve penetration and therefore offers little opportunity for pregnancy or the transmission of HIV. Outercourse includes femoral (thigh) sex, masturbation, stimulating the penis between the breasts, and any activity short of vaginal, oral, or anal contact.

Most women around the world have been encouraged to have children, but there have been episodes in history involving forced sterilization of people deemed undesirable to reproduce. **Eugenics** is the promotion of selective breeding of people, to promote greater reproduction of "fitter" people, and to prevent reproduction by the "unfit." **Nazi Germany** had the most notorious eugenics program, but many nations had eugenics programs in the early 20th century. The United States, for example, limited immigration from eastern and southern Europe in 1924 with the Immigration Restriction Act, which was promoted by eugenicists, and many states outlawed miscegenation (reproduction between two people of different races or ethnic groups) and reproduction by developmentally disabled people. Prostitutes were also targeted by eugenicists as unfit to reproduce.

See also HIV and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement.

Further Reading: Planned Parenthood Federation of America. "A History of Contraceptive Methods." Web site <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/pp2/portal/medicalinfo/birthcontrol/>; Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

COOTE, WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1824–1919). See **National Vigilance Association (NVA)**.

COURTESANS. The word *courtesan* appeared in modern European languages in the late 15th or early 16th centuries. The expression originated at the papal court in Rome. There, courtiers employed women to accompany them on their social rounds. Because most of these courtiers were also priests, the women had to be unmarried and unmarriageable. Most were, therefore, prostitutes, but prostitutes with good manners and some learning who would not embarrass their escorts. Well dressed and well behaved, the courtesan was born in Italy but she would flourish in just about every European society from London to Venice from 1500 to 1900.

Courtesans or *hetairae* existed in antiquity. But the first "modern" courtesan of some fame was Roman Imperia (1481–1512), also known as "the Queen" or "la Divina." Born to the butler of Pope Julius II and a prostitute, Imperia possessed the most important attributes of a courtesan. She was exclusive: she forced men to court her favor, rejecting many, and sleeping with only a few. She also lived regally, like an upper-class woman, thanks to the generosity of Rome's most important banker.

If Rome gave birth to the courtesan, **Venice** raised her to the status of a civic treasure. Venice was famous for its refined courtesans, who paraded on the Rialto Bridge dressed in high clogs

and sporting “Venetian” (strawberry blonde) hair. So renowned were Venice’s courtesans that they constituted something of a tourist attraction. In 1574, when King Henri III of France visited Venice, he requested an evening with the city’s most famous courtesan, **Veronica Franco** (1546–91).

Franco was not just a high-priced prostitute, she was also a woman of letters. She became a part of Venice’s most distinguished literary circles and published books of poems and letters, including a spirited defense of courtesans. Other courtesan authors included Tullia d’Aragona (1510–56), the daughter of a Ferrara prostitute who published in 1547 a “Dialogue on the Infinity of Love,” and Gaspara Stampa (1523–54), author of many love poems. When it came to literature, **Renaissance** courtesans enjoyed more freedom than honest women. They could frequent all-male literary circles and publish their writings, a form of egotism good wives and chaste daughters were not allowed.

But the courtesan’s life had a dark side too. Franco was imprisoned by the Venetian Inquisition. Imperia took her own life. Venetian and Roman authorities multiplied statutes stigmatizing, confining, and banishing courtesans. Negative images of the courtesan proliferated. In 1523, Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) published the *Raggionamenti* (“Dialogue of the Courtesans”). Considered among the first works of modern obscenity, the *Raggionamenti* portrayed the courtesan as a chatty trickster, a greedy and clever whore bent on fooling and extracting money from her clients.

The religious revival of the **Protestant Reformation** reached its peak in the 17th century, making life difficult for all prostitutes, including courtesans. France’s most famous courtesan, Ninon de Lenclos (1622–1705), was imprisoned briefly in a convent. The daughter of an impoverished nobleman, Ninon was famous for her wit, and writers, aristocrats, even kings, repeated her bon mots.

Partly because of persecution, partly because of clients’ desire to display their expensive companions, courtesans tended to be drawn more and more from the world of the stage. In France, women of the theater enjoyed immunity from some laws and the growing number of theatrical **venues** made **actresses**, singers, and dancers desirable companions. By the late 18th century, **opera** dancers and singers such as Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743–1816) or Rosalie Duthe (1748–1830) far surpassed their Renaissance equivalents in wealth and visibility. The courtesans erected great houses in Paris’s fashionable quarters, and the French Revolution of 1789 only briefly interrupted the rise of truly opulent, public courtesans.

Despite its reputation for prudery, the 19th century was the great era of the courtesan. Numerous novels and plays celebrated or decried courtesans. In 1848, Alexandre Dumas the Younger (1824–95) wrote *Camille*, a best-selling novel that told the sad story of a courtesan with a golden heart. In 1872, **Émile Zola** (1840–1902) took a different approach: in his novel *Nana* (1880), Zola blamed his courtesan Nana for nothing less than the defeat of France in 1872. Throughout the 19th century, the popular press detailed the lavish lifestyle and scandalous antics of the “**grandes horizontales**.” Only in the 1920s would the courtesan entirely disappear, eclipsed by the movie star as a symbol of feminine beauty and sexuality.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Richardson, Joanna. *The Courtesans: The Demi-monde in Nineteenth-Century France*. London: Phoenix Press, 2000; Rosenthal, Margaret F. *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kathryn Norberg

COYOTE. COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) was founded by **Margo St. James** in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1973. In the past 30 years, COYOTE's main goal has been to decriminalize prostitution. It has worked toward this goal by demystifying prostitution, including placing sex work in the context of legitimate work, amenable to labor and **occupational safety and health** standards. It is COYOTE's position that the decision to do sex work is an economic decision, like other employment decisions, and to deny individuals the right to do sex work is to deny them their civil and economic rights. When AIDS entered the discussion, COYOTE approached the issue as one of occupational safety and health, and working conditions.

Since its inception, COYOTE has provided a myriad of services for sex workers. These services include, but are not limited to, crisis counseling, peer support, support groups, legal and social service referrals, and **harm reduction** trainings. Additionally, many COYOTE members have provided trainings to agencies that interact with sex workers, testified at hearings, and served on committees that influence the ways in which local governments treat and interact with sex workers, locally, nationally, and internationally.

Over the years, COYOTE has been affiliated with and/or helped create such organizations as the National Task Force on Prostitution in 1979, the International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights in 1985, the World Whores' Congress in 1985 and 1986, the California Prostitutes Education Project in 1987, the St. James Infirmary in 1999, and the American chapter of the Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP-USA) in 2004. COYOTE now has two chapters, one in San Francisco and the other in **Los Angeles**.

Further Reading: Delacoste, Frederique, and Priscilla Alexander, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998.

Alexandra Lutnick

CRACK. Crack is a smokeable form of the drug cocaine, named for the distinct "crackling" sound it makes when heated. Its appearance in the mid-1980s resulted in a wave of cultural hysteria associated with its depiction as causing instantaneous **addiction** and being responsible for driving up rates of **violence**, property crimes, and prostitution. The perils of smoking crack and the personal destruction following its use were ubiquitous themes during this era, reflected in exaggerated reports by media sources ranging from tabloid newspapers to the *New York Times*. Though clearly not a new drug per se, crack cocaine has primarily been marketed to a low-income, urban population for whom large quantities of powder cocaine had previously been prohibitively expensive. Crack, on the other hand, is incredibly cheap, sold in units (small, hard pieces called "rocks") that cost as little as \$2.

An alkaloid derived from the *coca* plant, cocaine is a central nervous system stimulant that typically produces wakefulness, euphoria, a general state of well-being, and, for some users, sexual arousal. When ingested in sufficiently large amounts for prolonged periods of time, cocaine can also cause paranoia, agitation, and visual and auditory hallucinations. The magnitude of its effects depends on the amount ingested, as well as the route of administration. Smoking cocaine delivers a potent dose of the drug quickly to the brain via the capillaries in the lungs, comparable to the rapid onset experienced when injecting the drug intravenously, directly into the bloodstream. The short-lived, intense high is followed by a corresponding "crash" that arises as the drug's effects subside, increasing the probability of bingeing, or heavy use of the drug over short periods of time. Those drawn to the experience of smoking cocaine are more likely to be attracted to intense, drug-induced experiences, and thus more likely to be predisposed to use compulsively.

To better understand the initial “crack explosion,” it is necessary to place it within the socioeconomic context in which it occurred. The steady decline of living-wage jobs throughout the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in the manufacturing sector, significantly diminished employment opportunities for inner-city residents. The proliferation of cheap, potent cocaine led to a revitalized underground economy that afforded young persons access to hard-to-come-by jobs stemming from opportunities within the crack industry. The astronomical profits generated from the illicit drug trade created the promise of wealth and prestige for entry-level workers, though in reality this rarely occurred.

The combination of easy accessibility, a deflated price, and an intense high resulted in rising numbers of people turning to crack to combat the stress and adversity associated with poverty and inner-city life. Though employment opportunities exploded with the crack boom, men primarily dominated the trade and women were often relegated to minor roles, if any at all. Faced with limited means of economic support and escalating crack cocaine use, increasing numbers of urban women began to turn to prostitution to support the cost of their drug use and basic living needs, causing prices to plummet in the sex-based economy. This was partly a result of increased competition, as well as a consequence of crack-using sex workers charging reduced fees that were comparable to the price of the smallest unit of crack available for sale. The brief, intense high resulting from smoking cocaine, increasing the likelihood of powerful cravings and binging, has been associated with a greater likelihood that crack-using sex workers will engage in risky sexual behaviors to ensure a sufficient supply of the drug. The ascendancy of crack use paralleled the developing HIV epidemic and crack-using women who exchange sex for drugs or money have demonstrated a significantly increased risk for HIV infection. Vulnerability to arrest, assault, and other factors creating a stressful and dangerous work environment result in decreased feelings of power and control and contribute to instances of high-risk behaviors, which become even more likely when coupled with an intense drive for obtaining a powerfully reinforcing drug.

Although many crack-using sex workers operate within a street-based market, an alternate work environment, the “crack house,” began to achieve prominence during the 1980s. These are spaces, such as apartments, houses, or abandoned buildings, where crack is sold and can also be ingested, often for a fee covering the use of the space. In addition, crack-using sex workers may conduct business from these establishments; cocaine’s association with sexual arousal (though typically causing impotence with escalating levels of use) assures a steady supply of customers who have money and/or crack to trade.

The initial panic that followed proliferating crack use revitalized the “war on drugs,” the effects of which are still felt today. Claiming that the drug was spreading to suburban areas and destroying the lives of large numbers of middle-income youth, in 1989 the Bush Administration fueled the flames by falsely claiming that the crack market was so omnipresent that the drug was even being sold across the street from the White House. The ensuing hysteria played a role in the passing of legislation that has led to much stiffer penalties for crack possession compared with those for comparable amounts of powder cocaine, and the imposition of mandatory minimum sentences that have left judges no flexibility during sentencing procedures. As a result, a significant proportion of young, inner-city men involved in the illicit drug trade are currently imprisoned or otherwise involved with the criminal justice system. The incidence rates for first-time crack use peaked in the early 1990s, and data on drug-use patterns show that the bulk of current crack users consists of older individuals who initiated use during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

See also Crime; Sexually Transmitted Infections.

Further Reading: Bourgois, P. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995; Edlin, Brian R., Kathleen L. Irwin, Sairus Faruque, Clyde B. McCoy, Carl Word, Yolanda Serrano, James A. Inciardi, Benjamin P. Bowser, Robert F. Schilling, Scott D. Holmberg for the Multicenter Crack Cocaine and HIV Infection Study Team. "Intersecting Epidemics—Crack Cocaine Use and HIV Infection among Inner-City Young Adults." *New England Journal of Medicine* 331, no. 21 (1994):1422–27; Jones D. L., K. L. Irwin, J. Inciardi, B. Bowser, R. Schilling, C. Word, P. Evans, S. Faruque, H. V. McCoy, and B. R. Edlin. "The High-Risk Sexual Practices of Crack-Smoking Sex Workers Recruited from the Streets of Three American Cities." The Multicenter Crack Cocaine and HIV Infection Study Team. *Journal of Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 25, no. 4 (April 1998):187–93; Justice Policy Institute. *Cellblocks or Classrooms?* Washington, DC: JPI, 2002; McKeganey, N. P. "Prostitution and HIV: What Do We Know and Where Might Research Be Targeted in the Future?" *AIDS* 8, no. 9 (September 1994):1215–26; Reinerman, C., and H. Levine. "The Crack Attack: Politics and Media in the Crack Scare." In *Crack in America*, ed. C. Reinerman and H. Levine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Reinerman, C., D. Waldorf, S. Murphy, and H. Levine. "The Contingent Call of the Pipe: Bingeing and Addiction among Heavy Cocaine Smokers." In *Crack in America*, ed. C. Reinerman and H. Levine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. "Results from the 2003 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: National Findings." Office of Applied Studies, NHSDA Series H-25, DHHS Publication No. SMA 04–3964. Rockville, MD: DHHS, 2004; Williams, T. *The Cocaine Kids*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1989.

Michael Carden

CRIME. Almost every state, province, or jurisdiction in the world has a legal approach to address prostitution, whether it allows for or prohibits it in some fashion. Many jurisdictions treat prostitution as a crime. Most **legal approaches** are covered by the general terms "**abolition**," "**criminalization of clients**," "**decriminalization**," "legalization," "regulation," and "tolerance."

Abolition refers to both a historical movement that sought to abolish state-regulated brothels and a contemporary legal approach that does not permit prostitution in any form.

Criminalization refers to the inclusion of prostitution in the criminal code of the law. Criminalization of clients means that customers of prostitutes and sometimes other sex workers also face criminal penalties. The most common penalty for clients is a night in jail and a fine. In some areas, **diversion programs** such as "John Schools" have been implemented, in which patrons of prostitutes are lectured and told that prostitution victimizes women. In other jurisdictions, clients' pictures are posted on the **Internet** as a way of shaming them and discouraging them from using the services of prostitutes.

Decriminalization means the removal of prostitution and associated activities from the criminal code, which enables the law to address prostitution as other businesses are handled.

Legalization means that prostitution is legal and may be regulated.

Regulation refers to state regulation and monitoring of brothels. This can mean occupational safety codes, which address prostitution as sex-related work, or state-required health checks, which address prostitution as a contained vice in which **sexually transmitted infections** in prostitutes (but, so far, not clients) must be monitored and treated or prostitutes with infections expelled from regulated employment in the sex industry.

Tolerance of prostitution means that whatever the legal statutes indicate, prostitutes are not addressed by the law unless other problems, such as **violence** or robbery, occur.

The treatment of prostitution as a crime is directly related to **stigma** surrounding sex work, as well as fears relating to morality, public order, and sexually transmitted diseases. Additionally, this criminalization is an effort to regulate consensual sexual encounters between adults, although of course minors also engage in prostitution, often out of economic need, desperation, or coercion. Prostitution is criminalized in most parts of the United States, China, and Saudi Arabia, among other countries.

When prostitution is construed as a crime, there is much ancillary conduct around prostitution that can and often is also criminalized. Therefore, although the actual act of exchanging a sex act for something of value may be unlawful in a criminalized setting, the act of solicitation for the sex act would also be illegal; so would pimping, which could mean that a third person manages the worker in prostitution and reaps some of the financial benefits; in addition, being the customer of a prostitute might also be illegal in this setting. Some jurisdictions make loitering for the purpose of prostitution a crime. For example, some jurisdictions, like the United Kingdom, do not make the act of prostitution a crime, but it is unlawful to solicit for prostitution. In Sweden, the prostitute's conduct is not criminalized, whereas it is criminal to be the customer who seeks the services of a prostitute.

In addition to crimes related to prostitution, there is some criminal behavior that has been linked to prostitution, such as use or sale of drugs, gambling, illegal sale of alcohol, and other "vice" activities. Other worries are crimes that usually have little relation to prostitution, such as theft and robbery.

Although there is no intrinsic link between prostitution and these activities, the fact that all are criminalized may lead them to thrive in similar environments outside the view of mainstream society. For example, **street-based prostitution** tends to thrive in poor or industrial neighborhoods. Therefore, street-based prostitution often occurs concurrent to the drug trade, and many street-based prostitutes in the United States engage in prostitution to earn money for substance addiction and are in more vulnerable and desperate situations than those who work indoors.

Any discussion of crime and prostitution would be incomplete without commenting on crimes against prostitutes, in which they are the victims. Ironically, the criminalization of prostitution, which feeds stigma against sex workers, increases the likelihood that crimes against prostitutes will go unpunished. Police, customers, and others who commit violence against, threaten, or rob prostitutes know that police and society do not take these crimes seriously, and often blame the prostitute/crime victim for engaging in unlawful or immoral behavior. Prostitutes all over the world complain about police violence against them and police indifference to violence committed against them. In addition, **serial killers** have often targeted prostitutes as their victims, because they believe (often correctly) that prostitutes will not be missed, or their disappearances will be treated lightly.

Many prostitutes and sex workers' rights advocates argue that, given working conditions that are respectful of prostitutes' civil and **human rights**, prostitution is a legitimate form of labor. However, even they do not condone the entry of minors into sex work. Most jurisdictions criminalize pimping or introduction of minors into prostitution.

Another area of prostitution that is almost universally criminalized is the **trafficking** of persons into prostitution, meaning that a person has engaged in prostitution through some means of coercion, deception, or involuntary servitude. These acts against the prostitute are generally recognized as a crime, given the lack of agency offered someone in a coercive situation. Trafficking in persons can occur through **organized crime**, or through smaller groups or individuals who find the means to transport prostitutes across state or international borders and coerce them into sex work.

See also Appendix D, document 19; Child Prostitution; Forced Prostitution; Pimps.

Further Reading: Donovan, Pamela. *No Way of Knowing: Crime, Urban Legends, and the Internet*. New York: Routledge, 2003; Human Rights Watch. *Ravaging the Vulnerable: Abuses against Persons at High Risk of HIV in Bangladesh*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/bangladesh0803/>; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>.

Juhu Thukral

CRIMINALIZATION OF CLIENTS. All legal approaches to prostitution address the conduct of the prostitutes. Most legal systems also address those customers or **clients** who purchase sexual services. Where prostitution is fully prohibited, it is also unlawful to purchase sex. This is the case in the United States, except for some counties in Nevada. However, other countries, such as the United Kingdom and Sweden, do not make it unlawful to engage in prostitution itself, but they do prohibit other behaviors that are necessary to engage in prostitution.

In Sweden, as of 1998, it is unlawful for a person to purchase sexual services. Such policies are helpful to prostitutes in that the sex workers may not be subject to arrest for sexual conduct. However, this reprieve is compromised by regulations that interfere with a prostitute's ability to conduct his or her business. For example, the model of criminalizing **clients** leads to a conundrum where the prostitute with a service to sell, but no customer who may lawfully purchase that service. In practice, this means that the prostitute still works in a field that is subject to police interference and therefore operates outside of the mainstream economy. It also does nothing to alleviate the historical **stigma** associated with prostitution. Such placement in the underground economy has serious consequences, in that prostitutes may have fewer customers. This dearth of customers has an obvious economic impact on prostitutes. It also diminishes their ability to pick and choose clients who meet their terms for safety. Fewer clients also lead to increased competition amongst prostitutes, who may now have less incentive to work together to share information about clients, whether related to health, customer preferences, or **violence**. Criminalization of clients creates no mechanism for assistance for migrant prostitutes, who may be ineligible for any sort of government assistance.

The reasoning behind criminalizing customers of prostitutes stems from the idea that prostitutes are most often young women who are victimized by their involvement in the sex industry, and therefore must be protected. In fact, this is a proposed route to eventually ridding society of prostitution altogether by addressing the "demand" for prostitution. One strain of feminist theory proposes that demand feeds the sex industry, and that this demand for sexual services increases the risk to young women in particular of being trafficked into prostitution. However, prostitutes are of all genders and all ages, and many prostitutes exhibit quite a bit of agency and choice in making decisions to engage in prostitution. This theory ignores the economic underpinnings of sex work, where prostitutes make choices to engage in sex work in order to provide for themselves and their families.

The consequences for men—it is generally men who are arrested for patronizing a prostitute—of such arrests can include a documented criminal history; monetary fines; time spent in a so-called John School where they are taught that the prostitutes whom they patronize have

been victimized; and the shame of arrest and being pulled into the criminal justice system. Additionally, some jurisdictions in the United States publish the names and pictures of these customers in local newspapers or via the internet, bringing additional shame to the customers and their families.

See also Abolition; Appendix D, document 19; Decriminalization; Legalization, Regulation; Prohibition; Tolerance; Trafficking.

Juhu Thukral

D

“D” STREET. “D” street was a 19th- and early 20th-century commercial sex district in the city of San Bernardino, California. The district played a critical role in the city’s complex social history. San Bernardino was established in 1851 by Mormon settlers and initially operated under strict social controls. After church leaders recalled the settlers to Salt Lake City in 1857, San Bernardino experienced a period of lawlessness that persisted for decades.

By the end of the 1880s, a thriving saloon and brothel district operated openly under local law enforcement and public health policies. Prompted by turn-of-the-20th-century morality campaigns, Prohibition, the temperance movement, and reform organizations, a weak and sporadic citizen outcry had little impact on the district’s success. As was the case in many cities of the American West then, civic tolerance prevailed. The district was located in proximity to the city’s Chinese enclave, at some distance from mainstream residential neighborhoods, yet near the civic center.

Oral interviews have been conducted with several eyewitnesses who remembered the district during the 1930s. According to information obtained from these sources, a few fashionable San Bernardino dress shops catered to local prostitutes, and regular deliveries of mail-order **clothing** were made to the **brothels**. The same sources revealed that the “D” Street prostitutes left generous tips when patronizing San Bernardino establishments and were well known for their charitable contributions. “D” Street prostitutes were said to be proper and well dressed, and they behaved appropriately in town. A physician who provided Depression-era care to local prostitutes, stated that they were “fair,” “responsible in their relationships,” and “never out of line.” And further, “They were nearly the only patients I had that always paid cash” (Savage 1984, p. 20).

Early in the 20th century, episodes of increasing crime in the district were punctuated by token raids and symbolic fines levied against prostitutes and **madams**.

During the 1930s, the San Bernardino City Council enacted a health ordinance requiring weekly medical examinations for “D” Street sex workers. For a brief period, the ordinance regulated conditions in the district and promoted confidence among clientele. Results of gonorrhea examinations were dated and signed by a licensed local physician and posted in the brothels.

If, on their weekly rounds, city police discovered a brothel out of compliance, prostitutes were incarcerated in the city jail and fined for vagrancy. The ordinance was set in motion without input from medical professionals and the system taxed honest doctors with constant examinations and laboratory analyses while providing an avenue for exploitation by dishonest practitioners. Savage stated that every day a few prostitutes came to his office for a \$3 gonorrhea examination. Despite his worries that the certificate he issued might mislead the prostitute's clients into false confidence in the sex worker's state of health, he was compelled by his desire to provide unbiased health care (Savage 1984, p. 20). Other health care providers, by contrast, used the ordinance for financial gain. At least one physician charged \$5 per test, gave numerous false gonorrhea diagnoses, and then benefited from the lengthy and expensive treatments that followed.

"D" Street clientele included men from neighboring towns who enforced regulated liquor consumption, servicemen from numerous southern California military establishments, California Conservation Corps (CCC) employees on weekend leave from work in the San Bernardino Mountains, and travelers on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway. In its heyday during Prohibition, the "D" Street district had more than 350 prostitutes and approximately 40 brothels, which resembled dwellings in other, aging, middle-class sectors of the city. By the 1930s, San Bernardino's "D" Street was well known across the nation and had gained even international notoriety.

The district met its eventual demise in 1941 when the city bowed to economic pressure with the choice of district closure or relocation of the planned U.S. Army Air Corps airfield. As with numerous other brothel districts of the **American West**, closure of the district forced San Bernardino prostitution underground and dispersed it throughout the city, introducing a new set of social problems that remain in force today.

Further Reading: Savage, Philip. "A Practice of Medicine in San Bernardino in the 1930s." San Bernardino Historical and Pioneer Society *Heritage Tales* (1984): 1–25.

Karen K. Swope

DANCE HALL GIRLS. "Dance hall girl" was a term used to describe the occupations of women who primarily worked in dance halls, saloons, and variety theaters until around the beginning of the 20th century. These women or girls were considered to be of easy virtue and having no morals. Dance hall girls were also known by many other titles, including prostitutes, **soiled doves**, demimondes, queens, painted ladies, and jezebels. Brothel owners and the girls who worked in the better establishments generally scorned the dance hall girls who tended to rent rooms over buildings.

They were employed by the saloon or dance halls owners in many towns to entertain their guests. These dance halls girls also ran some of their own halls and **brothels**, where dancing rarely took place. They were considered "houses of ill-fame" and offered men the companionship they sought. Respectable women never entered them, thought the halls to be sinful, and considered the dance hall girls a blight on the community.

The girls danced and drank, which was a part of their work. They were adept in luring the men into dancing and buying drinks, for which they received a percentage of all drinks served to them and their partners. The ladies would always call for the most expensive drinks, but the bartender would either serve them tea or mix the drinks very light so that the girls could drink and remain sober.

Some had a system of selling their guests a key to their room, which gave the visitor the privilege of treating the girl in her room, paying \$1 a bottle for beer and other drinks at the same rate, and be undisturbed during the visit. Those wishing a private visit paid for it. Beer and other spirits sold in general saloons normally ranged from \$.25 to \$.50 per bottle or drink, depending upon the type of establishment.

Dance hall girls rarely walked the streets during the day, except to buy necessities. During the day, most wore typical conservative Victorian dresses, but the **clothing** worn in the dance hall was more risqué and often showed their shoulders and legs.

Some dance halls girls and their patrons fell in love and got married, but most dance hall girls moved from one big city to another. In the **American West**, they moved from boomtown to boomtown—wherever the action went, and they were in high demand.

By the early 1900s, dance halls had begun to disappear and their ladies either retired or moved on to other types of businesses. Some chose to continue to ply their trade, while others found different occupations.

See also Alcohol and Drinking Establishments.

Further Reading: Monahan, Sherry. *The Wicked West*. Tucson, AZ: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2005.

Sherry Monahan

DEBBY DOESN'T DO IT FOR FREE. Debby Doesn't Do It for Free is an Australian sex worker community cultural development project, founded in 2002. Festival dates have included ArtRage (Western Australia) 2002, Feast (South Australia) 2003, Mardi Gras (New South Wales) 2004, XVth International HIV/AIDS Conference (Thailand) 2004, San Francisco Sex Worker Film Festival (California) 2005, and the Forum XXX International Sex Worker Conference in Montreal (Quebec) 2005. The original troupe comprised seven West Australian sex worker artists who had not had the opportunity to safely explore sex work issues through their arts practice. Under the guise of "Debby" names, the sex workers took on Debby personas (Decriminalize Debby, Difficult Debby, Debutante Debby, Debby DareDevil) to protect their anonymity. Following the success of their first show, Debby Doesn't Do It for Free has grown to include more than 20 sex worker artists. Cross-cultural activities include collaboration with **Carol Leigh** (a.k.a. Scarlot Harlot) and Empower to perform a series of skits about the "Rescue" phenomenon that has emerged from the anti-**trafficking** debate. Artworks to date include "What do you do? ... I'm a Sex Worker" by Decriminalize Debby, a 13-year history of one worker's time in the sex industry told through clothes, letters from clients, audio installation, and digital projection; "Peepboxes" by Difficult Debby, made out of well-worn floor boards and containing normalized images of the sex industry—one has to look through the peephole to see the story inside; "Hairy Purse" by Debby Diamante Dildo Harness, a purse made out of whore pubic hair and containing \$100 bills of a night's takings. The Debby Doesn't Do It for Free performance and arts group promotes a deeper understanding of sex worker perspectives and challenges the myths and stereotypes about sex work.

See also Sex Worker—Only Communication Tools.

Elena Jeffreys

DECRIMINALIZATION. Decriminalization of prostitution means that prostitution is not included in the criminal code of a jurisdiction. All countries have legal systems that regulate prostitution in one way or another. These approaches may be addressed at the federal, state/province, or local level. Decriminalization is the method preferred by most sex workers and human and civil rights advocates. It involves the removal of prostitution and prostitution-related laws from the criminal codes. Countries that have done this include New Zealand, parts of Europe and Asia, and some jurisdictions in Australia.

Regulation via decriminalization enables sex work to be treated as any other legitimate industry. Therefore, businesses and workers involved in prostitution and sex work are not subject to special laws that are aimed exclusively at prostitutes and prostitution-related activity. Instead, laws that regulate other businesses and workers also apply to sex workers. Therefore, under this paradigm, prostitutes and businesses related to sex work are regulated under generally applicable zoning laws, **occupational safety and health** standards, employment laws, and obligation to pay taxes. Independent prostitutes are treated as freelancers or consultants. **Brothels** are subject to safety and code standards that guarantee a safe work environment.

Decriminalization is a controversial approach to regulation, as prostitution is often considered a moral issue as well as one of community safety. Some advocates also believe that no person would ever willingly choose to be a prostitute and that all forms of prostitution involve coercion and/or **violence** and that it increases the problem of human **trafficking** by legitimizing demand for sexual services. Another area of opposition involves concerns regarding loitering, street noise, and public indecency, although these concerns are addressed by nuisance and zoning laws. Finally, decriminalization does not address the needs of undocumented immigrants who often do not feel safe in coming forward to assert their rights and generally do not have access to proper work authorization. This approach also does nothing to deter police harassment of low-income community members who are subject to regulation under loitering or drug-related offenses.

Decriminalization has a positive effect of destigmatizing prostitution as well as removing the threat of arrest and police interference for sex workers and their associates. Another positive effect is the reduction of violence against sex workers, because it takes prostitution out of the shadowy underground economy and deems it a legitimate business. This can enable prostitutes to come forward and feel comfortable in approaching the police when they experience violence. The fact that **stigma** is reduced also makes clear to police, potential customers, and others that there are consequences to engaging in violence against sex workers.

See also Abolition; Appendix document 19; Australia and New Zealand; Criminalization of Clients.

Further Reading: Prostitutes Education Network. "Prostitution Law Reform: Defining Terms." <http://www.bayswan.org/defining.html>.

Juhu Thukral

DEGAS, EDGAR (1834–1917). Female prostitution was a recurrent topic in the drawings and prints of impressionist artist Edgar Degas (1834–1917). Prostitution was shown as one possible form within a number of manifestations of the female body as a commodity: on the stage, the street, in the brothel, the boudoir, or the shop. Building on the trope of the female prostitute as an icon of modern life in realist literature and painting, Degas's oeuvre surpasses a strict subject-matter treatment of the topic. Only a small number of works, most prominently the



"La sortie du bain" by Edgar Degas. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Maison closes series (1876–85), explicitly represent prostitutes. This group of about 50 small-format monotypes, partly overworked in pastel, show brothel interiors: women are sprawled out naked waiting for clients, encouraging a hesitant suit-clad male figure, masturbating, celebrating their **mad-am's** name day, or cozily resting around a fireplace, radiating a home atmosphere rare in Degas's oeuvre. These caricaturesque miniature images have been cited as indications of Degas's fearful and misogynist voyeurism but also as a subversion of the psychic structures of the fetishist and voyeurist (male) gaze, unmasking the commodification of gender relations and suppressing the fantasy potential that images of available femininity otherwise deliver.

Some of Degas's better-known *Bather* pastels have also been counted among representations of prostitution, as bathing (in between clients) would arguably be mandatory. The remoteness of these often foreshortened bird's-eye views and close-ups from conventional nudes has been the subject of a prolific discussion, especially in feminist criticism. Again, the interpretations have ranged from characterizing the *Bather* pastels from sadistic (in their un-idealization, visual amputation, and distortion), to proto-feministic (in the radical externalization of the spectator and obstruction of his or her view onto the exposed bodies). Degas's representations of female nudes have emerged from these controversial discussions as acutely complex, questioning not only modes of representation, but also the way these representations interact with the voyeuristic spectator's gaze.

Further Readings: Armstrong, Carol. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991; Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989; Broude, Norma. "Degas's Misogyny." In *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982; Callen, Anthea. *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995; Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991; Kendall, Richard, and Griselda Pollock, ed. *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*. London: Pandora, 1992; Nochlin, Linda. "A House Is Not a Home: Degas and the Subversion of the Family." In *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*, ed. Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock. London: Pandora, 1992, pp. 43–65.

Eva Kernbauer

DE LORME, MARION (CA. 1613–50). Although Marion de Lorme was a famous **courtesan** during the reign of King Louis XIII and Louis XIV of France, numerous 19th-century writers composed a variety of works that either feature her in a central role or offer biographical studies.

Accurate information about Marion de Lorme is less available than the abundant stories that have transpired over the centuries. She was born ca. 1613 to Jean de Lou, Lord de Lorme, and Marie Chastelain near the village of Champaubert in the Champagne-Ardenne region in north-east France. Details about her youth are scarce, although she seems to have been introduced to the salons and circles of elite French society as a young woman. Her own literary salon was apparently a vibrant and successful meeting place. Among her many lovers, sources list Jacques Valle; the renowned Cinq-Mars (the marquis Henri Coëffier Ruzé d'Effiat), who is the subject of Alfred de Vigny's 1826 novel *Cinq-Mars*; St. Evremond; and Condé; and she is said to have known Cardinal Richelieu. Her death or disappearance is the cause of much speculation and the source of numerous rumors and legends. Her year of death is frequently noted as 1650, but some sources claim that she ended her days in secrecy to escape arrest.

Vigny's novel chronicles Cinq-Mars's conspiracy against Louis XIII and announces along with Hugo's *Marion de Lorme* (1829) a new trend that integrates history, romance, and revolt in French literature. Both Vigny's novel and Hugo's play inspired dramatic and operatic adaptations: Giovanni Bottesini's *Marion Delorme* (1862), Charles Gounod's **opera** *Cinq-Mars* (1877), and Amilcare Ponchielli's melodrama in four acts, *Marion Delorme* (1885). In addition, several parodies were composed after Hugo's play was staged in 1831. *Marion de Lorme* was staged again after Hugo's death in 1885 with Sarah Bernhardt playing the role of Marion. Other works inspired by the notorious courtesan are Josephine Peladan's *Histoire et Légende de Marion de Lorme* (1882) and *Confessions de Marion Delorme* (1864) by Eugène Mirecourt.

Karen Humphreys

DEMAND. See *Criminalization of Clients*; Appendix D, document 21.

DESERT HARLOTS. A group of the women more collectively known as Desert Mothers, the Desert Harlots, or holy prostitutes, are Patristic-era saints who turned from a life of sex and sin to an austere life of extreme asceticism. The Desert Harlots fled into the desert as the ultimate sign of renouncing their bodies and the fornication that they craved. Their sins were supposedly greater, and thus their repentance more difficult because they were women. Indeed, since the Christian Church viewed women as the embodiment of lust, such extreme actions were necessary to secure salvation.

The Biblical archetype of such repentance is **Mary Magdalene**, companion of Jesus of Nazareth. Several "Marys" in the Gospels were conflated into one, and Mary Magdalene became not only the disciple of Jesus but also the repentant prostitute who washed his feet with her tears and anointed his feet with alabaster. She provided the standard for the Desert Harlots, who, in turn, provided models for converting pagans, for backsliding clerics, and for other sinful women. Still, there was at least one significant difference between Mary Magdalene and the Desert Harlots—asceticism. Mary Magdalene's mentor, Jesus, did not insist that she physically punish her body to prove her penitence, whereas those who guided the Desert Harlots did. These monks encouraged the women under their charge to subject their bodies to harsh physical extremes, ranging from subsisting on a handful of lentils a week, to wandering naked through the desert, to wallowing in one's own excrement, all for the greater glory of the soul.

The Desert Harlots included adulteresses and other women who were free with their sexual favors as well as those who charged money for sex. Official canon law supported this broadened perspective, defining any promiscuous woman as a prostitute, while secular law differentiated

between fornicators and prostitutes. Many records of these women have been lost; those known about include **Mary of Egypt**, **Pelagia** the actress of Antioch, **Thais** the harlot, Maria the niece of Abraham, Paesia, and **Theodora**, among others. Each of these women has a unique life story, or hagiography (saint's life or holy biography).

In the Patristic Church, the Desert Harlots supplied the template for Christian redemption. This was particularly important for a young, struggling religion that had few "natural-born" members. These women's hagiographies provided hope to pagans that they, too, could approach the Church, ask for baptism, and be saved.

In the medieval Church, the reputation, if not the popularity, of the Desert Harlots suffered, and their prominence was usurped by more virtuous (and virginal) saints. However, these penitents still served a purpose within the medieval Church—they provided "everywoman" with hope of redemption, no matter how great her sin, and how filthy her sexual lusts. They provided important role models in an otherwise repressive religious milieu, and their stories served as foils to counterbalance the extreme piety of the virgin martyrs. At the same time, their hagiographies functioned as templates for bodily renunciation. Medieval Christians, particularly women, who sinned through the body, were expected to repent through bodily punishment and/or renunciation to achieve salvation. The depths of carnal filth with which the Desert Harlots soiled their bodies, and, consequently, their souls, was matched only by the ascetic extremes to which they subjected their bodies in their search for repentance.

Further Reading: Karras, Ruth Mazo. "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 1 (1990): 3–32; Swan, Laura. *The Forgotten Desert Mothers: Sayings, Lives, and Stories of Early Christian Women*. New York: Paulist Press, 2001; Ward, Benedicta. *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987.

Michelle M. Sauer

DESIRE. In the history of prostitution, common frameworks portray desire as prostitutes' wishes for engaging in sex work based on the necessity for money, drugs, a place to stay, or some combination of these, if they portray desire at all. Within such a model, prostitutes engage with "johns" without any variation in their wish to engage with **clients**—that is, money or some other currency becomes the desired element. Johns on the other hand only desire the exchange of money, drugs, or shelter for sex, as their desire is to sexually engage with the prostitutes. These statements are not a negation of coerced or forced prostitution; in both historical and contemporary discussions, many prostitutes experience "sexual slavery" and indeed are forced to prostitute in sexual **trafficking** systems or live under militarization. Moreover, notions of sexual currency as based on certain ethnicities, racial phenotypes, or travel and sex **tourism** in "Third World countries" have made more pertinent an analysis of what constitutes desire itself for both prostitutes and johns, and why certain forms of prostitution, or certain prostitute figures, are more salient in some places and historical moments than others. Likewise, even in historical writings of prostitution, erotic desire from the perspective of the prostitute is evident, and sex work itself becomes a source for specific desires—pleasure and sensation de-linked from (arranged) marriages, for instance, or the freedom to engage with others without (hetero)normative restrictions.

Current prostitution analyses may shed light on a more complex picture of what can be called the "flow of desire" between prostitutes and clients. This idea of multiple meanings of desire for prostitutes and clients may change the ways in which "sex work" is made operational in relevant

studies, adding a richer set of explanations not so much as to why prostitutes engage in sex work, but the possible values inherent in engaging in sex work, and what is experienced or gained through such work. This flow of desire, affected as it is by state control agencies that regulate desire to mold it to monogamous, hetero-normative standards, is affected by these outside forces as well as within—in interaction between prostitutes and clients. Because prostitution has been compared with other service industries, and a **marriage**-sexual contract, understanding the flow of desire proposition (as stated in this entry) is of utmost importance to understand the overall complexities of sex work.

Prostitutes may selectively engage with clients by choosing their “type.” Prostitutes’ typology of desire can be based on (in addition to money) traditional accounts of beauty and fitness/shape, where prostitutes are “turned on” by the potential client (assuming that there is a pool of potential johns). At times, however, prostitutes may trouble “logical” notions of beauty by creating an attraction toward what is typically undesirable: overweight, out-of-shape, old clients. Some would argue that the former example opens up prostitutes’ desire, while the latter engages with a cost-effective or rational selection that appeals—or it is interpreted—as faster encounters. The reworkings of “typical” or “traditional” notions of beauty are queered as much as sex work itself, thus requiring a broader analysis to comprehend desire in the work of prostitutes.

Another aspect redefining desire is a prostitute’s security: health and physical well-being through screening practices, a phone conversation where the prostitute “likes” a client, or the establishment of power over the (male) client. As well, sex workers may actively engage with clients who agree to safer sex practices, or only encourage interactions with “safer sex” methods, building knowledge of safer sex as they enact it.

Desire thus can be disentangled from identity in many instances in ways that allow for a prostitute to select a partner from a group of potential ones based on weight, disposable income, age, or any other markers, without redefining the sex workers’ sexual orientation. Even genitalia can stop short of defining a person’s sexual orientation vis à vis other attraction markers, as evidenced in dominatrix and sadomasochist sex work. In addition, a client whose social organization revolves around a heterosexual identity may solicit male-to-female transsexual sex workers, to have sex with a “woman-looking” penile-penetrative body to experience anal pleasure. Likewise, female-to-male transsexuals who are learning about masculinity and who may eventually identify as heterosexual men engage with nontranssexual men to learn about masculinity and male sexuality; some have done so through sex work.

Sex workers may also enact their desire toward other sex workers in public sex work settings as another measure of camaraderie, but also as part of what constitutes desire for themselves. And yet another set of aspects includes the clients’ fantasies or wish for a mutually desired interaction, which has been argued to be in some ways intimate.

Herein lies the flow of desire for all parties involved in this interaction: whereas money (or shelter or drugs) are often elements desired by a sex worker, the client himself or herself (from socioeconomics to physical attributes to affective pull/push experiences), the ways of engaging with clientele (safely health-wise, as well as time-wise and location-wise), and the opportunities to rework some of the **stigma** attached to prostitution and transport it onto clients are additional desire elements often unaccounted for in social science research on prostitution. As well, the interplay between a john’s desire for a body, or for the warmth of a body and a person, for sexual behavior in relation to penetration (whether it is to be dominant or to dominate, irrespective of whether the clients penetrate or are penetrated), for paying for sex, for affective needs to be

fulfilled—even if momentarily, are all additional aspects of sex work that a flow of desire analysis could better account for.

Further Reading: “Barbara.” “It’s a Pleasure Doing Business with You.” *Social Text* 37 (1993): 11–22; Bernstein, Elizabeth. “The Meaning of the Purchase: Desire, Demand and the Commerce of Sex.” *Ethnography* 2, no. 3 (2001): 389–420; Bernstein, Elizabeth. “What’s Wrong with Prostitution: What’s Right with Sex Work? Comparing Markets in Female Sexual Labor.” *Hastings Women’s Law Journal* 10, no. 1 (1999): 91–117; Brents, Barbara G., and Kathryn Hausbeck. “Violence and Legalized Brothel Prostitution in Nevada: Examining Safety, Risk, and Prostitution Policy.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20, no. 3 (2005): 270–95; Chapkis, Wendy. “Trafficking, Migration, and the Law: Protecting Innocents, Punishing Immigrants.” *Gender & Society* 17, no. 6 (2003): 923–37; Frank, Katherine. “The Production of Identity and the Negotiation of Intimacy in a ‘Gentleman’s Club.’” *Sexualities* 1, no. 2 (1998): 175–201; La-Fountain-Stokes, Lawrence. “De un Pájaro las dos Alas: Travel Notes of a Queer Puerto Rican in Habana.” *GLQ*, 3, nos. 1–2 (2002): 7–33; Lerum, Kari. “Sexuality, Power, and Camaraderie in Service Work.” *Gender & Society* 18, no. 6 (2004): 756–76; McClintock, Anne. “Sex Workers and Sex Work: Introduction.” *Social Text* 37 (1993a): 1–10; McClintock, Anne. “Maid to Order: Commercial Fetishism and Gender Power.” *Social Text* 37 (1993b): 87–116; Min, Pyong Gap. “Korean ‘Comfort Women’: The Intersection of Colonial Power, Gender, and Class.” *Gender & Society* 17, no. 6 (2003): 938–57; Moore, Lisa Jean. “The Variability of Safer Sex Messages: What Do the Centers for Disease Control, Sex Manuals, and Sex Workers Do When They Produce Safer Sex?” In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1998; Nagel, Joane. *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Pheterson, Gail. “The Whore Stigma: Female Dishonor and Male Unworthiness.” *Social Text* 37 (1993): 39–64; Tambe, Ashwini. “The Elusive Ingénue: A Transnational Feminist Analysis of European Prostitution in Colonial Bombay.” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 160–79; Tambiah, Yasmin. “Turncoat Bodies: Sexuality and Sex Work under Militarization in Sri Lanka.” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 243–61.

Salvador Vidal-Ortiz

DEVADASI. The word “*devadasi*” means “a female slave of God” in Sanskrit and continues to be used unchanged in many of the vernacular languages of the India. *Devadasis* are temple prostitutes married off to the god in the temple. This complex institution of temple or sacred prostitution occurs predominantly in south India, more specifically in the Telugu- and Kannada-speaking regions. Dedicated at birth or when quite young, the more talented among the *devadasis* have been selected for the rigorous training of the Bharata Natyam dance that originated as a temple dance, or classical music, both performed as a form of worship. Some of the best dancers to this day are descendents of *devadasi* families. These women “served” the god through their dance, music, or other temple services that included “serving” the temple patrons and as such enjoyed a certain degree of freedom denied to ordinary women and a position of importance within the temple hierarchy. But the system was abused, and, gradually over the years, the *devadasis* degenerated into exploited prostitutes, their earnings confiscated by the temple authorities.

It is claimed that this institution existed in ancient India, but there are no clear early sources, so it must be assumed that there were rare cases until the Middle Ages. The increasing references to temple prostitutes coincide with the rise in temple building from the 8th century onward all over India. The temple was the center of economic and social life at the time. If donated by the king, it would exist in the capital and be intimately connected to the court; if built with money donated by the guilds, it would be associated with the wealthy section of a city. The temples in

rural areas would naturally be connected to powerful landowners. Temples attracted donations and contributions of gold, land, and *devadasis*, as these donations assured merit to the donor in the afterlife. There exist many inscriptions and charters of the medieval south commemorating donations to temples that refer specially to *devadasis*. For instance, a general of Vikramaditya VI Chalukya, named Mahadeva, is recorded as founding a temple in memory of his late mother, with quarters for the most beautiful temple prostitutes in the country.

Devadasis even until the colonial period were integral to the Hindu religious and cultural life. Singing and dancing in the temple were important parts of worship, and these women were thus seen as performing a significant religious and social function. *Devadasis* were also perceived to be auspicious, as they were conceived to be *nityasumangalis*: eternally married women who could never be widowed, and as such, they were a necessary presence at all domestic festive celebrations. This role of the *devadasis* has to be seen in conjunction with the Hindu perception of the widow as the harbinger of inauspiciousness.

Over the years, temple prostitution, as most things in India, was deeply enmeshed in the caste system. There are some reports of upper-caste women being dedicated to the temple during the medieval and colonial periods, but such cases are rare, and it is increasingly women from the artisan lower-caste groups or women from the Untouchable castes who are dedicated to temple prostitution. This controlling of the sexuality of the lower-caste women has been seen as a powerful means of structuring the lives of the laboring communities. Paradoxically, while the caste Hindus consider any physical contact with the Untouchables polluting, touching the *devadasi* is beyond this restriction because she has been dedicated to the god, and the upper-caste men are free to enjoy her.

The *devadasis* are known by many names, such as *sule*, *sani*, *matthamma*, *basavi*, *jogati*, *jogini*, and *kalavant*. These names are also indicative of the region the practice stems from and the deity they are dedicated to, as perhaps the caste of the *devadasis*. Girls are dedicated quite young, even before puberty, to the deity. The deities are several in number, from male gods to female goddesses. The initiation rites vary from the simple to elaborate: each category of *devadasis* has its own kind of initiation ceremony. One involves just the tying of a necklace of beads in the temple. In another kind of ceremony, the head is anointed with the oil from the lamp burning in front of the god. A third kind of ceremony is an elaborate **marriage** to the god in the manner of the caste Hindus. Traditionally, not all *devadasis* were trained in the arts. Most of them were expected to clean the temple precincts and assist the priest in the rituals.

The *devadasi* system is a complex and intricate web of caste, region, and practice. The *kalavants*, for instance, hail from the Goa region of India. They are primarily temple artists, both dancers and singers. The *kalavants* fled to the neighboring Mumbai during the last century, where a few became students of great music masters to perfect their art. A few fell into prostitution and others became mistresses of the rich. But through a reform movement in this region, most of the erstwhile *kalavants* are today well educated and well placed, although they complain about the upper castes. Not all categories of *devadasis* are in this happy position, however.

Women belonging to the socially underprivileged classes continue to face sexual exploitation under the *devadasi* system, according to a National Human Rights Commission report published in 2004. The report found that the system is still alive in many parts of the country. The *devadasi* system was first made punishable under the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Act, 1927, of Mysore, a princely state then. This was followed by a blanket ban on the system by the British Raj in the 1930s. The Karnataka Government promulgated the Karnataka *Devadasi* Prohibition Act of 1982 to tackle the system, which is rife in this region. Activists,



A group of Devadasi women and one Devadasi man pray in the river near the Rudra Swara Temple in Koppal District, India, 2005. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

however, declare that the movement has only gone underground after it was declared illegal. Priests continue to convince mothers to marry their daughters to the temple deities covertly. Activists also claim to have evidence that several girls are sold off to the **brothels** after a few years of living as *devadasis*.

See also Child Prostitution, Cultural and Religious; Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary.

Further Reading: Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*. London: 1954; Calcutta: Rupa & Co. 1981; Kersenboom-Story, Saskia. *Nityasumangali: Devadasi Tradition in South India*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarisdass, 1987; Vijaisri, Priyadarshini. *Recasting the Devadasi: Patterns of Sacred Prostitution in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2004; Zelliott, Eleanor, and Rohini Mokashi-Punekar. *Untouchable Saints: An Indian Phenomenon*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2005.

Rohini Mokashi-Punekar

DICKENS, CHARLES (1812–70). Charles Dickens, arguably the most important and influential British writer of the 19th century, created several fictional prostitutes in his novels, including Martha Endell and Little Emily in *David Copperfield*, Alice Marwood in *Dombey and Son*, and, most famously, Nancy in *Oliver Twist*. Dickens included a reenactment of Nancy’s murder in his public readings, a performance so impassioned that both his friends and family pleaded with him to take it out for fear it would damage his already-delicate health. Many Dickensian scholars attribute his untimely death to his insistence upon retaining the “Sikes and Nancy” performance.

With his friend, the wealthy heiress Angela Burdett Coutts, Dickens founded Urania Cottage, the Home for Homeless Women. He served as administrator from the opening of the facility in

November 1847 until 1858. The goal of this organization was to rescue “fallen” women from a life of prostitution and crime without incarcerating them. The inhabitants were offered clean lodgings, healthy meals, clothing, and most important, education. Ultimately, these women were expected to emigrate out of Great Britain to Australia or another British colony, where they could, ostensibly, have a fresh start in a new profession, and perhaps even marry. They were largely successful.

There is no historical evidence to suggest that Dickens ever used the services of prostitutes himself, although he seems to have been aware that others in his association did. Ironically, his relationship with the young actress Ellen Ternan made her equivalent to a prostitute in many people’s eyes. Both his fictional and personal attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution are stereotypical for the Victorian era.

See also Victorian Novels.

Further Reading: Johnson, Edgar. *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952; Schlicke, Paul, ed. *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Dickens*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Lisa Hartsell Jackson

DIRECTORIES. **Guidebooks** that provided information about prostitutes were circulated in England beginning in the mid-18th century. French directories were less common and most of those available date from the beginning of the 19th century. *The Pretty Women of Paris* (1883) seems to have been written by Englishmen living in Paris. The guide is unique in its vivid detail and abundance of information about the women and their cultural context.

See also Blue Books.

Further Reading: Anonymous. *The Pretty Women of Paris*. Ware, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 1996.

Karen Humphreys

DIVERSION PROGRAMS. Diversion programs were created to provide offenders of certain crimes alternatives outside of traditional criminal justice systems. Diversion can mean diversion away from jail; it can also mean diversion away from the legal system altogether. The main purpose of prostitution diversion programs is to use the authority of the courts to reduce prostitution crimes by providing “treatment” instead of punishment to offenders—both clients and sex workers. The term “johns school” is **slang** and refers to prostitution diversion programs for clients of commercial sex workers.

Johns Schools

The first johns school in the United States, First Offenders of Prostitution Program (FOPP), was a jointly created project in 1995 by Norma Hotaling, an ex-San Francisco sex worker who left the streets and started Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) in 1993, the San Francisco Police Department, and the District Attorney’s Office. FOPP serves both clients and sex workers who have been charged with first-time prostitution offenses. There are numerous prostitution diversion programs for both sex workers and clients of commercial sex workers throughout the United States and Canada but no published evaluations to date of any of the programs for commercial sex workers.

The only published evaluation to date of a johns school program, the Toronto Prostitution Offender Diversion Program, was conducted by the National Crime Prevention Center Department of Justice Canada. The pre- and post-program survey of participants (clients of commercial sex workers) demonstrated that the program appears to be successful on several fronts, including encouraging participants to take responsibility for their actions and admit they engaged in an illegal activity, increasing participants' awareness of the various "victims" of prostitution, increasing the participants' awareness of the potential dangers of purchasing sex from prostitutes, as well as changing participants' attitudes toward prostitution. Despite these post-program changes, the researchers state that the "attitudinal changes did not seem to translate into significant changes in anticipated future behavior" (Wortley et al., 2002, p. 393). The program's greatest weakness was seen as its inability to deter future prostitution-related activities. During the registration interview, 12.8 percent of the respondents indicated that they would certainly return to prostitutes in the future. After completion of the johns school, that figure dropped to 11 percent, a statistically insignificant decrease. One out of every 10 participants reported that they might return to prostitutes in the future, "more than four times greater than the official program recidivism rate (2.4%)" (p. 389).

The researchers have had "serious concerns" with the Toronto Prostitution Offender Diversion Program. These concerns included "considerable confusion" among participants regarding the main objective for the program, the disproportionate representation of working-class, immigrant populations in the program, a lack of attention to participant language diversity, and perhaps more important, the compromising of due process rights where offenders must provide a guilty plea and consequently waive their "presumption of innocence" and opportunity to challenge the charges in court. Another major concern was that program participants must purchase the intervention services they receive through diversion by paying \$400 (to be enrolled) while other criminal justice services (jail, probation, etc.) are free. The researchers noted that the serious concerns may outweigh the "modest benefits" revealed in their study; does the "limited post program changes to prostitution-related knowledge and attitudes justify the temporary suspension of due-process rights and the creation of an 'arrests for revenue' diversion process?" (p. 397).

A Diversion Program for Commercial Sex Workers

The first study published in North America on a prostitution diversion program for commercial sex workers was conducted in 2003–2004. The study was a qualitative evaluation of Salt Lake City's Prostitution Diversion Program (PDP). The evaluation was concerned with how commercial sex workers were served by the program. The inquiry was grounded in a constructivist ontology where meaning and reality are viewed as socially constructed. The study attempted to explore the PDP's usefulness by asking, What are the objectives of the PDP? Does the PDP meet its objectives? How is the PDP experienced by its' stakeholders? What are the strengths and limitations of the PDP? How are commercial sex workers in Salt Lake City served by the PDP? Purposive sampling was used to recruit potential study participants to ensure that representatives of all the different types of stakeholders were included. The sample consisted of 12 sex workers and 19 service providers. Data collection consisted of semistructured qualitative interviews, onsite extended observations, field notes, and written program materials.

There was no universal experience of the PDP by its stakeholders. How stakeholders perceived and experienced the PDP was largely informed by their role(s) in the program. Criminal Justice Services (CJS) and Harm Reduction Project (HRP) identities also informed how stakeholders perceived and experienced the PDP. There appeared to be no escaping the CJS-HRP

tensions that both distinguished stakeholders theoretically and practically, as well as the PDP from other prostitution diversion programs in the North America.

The Salt Lake City PDP appears to serve drug-addicted female street workers who have previously been arrested for drugs or prostitution. PDP participants received information and resource referrals for substance use, domestic **violence**, **rape**, self-defense, housing, welfare assistance, self-esteem, and vocational rehabilitation. Participants reported feeling supported, specifically through their interactions with HRP stakeholders, in a number of ways, including their exchanges with each other. They reported feeling listened to and empowered as a consequence of their ability to “be out” as sex workers. Their out status contributed to overall decreased feelings of isolation in their lives. The most frequently mentioned benefit by sex workers was the opportunity to gather with other sex workers and service providers in an environment where they felt accepted and did not feel judged or stigmatized. Consequently, this benefit was an unintended consequence of the program; none of the stakeholders who created the program ever intended to create a support system for commercial sex workers.

Despite some of these positive benefits that the program participants reported, stakeholders universally reported a number of challenges and limitations of the PDP, including a lack of clear and consistent protocol concerning objectives, operationalization of objectives, individual and review panel roles and responsibilities, urine analyses, and treatment of program participants. The lack of clear and consistent protocol was also evidenced in the differential treatment of sex workers. Sex workers perceived as victims were viewed as “more innocent” than those who were not perceived as victims, as a result, they received differential and preferential treatment by some of the service providers. Those perceived as “real” victims (street workers) were given opportunities to avoid jail that were not granted to those perceived as more empowered (escort workers). Furthermore, service provider stakeholders reported exercising more compassion and empathy toward women who were perceived as victims. This lack of consistent protocol and procedures created significant concerns for some of the attorney stakeholders. Specifically, they were concerned about due process issues raised by inconsistent and apparent subjective treatment of program participants.

The PDP appears to serve a number of functions. First, it provides an opportunity for certain commercial sex workers to avoid jail time, despite the fact that they did not report this as a benefit of participation in the program. Second, it creates a support system for commercial sex workers who otherwise have limited options for safe and accessible support. Third, it is one of the few programs that provide services specifically to female commercial sex workers in Salt Lake City, Utah. Fourth, the PDP infuses a model of **harm reduction** that has been conceptualized as a peace movement and is aligned with the humanistic values around which social work is organized. Fifth, it provides a forum for diverse community agencies and entities to network, share information, and create services across ideological and practical differences. Sixth, there is a belief that the PDP saves the city money by diverting individuals away from jail.

Future research may explore, in more depth, the implications of creating legal and social programs across ontologically and practically different paradigms. How might criminal justice stakeholders and harm reductionists collaborate in such a manner where program objectives are equally shared and supported by all stakeholders? What processes may support stakeholders to negotiate and resolve ideological and practical differences?

See also Addiction; Appendix D, document 19; Crime; Criminalization of Clients; Prison.

Further Reading: First Offenders Prostitution Program. 2004. Web site of the SAGE Project http://www.sageprojectinc.org/html/about_services_fopp.htm; Fischer, B., S. Wortley, C. Webster,

and M. Kirst. "The Socio-Legal Dynamics and Implications of Diversion: The Case Study of the Toronto 'John School' for Prostitution Offenders." *Criminal Justice* 2 (2002): 385–410; Nuffield, J. *User Report: Diversion Programs for Adults*. Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1997; Wahab, Stéphanie. "Evaluating the Usefulness of a Prostitution Diversion Project." *Qualitative Social Work* 5, no. 1 (2006): 67–92; Wahab, Stéphanie. "Navigating Mixed Theory Projects: Lessons from a Qualitative Evaluation of Salt Lake City's Prostitution Diversion Project." *Affilia*, 20, no. 2 (2005): 203–21; Wahab, Stéphanie, and R. Davis. *An Evaluation of Salt Lake City's Prostitution Diversion Project*. Unpublished report. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, College of Social Work, 2004; Walgrave, L. "Diversion? It Depends on What We Divert To: Some Comments on Diversion and the Restorative Alternatives." In *Diversion and Informal Social Control*, ed. G. Albrecht and W. Ludwig-Mayerhofer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995; Wortley, S., B. Fischer, and C. Webster. "Vice Lessons: A Survey of Prostitution Offenders Enrolled in the Toronto John School Diversion Program." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 3 (2002): 227–48.

Stéphanie Wahab

DMSC. See **Sonagachi Project**.

DOSTOEVSKY, FYODOR (1821–81). Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky was one of the greatest of Russian 19th-century novelists. Dostoevsky's works are saturated with comment, direct or indirect, on contemporary society, which he portrays as riddled with moral decay, typified predominantly by the corruption and prostitution of young girls. The author loathed poverty, **violence**, and corruption, and yet at the same time, he was obsessively drawn to the darker side of human life, intent on penetrating it with his artistic vision.

Although complicated, fascinating, and disturbing women with dubious reputations and shady pasts feature in many of his novels, it is the figure of the gentle and pious Sonya Marmeladova in *Crime and Punishment* (1865–66) who became the best known of Dostoevsky's "fallen women" and who came to typify the "prostitute with the golden heart." Sonya hates her life of prostitution, having been forced into it as the only way of making money to support her vodka-drinking father and the rest of her family. She loves Raskolnikov, the hero of the novel, and his love for her becomes the means whereby he can begin to find redemption. Sonya accompanies Raskolnikov to Siberia, where he has been exiled after his conviction for murder. Sonya gives him a New Testament, which was in turn given to her by her friend Elizaveta, a young woman whom Raskolnikov killed when she inadvertently witnessed his first carefully planned and deliberate murder of the old woman Alyona Ivanovna. Sonya the prostitute thus becomes the means by which Raskolnikov the murderer begins to be transformed and through whom he can be forgiven.

Further Reading: Mythos and Logos. www.mythosandlogos.com/Dostoyevsky.html; Peace, Richard. *Dostoyevsky: An Examination of the Major Novels*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Virginia Rounding

DREXELIUS, CLAUDIA. Claudia Drexelius is a German prostitute who became the most successful contestant in the 2003 season of the German version of the TV game show *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* She won 500,000 euros on German RTL but was recognized by some viewers as a prostitute. They called RTL and gave information about her. She admitted to being a prostitute but declared that now that she had won a large sum of money, she would quit her profession. In her interviews, she said she became a prostitute when her boyfriend left her

penniless, with no education or job and in debt. Despite lack of education, Drexelius was smart enough to win on the show.

Maria Mikolchak

DUPLESSIS, MARIE (1824–47). The French courtesan Marie Duplessis, née Rose Alphonsine Plessis, inspired at least two of perhaps the most well-known courtesans in 19th-century European opera and literature: Violetta Valéry of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *La Traviata* and Marguerite Gautier in the novel and play *La Dame aux Camélias* (*Camille: Lady of the Camellias*) (1848, 1849) by Alexandre Dumas *fils*. Duplessis was Dumas's mistress from 1844–45 and enjoyed a successful career as a kept woman with such lovers as Dumas, composer Franz Liszt, and a string of wealthy, influential men. Supposedly, King Louis-Philippe bestowed on her the title of Duchess that permitted her to attend events and celebrations limited to the elite of Parisian society.

Plessis was born into a poor family in the village of Saint-Germain-de-Clarfeuille in Normandy. Her early years were marred by poverty, abuse, the separation of her parents, and her mother's death when she was six years old. She left for Paris at the age of 15 and worked as a seamstress and laundress. She was strikingly beautiful and attracted the attention of numerous wealthy men. It was not uncommon for young working-class women to accept money for sex as kept women or mistresses to supplement their meager or modest incomes. These girls were called *grisettes*, a term that referred to the grey, inexpensive fabric they wore. When she became the mistress of a high-profile aristocrat, the Duke de Guiche, Plessis learned to read and write, acquired an impressive library, assumed a life of luxury, and changed her name to Marie Duplessis. By this time, the 16-year-old *femme galante* traveled in a sumptuous carriage, dressed in splendor, and frequently sported a white camellia—the symbol that immortalized her in Dumas's drama.

Although she married the Count Edouard de Perregaux in 1846, the two did not live together, and she continued her hectic lifestyle despite declining health. She died of tuberculosis in February 1847 at the age of 23. The image of the dying beauty in Dumas's play moved Verdi to compose the lyrical and compassionate *La Traviata* in 1853.

See also French Literature; *Grandes Horizontales*.

Further Reading: Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-Century Courtesans*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Karen Humphreys

DURBAR MAHILA SAMANWAYA COMMITTEE. See *Sonagachi Project*.

DUTCH MASTERS. Prostitution was a popular subject with 17th-century Dutch masters as well as minor painters. The subjects are typically a small company in a **brothel**, a procuress with a prostitute and a client, or a man offering money to a young woman. An ugly old woman, the **madam**, usually presides over these scenes. Then there are many paintings, for example, "merry companies," where sexuality of an illicit kind is heavy in the air, but where professional prostitution is not always the case. Paintings of this type are usually counted as genre paintings and are at first sight just scenes from everyday life but in fact abound with objects and symbols that give a clue to the interpretation of the picture. Many of these symbols have a sexual meaning, which

would have been obvious to contemporaries. Broken eggshells, for example, pointed to lost virginity, and musical instruments to titillation of the senses.

The theme of venal love was a traditional northern European one, and a special feature of the art of the Low Countries. The connection between sex and money is a recurring motif. In the 16th century, there were many representations of the parable of the Prodigal Son, especially the episode where he squanders his patrimony in a brothel. There was also an abundance of tavern scenes, where harlots seduce customers while pickpocketing them. Especially popular was the theme of the “unequal couple,” where a young woman is being courted by an old man, or a young man by an old woman, all for money. Amusing as these paintings are, they are also meant as warnings.

In the 17th century, the prostitution theme was further developed. At the beginning of the century, several young Utrecht painters went to Italy, where they learned to paint in the new revolutionary style of Caravaggio. These so-called “Utrecht Caravaggisti,” the most famous of whom were Gerard van Honthorst, Dirck van Baburen, Hendrick ter Brugghen, and Jan van Bijlert, painted many procuresses and banquets and musical gatherings where beautiful, accomplished, and richly dressed, sometimes half-nude, young **courtesans** feast with wealthy young men. The only discordant note is the ever-present old, ugly, and cunning procuress.

In their own different styles, many great Dutch masters such as **Johannes Vermeer**, Hendrik ter Borch, and Frans van Mieris have painted prostitution—or at least sexually ambiguous—scenes. In the large oeuvre of **Jan Steen**, at least 40 brothel scenes are to be found. At the same time, there are hundreds of farces, works of prose, songbooks, pamphlets, and other writings treating sexual misconduct, harlotry, and prostitution. In this officially Calvinist country, real-life prostitution, procuring, and adultery were defined and prosecuted as crimes, but at the same time, there was a large market for sexually explicit art. This was said to function as a warning against immorality, but the sexually titillating possibilities of the bordello theme must have formed a main attraction.

The brothel paintings are not realistic depictions of 17th-century Dutch prostitution. The painters worked in a settled tradition and did not take the real prostitution of their time as their model. The way the women were depicted owed more to traditional ideas of the lecherous and cheating character of women than to direct observation. The prostitutes were seen as active temptresses, too lazy to work, and who without shame give in to their bad, and typically female, inclinations. The men, so easy to cheat, were presented as deluded fools and as the victims of women. This is very much a male viewpoint. The representation of the harlot as a beautiful, lewd temptress had the function both of being very attractive to men and blaming the women for the illicit sex. The one female artist to have painted a “prostitution” scene, Judith Leyster, proves this point. In her “Proposal” (Mauritshuis, The Hague), the tempter is a man, offering money to a demure and modestly dressed seamstress.

Further Reading: van de Pol, Lotte C. “Beeld en Werkelijkheid van de Prostitutie in de Zeventiende Eeuw.” In *Soete Minne en Helsche Boosheit. Seksuele Voorstellingen in Nederland, 1300–1850*, ed. G. Hekma and H. Roodenburg. Nijmegen: SUN, 1988, pp. 109–44.

L. C. van de Pol

DWORKIN, ANDREA (1946–2005). Andrea Dworkin was one of the most influential—and controversial—feminist thinkers of the second half of the 20th century in the United States. She is best known for her work against sexual assault and her ambiguous comments about heterosexual intercourse being indistinguishable from **rape**. However, she also published and

lectured widely on domestic **violence**, pornography, and prostitution, citing her own experience as a battered wife, rape survivor, and ex-prostitute. Dworkin was often criticized by opponents on both the right and the left: the former, because she was a feminist lesbian who called for the dismantling of patriarchal privilege; and the latter, because she was seen as being an “anti-sex” crusader for censorship. As a strident critic of **patriarchy** and its institutions, Dworkin’s extensive publications sought to articulate the experiences of survivors, particularly poor, lower-class, marginalized women. Along with **Catharine MacKinnon**, Dworkin coauthored and proposed ordinances in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Indianapolis, Indiana, that attempted to legally define pornography as a violation of women’s 14th Amendment right to equal protection. If approved, the ordinances would have given women the right to sue producers of pornography for damages in civil court. The legislation failed in Minneapolis but was enacted in Indianapolis in 1983, although it was subsequently overruled as unconstitutional in the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in 1985—a decision the United States Supreme Court ultimately upheld in the *American Booksellers’ Association v. Hudnut* decision.

Further Reading: Dworkin, Andrea. *Intercourse*. New York: Free Press, 1987; Dworkin, Andrea. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Perigee, 1981; Dworkin, Andrea, and Catharine MacKinnon, eds. *In Harm’s Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Alexandra Gerber

E

EAST AFRICA. *See Central and East Africa.*

EASTERN EUROPE. *See Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia.*

EDO JAPAN. *See Geisha; Tokyo; Yoshiwara.*

ENTRAPMENT. Entrapment is inducement by the police or their agent to do something that a person would not otherwise have done. There are very few instances where the affirmative defense of entrapment will be successful in prostitution cases. First, entrapment is an affirmative defense that concedes that a defendant committed the act in question but presents an excuse, seeking to shift blame from the defendant to a third party. In entrapment, that third party is a law enforcement officer. An entrapment defense can only be raised at trial. To establish a successful entrapment claim, a defendant must prove that he or she was induced or encouraged to commit this act by a public servant. This is difficult to show in prostitution cases where sex workers have been repeatedly arrested or convicted for prostitution-related offenses; where, if working in a private space, they have publicly advertised their services in an effort to attract new clients; or have engaged in sex work in the past where a pool of potential witnesses may be available to attest to their criminal lifestyle. This leaves an entrapment defense only available to first-time arrestees or offenders who have not held themselves out publicly as sex workers, who do not intend to continue in sex work, and who would not have engaged in such actions but for the active encouragement or inducement by a law enforcement officer.

See also Appendix D, document 19.

Juhu Thukral

ESCORT AGENCIES. Escort services provide sexual services to clients under the guise of supplying “dates” or “escorts” for clients. An escort works for an agency, which screens clients and

negotiates fees. **Call girls** may work for an agency, or for themselves or both at different times. Agencies may have escorts of one gender or all genders, including women, male, and transgender escorts. The overwhelming majority of clients for all escorts are men. The origin of escort services is not well documented. Much of the research has been focused on defining or understanding the institution and the motivations behind the entry into the occupation. However, general agreement among those in the industry is that escort agencies started in the 1960s as “date services.” The original agencies catered to men who needed escorts to accompany them to dinner engagements, weddings, corporate affairs, the theater, and so on. As demand and supply encroached on this business model, the agency expanded to include other services, sexual in nature.

Who decided to expand the business model is debatable. Some state that the owners of the agency decided to make the jump to maximize benefits, whereas others contend that the women, influenced by the lure of extra income, negotiated the transaction.

The evolution of the agency is marked not only by the services provided. Today, some escort agencies dispatch women as “dates” to both male and female clients. The employees have also evolved. Some escort services employ male escorts and others include transgenders. The range of types of dates has also widened from the one-escort date to multiple escorts as for a bachelor party. In addition, some escort agencies use the lure of a visiting celebrity (usually a porn star) or visiting escort from another city to attract more business.

Escort agencies are highly organized. Some service both in-house and out-call clients, whereas others focus entirely on one or the other. The agency provides its escorts with the clients by advertising on the **Internet**, the yellow pages, newspapers, and TV commercials. In return for the advertising and steady flow of clients, the escorts provide the service and pay a percentage of their hourly wages to the agency. They are modeled much like a modeling agency. The cut for the agency differs from one company to the next, with cuts ranging from as high as 60 percent to as low as 30 percent. Some escorts who work for an agency may decide to venture off on their own and become call girls after learning how to recruit clients or start their own agencies. Many escorts and call girls now advertise online rather than, or in addition to, working for an agency.

The hourly rate differs from one agency to the next. An escort service in New York City may range anywhere from \$300/hour to \$2,000/hour—all depending on the escort selected and the type of “date” the client seeks. However, outside of big cities, the prices tend to run more conservatively. In Savannah, Georgia, the hourly rate runs from about \$150 to \$350, the rate also depending on the factors listed.

Once a potential client calls an agency to use its service, a background check is conducted, usually by the person designed to take the calls, to determine whether the client is eligible for the service. The client may be asked for his work number, address, home number, or social security number to determine whether he is indeed who he claims to be and not an undercover police officer. The level of sophistication of this background research varies within agencies, with the more savvy subscribing to a background checking service, such as those that allow for a quick history of the individual’s past residences for the past several years to some agencies who just Google the name or simply call the number given. Some agencies, especially boutique agencies, refuse certain clients. One agency in **New York City** refuses to see clients who were in the teaching profession, stating that they are the most likely to balk at the hourly rates and walk out during a session. Another agency reports that it refuses female clients.

Individual escorts also have preferences. Some escorts refuse to go on dates with clients who seek “**kink**” services such as golden showers, **sadomasochism**, or role-play fantasies.

Agencies may hire a person whose position is to answer the phones and make the dates. This person holds a tremendous amount of power within the agency because she or he can decide which escorts will see clients that day and who will not. Escorts are encouraged to tip the phone person about \$20/date. More tips usually equate to more dates.

Many escorts tend to be in their late teens to mid-20s—or to pass for such—and attractive. These escorts often see themselves as social worker, counselor, companion, and sex therapist, and have few pathologies. Whereas homeless or runaway prostitutes may engage in survival sex for food, shelter, clothing, drugs, or **alcohol**, and to escape abusive homes and coercion by a **pimp**, escorts tend to be more educated and often live double lives—student, homemaker, or artist by day and escort by night.

See also Brothels; Street-Based Prostitution; Venues and Labor Forms.

Further Reading: Angell, Jeannette. *Callgirl*. Sag Harbor, NY: Permanent Press, 2004; Koken, Juline A., David S. Bimbi, Jeffrey T. Parsons, and Perry N. Halkitis. "The Experience of Stigma in the Lives of Male Internet Escorts." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 16 (2004): 13–32; Quan, Tracy. *Diary of a Manhattan Call Girl*. New York: Crown, 2001.

Sora Chung

EUGENICS. Modern eugenics emerged from the social Darwinism of the late 19th century. Eugenicists' scheme to apply biology to the task of ridding humanity of "undesirables" while promoting "desirables" was explicitly stated by Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911), an English scientist, geographer, and author, who coined the term "eugenics." Eugenic doctrines, espoused by biologists, physicians, and notably, the emergent social science disciplines of psychology and sociology, attributed poverty and criminality to an individual's biological make-up rather than the failings of social systems. Instead of looking at political and economic processes characterizing industrial capitalist expansion, proponents of eugenics identified various categories of people who were held responsible for a broad range of social problems and whose reproduction supposedly posed a threat to social stability.

Interestingly, among those first identified by eugenicists as contributing to social degeneration were prostitutes. Women, especially poor and immigrant women, were held to be driven by a reckless sexuality, resulting from biologically rooted moral flaws, that led them to prostitution. Indeed, the targeting of prostitutes, for imprisonment, segregation, or sterilization persisted throughout the period of eugenics' rise and decline. Notably, in all countries in which eugenics policies, including sterilization, were implemented, the only specific job category targeted was prostitution.

Richard Dugdale (1841–83), a 19th-century American social Darwinist sociologist who produced a table calculating his estimates of the financial costs to society of people he believed to be defective, nurtured a secret agenda to implement a program for sterilizing prostitutes. Dugdale proposed that the costs related to prostitutes totaled almost a million dollars, including lost years of work because of diseases supposedly carried by prostitutes, their clients, and their clients' partners; medicine to treat these individuals; years of lost labor by otherwise-employable prostitutes; caring for prostitutes' children; and court costs for "bastardy prosecution." Dugdale generously excluded costs associated with purchasing whiskey or the costs of pauperism, debauchery, and **crime** in future generations. According to Dugdale, courts, laws, poorhouses, and jails were no longer equipped to deal with the problem, so he proposed sterilization.

By 1903, the U.S. Congress had added prostitutes to its growing immigrant exclusion list, along with beggars and anarchists. The United States was the first country to sanction sterilization. The state of Indiana introduced a forced sterilization law in 1907 that was applied against prostitutes as well as unwed mothers, homeless people, alcoholics, and children with “discipline problems.” By the late 1920s, sterilization laws had been enacted in 24 states in the United States, primarily in the mid-Atlantic region, the Midwest, and California. In institutions such as the notorious Virginia Colony for the Epileptic and Feeble-minded, the largest asylum in the United States, prostitutes were among the detainees considered socially unfit and targeted for sterilization.

Even erstwhile progressives succumbed to eugenics’ claims. In Scandinavia, sterilization was widely supported by Social Democrats, as well as noted liberals such as Gunnar Myrdal, in planning for the emerging welfare state. In Sweden, thousands of women were sterilized for reasons of eugenics between 1930 and the 1970s. Up to 60,000 were sterilized without consent on such grounds as having an “unhealthy sexual appetite.”

In the United States, Margaret Sanger, a founder of Planned Parenthood who was championed as an early feminist by some in the 1970s, proposed in “A Plan for Peace” (1932) that Congress establish a special department for the study of “population problems” and appoint a Parliament of Population to direct and control the population through a directorship representing various branches of science. Sanger hoped that among the main objectives of the Population Parliament would be “to keep the doors of immigration closed to the entrance of certain aliens whose condition is known to be detrimental to the stamina of the race, such as feeble-minded, idiots, morons, insane, syphilitic, epileptic, criminal, professional prostitutes, and others in this class barred by the immigration laws of 1924.” Once controlling “the intake and output of morons, mental defectives, epileptics,” Sanger suggested that “the second step would be to take an inventory of the second group such as illiterates, paupers, unemployables, criminals, prostitutes, dope-fiends; classify them in special departments under government medical protection, and segregate them on farms and open spaces as long as necessary for the strengthening and development of moral conduct.”

Throughout Scandinavia as well as parts of Canada and the southern United States, sterilization achieved broad support. This was largely related to economic rather than eugenic considerations as sterilization presented a means of reducing relief and institutional care for the poor.

The performance of eugenic sterilization programs in the United States during the 1930s is cited as a major influence on the enactment of sterilization laws in **Nazi Germany**. Nazis considered prostitutes to be “work-shy,” morally and intellectually incompetent, and asocial. Following legislative enactments in May 1933, prostitutes became targets of mass imprisonment. Many, labeled “hereditarily diseased,” were subjected to forced sterilization and “euthanasia.” Others, designated simply as criminals, were sent to work houses and concentration camps. Later, in the buildup to war, a 1939 decree ordered the “re-establishment of whorehouses and the barrack-like concentration of prostitutes” and women from work houses and concentration camps were forced to work as prostitutes in these facilities. Medically supervised **brothels**, with state-registered prostitutes, were permitted throughout Nazi-occupied territories. Biological experimentation took place in some of these brothels.

After World War II, eugenics was largely discredited through scientific criticism and the opposition of civil libertarians as well as the **stigma** of its deep connection with the Nazi regime. Still, sterilization programs persisted in Canada and Sweden until the 1970s. In addition, echoes of eugenics can be found in recent controversies such as attempts in the United States to compel

poor women, especially welfare recipients, to use birth control devices such as Norplant. Eugenics brought together the economic and moral regulation of women's lives, bodies, and labor.

Further Reading: Broberg, G., and N. Roll-Hansen, eds. *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996; Kevles, Daniel J. "Eugenics and Human Rights: Statistical Data Included." *British Medical Journal* 319 (1999): 435–38; Reilly, Philip R. *The Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991; Sanger, Margaret. "Plan for Peace." *Birth Control Review* (1932): 107–8.

Jeff Shantz

EXOTIC DANCE. See **Gentlemen's Clubs; Stripping.**

F

FALLEN WOMAN TROPE. Operating via prescribed views of gender and sexuality, the fallen woman trope has long played an important role in Western imaginative discourse, reaching back to popular interpretations of **Mary Magdalene** as a prostitute and continuing in contemporary media in **films** such as **Pretty Woman** (1990). The fallen woman trope depicts a woman in distressed circumstances as the direct result of one or more failed love affairs in which the woman has been sexually active. Prostitution is not implicit to the fallen woman trope, but the trope often equivocates women who have sex outside of marriage with prostitutes, and, in many versions, the deserted women turn to prostitution to survive. Though there are some deviations from the standard model, the trope requires the acceptance of several basic premises: women can be characterized as either angel or whore by their sexual conduct; once “fallen,” a woman cannot be redeemed; and different standards of moral conduct apply to men and women. The term “fallen woman” is commonly attributed to the Victorian period, when moral and immoral behavior became increasingly polarized, but the phrase was in use much earlier. However, the association of the fallen woman trope with the Victorians is not unwarranted, for it is during the latter half of the 19th century when the trope proved especially popular in literary and artistic creations. Acting both as a warning to women who might contemplate illicit sexual activities and as a venue for titillating a social appetite for stories of sexual impropriety, the trope inspired authors from **Charles Dickens** to Thomas Hardy and engaged artists in paintings such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s *Found* (1854) and Richard Redgrave’s *The Outcast* (1851).

Notably, the idea that some women have fallen implicitly requires a moral hierarchy in which women initially inhabit a privileged position, which is largely dependent on their allegiance to sexual norms. In the 19th century, respectable women did not engage in sex outside of **marriage**, and even married women were largely free from sexual connotations. Coventry Patmore’s poem *The Angel in the House* (1854) captured a common 19th-century perception of women’s heavenly nature, and good women were depicted as essential to the fulfillment of the needs of husband and family, although they pursued no desires of their own. Yet, while society esteemed women’s role as moral exemplars through representations of virtuous domesticity and motherhood, these

idealized portrayals of women inevitably placed women on proverbial pedestals, positioned to fall from their respective heights. Unsurprisingly, they fell in droves, and the pervasiveness of the fallen woman trope in Victorian art and literature attests to the widespread public interest in maintaining the dichotomy of angel and whore.

The trajectory from angel to whore was a one-way path from which there was no possibility of complete redemption. In **Charles Dickens's** *David Copperfield* (1850), David's childhood sweetheart, Little Emily, flees from the respectable working-class family that loves her after she is rejected by her middle-class lover James Steerforth. Rather than return home, she chooses to lose herself among the masses of London, where she becomes a prostitute. Although her family seeks and finds her, Emily's claim to angelic femininity cannot be restored, and she immigrates to Australia with her uncle in disgrace. Similarly, in Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838), the prostitute Nancy proves herself to be irredeemably fallen. Though she laments her condition and reveals herself to retain much of the angelic within the whore's body, she cannot return to social legitimacy, and she dies as the result of a brutal beating from her abusive boyfriend and pimp.

Death resolves the condition of countless other fallen women, even those who do not turn to prostitution. In Elizabeth Gaskell's *Ruth* (1853), the title character dies tragically as the result of her efforts as a nurse after she is abandoned while pregnant by her wealthy lover Bellingham. Gaskell's account of a fallen woman, like those of Dickens, is kind, inspiring **Josephine Butler** and other Victorian feminists to offer assistance to real-life prostitutes and abandoned women, but her story fulfills the familiar pattern for the trope even as it criticizes the hypocrisy of a social system that demands its fulfillment.

A sexual double standard supports the fallen woman trope, as no comparable stigma or downward spiral awaited men for their participation in sexual encounters outside of marriage. Later writers attempted to remedy this inequity. Thomas Hardy's *Tess of D'Urbervilles* (1891) allowed the fallen woman to punish the rapist who has wrecked her life by murdering him. Though Tess meets a predictable end for a fallen woman when she is executed for her crime, Hardy suggests the misery of her fall is unfairly gendered.

Other works deliberately work against the tenants of the trope. Holman Hunt's painting *The Awakening Conscience* (1854) portrays a beautiful kept woman who has just realized the depravity of her state. She rises from the lap of her lover, and the painting presents a rare glimpse of hope for the reformation of the fallen woman. Modern versions of the trope also offer some possibilities for redemption; *Pretty Woman's* fairy-tale ending, however problematic, resists the Victorian prescription of moral absolutes.

Ironically, the fallen woman trope, which depends on the binary division of angel and whore, inevitably contributes to the dismantling of both labels. The fallen woman collapses the boundary between "good" and "bad" women, precisely because she has shown such categories to be inherently unstable. Although this combination of virtuous and sexual female qualities conveniently addresses larger male fantasies, it also subverts stereotypes of gendered sexuality.

See also Victorian Novels.

Further Reading: Auerback, Nina. *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982; Kunzel, Regina. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993; Watt, George. *The Fallen Woman in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel*. London: Croom Helm, 1984; Winniffrith, Tom. *Fallen Women in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Esther Godfrey

FANNY HILL (1748–49). *Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* first appeared in two volumes in November 1748 and February 1749, while its author, John Cleland (1710–89), was in debtor’s **prison**. Popularly referred to as *Fanny Hill*, the name of the young English prostitute whose life Cleland depicts, the novel portrays sexually explicit scenes that have contributed to its reputation as an obscene book. In *Memoirs*, Cleland does not ignore the practical concerns of prostitutes, including disease, **violence**, and money, but Fanny’s chief interest is the business of pleasure. Her greatest moments of physical ecstasy feature tremendously large and precisely detailed male sexual organs, while she discovers emotional fulfillment among the congenial whores with whom she lives during the second half of the novel, and, more significantly, with Charles, the man who deflowers and eventually marries her. Cleland’s diverse sexual landscape also depicts homoerotic moments that Fanny both experiences, during lesbian initiation rituals, and watches, when she discovers two men having sex during one of her frequent stints as a voyeur. Although Fanny benignly dismisses lesbian activity as inferior to heterosexual encounters, she ferociously condemns sex between men. One of Fanny’s mistresses, Mrs. Cole, articulates 18th-century stereotypes of gay men when she depicts them as effeminate misogynists, an attitude that has no place in a house of emotionally affectionate whores deeply committed to heteroerotic pleasure. The illicit sexualities Cleland portrayed have also attracted the criticism of censors; *Memoirs* has been periodically published in expurgated editions, banned, and prosecuted, although readers today can access Cleland’s original text. Contemporary scholars now cite *Memoirs* as an important example of the 18th-century British novel and frequently discuss its relationship to other genres, including whore biography, libertine literature, and pornography.

Further Reading: Cleland, John. *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, ed. Peter Sabor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985; Miller, Nancy K. *The Heroine’s Text: Readings in the French and English Novel, 1722–1782*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Lee Y. Blouin and David L. Orvis

FANTASY AND SCIENCE FICTION. One of the goals of speculative fiction such as fantasy or science fiction is to portray aspects of society that might exist in the future or in a world that differs from our own. Historically, fantasy and science fiction have typically targeted younger audiences, which may explain the reluctance of some authors and filmmakers to deal with “adult” themes such as sex and prostitution. However, more recent works have begun to touch on these themes, sometimes superficially, but at other times with greater depth and insight.

In many cases, prostitution is part of the “scenery” of the alternate world or universe and the treatment does not go much beyond transposing existing features of prostitution to a novel environment. Heroic fantasy, for example, typically occurs in a pseudomedieval setting, so when works of fantasy touch on prostitution, they may simply reproduce what the creator imagines to be the characteristics of **medieval prostitution**. The same is true of space operas, although here prostitution tends to be a “futurized” version of contemporary sex work. Prostitution is practically mandatory in science fiction dystopias, where prostitutes serve as motifs for generalized decadence and despair. Only in utopias are prostitutes absent. The economic needs that drive many people to become prostitutes and the sexual needs that lead others to become clients are both assumed to be adequately met by whatever mechanism maintains the utopia, thus stemming both supply and demand together.

Most of the familiar tropes and a wide range of aspects of contemporary or historical prostitution can be found in speculative fiction. Gordon Eklund’s *Black Knight of the Iron Sphere* (1981) features a character who is ostensibly a child prostitute. A protagonist of Cordwainer

Smith's short story "The Ballad of Lost C'mell" (1962) is a "girlygirl," whose artistic and social skills make her something between a **courtesan** and a **geisha**. Phedre, the heroine of Jacqueline Carey's fantasy novel *Kushiel's Dart* (2001) and its sequels, has aspects of both courtesan and sacred temple prostitute. The sex slave trope recurs with predictable frequency, although sex slaves tend to be "walk-ons" rather than central characters. An exception is Poul Anderson's *A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows* (1974), in which a major character is sold into prostitution by her political enemies. Anderson's universe also includes high-class **brothels** known as Cepheid houses (named for a type of star that changes its brightness periodically), while Mike Resnick's *Tales of the Velvet Comet* (2001) are set in a two-mile-long orbiting brothel.

Predictably, many works of speculative fiction see sex work as another dangerous or distasteful activity that can be conveniently mechanized. Humanoid sex toys, both mechanical and biological, are a common element in science fiction. Comic artist Alfonso Azpiri's heroine Bethlehem Steele is a mechanical robot sex toy, while brothel customers in Alejandro Jodorowsky and Moebius's comic book cycle *The Incal* may genetically engineer prostitutes to their taste. Joanna Russ's *The Female Man* (1975) features a male sex toy derived from "chimpanzee germ-plasm."

Conditions of employment vary widely. Davy in *The Female Man* (1975) is little more than an appliance. The replicant Pris in Ridley Scott's film *Blade Runner* (1982), introduced dismissively as a "basic pleasure model," appears to be essentially a robotic "**comfort woman**." She has been built as the perfect sex slave and her subservient condition stands as a metaphor for the dehumanization and disenfranchisement of all the replicants with their unacknowledged human desires and feelings. In contrast, the mechanical Gigolo Joe from Steven Spielberg's *Artificial Intelligence: AI* (2001) appears to be allowed greater freedom of movement, if not actual autonomy. Although Pris may be little more than a piece of erotic furniture for "military clubs," Joe is a robotic outcall worker, programmed to romance and seduce his female **clients** and able to move with relative freedom through human society.

Although appealing to a fairly obvious human fantasy—one that Gigolo Joe quite eloquently summarizes in his soliloquies—the concept of a robotic lover is not a great mental stretch. Speculative fiction can often be disappointingly timid and unimaginative when it comes to the topic of sex work. Robotics or genetic engineering yield better love dolls. Earthbound brothels become orbiting spaceships. The scale may be larger, the depravity and abuses more exaggerated, but the basic patterns of contemporary sex work are still instantly recognizable. The focus tends to be largely on technology, and opportunities to imagine new forms or features or to consider the social significance of prostitution in societies different from our own are relatively little explored.

Some of the works already mentioned, such as Carey's *Kushiel's Dart*, constitute exceptions. Another is Joss Whedon's television series "Firefly," where a high-class prostitute who lives and works aboard a spaceship is referred to by her fellow crewmembers as "the Ambassador." The explanation given is that some of the planets that they visit will refuse docking permission to any ship not carrying a Companion (a professional courtesan). In Whedon's universe, prostitution is a social lubricant that makes trade between strangers possible.

Science fiction reminds us that the sale of sexual services may cross the line between the physical and the intangible. In Alan Dean Foster's *Orphan Star* (1977), a debauched entrepreneur solicits the adolescent protagonist to help him realize his sexual fantasies through the use of a telepathically controlled device. Many science fiction works posit the existence of perfected immersive virtual reality (perhaps achieved through direct stimulation of the brain). Coupled



Daryl Hanna (as Pris) in Ridley Scott's 1982 film *Blade Runner*. Courtesy of Photofest.

with another favorite concept, the direct recording of human sensory experience, this would open new frontiers for sex work. The possibility of directly experiencing another person's life appears, for example, in William Gibson's *Sprawl* series, where recordings of the idealized existence of "simstim" celebrity Angie Mitchell constitute a successful soap opera. Mitchell's show is family-friendly mass entertainment, but the technology might work equally well for pornography. This raises interesting definitional questions. Would the recording of the intimate physical and mental sensations associated with the sex act be seen as prostitution, or as something more akin to phone sex or filming a porn movie?

At the opposite extreme, science fiction has also imagined acts of prostitution reduced to the absolutely physical. Gibson's dystopia features several stock sex industry types transposed to the near future, such as the vicious madam Chrome from *Burning Chrome* (1986) and the dancer-whore Mona with her pimp Eddie in *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988). The most interesting figure, however, is the antiheroine Molly/Sally, who, like many sex workers, turns to prostitution to finance a personal goal, in her case, the body modifications that will allow her to work as a "street samurai." To meet her financial targets, Molly becomes a "meat puppet," her own awareness temporarily switched off as she sells her body—and only her body—to the most sadistic and depraved clients of Chrome's House of the Blue Lights. In Gibson's imagined future, technology delivers a nightmarish ideal that can only be imperfectly produced by drugs or alcohol in today's world—the absolute annihilation of the self and the physical human body as a saleable commodity entirely stripped of any emotional or mental qualities.

Angus McIntyre

FEMALE BOARDING HOUSE. Female boarding houses appear on historical maps and other documents of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Company prepared city maps containing details regarding structural materials and building use. The maps are useful to historians and historical archaeologists in the determination of the physical layout and social components of urban neighborhoods. Clusters of “female boarding houses” on these maps may generally be assumed to represent commercial sex districts. It is unknown whether occupants reported boarding as the commercial use of the buildings or whether the data collectors substituted the term for something that would have been more descriptive of the actual function of the establishment, perhaps under pressure from municipalities or society in general. Many boarding houses rented rooms to individual prostitutes, in which case the house did not lay claim to a percentage of the prostitute’s earnings as in a **brothel**.

Further Reading: Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.

Karen K. Swope

FEMINISM. Feminists have long held a variety of views on prostitution, with some favoring **abolition**, criminalization, legalization, **decriminalization**, and every approach imaginable. Feminists who favor the suppression of the sex industry for victimizing women, such as **Andrea Dworkin** and **Catharine MacKinnon**, have been referred to as “anti-sex” or “pro-censorship.” “Victim feminism” is another label used for feminists who see women as perennial victims. Efforts to protect women have included the introduction of **Magdalen Homes** and the passage of the **Mann Act** against “immoral acts.” Feminist history shows that efforts to protect women have often restricted women both economically and culturally. Prescriptive aspects of legislation have often met with opposition from feminists who have witnessed the use of regulations “protecting” women from themselves. The outstanding example of this is legislation about women’s work at the end of the 19th century and early part of the 20th in the United States. Protective labor legislation was a generic label for a host of state laws applicable only to women that restricted, among other things, the number of hours women could work. In protecting women by limiting their working hours, policy makers rendered it impossible for these women to support their families.

Ironically, even feminism has sometimes exhibited restrictive tendencies that curb women’s freedom in the name of protection or “morality.” Certain feminist theories of sexuality are of this kind. And in an echo of turn-of-the-century U.S. labor laws, in 2001, Nepalese feminists, in an effort to suppress drunkenness and prostitution, successfully promoted legislation that prohibited women from working after 9 p.m., with the predictable consequences of fewer working hours (and thereby lower wages) for women.

Feminist Theories of Sexuality.

Feminist theory has always encompassed a variety of opinions, but regarding issues of sexuality, feminism has come to appear polarized. Current debates around sexuality, especially regarding sex work, include extreme factionalism with a great schism primarily between two viewpoints. This is a historic schism that has taken different forms regarding different emergent issues of sexuality, including birth control, hysteria about **white slavery**, pornography, **violence** against women, sexual liberation, and lesbianism. Today, the rise of interest in **trafficking** in persons has been accompanied by a focus on prostitution. Those who have devoted the most time to this issue again fall largely into two camps. One regards prostitution as a form of labor

that should be treated as work rather than as vice. The other considers prostitution to be necessarily a form of slavery that therefore should be addressed as traffic in women. These camps have been reductively labeled “anti-censorship” and “pro-sex” feminists who do not see prostitution as a **human rights** violation, and “pro-censorship” and “anti-sex” feminists who do see sex work as inherently victimizing.

Feminism is not always informative on matters of sex. Feminism frequently focuses on problems pertaining to sex, and it addresses the sex industry as one such problem in much the same way that academic work typically addresses the sex industry as deviance. Feminists do not always ask what might be regarded as the significant question with respect to sex work: how is this sizable population of women working in the sex industry, largely outsiders because of their work, affected by both legislation addressing sex work and by the divisions within feminism? Instead, the stereotypical response of feminism to the sex industry, particularly on the part of feminists who favor censoring pornography, is that women working in the sex industry do not understand and are not concerned by sexism.

Feminists who favor censorship have at times purposefully drowned out the voices of many feminists who do not hold the same views and feminism itself has lost out because of the exclusion of divergent views. But this situation is changing and will need to keep changing if feminism is to move beyond this schism. In the context of censorship, some press has been given to the sex workers’ rights advocates and First Amendment hardliners, and this has led to the impression that feminism offers two directly opposing views on the topic of pornography but does not address other aspects of the sex industry. This is not the case—sex workers such as Nina Hartley, **Carol Leigh**, and many other less well known sex workers are self-proclaimed feminists.

Two views of sex work and trafficking have been given the most press and debated in legal and academic fora. One position is that sex work is real work, and trafficking is a grievous violation of human rights. The other position views sex work itself as a human rights violation and that trafficking law is a vehicle to use to address this violation. But feminism is not monolithic, even within its various factions, and individuals in small factions wield considerable influence. Neither of these two schools of thought represents a mainstream view, and the ideas themselves are uncommon outside the small group of people who have made the issues of trafficking and sex work, or sex more generally, their areas of expertise. Most often, these factions wield little influence outside specific contexts. Such contexts include situations in which active lobbying is involved, the promotion of new legislation, and in various academic fora.

In political debates of this kind, feminist theory is of great importance. It is contentious, but extremely present, and the division between two opposing camps shapes the views and positions of all those involved. By and large, there is a strong polarization, so that every activist addressing the issues of trafficking or sex work lines up on one of two sides.

At the heart of the division is the relationship between feminism and sexuality. Feminist views of sexuality are well documented; however, a strong anti-sexual stance achieved “temporary hegemony” in the 1970s. This stance is exemplified by Abby Rockefeller, who argued that lesbianism “muddles what is the real issue for women by making it appear that women really like sex as much as men—that they just don’t like sex *with* men” (italics in the original, quoted in Echols 1984, p. 55). This anti-sex agenda is essentially conservative in nature, making for a more radical chastity, as it were. Alice Echols (1984) writes:

[Cultural feminism] has become a vehicle to establish the proper parameters of lesbian sexuality so as to diminish the possibility that lesbians will defect to “male-identified”

sexual expressions.... Perhaps anti-pornography feminists prefer to foreclose on sexuality rather than to explore it and to risk discovering the disjuncture between their desires and their politics. (p. 65)

A particular preoccupation for adherents to this school of thought has been pornography. Ellen Willis (1983) states that anti-porn activists have presented pornography as a feminist issue divorced from other political issues “rooted in conservative moral assumptions that are all the more dangerous for being unacknowledged” (p. 461).

Proponents of this kind of view often go to rhetorical extremes. For example, Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon maintain not merely that pornography is related to an increase in violence against women but that pornography itself is violence. The moral authority of the anti-pornography program rests on a claim to speak for all women, as if women have only one voice rather than many. This claim to speak for universal woman makes no allowance for differing opinions, or, crucially, different experiences. Here Dworkin elaborates her ideas on the effects of sex in philosophy and literature (in response to Jean-Paul Sartre’s *Anti-semitic and Jew*):

Her sexual degradation is at the heart of the sadism against all women that is now promoted in mainstream sexual propaganda: she in the millions, she naked in the millions, she utterly at the mercy of—in the millions, she to whom anything could be and was done—in the millions, she for whom there will never be any justice or revenge—in the millions. It is her existence that has defined contemporary mass sexuality, given it its distinctly and unabashedly mass-sadistic character. (p. 145)

Some feminist writing is not so much anti-sex as anti-male. For these theorists, all visions of male sexuality are entirely woman-hating and violent. Echols (1984) noted that this view of men is so thoroughly disheartening “that one wonders what would be accomplished by the restriction or elimination of pornography” (p. 59). Willis (1983) continues, “[the anti-porn campaign] has begun to attract women whose perspective on other matters is in no way feminist.... Despite the insistence of [Women Against Pornography] organizers that they support sexual freedom, their line appeals to the anti-sexual emotions that feed the backlash. Whether they know it or not, they are doing the good cops’ dirty work” (p. 467).

Pro-censorship feminists such as Kathleen Barry have moved on from pornography to address the broader scope of the sex industry as a whole, with a specific focus on prostitution. These writers eschew the term “sex work” as legitimating the sex industry. Lillian Robinson wrote “Barry considers the notion of ‘sex work’ part of the conspiracy to normalize prostitution and thereby to prostitute sexuality as a whole” (Bishop and Robinson 1998, p. 243). Barry furthered this argument with her ideas that sexual activities formerly distinguished women for hire from women at home, and that the inclusion of some sex acts earlier reserved for prostitutes in contemporary marital and dating relationships elides this distinction (pp. 70–71). This way of thinking is effectively prescriptive, declaring what is acceptable and appropriate behavior for women.

The second main school of feminist thought vis-à-vis sexuality opposes this prescriptive, anti-sex view, noting that its prescriptive stance tends to greatly compromise women’s autonomy, and that its adherents have found strange bedfellows in the conservative right. Their work focuses not on prescribing appropriate behavior for women, but on removing the emphasis on victimhood, which characterizes the anti-sex philosophy, and on empowering women to make their own choices, especially concerning bodily issues, which include sexuality and sex work. These

include but are not limited to academics Lynn Chancer, Laura Kipnis, and Carole Vance as well as more sex-oriented writers such as Susie Bright.

The idea that sex work may be considered in the context of empowerment issues is a relatively new one. Historically, feminism has largely expressed more conservative views on the subject. Dubois and Gordon (1984) describe feminist views on prostitution up to the first half of the 20th century:

First, they exaggerated its magnitude. They did so because their definition of prostitute included virtually all women who engaged in casual sex, whether or not they were paid. Second, feminists consistently exaggerated the coerciveness of prostitution. In their eagerness to identify the social structural forces encouraging prostitution, they denied the prostitute any role other than that of passive victim. They insisted that the women involved were sexual innocents, women who 'fell' into illicit sex. They assumed that prostitution was so degraded that no woman could freely choose it, not even with the relative degree of freedom with which she could choose to be a wife or a wage earner. (p. 33)

This description could equally well apply to the second half of the 20th century in some studies of the developing world (Doezema 2001). For example, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women overstated these numbers during the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women: their estimate of the number of prostitutes in Thailand was 2.8 million, or the equivalent of the entire urban female population between the ages of 15 and 29 (Lim 1998, p. 8). The exaggeration described by Dubois and Gordon continues, as does the willingness to work only with sex workers who confirm their analysis.

Although many people have strong feelings about sex work, far fewer people have researched the sex industry. The general assumption among many feminists has been that sex work and the exchange of sex for goods or money, as in prostitution or possibly even dating, are reinforcements of male social elevation over female. Most feminists, and certainly most women, do not take this much further than acknowledging that an exchange for sex exists and that they may not approve, but a small minority has taken this to a more radical stance. They work for the abolition of the sex industry in general, and some punish male clients of prostitutes in **diversion programs**, including "John Schools." Men who plead guilty to soliciting a prostitute are, in some places, sent to John School, where they are scolded by former prostitutes.

Feminist publications express more varied views about sex and sex work. For instance, Eva Pendleton (1997) has posited that sex work is subversive precisely because it forces men to pay for sexual access otherwise deemed a right. There has also been a recent spate of publications by sex workers themselves (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998, Kempadoo 1999, Nagle 1997). Weldon (2001) responded to the fact that some schools of feminists addressing sex work typically do not want to hear from sex workers unless they tell tales of abuse and oppression, going so far as to prevent sex workers who do not share their opinion from speaking. This new literature would not be possible without a change in the mainstream view of sex work as something to be overtly discussed, a sea change in itself. Most earlier academic work addressed sex work as deviance or a social problem to be combatted; now sex work is a bona fide area of inquiry, with less moralizing. Academic inquiries include those by sociologists such as Wendy Chapkis (1997), who examines the issues of sex work as emotional labor, and academic sex workers writing about their work, such as Jo Doezema (2001) on the white slavery narratives; Carol Queen (1997) with her more general explorations of sexuality; and L. S. Sloan's typology of exotic dancers (1997). More general feminist inquiries include feminist debates about sex work, not unlike the earlier

“pornography wars” and featuring many of the same arguments for or against sexual material and work (e.g., Bell 1987). Additionally, pragmatic public health programs working with and for sex workers have given rise to a different literature, often focusing on harm reduction for sex workers (e.g., *AIDSLink* and *HealthLink* published by the Global Health Council, an international association of health organizations).

Finally, there are also sex workers who work closely with their advocates from human rights and public health organizations. These workers not only have written about their work but also lobby for the inclusion of sex workers’ rights in legislation affecting them. These include **Paulo Longo** and Cheryl Overs, the authors of *Making Sex Work Safe*; Nury Pernia of Venezuela who lobbied the United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery; and the Network of Sex Work Projects representatives to the International AIDS Conferences, including Shane Petzer of South Africa and Australia’s Sue Metzenrath. Their contributions have been crucial in the formulation of trafficking legislation, which takes different views of sex work in different contexts.

Sex workers’ rights advocates do not present an idealized picture of sex work. They acknowledge that sex work is hard work, that it is often performed in less-than-ideal conditions, and that there are abuses within the sex industry. The primary goal of advocates of sex workers’ rights is to improve conditions and to eliminate abuse. If the industry were ideal, there would be no call for advocates of the rights of sex workers. In the view of most advocates, legal recognition of the industry is a necessary condition for any such improvement. By contrast, abolitionists seek to make the sex industry more illegal than it already is, and to prosecute and punish men involved as clients and otherwise.

This apparently irreconcilable difference masks some common ground and common interests—both sides seek to eliminate abuse, for instance, albeit by different methods. However, even the identification and promotion of common ground has proven problematic. Gail Pheterson (1996) described the “mixture of ... contempt, compassion, support and opposition” that prostitutes typically encounter from radicals.” (p. 63). This too has historical precedent. Dierdre English (1983) wrote, “[i]n the past, the community of women has often been hard on those who ‘give away’ for free—or for money—what the rest trade for love and **marriage**” (p. 480). Support that sex workers did receive from feminists tends to be conditional: Dubois and Gordon (1983) state that for prostitutes to enlist feminist support,

the catch was that the prostitutes had to agree that they were victims. The ‘white slavery’ interpretation of prostitution—that prostitutes had been forced into the business—allowed feminists to see themselves as rescuers of slaves. But if the prostitutes were not contrite, or denied the immorality of their actions, they lost their claim to the aid and sympathy of the reformers. “The big sisters of the world [want the] chance to protect the little and weaker sisters, by surrounding them with the right laws for them to obey for their own good’ [Jeannette Young Norton, “Women Builders of Civilization” in *Women’s Political Civilization*, September 1, 1913, p. 5]. (p. 38)

There have been numerous events held to debate and discuss these disparate views on prostitution and trafficking in persons and to construct a legal document supportable by each of these factions. These include a June 1999 Consultation with the United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery and a panel presentation at the United Nations Beijing Plus Five Conference in New York, June 2000, both convened and moderated by the International Movement Against Discrimination and Racism (IMADR—a Japanese nongovernmental organization), and Anti-Slavery International Students at New

York University Law School held another such event in March 2001. Each of these events included panels of presenters from various organizations representing these schools of thought followed by a question and answer period. Speakers in these fora are often determined by whom the organizers favor. For example, at the NYU event, sex worker activist Jo Weldon was removed from a panel at the request of Janice Raymond, director of the prohibitionist Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. Raymond cited Weldon's "experiential advantage" in her request to disinvite Weldon (Weldon 2001).

Sex workers' rights advocates point out that abolitionists often work for legislation that may limit women's autonomy (e.g., a new Nepalese law prohibiting women working at night), and may even be used against their own work. For example, Canadian anti-pornography legislation, drafted with the aid of Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, was ultimately used to keep Dworkin's own writing out of Canada on grounds of obscenity. The same law was used to close gay and lesbian-oriented bookshops throughout Canada, thereby promoting an essentially sexually and socially conservative agenda in the name of feminism. In this, it followed the same pattern as earlier obscenity legislation, which tended to be similarly used. The antiobscenity Comstock Act, for example, was used to prevent and prosecute distribution of birth control information in the United States after 1873.

See also Butler, Josephine; Comstock, Anthony; Legal Approaches; Purity Campaigns.

Further Readings: Baker, Elizabeth. *Technology and Women's Work*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964; Barry, Kathleen. *Female Sexual Slavery*. New York: New York University Press, 1979; Bell, Laurie, ed. *Good Girls/Bad Girls: Feminists and Sex Trade Workers Face to Face*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1987; Bishop, Ryan, and Lillian S. Robinson. *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle*. New York: Routledge, 1998; Chancer, Lynn. *Reconcilable Differences*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998; Chancer, Lynn. "Prostitution, Feminist Theory, and Ambivalence: Notes from the Sociological Underground." *Social Text* 37 (1993): 143–71; Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Doezema, Jo. "Ouch! Western Feminists' 'Wounded Attachment' to the Third-World Prostitute." *Feminist Review*, no. 67 (2001): 16–38; DuBois, Ellen Carol, and Linda Gordon. "Seeking Ecstasy on the Battlefield: Danger and Pleasure in Nineteenth-Century Feminist Sexual Thought." In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Carole Vance. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, pp. 31–49; Dworkin, Andrea. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Perigee, 1981; Echols, Alice. "The Taming of the Id." In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Carole Vance. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, pp. 50–72; English, Dierdre. "The Fear That Feminism Will Free Men First." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983, pp. 477–83; Freeman, Jo. "From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women's Legal Status." In *Women, Politics and Change*, ed. Louise Tilly and Patricia Gurin. New York: Russell Sage, 1990, pp. 457–81; Kempadoo, Kamala, ed. *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999; Kempadoo, Kamala, and Jo Doezema, eds. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge, 1998; Kempadoo, Kamala, ed., with Bandana Pattanaik and Jyothi Sanghera. *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2005; Kipnis, Laura. *Bound and Gagged*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999; Lim, Lin Leam, ed. *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia*. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998; Nagle, Jill, ed. *Whores and Other Feminists*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Pendleton, Eva. "Love for Sale: Queering Heterosexuality." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 73–82; Pheterson, Gail. *The Prostitution Prism*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996; Pheterson, Gail. *Vindication of the Rights of Whores*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989; Queen, Carol. *Real*

Live Nude Girl: Chronicles of Sex-Positive Culture. Seattle: Cleis, 1997; Rubin, Gayle. "Thinking Sex." In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Carole Vance. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, pp. 267–319; Sharma, Gopal. "Nepal Sets Controls on Alcohol, but Does Not Ban." Reuters, 25 August 2001; Sloan, L. M. "A Qualitative Study of Women Who Work as Topless Dancers." Unpublished diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1997; Smith, Joan. "Speaking Out against the New Prissiness." 5 March 1995; Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001; UN Consultation with UN/IGOs on Trafficking in Persons, Prostitution and the Global Sex Industry. "Trafficking in Persons and the Global Sex Industry: Need for Human Rights Framework." <http://www.imadr.org/project/petw/seminarPETW.pdf>; Vance, Carole, ed. *Pleasure and Danger*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984; Walkowitz, Judith. "Male Vice and Female Virtue." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983, pp. 419–38; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980; Weldon, Jo. "Shut Up, I Can't Hear You: What Happened at NYU March 2, 2001." <http://www.gstringsforever.com/march2.html>; Willis, Ellen. "Feminism, Moralism, and Pornography." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983, pp. 460–67; Wolf, Naomi. *Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How It Will Change the 21st Century*. New York: Random House, 1993.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

FETISHES. See **Kink; Paraphilias.**

FILMS. The many films that deal with prostitution reflect a culture's unease and obsession with sexuality. They are realizations of the fantasies that surround the act of exchanging money for sex. These films turn the audience into voyeurs as they allow viewers to experience and explore their own fears and desires in the safety of the movie theater. Early films typically focus on the negative consequences of prostitution, while later films tend to describe prostitution as a chosen profession.

In early 20th-century films, social ostracism, depression, and drinking followed by death is the described course of the prostitute's life. In the German silent film *Pandora's Box* (1929, Pabst), the enchanting dancer **Lulu** ends up murdered by **Jack the Ripper**. American **white slavery** films portrayed prostitutes as victims of duplicity, suggesting that women would never enter the profession willingly. In *Traffic in Souls* (1913, Tucker), young women are lured into prostitution by men who seek their victims among recently arrived immigrants on Ellis Island. The film, marketed as a real-life drama, invited the audience to traverse less-known sexual regions of urban life.

The hypocrisy of respectable society and the consequences of repressed desire are explored in *Anna Christie* (1930, Brown) and *Sadie Thompson* (1928, Walsh)—and its remake *Rain* (1932, Milestone)—where Gloria Swanson plays **Sadie Thompson**, a prostitute whose attempts to start a new life are thwarted by a religious fanatic. Despite its plotline, redemption remains the film's underlying theme.

During an era when films became increasingly daring, the morally strict Production Code of 1934 was the industry's attempt at self-regulation. The code forbade film content of a sexual or violent nature. Hollywood films began referring to prostitutes as showgirls, or, in the case of *From Here to Eternity* (1953, Zinnemann), as USO (United Service Organizations) workers.

European film continued to explore the depths of the human spirit through accounts of prostitution. In the Italian film *Nights of Cabiria* (1957, Fellini), the young prostitute's

daydreaming represents sustained hope in the face of poverty and despair. Loosely based on American films noir, French film *Bob Le Flambeur* (1955, Melville) includes an attempt by the main protagonist to rescue a young woman from prostitution, which ironically contributes to his own downfall.

Women's sexuality as commodity, and prostitution as economic exchange, are themes in French director Jean-Luc Godard's two films *Vivre Sa Vie* (1962) and *Two or Three Things I Know about Her* (1967). His juxtaposition of large-scale urban construction sites and depersonalized sexuality has often been interpreted as a critique of irresponsible government policies. *Belle de Jour* (1967, Buñuel) can be understood as an analysis of the bourgeois family. By initiating a double life as wife and part-time prostitute, the suppressed desires of Séverine, played by Catherine Deneuve, are given free rein and save her marriage. In the 1990s, Spanish filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar offers his female protagonists a similar space of emotional and sexual freedom among transsexual prostitutes, as in the films *Tacones Lejanos* (1991) and *Todo Sobre Mi Madre* (*All about My Mother*, 1999).

The 1960s saw a deterioration of the 1934 Code. A more humorous approach to the subject of prostitution is found in many so-called exploitation films, but also in mainstream Hollywood productions, such as *Irma La Douce* (1963, Billy Wilder). Films also present more realistic descriptions of prostitutes, often suggesting psychological reasons behind their protagonists' choices. *Midnight Cowboy* (1969, Schlesinger) is a harsh account of a naïve youngster played by Jon Voight who tries to make it as a hustler in New York. Flashbacks imply that Voight's character has been sexually abused as a child. Male prostitution has also been explored in films such as *American Gigolo* (1980, Schrader), *My Own Private Idaho* (1991, Van Sant), and the British thriller *Endgame* (2001, Wicks).

Klute (1971, Pakula) assigns agency to its protagonist Bree, a call girl played by Jane Fonda, by proposing that she finds a certain fulfillment in her chosen profession. This does not stop Donald Sutherland's character from trying to save her. The film *Taxi Driver* (1976, Scorsese) also bases its plot on the male-rescue fantasy. Nevertheless, Robert de Niro's character's obsession with a prepubescent prostitute is a manipulation and finally destruction of the same fantasy. Jodie Foster's performance as an underage prostitute is repeated by Brooke Shields in *Pretty Baby* (1978, Malle). The darker side of male sexuality is explored in *Tightrope* (1984, Tuggle), where Clint Eastwood chases a man who kills prostitutes; Eastwood's character is tempted by the very women he is meant to protect.

Despite its Cinderella-like plot, *Pretty Woman* (1990, Marshall) is matter-of-fact about the capitalist nature of prostitution. *Milk Money* (1994, Benjamin), mixes a similar fairy-tale plot with a candid account of the financial side of the trade. *Leaving Las Vegas* (1995, Figgis) avoids the stereotypical depiction of the whore-with-a-golden-heart through gritty realism and a solemn ending.

Contemporary filmmakers have explored the combination of violence and sexuality in its most extreme forms, using prostitution as the underlying theme. The Japanese film *Sada* (1998, Obayashi) tells the story of a real-life prostitute turned vengeful murderer. In the Danish film *Breaking the Waves* (1999, von Trier), Emily Watson plays a naïve woman who turns to prostitution to please her paralyzed husband and ends up severely beaten. Redemption is offered only through the film's religious overtones. Swedish film *Lilja 4-Ever* (2002, Moodysson), with its description of human **trafficking**, suggests that films have come full circle in their accounts of prostitution. No salvation, spiritual or otherwise, is presented to the Russian girl played by Oksana Akinshina, who is raped and forced into prostitution.



Brooke Shields (as Violet) and Keith Carradine (as Bellocq) in Louis Malle's 1978 film "Pretty Baby." Courtesy of Photofest.

See also Films, Cult; Films, Documentary; Films, Exploitation; French Cinema.

Further Reading: Basinger, Jeanine. *A Woman's View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women, 1930–1960*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993; Haskell, Molly. *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987; Holmlund, Christine. "Sexuality and Power in Male Doppelgänger Cinema: The Case of Clint Eastwood's *Tightrope*." *Cinema Journal* 26, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 31–42; LaSalle, Mick. *Complicated Women: Sex and Power in Pre-Code Hollywood*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Malin Lidström Brock

FILMS, CULT. Cult films are those films that develop devoted fans. They often are strange, quirky, highly stylized, occasionally with unknown actors, and most often exhibit unusual or creative camera techniques. Cult films are generally independent films that are not bound by Hollywood narrative standards or creative conventions and so are free to explore controversial topics in artistically inventive ways. Many cult films often do poorly at the box office but then develop a loyal following. Cult films freely cross genre lines and can be comedy, noir, horror, romance, or even a Western. Some of the most popular cult films are framed with themes of prostitution, such as Jesus Franco's 1976 historically based *Jack the Ripper*, which follows the crimes against prostitutes in 1890s London. Martin Scorsese's 1978 classic *Taxi Driver* explores the distorted reality of a Vietnam veteran who is darkly fascinated with the compelling blend of sex and despair along New York's 42nd Street. A similar cult classic is James Toback's 1978 film *Fingers*, starring Harvey Keitel as a budding psychopath. In 1978,

Louis Malle's *Pretty Baby* showcased prostitution from a child's perspective. The film explores the nuances of prostitution through the eyes of Violet, a child who grows up in an upscale New Orleans brothel. In 1991, Gus Van Sant wrote and directed *My Own Private Idaho*, a film that intermixes documentary footage of Seattle street kids with characters Mike (River Phoenix) and Scott (Keanu Reeves), two young male prostitutes who spend their time hustling and hooking on the streets of Portland, Oregon. The film showcases the relationship between two men from economically dissimilar backgrounds, who become united in the sex trade and in their search for love and acceptance. Though 1990's *Pretty Woman* is Hollywood's glamorized version of prostitution and prostitutes, the film has a cult-type following as a favorite modern-day Cinderella tale. Julia Robert's character Vivian is a quintessential Pygmalion with a kink, the whore with the heart of gold. In contrast, Ken Russell's 1991 film *Whore* does not pull any punches in its portrayal of prostitution. Liz is a streetwise, tough, melancholy woman who speaks directly into the camera at times to explain that sex is often about power, not lust or love. Her character is not romanticized or glamorized, and the film highlights her loneliness and victimization by her johns and her pimp. John Scott's 1993 film *True Romance* was written by Quentin Tarantino, hence its cult following. Clarence marries his hooker girlfriend, Alabama, and tries to double-cross her pimp (a memorable performance by Gary Oldman). Their relationship is rendered tender and sweet, despite her doing tricks to survive. In 1995, William Friedkin's *Jade* showcases the duplicity of the title character, Jade/Katrina, a high-priced and very specialized call girl, who leads a vanilla life as the psychiatrist wife of prominent lawyer Matt Gavin. The film is a psychological murder mystery, but the exploration of the contrast between Katrina's position as wife and her secret existence as Jade is illuminating.



Teresa Russell stars in Ken Russell's 1991 film *Whore*. Vidmark/cheap date/Tri Mark/The Kobol Collection.

See also Films; Films, Exploitation.

Further Reading: Jancovich, Mark et al., eds. *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003; Mendik, Xavier, and Graham Harper. *Umruly Pleasures: The Cult Film and Its Critics*. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2000; Peary, Danny. *Cult Movies*. New York: Gramercy, 1998.

Debbie Clare Olson

FILMS, DOCUMENTARY. Counter to the romanticized portrayal of prostitutes in Hollywood films, documentary productions about prostitution and those in the sex industry attempt to present the life of sex workers and their experiences, exploring all parameters of the industry. Documentary filmmakers chronicle various aspects of the lives of prostitutes, and some directors chose to concentrate on specific elements of the sex trade, highlighting drug use, **violence**, prostitutes' relationships with clients, and with **pimps**, and the elements of eroticism, both real and perceived. On some occasions, the documentarists' effort to record the world of prostitution rather than presenting material objectively contains elements of moral judgment or exploitation. Fenton Baily and Randy Barbató's *101 Rent Boys* (2000) is just such an exploitive look at the Santa Monica Boulevard gay skin trade. The filmmakers highlight how each of the participants collects the \$50 bill, many in various erotic ways. The film interviews 101 gay male prostitutes supposedly to document and explore life on the streets. Instead, the filmmakers reduce the men to parodies of the Hollywood kind. The film presents no unified theme but shows brief cameo-like images of the boys and men on the streets trying to survive. In contrast, Stephen Winter's *Private Shows* (1997) documents a week in the life of Christopher, a dancer and prostitute who talks openly about his life, his interactions with clients, and his hopes and dreams for the future. *Private Shows* is a poignant and more personal exploration of the humanness surrounding gay men in the sex trade.

Director Lizzie Borden's 1987 documentary-style film *Working Girls* (1987) recreates a day in the life of five women living in a Manhattan bordello. Though not a documentary, because the women are actors, the film's authentic ambiance creates the feel of real life recorded. *Working Girls* explores many of the different mythologies about prostitutes and their feelings about men and sex, as well as captures the mundane daily supervision activities of running a brothel. One of the best examples of a documentary featuring prostitutes is Martin Bell's 1985 *Streetwise*, which is a compelling film about a group of street kids in Seattle, Washington. The film features 14- and 15-year-olds whose situation and social isolation lead to prostitution as the only available means to survive.

One well-known documentary filmmaker of the sex industry is Nick Broomfield, whose *Chicken Ranch* (1983) records the life of prostitutes in a Nevada brothel. Broomfield's 1996 documentary *Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam* chronicles the life of Fleiss, who was arrested in 1995 for running a high-priced prostitution ring in Hollywood. Broomfield's *Fetishes* (1996) provides an interesting peek at the darkly erotic life within a bondage house in New York.

Notable documentaries about prostitutes from around the world include *Aparte* (2002), directed by Mario Handler; *The True Story of Linda M.* (1979), directed by Norma Bailey, and Carlos Marcovich's 1997 *¿Quién diablos es Juliette?*

See also Films.

Further Reading: Parish, James Robert. *Prostitution in Hollywood Films: Plots, Critiques, Casts, and Credits for 389 Theatrical and Made-for-Television Releases*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992; Stubbs, Liz. *Documentary Filmmakers Speak*. New York: Allworth Press, 2002.

Debbie Clare Olson

FILMS, EXPLOITATION. Exploitation films are films that exaggerate sex, **violence**, drug use, and other perceived social evils. Many exploitation films are independent films or low-budget Hollywood films from unknown directors. One of the sociological effects of exploitation films is their ability to create and then naturalize certain stereotypes, particularly for those marginalized groups who have limited access to popular media outlets. Most exploitation films are set in areas, such as the deep South or the inner city, that are as exaggerated as the characters. In Sid Melton's 1965 *Bad Girls Do Cry*, a young girl trying to be a model is forced into prostitution. Marvin Chomsky's 1977 *Little Ladies of the Night* is about a young prostitute who desperately wants to escape her pimp. And Joseph Mawra's 1964 *Olga's Girls* is an exaggerated comic escapade of a **white slavery** ring that pokes fun at bondage, **sadomasochism**, lesbians, and communism.

One of the most popular categories of exploitation film is the "blaxploitation" film of the 1970s. The phenomenon of blaxploitation films was a response to both the civil rights movement and an increasing demand by African Americans for films with black protagonists and black themes. The first blaxploitation films were produced by African Americans, such as Ossie Davis's 1970 *Cotton Comes to Harlem* and Melvin Van Peebles 1971 *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, but as their popularity grew, Hollywood entered the scene, which resulted in most blaxploitation films being written and directed by whites. Blaxploitation films generally presented black characters who were heavily exaggerated, and male blaxploitation heroes were presented as glamorized drug lords, flamboyant **pimps**, or drug-addicted, corrupt police officers. The women in blaxploitation films were generally portrayed as whores who were outlandishly dressed, crude, and for the most part, uneducated. Prostitutes and the sex industry have been easy subjects of exploitation and blaxploitation films. Gordon Parks's 1971 hit *Shaft* introduced the Hollywood version of black film and set the standard for the hypersexualized and hip urban black hero. Michael Campus's 1973 *The Mack* continued the flamboyant good-hearted



Pam Grier (as Foxy Brown) in Jack Hill's 1974 film *Foxy Brown*. Courtesy of Photofest.

pimp and whore stereotypes, as Mack fights crooked cops and rival crime lords. In Jack Hill's 1973 film *Coffy*, Pam Grier stars as a gun-toting nurse out to avenge her drug-addict younger sister. Hill followed *Coffy* in 1974 with *Foxy Brown*, also starring Grier, as a woman bent on revenge. *Foxy Brown* was the basis for Quentin Tarantino's 1997 *Jackie Brown*, a modern tribute to the blaxploitation films. In Ivan Dixon's 1972 *Trouble Man*, pimp-daddy Mr. T surrounds himself with a harem of lovely hookers. Larry Cohen's 1973 film *Black Caesar* and its sequel the following year, *Hell Up In Harlem*, highlight the rough-and-tough ghetto gangster scene. The production of blaxploitation films only lasted roughly five years, but the genre helped establish stereotypes of black prostitutes and pimps that are still prevalent in popular media.

See also Films, Cult.

Further Reading: Grant, W. R. *Post-Soul Black Cinema: Discontinuities, Innovations, and Breakpoints, 1970–1995*. New York: Routledge, 2004; Massood, Paula J. *Black City Cinema: African American Urban Experiences in Film*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003; Schaefer, Eric. "Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!": *A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Debbie Clare Olson

FIVE POINTS, NEW YORK CITY. During the 1800s, New York City's Five Points was a hotbed of prostitution and gangs. Located in lower Manhattan and created by the intersection of five streets (Anthony, Mulberry, Orange, Little Water, and Cross), it was home to Irish, German, Chinese, and Italian immigrants in addition to Jews, Christians, and recently freed African Americans. Five Points was well known throughout America and the world for its riots, drunkenness, and substandard living conditions, as well as its **brothels**, theaters, and dance halls.

In 1812 and 1813, Collect Pond, a once-popular park for leisurely walks and picnics, was drained and filled because of pollution and contamination from nearby tanneries, slaughterhouses, and breweries. The area was promptly developed and turned into New York City's newest neighborhood, the Five Points. Less than 10 years later, the wood houses and buildings began to sink and decompose from ground dampness and lack of bedrock. Middle-class residents moved out as disease and decay moved in. Living conditions in the area deteriorated as fast as the buildings, and, as a result, **crime** increased. Old buildings were turned into apartment houses to accommodate the city's growing poor. The most notable was the "Old Brewery." Many of New York City's recent immigrants settled in Five Points where they could find cheap tenements.

Life was difficult for many families and each member, including the children, needed to help out financially. Prostitution provided higher wages than other jobs available to women at the time. Many women either supplemented their income through prostitution or worked full time on the streets or in brothels. By the 1830s, prostitution in Five Points was so well known that city newspapers wrote regular articles about the "vice" and "sexual immorality" found in this neighborhood.

With the abundance of prostitution and corruption, many 19th-century moral reform societies made Five Points their primary focus for missionary visits and conversion to evangelicalism. Five Points became so notorious that over the years famous politicians and writers went on tours, some with police escorts, to witness it with their own eyes. These included **Charles Dickens**, Jacob Riis, Abraham Lincoln, Davy Crockett, Walt Whitman, and Herman Melville.

As the neighborhood changed over the decades, so did its overflowing immigrant population. Until the 1870s, Irish immigrants dominated Five Points. At one time, this relatively small neighborhood hosted the world's largest Irish population outside of Ireland. During the 1880s, thousands of Italians immigrated to the area and soon outnumbered the Irish. Chinese and Asian immigrants were the final major wave of newcomers. Each new immigrant population was discriminated against by the previous group.

In the 1890s, crime and corruption in Five Points had begun to diminish; even its infamous name was being used less frequently. Living conditions began to improve and new, more structurally secure buildings were being constructed. By the end of the 1890s, the area looked entirely different and was no longer known as America's most famous slum.

In the 1990s, the lives and stories of the people who lived in Five Points were unearthed in a major archaeological dig. A team of archaeologists and historians recovered 850,000 artifacts from the ground under present-day Chinatown and Little Italy. Most of these artifacts were destroyed on September 11, 2001.

Martin Scorsese's 2002 film, *Gangs of New York*, returned the American and international gaze to the legendary New York City neighborhood.

Further Reading: Anbinder, Tyler. *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. New York: Plume, 2002; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Stansell, Christine. *City of Women, Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Emily van der Meulen

FOAT, GINNY (1941–). Ginny Foat, born in Brooklyn, New York, as Virginia Galluzzo, became president of the California chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and was instrumental in California NOW integrating sex workers' rights into its agenda.

Foat supported a proposal for California NOW to form a task force on prostitution in 1979. This proposal came from Priscilla Alexander representing COYOTE. Alexander chaired this task force, which produced educational materials on sex workers' rights.

Foat grew up in New Paltz, New York, in a Catholic and second-generation Italian family. After her first marriage, she became pregnant from a **rape** in 1963, gave the child up for adoption, and then met and followed across the country John Sidote, her second husband of 1967. During this time, three men were murdered. Sidote claimed in the trial that Foat was directly involved in the murders and called her a gogo dancer and a loose woman. However, Sidote was a self-confessed murderer, wife beater, and alcoholic. He was diagnosed as schizoid while incarcerated and was known as jailhouse smart. Foat was acquitted in 1983 for the tire-iron bludgeoning of a middle-aged Argentinean businessman, Moises Chayo, outside of **New Orleans** in 1965. After Foat and Sidote separated, Foat ran a catering business, gained leadership positions in NOW, organized the 1979 NOW national convention, and in 1981, became the first paid full-time president of California NOW. During her trial and in her book *Never Guilty, Never Free*, she described herself as suffering from the battered wife syndrome, having internalized Cinderella myths, and following traditional stereotypes. Foat has since come out as a lesbian and worked as a legal advocate for women and for the YWCA. Her volunteer experience includes involvement with political campaigns, AIDS organizations, child welfare, and battered women. In 2003, Foat took a city council seat in Palm Springs, California.

Further Reading: Foat, Ginny. *Never Guilty, Never Free*. New York: Random House, 1985; Hawkes, Ellen. *Feminism on Trial: The Ginny Foat Case and the Future of the Women's Movement*. New York: William Morrow, 1986.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

FORCED PROSTITUTION. The distinction between “free” and “forced” prostitution, developed in feminist literature, has significantly influenced the “othering” of the prostitute in the developing world, and especially, the Asian prostitute. This distinction is a futile and unjustifiable one, yet these categories have influenced local and national legislation and attitudes, including prostitutes’ own constructions of self and identity. Stereotypes of Asian prostitutes are received as “truth” through repetition, a lack of serious research, and the negation of Asian workers’ own voices. The distorted realities created by the imposition of stereotypes and labels serve only to disempower Asian prostitutes, despite the rhetoric of feminists and AIDS programs, which ranges from the need to save these “victims” to the need for peer education and community development.

Although there is considerable debate about prostitution within feminism, the work discussed here comes from the abolitionist end of the spectrum, influenced by authors such as **Andrea Dworkin** (1987), **Catharine MacKinnon** (1987), and Kathleen Barry (1979). MacKinnon’s thesis is that all sex is prostitution and all prostitution and pornography is a violation of women’s **human rights**, since female sexuality is entirely constructed as the object of male desire. Jolin (1994, p. 70) summarizes the effect of the sexual double standard as the “desire of men to ensure promiscuity for themselves and chastity for women,” which requires “setting aside” a group of women as prostitutes. The prostitute herself is not considered as a speaking subject, and the argument would fail if she were (the existence of male and **transgender sex workers**, and female clients, is ignored). The feminist abolitionist position can be traced back to 1875 and **Josephine Butler’s** International Abolitionist Association.

Feminists theorize the patriarchal organization of society as meaning that clients must be men, an assumption that can be seen to be fundamentally flawed. Although it is evident that men are generally economically dominant, inequalities between countries and classes and increasing mobility sometimes place women in a position where they can afford to pay for sex, and in these situations, they often do. An example is the phenomenon of gigolos or “tour guides” in Indonesia. Young men are moving to tourist destinations, originally Bali’s Kuta Beach but now many other places as well, to pick up Western and Japanese women. The work is casually arranged but the men receive at least boarding and lodging, and at most, **marriage** and emigration. They form close-knit and hierarchical groups, monitoring the access of newcomers. If there is no inherent gender element to prostitution, then the argument that eliminating **patriarchy** would stop prostitution cannot hold.

As feminist arguments intend to demonstrate that patriarchy and male power are oppressing all women, they would be weakened if female prostitutes were constructed as deviant, manipulative, and self-motivated. Preferably, they are constructed as passive (silent) victims, a construction that is easier to maintain if the prostitute is “othered” by nationality or class. The prostitutes’ own voices must be negated: those who insist that they “choose” the profession are “coerced,” either by evil (but shadowy) figures such as traffickers, or, in the absence of any other excuse, by poverty. For instance, according to Images Asia (1995, 4), the choice of Burmese prostitutes in Thailand is “not truly voluntary” because of their poor backgrounds. The organization

WHISPER (Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt) also sees women's choices as illusory.

The concept that workers are "forced" by poverty is seen as untenable, because it could be applied to anyone who works for money to pay their way and/or support dependents. No other workers are expected to justify their occupation or to feel so guilty about it: "If you leave out slavery at one end and being a film star at the other, most of us don't choose our occupation. Work is a necessity" (Overs 1994, p. 120). If there is forced prostitution, it is a form of aggravated assault; however, in conditions of urban poverty, prostitution is often vital to community survival strategies. This does not mean that it is predominantly an occupation of the poorest of the poor, or that the poorest women are all prostitutes, but in general, there is a class-driven imperative whereby occupational choices tend to increase with economic status and privilege.

The argument of some prostitute activists, "A blow job is better than no job" (St. James 1987, p. 21) can be dangerous. It can support the concept of poverty as "force," with further implications that, for instance, prostitutes will practice unsafe sex for more money, prostitution is more acceptable for lower-class women than middle-class women, and that prostitutes would have to give up their own sexuality. It can be argued that most prostitutes make an informed decision, weighing a larger income against the local context of values, stigma, and so on (Murray 1991, p. 125). Sukanya Hantrakul has argued that in Thailand "the evidence of widespread involuntary forced prostitution in the country and abroad is slim. More and more prostitutes ... have shown their strong determination in stepping into the profession" (Manderson 1992, p. 467).

D. Porter has shown that poverty is not the crucial factor for Burmese migrants, because "most travelers, and especially those who cross the Thai border, do not come from the poorest ethnic groups but from Shan, lowland villages" (1997, p. 13). Most of the border crossers are men: the reality of any bus, pick-up truck, or motorcycle load is that men occupy most seats, and while some women do sex work, they are highly mobile. Studies in the West have found sex workers to come from all classes, including a high proportion of students (e.g., Perkins 1991; Fysh 1995), often moving in and out of the profession; most establishments have a high turnover of workers. Both in the West and in Asia, workers enter the industry through relatives and friends (such as a village returnee with many new possessions) and may then save to become owners and recruiters themselves. The sex workers' stake in the industry and its reproduction disproves the victimization argument.

Many Westerners supported the feminist lobby and understood the free/forced dichotomy as meaning that the lobby was not abolitionist or anti-prostitution per se, which is problematic because the blurred definitions of force (including poverty) are used to override workers' choices. If forced prostitution is understood to include all workers needing money, then it is not clear who is left in the "free" category. The free/forced prostitution dualism (linked to structure/agency and empowerment/victimization) can be seen to disguise unsupportable and reactionary moral prejudices, including racism. The same criteria are not applied to Western prostitutes, and neither are East European workers usually constructed as eroticized, passive victims, even though they are currently traveling to various parts of the world to work, often illegally under apparently unfavorable conditions.

Western prostitutes have become increasingly vocal and have even invaded academia on its own terms to challenge the anti-porn lobby, while lower-class Asian women are still imagined (and eroticized) as passive and subservient. Having lost ground at home, the anti-porn movement found a new lease of life with Asian prostitute victims, and in the absence of more accurate information, Western sex worker activists were also inclined to see Asian workers as victims.

Abolitionists have blatantly exploited a stereotype of sex tourism, child prostitution, and trafficking to encourage popular outrage about the supposed wholesale exploitation of Asian prostitutes and from there to mount an attack on all prostitution.

The idea of Asian sex workers as silent victims of Western patriarchy is being challenged. Recent research has focused on the local client base, and Asian sex workers themselves are becoming more involved in research, AIDS projects, and the international sex worker rights movement. However, there is a danger that Asian workers remain alienated even within the sex industry as a whole because of a prevailing view that they are being forced. With greater acceptance of a range of sexual practices, and more outspoken prostitutes, the whore/Madonna dichotomy is losing its relevance in the West, but the boundaries of social acceptability have moved rather than disappeared.

See also Abolitionism; Migration and Mobility; Violence.

Further Reading: Alexander, Priscilla. "Prostitution: Still a Difficult Issue for Feminists." In *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*, ed. Frederique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1987; Barry, Kathleen. *Female Sexual Slavery*. New York: New York University Press, 1979; Bell, Shannon. *Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994; Doezema, Jo. "Forced to Choose: Beyond the Voluntary v. Forced Prostitution Dichotomy." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 34–50; Dworkin, Andrea. *Intercourse*. New York: Free Press, 1987; Fysh, Geoffrey. "Sex Work, HIV and Money." MA thesis, Nepean University, Western Sydney, Australia, 1995; Hicks, R. "Women in Tourism: A Case Study of Bukit Lawang." Honors thesis, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia, 1994; Images Asia. "Burmese Women Sex Workers in Thailand." Oral Presentation for NGO Forum on Women, Beijing, China, 30 August–8 September 1995. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Images Asia, 1995; Jennaway M. "Strangers, Sex and the State in Paradise: The Engineering of Balinese Tourism and Its Economy of Pleasure." Oral presentation for the State, Sexuality and Reproduction in Asia and the Pacific Conference, Australian National University, Canberra, July 1993; Jolin, A. "On the Backs of Working Prostitutes: Feminist Theory and Prostitution Policy." *Crime & Delinquency* 40, no. 1 (January 1994): 69–83; MacKinnon, Catherine. *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987; Manderson, L. "Public Sex Performances in Patpong and Explorations of the Edges of Imagination." *Journal of Sex Research* 29, no. 4 (1992): 451–76; Murray, Alison. "Debt Bondage and Trafficking: Don't Believe the Hype." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 51–64; Murray, Alison. *No Money No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991; Murray, Alison. *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University Press, 2001; Overs, Cheryl. "Sex Work, HIV and the State: An Interview with Nel Druce." *Feminist Review* 48 (1994): 114–21; Perkins, Roberta, ed. *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 1991, pp. 133–39; Porter, D. "A Plague on the Borders: HIV, Development and Traveling Identities in the Golden Triangle." In *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. L. Manderson and M. Jolly. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997; Sloan, L. "Golden Handcuffs: Voices of Women Who Work in the Sex Trade Industry." Oral Presentation at Representing Sexualities Conference, Sydney University, Sydney, Australia, 8–10 December 1995; St. James, Margo. "The Reclamation of Whores." In *Good Girls/Bad Girls: Feminists and Sex Trade Workers Face to Face*, ed. Laurie Bell. Seattle: Seal Press, 1987.

Alison Murray

FRANCE, SECOND EMPIRE. The Second Empire in France is the name given to the period from 1852 to 1870, when France was ruled by the Emperor Napoleon III (also known as Louis Napoleon). He was both the nephew and the step-grandson of Napoleon I, whose reign is known as the First Empire.

Prostitutes, in particular those in the upper echelons, the high-class **courtesans**, flourished during the Second Empire, with the ostentatious court of Napoleon III and the high-spending men who circulated around it providing an ideal backdrop for the lavish lifestyles and expensive habits of the “*grandes horizontales*.” Louis Napoleon himself had a series of mistresses, including the English “Miss Howard,” the Italian Virginia Castiglione (commissioned by Cavour, the Prime Minister of Piedmont, to seduce the Emperor into supporting the cause of Italian unification), and the French Marguerite Bellanger, the last of his official mistresses.

Napoleon III will always be remembered for the great rebuilding project he and his Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann, put into operation: it was designed to transform Paris into a modern capital city to rival London. A program of public works and an alliance of government and private enterprise transformed the infrastructure of streets, drains, sewers, and water supply, and the physiognomy of Paris was permanently altered by the creation of new arteries, buildings, and parks. The transformed city drew visitors from all over the world, who came to enjoy the many theaters, **opera** houses, restaurants, and shops, and the new concept of the department store provided opportunities to indulge recently acquired tastes for consumer goods of all sorts. Two World Fairs, or Expositions, were held in Paris during the Second Empire, in 1855 and 1867, which did much to advertise the city to the world and to encourage this influx of visitors. Large numbers of prostitutes were also drawn to the city, particularly at the time of the 1867 Exposition, ready to profit from the many visitors who were prepared to lavish their money on the entertainments of all varieties on offer in Paris.

Paris’s resident prostitutes were subject to the French system of registration with the police, which could be entered into voluntarily or enforced following an arrest. Registration entailed compulsory medical checks and submitting to a raft of petty regulations as to what prostitutes might or might not wear and how they should ply their trade; soliciting was forbidden but was of course carried on. Some prostitutes operated from registered **brothels** or *maisons de tolérance*; others worked independently. The aim of the authorities was to control prostitution; it was accepted as a necessary part of urban life, but it should be kept invisible, particularly to “virtuous” women. The higher class of prostitute, the courtesan, escaped the need for registration by being a “kept woman,” operating from her expensively furnished apartment or house and not having to resort to selling herself openly on the streets.

The Second Empire was an age of enormous expansion: of communication, through the railway system, telegraph lines, and shipbuilding; and of scientific development and advances in fields as diverse as aluminum and margarine manufacture. It was also an age of ostentation, when the urge to compete for attention would on occasion take on ridiculous proportions. Ostentation in female **clothing** reached its apogee in the crinoline, which despite its impracticality—it made traveling difficult, it was a fire hazard, and it took up far too much room in theaters, carriages, and churches—enjoyed a long dominance. The most famous *couturier* of the Second Empire and the founder of modern Parisian *haute-couture* was Charles Frederick Worth, an Englishman. He dressed both courtesans and society women, an example of how the two “worlds”—those of the respectable and the not-so-respectable—could not always be told apart. Even Queen Victoria had dresses made by Worth.

Part of the transaction between the courtesan and her rich protector was that she was to act as a status symbol, to declare to the world that he could afford to keep an expensive mistress and that he knew how to do so in style. In the case of those who consorted with the highest class of courtesan, the *grande horizontales* or member of *la garde*, there was the cachet to be obtained in showing off that one had been chosen out of an array of suitors for the privilege of being allowed to pay for the favors of a particular woman. Courtesans enjoyed constant publicity in the press, their daily activities being tracked in newspapers, artistic periodicals, and popular journals—partly because of the restrictions placed on other areas of journalism, such as politics and religion.

There was a sense of glitter about Second Empire Paris at its zenith, accompanied by an underlying disquiet that all that glittered might not really be gold. In this era of speculation, of opportunities for investment in roads, railways, property development, and the new telegraph system, when fortunes could be made and lost within the space of a few weeks, it was considered better to spend the money one had while one still had it, and to enjoy being seen to be rich, at least for a time.

The Second Empire saw the beginning not only of modern French industry, finance, and social reform, but also of modern poetry, painting, and fiction. Official recognition of some of these developments had to wait for a later period, however. Light opera drew the crowds more than any other form of entertainment, and Jacques Offenbach triumphed with a string of operettas. More than the arts and literature, the plays, operas, and fireworks, more even than the monumental building works and the Expositions, it was the women, and particularly the women of the *demi-monde*, who were the main source of fascination for visitors to the city and who gave Second Empire Paris its lasting reputation.

The final great official spectacle of the Second Empire was the opening of the Suez Canal on November 16, 1869, the celebration of one of the greatest engineering achievements of the 19th century. The Empire ended with defeat for the French in the Franco-Prussian War and the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan in September 1870.

See also Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste.

Further Reading: Burchell, S. C. *Upstart Empire: Paris during the Brilliant Years of Louis Napoleon*. London: Macdonald, 1971; Christiansen, Rupert. *Tales of the New Babylon: Paris 1869–1875*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994; Fondation Napoleon Web site, Dedicated to the History of the First and Second Empires. www.napoleonica.org/us/na/na_fondation.html; Harsin, Jill. *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985; Price, Roger D. *Napoleon III and the Second Empire*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Richardson, Joanna. *La Vie Parisienne 1852–1870*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971.

Virginia Rounding

FRANCO, VERONICA (1546–91). Born the daughter of a retired *cortigiana*, or courtesan, Veronica Franco was a poet, polemicist, rhetorician, and courtesan in 16th-century Venice. After a failed marriage at a young age and her dowry not being returned to her, Franco became a courtesan. Her customers included many high-ranking persons, most notably King Henri III of France. She was listed in *Il Catalogo di tutte le principale et piu honorate cortigiane di Venezia*, the catalog of the most important courtesans in Venice. Her humor and verbal brilliance won her the patronage of Domenico Venier, in whose intellectual salon Franco gave speeches, read poetry, and entered into intellectual debates. Self-educated, Franco wrote two volumes of poetry, *Terze Rime* (1575)

and *Lettere familiari a diversi* (1580). Challenging the clichéd ideas of Petrarchan love poetry, Franco's poetry celebrated female sexuality, rejected female chastity and submissiveness, and argued for female superiority. The Black Death forced Franco to flee Venice, and she lost most of her wealth when her home was ransacked and looted during her absence. After the plague ended, she returned to face charges of witchcraft and whoredom. Her eloquent wit and her ability to sway the jury led to her acquittal. Franco was concerned about the plight of women, and, upon her death, left part of her estate to poor girls, and the bulk of her estate to her six children, all fathered by different men. Her life was made into the 1998 movie *Dangerous Beauty*.

Further Reading: Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Margaret Rosenthal, eds. and trans. *Veronica Franco: Poems and Selected Letters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999; Prioleau, Betsy. *Seductress: Women Who Ravished the World and Their Lost Art of Love*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003; Rosenthal, Margaret F. *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Anne Marie Fowler

FREE LOVE. The term “free love” was first used in the United States by writer Henry David Thoreau in 1842 in a poem praising spiritual freedom. Free love would exist in an ideal world and was a prominent value in the imaginations of philosophers and poets, social reformers, and radical politicians. Stephen Pearl Andrews and Josiah Warren adopted the idea for their establishment, Modern Times, a community in Long Island, New York in 1851. Although the idea had appeared previously in certain European intentional religious groups (e.g., Cathars, Saint Simonians), it entered the public arena around 1852 as a social movement in the United States after the publication of “Love vs. Marriage” by Marx Edgeworth Lazarus. He had hoped to organize The Pantarchy, a corps of free love experimenters and social activists who would regenerate the human race through “breeding on a scientific basis.” A number of social experiments were started by Robert Owen, John Humphrey Noyes, the American followers of Charles Fourier, and the Transcendentalists. The movement lasted until about 1910. The term has had a variety of meanings from committed monogamy without **marriage** to serial monogamy to asexual heterosexual relationships, or any human love relationship between two people that is not controlled by church or state.

Free love was associated with Marxism, anarchism, and French socialism. It was advocated as an alternative to the restrictive bonds of loveless marriages that were made for economic and social reasons. Thomas and Mary Gove Nichols believed that men and women should retain individual sovereignty and only unite if they were mutually attractive and compatible. Many feminists spoke passionately of the morality of free love and how the economic arrangement of marriage forced one to enter a relationship that was devoid of love. The names most associated with free love are Alexandra Kollontai (1873–1952), Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), **Victoria Woodhull** (1838–1927), and **Emma Goldman** (1869–1940). However, many other liberal and progressive writers, thinkers, politicians, and artists advanced the cause. Frances Wright (1795–1852) believed that marriage was bondage and added another term, “temporary love.” She gave lectures and edited *Free Enquirer*, a shocking and clearly uncommon activity for a woman in her period of history.

In an attempt to overthrow Victorian morality, which was restrictive to the point of being pathological, the concept of free love offered alternatives, often interpreted as promiscuity rather

than personal freedom. But the people who promoted it specifically explained how it did not encourage promiscuity. They explained that in a loveless marriage, men would look to prostitutes for love and prostitution was itself a promiscuous behavior. By endorsing free love, a man and woman would freely choose their partners and not be driven to look for love outside the relationship.

Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), the woman who introduced the concept of birth control to American society, was committed to the free love ideal, but her husband, Bill, could not handle the ideas that informed it. According to him, Greenwich Village (where they lived) was a hell-hole of free love, promiscuity, and prostitution masquerading under the mantle of revolution.

Victoria Woodhull, best known as the first woman to run for U.S. president, epitomized the 19th-century, college-educated female rebel who took matters into her own hands. She thought that if a woman entered into a sexual act without love, that the action constituted prostitution whether she was married or not. And she emphasized that the double standard allowed a man to commit adultery without damage to his reputation whereas the woman of his dalliance was often put in jail. She, like other feminists, saw blatant parallels between marriage and prostitution because both involved an exchange of sexual favors for economic gain. Although she did not approve of prostitution,

she believed that if it were legalized, syphilis and gonorrhea would more easily be controlled.

Emma Goldman, like Victoria Woodhull, wanted women to be able to experience a sexual relationship voluntarily rather than as a result of a legal or economic bond. She wrote of voluntary motherhood as well: “Few children in wedlock enjoy the care, the protection, the devotion free motherhood is capable of bestowing” (Goldman, p. 8). Both radical feminists were deeply spiritual and looked upon free love as an important moral advancement over the parasitism and dependency that marriage forced on women and economic responsibilities that were required of men.

When the birth control pill became available in the early 1960s and a second wave of feminism swept over the United States, many of the utopian ideas were rekindled. The same Marxist arguments about woman’s role were used as justification for independence outside of marriage, but free love had a different meaning. “Make love, not war” became the slogan of youth, and recreational sex characterized premarital



An engraving by Thomas Nast, “Get thee behind me, (Mrs.) Satan!” Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

behavior. The idea of commitment lost importance, and free love came to mean a woman was free to engage in sexual relationships regardless of how long they lasted or how many she chose. Again, communities were established with free love as a shared value, and, again, those communities did not survive for very long. Prostitution decreased, probably more because women were free to enter temporary sexual relationships (as men had previously) and less as a result of law enforcement or reform. There simply was no longer the need for men to pay for impersonal sex when there was free and egalitarian exchange of mutually attractive cohorts.

Further Reading: Chesler, Ellen. *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America*. New York: Anchor Books, 1992; Goldman, Emma. "Marriage and Love." <http://www.radio4all.org/redblack/books/marriageandlove.html>; Passet, Joan. *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Woman's Equality*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003; Spurlock, John. *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1860*. New York: New York University Press, 1988; Underhill, Lois B. *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull*. Bridgehampton, NY: Bridge Works, 1995.

Lana Thompson

FRENCH CINEMA. From the silent films of Jean Renoir to recent feminist movies, the depiction of prostitution in French cinema has long been a departure point for noted directors to critique their society's political and social foibles.

Although prostitution surfaces as a preoccupation in very early French cinema and the famous stage actress Sarah Bernhardt made an appearance as Camille in a silent version of Dumas's *La dame aux camélias* (1910), Renoir's adaptation of **Émile Zola's** novel *Nana* (1927) was the most ambitious, and controversial, treatment of the subject before the coming of sound. Many contemporary commentators excoriate Zola's novel for its **misogyny**, and Renoir, known as French cinema's premier humanist, did not thoroughly avoid the pitfalls of his source in revising this tale of a **courtesan** who purportedly exemplified the decadence of the later years of Napoleon III's regime. Perhaps because the ill-fated courtesan was played by Renoir's first wife, Catherine Hessling, she is in some respects less rapacious and evil than Zola's anti-heroine. Yet Renoir's portrait of a treacherous femme fatale is tinged with deep ambivalence. The same contradictions are apparent in another celebrated Renoir film (and his second sound film), *La Chienne* (*The Bitch*, 1931), that touches on prostitution. The great actor Michel Simon played Maurice Legrand, a mild-mannered cashier who is lured away from his bad-tempered wife by the charms of a young prostitute named **Lulu**. On the one hand, Renoir's view of Lulu's profession is thoroughly untainted by moralism; for the left-wing director, Legrand's escape from the constraints of marriage represents liberation from bourgeois strictures. Lulu, however, is both a predator and a victim. She steals enormous amounts of money from Legrand to finance her life with her pimp and companion, Dédé, but, despite the unquestionably pejorative reference to her in the title, it is clear that her deceit is entirely the idea of the abusive procurer.

The German-born Max Ophuls, who made many of his most important films in France, was more straightforwardly empathetic to his prostitute protagonists. The episode entitled "Maison Tellier" (based on a famous Guy de Maupassant story) in his anthology film *Le Plaisir* (1952) gently skewered hypocritical attitudes toward prostitution. When a madam and her flock close their small-town brothel for a country holiday, the male inhabitants lose all control and near-chaos is the result. They travel to the country to celebrate the First Communion of Madame

Tellier's niece; the supposedly "wanton" women (particularly Rosa, played by the French star Danielle Darrieux) delight the villagers and experience transcendent rapture during the solemn ritual. Prostitution and spectacle remain constant motifs through Ophuls's work. *Lola Montes* (1955), one of his most famous films, juxtaposes the tragic career of a famous 19th-century courtesan with scenes of her performances as a dancer and (departing from the historical record) appearances as a "fallen woman" in a circus sideshow near the end of her life.

For Jean-Luc Godard, a great admirer of both Renoir and Ophuls, prostitution became a virtual obsession because of his conviction that sexual commerce was the ideal metaphor for 20th-century capitalism and consumer culture. Godard, one of the central figures of the French New Wave, abandoned conventional narrative structures for a more essayistic approach to cinematic form. His early film, *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962) is both a virtual essay on the particularities of "The Life" (a euphemism for the sex trade used in France as well as English-speaking countries) and a film that references, with self-reflexive glee, previous cinematic depictions of prostitution. The name of the heroine, Nana (played by Godard's then-wife, Anna Karina), is obviously borrowed from Zola's novel, and Renoir's film and dialogue from *Le Plaisir* are appropriated without attribution by Godard. Divided into 12 chapters, one of *Vivre sa vie*'s most memorable sequences is an almost documentary-like meditation on the daily rituals of hooking in which Nana's pimp Raoul provides systematic answers to some of her questions concerning her job.

While Karina in *Vivre sa vie* portrays an iconic woman who meets a tragic fate that resembles, and partially parodies, the fate of the stereotypical "fallen woman" in melodramatic fiction and cinema, the metaphorical resonances of prostitution in Godard's subsequent *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know about Her*, 1966) are even more aligned to a radical critique of consumerism. Based on two articles on casual prostitution by Catherine Vimenet in the well-known French magazine *Le Nouvel observateur*, the film's protagonist, Juliette (Marina Vlady) lives in a sterile new housing development in a decidedly unpicturesque Paris neighborhood. She feels compelled to make extra money through sex work to buy consumer goods that are de rigueur for an upwardly mobile member of the working class.

Godard's biographer Colin MacCabe observed that "[P]rostitution had been one of Godard's favorite themes since his very earliest fiction, the prostitute functioning both as the most direct form of sexual exchange and as a metaphor for all forms of modern work where labor is not expended for love but for money." By the time Godard made *Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), he almost seemed to regard filmmaking itself as a more exalted form of pimping. At one point in the film, a prostitute played by Isabelle Huppert is propositioned by a man at an editing table, and, as MacCabe phrased it, is "offered . . . huge amounts of money to travel around the world doing nothing." In addition, an elaborately mechanical sex act that Huppert performs with another prostitute for the pleasure of her wealthy client is equated with the trite, formulaic nature of mainstream bourgeois cinema.

In recent years, prostitution has been taken up as a theme by a new generation of French women directors. Coline Serreau's *Chaos* (2001), for example, details, with predictable irony, a middle-class woman's attempt to adopt an Algerian prostitute and "save" her from a life of poverty. Anne Fontaine's *Nathalie* (2003) focuses on the peculiar rapport between a well-heeled woman played by Fanny Ardant and the film's eponymous prostitute (Emmauelle Béart), whom she hires to investigate the sex life of her two-timing husband.

See also Fallen Woman Trope; Films; French Literature.

Further Reading: MacCabe, Colin. *Godard: A Portrait of the Artist at Seventy*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003; Sesonske, Alexander. *Jean Renoir: The French Films, 1924–1939*.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980; White, Susan M. *The Cinema of Max Ophüls: Magisterial Vision and the Figure of Woman*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Richard Porton

FRENCH LITERATURE. The representation of prostitution in French literature is as extensive as it is complex. Fictional representations of the prostitute before the 18th century are less common, and those available tend to cover a wide semantic range of characters that includes marginalized women, “loose women,” as well as those who bartered their own bodies. Documentation of demographics and criminal, legal, and medical records particularly before the 19th century are inconsistent or unreliable, if not scarce. As a result, contemporary scholars continue to raise questions about the representation of prostitution and the lives of prostitutes throughout literary history. Writings in French from the Middle Ages about prostitution refer primarily to legal documents and edicts (which are mostly in Latin) or to biblical exegesis and variations of **Mary Magdalene**. The literature throughout the centuries in France reflects changing cultural preoccupations and social anxieties about women, power, and **patriarchy** from the Middle Ages through the 20th century.

An early legislative notice regarding punishment of prostitution is often traced to the Capitularies of Charlemagne (ca. 790). Some critics maintain, however, that the text dates to the reign of his son, Louis the Pious, and claim that generally prostitution was tolerated through the 14th century. Prostitution as a social phenomenon (meaning houses of prostitution or “farms” that required some kind of regulation or governance) came into existence with urban expansion and the growth of commerce. Archival documentation of municipal policy regarding prostitution in southern France dating as far back to ca. 1200 is pejorative in tone and banishes prostitutes from the city walls of Carcassonne. With the rise of Christian fervor during the Crusades and the development of courtly love, allusions to prostitutes and prostitution occur mainly in reference to hagiographical texts or legislative edicts.

Among the earliest literary representations of prostitutes and prostitution in French is Rutebeuf’s *La Vie de Sainte Marie l’Egyptienne* (ca. 1260). Several translations and renditions of the story, including a chapter in the *Golden Legend*, likely informed the version of the renowned satirical and lyrical poet of fabliaux. This epic of redemption traces the life of Holy Mary of Egypt through the voice of the elder Zosimas. Her narrative explains how she offered her body as means of payment for the passage to Alexandria and then to Jerusalem. Zosimas, moved by her repentance and ascetic devotion, returns years later to bury her and pray for her soul.

Christine de Pisan in *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) reflects on women’s roles at the time and maintains that all women should strive to be models of virtue and “women of good character.” Pisan refers to the parable of the reformed prostitute Saint Afra, “a foolish, immoral woman who was converted,” as an example of redemption. Pisan’s work is in part a response to the strong misogynous attitudes represented in much of the literature of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. The poet-criminal François Villon (1431–63?) mixes ribaldry with derision in his *Ballade de la grosse Margot* (*The Ballad of Fat Margot*). This hostility is reflected as well in the roles of women in the fabliaux and in male reactions to women who made a living by writing their desires and stories (such as Pisan). In the literary criticism of the time, women who wrote became another manifestation of the *fille publique* (public woman), since writing, like prostitution, is a public and commercial enterprise.

The criminalization of prostitution seems to be linked with the connection of **syphilis** to sexual contact, and most important, with religious change. During the 16th century, attitudes toward prostitution grew less tolerant and the laws more punitive. In the aftermath of Calvin-

ism and the **Protestant Reformation**, the elegant figure of the **courtesan** emerged in European society. Perhaps the less tolerant moral climate coupled with the “privatization” of the trade made prostitution a riskier business with a greater imperative for discretion. As the 17th century wore on, literary salons facilitated the circulation of literary production during the reign of Louis XIV.

The celebrated epistolière, Madame de Sévigné (1626–96), documented aristocratic French culture during the reign of the Sun King in a 50-year correspondence. Her intimate letters to her daughter illuminate a more personal perspective of the times and of individuals she knew. In a few letters, she refers to her son Charles’s liaison with the renowned courtesan Ninon de Lenclos (1620–1705).

Pierre Corneille’s 1646 tragedy *Théodore* (*Theodora*) touches on the topic of prostitution at the time of the early Byzantine Empire. Although Corneille was widely known and appreciated for his neo-classical dramas, the public’s reaction to this play was not enthusiastic, and it has remained relatively obscure.

Claudine de Tencin (1682–1749), née Guérin, began her literary career after fleeing a restricted life in a convent. Her life of amorous liaisons with men of means enabled her to hold one of the most well known literary salons that entertained such luminaries as Abbé Prévost, Pierre Marivaux, and Baron de Montesquieu, among others. She published some of her own writings, including *Les Mémoires du comte de Comminges* (1735) and *Les Malheurs de l’amour* (*The Misfortunes of Love*) (1747). Her illegitimate son, J. D’Alembert, would be recognized as one of the greatest thinkers of the Enlightenment.

The figurative association between literature and prostitution became prominent in the 18th century, perhaps because of the preponderance of erotic writings. Diderot’s *Encyclopedia* (1752), for example, offered two definitions for “prostitute”: “for a woman to give her body out of greed or libertinage” or “for a man of letters to write for money.” This metaphor is exploited further in the 19th century as prostitutes and prostitution are represented more frequently in literature and art.

Perhaps the most familiar and widely read novel that features a courtesan as its heroine is Abbé Prévost’s *Manon Lescaut* (1731). The adventures of Manon and the young des Grieux culminate in her banishment to North America. Her death in the wilds of Louisiana suggests that she cannot be recuperated in the social economy despite her love and devotion for des Grieux. Female sexual desire results in the harlot’s punishment. Prévost’s text influenced Romantic representations through the early 19th century. For example, Rousseau’s “The Loves of Milord Edouard Bromston” (1780) tells the story of a marquise who pairs her lover Lord Edouard with a prostitute, Laurette Pisana, and, like *Manon Lescaut*, ultimately underscores the prostitute’s incompatibility with reputable society.

The courtesan is frequently represented in 18th-century literature in the libertine tradition that emphasizes freedom of thought and liberty from imposed doctrine and convention. Rétif de la Bretonne formulated an agenda of reform in his 1767 *Le Pornographe ou les idées d’un honnête homme sur un projet de règlement pour les prostituées* (*The Pornographer: or A Gentleman’s Ideas on a Project for the Regulation of Prostitutes*). In the writings of Rétif, readers encounter allusions to the pox in conjunction with the prostitute’s trade—prior to this work, healthy robust courtesans are featured in most libertine literature by Crebillon fils, Prévost, and others. Rétif’s stylistic collage is a catalogue of different kinds of public women and articulates the fear of contagion and potential decline of the human race. A feminist response to some of these concerns can be interpreted in the writings of Olympe de Gouge, author of several plays and the *Declaration of*

the Rights of Women (1791)—a rejoinder to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* (1789). In addition to 17 articles that emphasize equal rights for women, the document calls for legal provision of financial assistance to women “deceived by the false promises of a man to whom they were attached.” Some biographers claim that she was a courtesan during the years before the Revolution. In her 1788 play *Le bonheur primitif de l’homme* (*The Primitive Happiness of Man*), she claimed that prostitutes were not the source of dissolute morals but rather women of society. De Gouge was guillotined in 1793 under the Reign of Terror, despite her protests that she was patriotic and contributed to the early phrases of the French Revolution.

Prostitutes and prostitution occupy a prominent space in 19th-century French literature compared with previous centuries. Beginning with the reign of Louis-Philippe, prostitutes appeared frequently in poems, cartoons, and novels. Honoré de Balzac, Eugène Sue, Charles Baudelaire, Jules Barbey d’Aureville, the Goncourt brothers, and **Émile Zola** among others, all inscribe the prostitute as a feature of modern urban life. As industrial Paris grew, so did crime and fears about social decay and moral corruption. The prostitute is represented both as an erotic yet dangerous figure in 19th-century French texts. Toward the end of the century, discourse on prostitution encompassed the threat of disease largely because of the increase in cases of syphilis.

The municipal and administrative regulation of prostitutes and their trade significantly influenced the representation of the prostitution throughout this century. According to the physician **Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet** in his 1836 *La Prostitution à Paris au XIX siècle* (*Prostitution in Paris in the 19th Century*), prostitutes and the areas they frequented constituted a threat to public safety and hygiene. The cholera epidemic of 1832 was still vivid in the minds of the inhabitants of Paris, especially among the working poor. Although Parent-Duchâtelet was not the first to compare the need to control prostitution with the necessity to contain human waste (**St. Augustine** and **Thomas Aquinas** maintained as well that without prostitution, the situation would be worse), the Parisian police saw in Parent-Duchâtelet’s proposals a partial solution to corruption and a means to regulate the lives and livelihood of prostitutes. The imposed order is reflected in the very nomenclature of the houses themselves—*maison close*, *maison de passe*, and *maison de tolérance* (expressions for **brothels** that suggest restriction and regulation)—where all prostitutes were registered and subject to regular medical examinations. This model of containment evidenced by the organization of houses of prostitution suggests an attempt to control the threat of disease, and in particular, the powerful forces of sexuality, especially female sexuality.

The literature reflects these cultural anxieties through metaphors of containment and representations of love and death. Victor Hugo’s play *Marion Delorme* (1829), inspired by the 17th-century courtesan of the same name, is an early example that coincides with the sociopolitical tensions at the time of the Restoration. Although *Hernani*, his famous Romantic milestone, marked the break with Classical traditions in 1830, *Marion Delorme* preceded this drama but was censored (for its critique of a monarch) under the reign of Charles X and was not performed until after the July Revolution of 1830. Eugène Sue’s *Les Mystères de Paris* (*The Mysteries of Paris*) (1842) and Honoré de Balzac’s *Splendeurs et Misères des Courtisanes* (*Scenes from a Courtesan’s Life or A Harlot High and Low*) (1847) linked the oppression of the working class, fear of contagion, greed and corruption of bourgeois industrialism, and urban decay with the world of the prostitute. In the works by Hugo, Sue, and Balzac, the prostitute-protagonists are noble characters, which redeems them; in each case, however, their redemption is scripted by the hand of a humanitarian author who inscribes the heroine as subversive to the social order but who

ultimately reinforces patriarchal hegemony by confining her, excluding her, or by masterminding her death.

Alexandre Dumas's heroine Margu rite Gauthier in *La Dame aux Camellias* (*Camille: Lady of the Camellias*) (1852), based on his year-long relationship with the famed courtesan **Marie Duplessis**, dramatized the redemption of the courtesan transformed by love. Dumas's narrative was a huge success but its theatrical adaptation was, like Hugo's drama, censored, only this time by the republicans. Dumas's heroine provoked reactions from various critics who either condemned her immodest lifestyle or bemoaned the dangers of novels that appeared to extol such a life. After all, Marguerite read and reread her own annotated copy of *Manon Lescaut* (as did Duplessis herself).

In the literature during and especially after the Second Empire (1852–71), narratives about prostitutes were more sexually explicit yet this sexuality was represented as dangerous. The spiritual quality and inner virtue that are characteristic of Manon and the courtesans of the Revolutionary eras (1830, 1848) disappeared as women were more frequently associated with malevolence and disease. Otherwise, as in the later narratives by Maupassant, they are depicted as helpless victims who often die of the syphilis, consumption, or another poverty-related illness. In works by writers such as Baudelaire and Barbey d'Aureville, the prostitute becomes the site of creative transformation and is intricately linked to the figure of the dandy—both are streetwalkers, both sell their work for financial gain, both lead double lives. At the same time, Baudelaire and Barbey clearly contrasted the dandy's spiritual potential with woman's carnal and immanent nature. The prostitute is represented as a marginalized deviant, but her role as commodified object is appropriated by both writers to emphasize the artist who prostitutes his work to a bourgeois public.

A refreshing contrast to these writings by men is C eleste Mogador's *Memoirs of a Courtesan in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, first published in 1854. Mogador chronicled her life from her own troubled youth, history of abuse, and entry into prostitution to her status as a courtesan and countess. The narrative is both an attempt to alter the negative image of the prostitute and a moving testimony of lived experience without the unhappy end.

Edmond and Jules de Goncourt wrote about prostitution in *La Lorette* (1853) and *Germinie Lacerteux* (1864) and Edmund published *La Fille Elisa* in 1877, which features a poor prostitute who is jailed after murdering a man who attempted to **rape** her. The concern that the Goncourts brothers voiced about social injustice and the deplorable conditions of prisons that housed prostitutes is juxtaposed with a morbid fascination with the destructive and pathological forces of urban effects on human life. In addition, J. K. Huysmans's *Marthe* (1876), Paul Alexis's *La Fin de Lucie Pellefrin* (1880),  mile Zola's *Nana* (1880), Guy de Maupassant's *Boule de suif* (1880), *La Maison Tellier* (1881), and *Le lit 29* (Bed 29) (1884) reveal the prostitute as a victim of repression and bourgeois hypocrisy yet further marginalize prostitution—and condemn the prostitute—through naturalist or positivist discourse and the rhetoric of disease. The description of Zola's *Nana* as nothing but putrefying flesh on her deathbed leaves an indelible mark on the reader's imagination. During these years when syphilis was at an apex, the policies instituted by the Parisian police to regulate women's sexuality were gradually replaced by the practices and attitudes of the medical community.

As the 20th century advanced and as social and economic changes occurred, prostitution began to decline and its literary manifestation waned as well. Works that feature a symbolic figuration of prostitution include Pierre Drieu la Rochelle's autobiographical novel, *Gilles* (1939). The protagonist's mistress is stricken with cancer (traced to her past as a prostitute)

and represents a dying France in the interwar period. Jean Paul Sartre's *La Putain respectueuse* (*The Respectful Prostitute*) (1946), which was made into a film in 1952, is an attack on American racism and reveals the prostitute as morally upstanding rather than the society in which she lives. The provocative playwright Jean Genet illustrated a similar subversion in *Le balcon* (*The Balcony*) (1956), which stages a revolt in the private fantasy world of a brothel. Genet's characters are pariahs, rejected by society, but in the context of his work, they are glorified as outcasts. Genet's autobiographical experience as a boy-prostitute perhaps intensified his contempt for bourgeois culture.

The prostitute provides a fertile space for French literary production throughout the centuries. On the whole, her fictional representation is almost entirely mediated by the male imagination and leaves readers with a biased view of male fantasies and anxieties. She remains a mythic and monumental figure at the crossroads of journalistic, legal, historical, and fictional forces resurrected and put down again and again throughout time.

See also France, Second Empire; *Grandes Horizontales*.

Further Reading: Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989; Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in the French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991; Corbin, Alain. Trans. Alan Sheridan. *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*. Cambridge, MD: Harvard University Press, 1990; Matlock, Jann. *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994; Merians, Linda, ed. *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996; Otis, Leah Lydia. *Prostitution and Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985; Roberts, Nickie. *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society*. New York: HarperCollins 1993.

Karen Humphreys

G

GARCÍA MÁRQUEZ, GABRIEL (1928–). A Colombian reporter and novelist, García Márquez won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982. In his novella *La Increíble y triste historia de la cándida Eréndira y de su abuela desalmada* (*The Incredible and Sad Tale of Innocent Eréndira and Her Heartless Grandmother*, 1972), García Márquez tells the story of the 14-year-old orphan Eréndira, forced into prostitution by her grandmother to pay for the damage caused by an accidental fire. Like García Márquez's pioneering novels *Cien años de soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*, 1967) and *El amor en los tiempos de cólera* (*Love in the Time of Cholera*, 1985), *Innocent Eréndira* is considered a work of "magical realism," a literary style characterized by realistic, unquestioning depictions of fantastic occurrences mixed with ordinary life. The grandmother prostitutes Eréndira first to the men of their village, and then, taking to the road, to entire towns and camps of soldiers. As Eréndira's fame spreads across the region, the grandmother grows rich from exploiting her. Disapproving missionaries struggle with the grandmother for control of the girl, but the grandmother renders them powerless by securing the aid of a corrupt senator. Ulises, the son of a plantation owner, falls in love with Eréndira, and, after a failed attempt at rescuing the girl, agrees to murder her grandmother. When he succeeds, Eréndira flees with the grandmother's profits, never to be seen again. Director Ruy Guerra adapted the story into a film, *Eréndira*, in 1983. García Márquez's latest novel, *Memories of My Melancholy Whores* (2005), is about an old man who has always gone to a brothel for sex and a 14-year-old prostitute with whom he falls in love.

See also Latin American Literature.

Further Reading: Gabriel García Márquez: Macondo. <http://www.themodernword.com/gabo/index.html>; Minta, Stephen. *García Márquez: Writer of Colombia*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

David Yost

GAY PROSTITUTION. See **Male Prostitution**.

GEISHA. Geisha are among the primary emblems of traditional Japanese culture. Although the line between geisha and **courtesans** has been vague since the geisha's late 18th-century emergence

(originally as male, then mostly female, entertainers), geisha have always been separate from prostitutes, and were initially prohibited from direct competition. Geisha (literally “artists”) are distinguished by their focus on traditional Japanese arts, including classical dance, singing, playing musical instruments (usually the three-stringed *shamisen*), calligraphy, flower arrangement, writing poetry, playing Go, and the tea ceremony. Although a sexual relationship may develop between a geisha and a regular patron, a geisha’s primary vocation is as a provider of atmosphere for parties (with an elegant mastery of repartee, etiquette, and games), finely modulated intimacy for individual patrons, and skillful performances for arts enthusiasts. The core of a geisha’s role is not the sale of sex but the embodiment of glamour and flirtation.

During the Edo era (1603–1867) geisha enjoyed the status of trendsetting celebrities. But along with the social transformations beginning in the latter half of the 19th century, other forms of entertainment and renown evolved—dance clubs, bars, hostesses, television,

film, and pop stars—and geisha gradually developed into curators of what is now regarded as traditional Japanese culture. Typical geisha patrons have also changed with Japan’s economic development, as pleasure-seeking business owners and men of leisure have given way to salaried executives on expense accounts. Today, geisha preserve traditional arts (similar to Kabuki theater with which geisha have always been associated), provide a rarified, slightly anachronistic social atmosphere, and, through their patronage, sustain a number of otherwise obsolete cultural industries such as traditional music and dance schools and making of wigs and kimonos.

Geisha communities in different areas and periods have had divergent practices, organization, and **terminology** and have made various adjustments in response to changes in Japanese society. Geisha who work at hot spring resorts (*onsen*), with a largely tourist clientele and higher workforce turnover, are seen by many as less focused on the arts and more likely to confer sexual favors. Urban geisha, by contrast, work through houses located in areas known as *hanamachi* (literally “flower quarters”) and generally conceive of their craft in terms of artistic expertise and social refinement. *Hanamachi* can be found in several Japanese cities, but it is mainly in **Tokyo**, Japan’s cosmopolitan capital, and **Kyoto**, the seat of traditional culture, that the geisha tradition continues to thrive. In Tokyo, a geisha will work through a house (*okiya*) but may commute to the *hanamachi* and live an otherwise-modern lifestyle, whereas in Kyoto, *geiko* (as geisha are called in Kyoto) tend toward a more organic lifestyle of residing, training, and working in the



Geisha girls. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Lady Uchitsutsu, a geisha: A series of three prints on beautiful ladies. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

hanamachi. Kyoto's five active *hanamachi*, collectively known as the Gokagai, are Gion Kobu (the largest), Pontocho (the second largest), Gion Higashi (the smallest), Miyagawacho, and Kamishiciken. Tokyo's *hanamachi* include Akasaka, Asakusa, Mukojima, Shimbashi, and Yanigibashi.

Conditions are no longer as harsh as they once were for young geisha—widespread affluence has made indenture (fairly common among impoverished families in feudal Japan) unnecessary, more opportunities exist for women in other professional spheres, and child labor and youth sexuality are more closely monitored and regulated by the government. Rather than being impelled by economic hardship, modern geisha are generally drawn to the profession out of dedication to their chosen art (such as dance or music), family ties, or attraction to the alternative professional rhythm of nighttime work and milieu of female camaraderie, which they choose over a conventional career or marriage (more than 95% of Japanese women marry). Nevertheless, becoming a geisha still requires years of training and a commitment to the traditions and rituals of geisha society (*Karyūkai*, literally the “world of flowers and willows”). A geisha's career begins with successive periods of observation and apprenticeship during which she will attend parties and absorb her older “sisters” behavior and technique. In Kyoto, where *maiko* (young apprentices) and *geiko* wear different styles of kimono, *obi* (sashes), footwear, and collars, the transition to full-fledged *geiko* status

is marked by the ceremony of *erikae*, in which a red *maiko* collar is replaced by the *geiko*'s white. Other rituals, such as *mizuage* (ritual loss of virginity), are no longer conducted. If a geisha chooses to leave the profession, for reasons such as **marriage**, a career change, or a permanent patron, she will sever her ties with the community through a ritual known as *biki iwai* in which she presents boxes of rice to mentors and colleagues—plain white rice if she plans to leave permanently, and rice mixed with red beans to signal a possible return.

See also *Ukiyo-e*; Yoshiwara.

Further Reading: Aihara, Kyoko. *Geisha*. London: Carlton Books, 1999; Cobb, Jodi. *Geisha: The Life, the Voices, the Art*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995; Dalby, Liza Carihfield. *Geisha*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983; Downer, Lesley. *Women of the Pleasure Quarters: The Secret History of the Geisha*. New York: Broadway Books, 2001; Gallagher, John. *Geisha: A Unique World of Tradition, Elegance and Art*. New York: PRC Publishing, 2003; Iwasaki, Mineko. *Geisha: A Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002; Masuda, Sayo. Trans. G. G. Rowley. *Autobiography of a Geisha*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Alex Feerst

GENTLEMEN'S CLUBS. Strip clubs are part of the adult entertainment industry (which includes print and video pornography, prostitution, massage parlors, peep shows, phone sex, and more) and are a legal venue for the consumption of "exotic dance," or striptease performances. Gentleman's clubs are the contemporary, upscale version of strip clubs, making their debut in the 1980s and catering to middle-class professional customers by offering a variety of services and providing a more all-inclusive entertainment experience. With the advent of such notorious "gentlemen's clubs" as Rick's Cabaret in Houston or Scores in New York City, in many cities there has developed a highly stratified arrangement of strip clubs in terms of luxury, status, and other distinguishing features. Whereas strip clubs were once primarily located in "red light" districts associated with **crime** and prostitution, the upscale clubs are now often quite visible and work to develop reputations for safety, comfort, and classiness. Drawing on cultural markers of status such as the provision of luxury liquors, fine dining, valet parking, and private conference rooms, upscale clubs advertise themselves as places for businessmen to entertain clients or for middle-class professionals to visit after work and "relax." Sophisticated sound and lighting equipment, multiple video screens, and multimillion dollar construction budgets help to make the glitzy environment of many contemporary strip clubs into high-tech entertainment centers. Smaller or "seedier" clubs have not disappeared, however. Instead, the clubs in any given area are categorized through their relationships to one another, and this system of relationships helps inform both the leisure experiences of the customers and the work experiences of the dancers.

Over the past several decades, strip clubs have been proliferating across the United States. According to market researchers, the number of major strip clubs nearly doubled between 1987 and 1992, and an estimate for late 1998 puts the number of clubs at around 3,000, with annual revenues ranging from \$500,000 to more than \$5 million (Hanna 1998). In major cities, convention business and high-end strip clubs have become symbiotic. Strip clubs, including upscale gentleman's clubs, are often the subject of intense public scrutiny, debate, and regulation. Efforts to distance strip clubs from their illicit associations in the public imaginary, to bill them as a legitimate form of entertainment, have become increasingly important to club owners given the opposition that has arisen with regard to exotic dance in the United States. Local ordinances have been drafted in cities across the nation to harass, limit, or eradicate venues that feature exotic dance, often citing "adverse secondary effects" such as increased crime and decreased property values in neighborhoods that house such venues as justifications. Another consistent worry in communities around the country has been that strip clubs promote prostitution, despite little evidence that this is indeed the case. A Supreme Court case in 2000, *Erie, PA, et al. v. Pap's A.M., et al.*, upheld the constitutional validity of such regulation, despite the often ambiguous and contradictory evidence for these kinds of effects and the previous legal understanding of exotic dance as a form of expression protected by the First Amendment.

See also *Stripping*.

Further Reading: Foley, Brenda. "Naked Politics: *Erie, PA v. the Kandyland Club*." *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002):1–17; Frank, Katherine. *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002; Hanna, Judith Lynne. "Undressing the First Amendment and Corsetting the Striptease Dancer." *Drama Review* 42, no. 2 (1998): 38–69; Hanna, Judith Lynne. "Toying with the Striptease Dancer and the First Amendment." *Play and Culture Studies*. Vol. 2, edited by S. Reifel. Westport, CT: Ablex, 1999.

Katherine Frank

GERMANY. See *Nazi Germany; Weimar Republic*.

GIGOLO. See *Male Prostitution*.

GLOBALIZATION. Although international trading, geographical mobility of persons, and political interdependence between countries are not new phenomena, the discussion about globalization refers to the intensification of these phenomena, especially through the "revolution" of telecommunications, of information and of the **Internet**, that have provided capitalism with new chances for quicker and more effective transactions and openings. The term "globalization" describes a number of different and sometimes heterogeneous processes. Deregulation of work, market flexibility, privatization of previous state tasks, neoliberalization of economy, and denationalization of politics are some parallel trends to globalization. The opening of the markets, the network society, the expansion of global trading and of investments, as well as the widening of the circulation of goods and services are main characteristics of globalization. At the same time, the geographical and social mobility of persons is changing, but, legally, people are far less mobile than goods and capital. These factors result in the tightening of interdependence between national states, societies, and economies, to the degree that nation-states (especially weak ones) cannot act anymore simply in the name of their own territorial sovereignty but have to consider supranational institutions and different social agents. The design of their politics and the regulation of their economies are now subjected to the transnational economic rules of global capitalism.

On the economic level, globalization in weaker countries brings forth new forms of unemployment, poor distribution of income, social polarization, hard market competition, contractualization, and cutting of social services. Full-time employment is replaced by "flexible" work projects that deregulate collective work rules, while state budgets in the fields of health, education, and security are often cut. The resulting insecurity and the work instability sometimes pushes young unemployed women, single mothers, women with low social and educational status, and migrant women in Western countries to seek economic shelter in the sex industry. Migrant prostitutes face additional discrimination problems, on the social level and even from domestic prostitutes.

In the Third World, economic globalization and the globalization of sex marketing and of prostitution have had heavy consequences. For example, in Cambodia, many sweatshops opened while a trade agreement promoted favorable conditions for production of clothing there. With the expiration of the Multi Fiber Agreement, many sweatshops have closed and many of the people formerly employed in these factories have sought alternative sources of money, including from prostitution. The numbers of people who have turned to prostitution have driven down the price of sexual services, leading to greater fiscal need for many. Many countries of the Third

World are forced—because of pressures from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank—to devote their economic resources to paying back chronic debts. Some extremely poor countries have to base their economies on foreign investments and operate as offshore states on the behalf of developed investing countries. Poor living conditions and extreme poverty, high mortality rates, the plague of HIV, or the lack of fundamental health care are some of the problems that prostitutes in the developing world face.

Human **trafficking** is part of the picture of globalization. Trafficking is essentially migration gone awry, particularly in situations in which the difficulty or absence of legal options for mobility forces determined migrants to turn to the services of people, sometimes called “traffickers,” who offer to assist them cross borders and find employment. More or less legal cartels and syndicates of organized trafficking take advantage of the social vulnerability of women in economically challenged areas such as Eastern Europe, the Balkans, **Southeast Asia**, and Africa, as well as of the limited mobility offered to people in the current construction of globalization.

See also Migration and Mobility.

Further Reading: Balko, Radley. “Sweatshops and Globalization.” A World Connected Web site <http://www.aworldconnected.org/article.php/525.html>; Sangera, Jyoti. “In the Belly of the Beast: Sex Trade, Prostitution and Globalization.” Oral Presentation to the Asia Pacific Forum on Trafficking, Bangkok, Thailand, 17–18 February 1997 http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/SAsia/repro2/jyoti_sangera.htm.

Maria Markantonatou

GOLD-DIGGERS. Although her literary roots may go back as far as Daniel Defoe’s 1722 novel *Moll Flanders*, the term “gold-digger” did not come to designate ambitious women until the 1910s. The term likely came into usage around 1915, coined by a newspaperman to describe real life gold-digger Peggy Hopkins Joyce. The first time it was used in print was probably in Avery Hopwood’s 1919 play, *The Gold Diggers*. Hopwood’s biographer described a young woman who explained to Hopwood that she and her friends used the term to defend their right to enjoy financial security that would otherwise have been unavailable. Blake, a wealthy attorney in Hopwood’s play, claims that all women are gold-diggers who begin by fleecing their fathers and continue extracting money from every man in their lives. Most definitions are less inclusive and more specific, but the claims Blake makes suggest the dependence that women had to endure. Although gold-diggers have seldom been legally defined as prostitutes, they point out one of the hypocrisies of early 20th-century culture. At a time when women were mostly dependent on husbands for security, they were discouraged from seeking husbands outside their social classes. A woman who wanted to improve her social standing had to use her body as a means of raising her status by manipulating men in a bawdy revision of Cinderella mythology.

Often the gold-digger is a woman who marries for money or accepts gifts in exchange for her company, but there are other tricks of the trade. Some might charge men with breach of promise or alienation of affection and get cozy financial settlements. In any case, if not actual sex, then the promise of sex was at the heart of all methods. To be a gold-digger, one must trade contact with one’s body in exchange for economic gain, regardless of whether that contact includes actual sex.

High points in the career of the gold-digger are found not only in Hopwood’s play but also in Anita Loos’s 1925 novel *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and in the lavish Warner Brothers musicals that began in 1929 with *Gold Diggers of Broadway* and continued throughout the 1930s with

Gold Diggers of 1933 (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1935* (1935), *Gold Diggers of 1937* (1936), and *Gold Diggers in Paris* (1938).

From her first appearance and popularity on the movie screen and in fiction, the gold-digger has met with social disapproval. In the 1920s, young vamps protested their innocence while working hard to make lucrative connections. Cautionary romance novels depicted young women reforming and marrying for love rather than money (although usually making lucrative matches). By the early 1930s, the gold-digger had become, especially in the Warner Brothers musicals, a noble and intelligent woman whose purpose was to loosen the purse strings of a foolish, selfish elite. By the mid-1930s, however, new film-production codes and legal statutes returned the gold-digger to the gutter, and scathing critiques came from all sides, including playwright Clare Boothe, whose economic and social success came in part from her own lucrative marriages. In 1939, the state of California outlawed breach of promise, alienation of affection, and “seduction of a person over legal age” lawsuits, and it also required that valuable gifts given to a fiancé must be returned to the giver if the **marriage** failed to take place.

The gold-digger, however, never went away. Since her initial appearance, the gold-digger has had appeal in popular culture and literature throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries, from Truman Capote’s Holly Golightly and popular songs by Eartha Kitt and Pearl Bailey, to multiple films starring Marilyn Monroe. From Jeanne Pruett’s “Satin Sheets” to the man-eater fantasies of male **Hip-Hop** performers such as EPMD and from the TV reality series *Joe Millionaire* to *Lady Killers* (a.k.a.: *National Lampoon’s Gold Diggers*) (2003), the gold-digger continues to be an active cultural icon.

See also *Camp Followers*.

Further Reading: “‘Gold Digging’ Ban Signed by Olson: Breach of Promise Suits Barred by Law.” *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 May 1939, pp. 1–2; Morris, Sylvia Jukes. *Rage for Fame: The Ascent of Clare Boothe Luce*. New York: Random House, 1997; Rosenblum, Constance. *Gold Digger: The Outrageous Life and Times of Peggy Hopkins Joyce*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000; Sharrar, Jack F. *Avery Hopwood: His Life and Plays*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989.

Clarence R. Slavens

GOLDMAN, EMMA (1869–1940). Anarchist Emma Goldman reframed the “problem” of prostitution with her 1917 essay, “The Traffic in Women.” Here Goldman incorporated sexual politics and anarchist theory in a way that anticipated and directly influenced queer theory some 70 years later. By framing the question of prostitution within a broader framework of worker’s and women’s rights, and campaigns for the women’s rights to practice birth control, she expanded the conversation about prostitution into a broad dialogue on **human rights**, while outlining a framework for challenging the unequal and repressive relations between the sexes, races, and classes. Goldman’s work built on the campaigns to end the **Contagious Diseases Acts**, into a critique of **marriage**, **patriarchy**, and capitalistic arrangements. For Goldman marriage was no lesser a form of prostitution than street work for women who had no other options for work. Given the lack of vocational options for women, for Goldman a working woman “would pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favors. Thus, it is merely a degree whether she sells herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men.” Given that sweatshop workers received \$6 a week, an average wage of \$280 a year, Goldman suggested, “the economic and social inferiority of women is responsible for prosti-

tution.” Thus, she argued, prostitution is “the direct result, in many cases, of insufficient compensation of honest labor.” It serves as a way out of a second-class life, as a sweatshop worker, a mistress, or a servant. Shortly afterward, the U.S. government deported her to Russia, yet not before she had outlined framework theorists would build on throughout the century.

See also Trafficking; White Slavery; Appendix document 3.

Further Reading: Goldman, Emma. “The Traffic in Women.” In *Anarchism and Other Essays*. 1917. Reprint, Garden City, NY: Dover, 1969.

Benjamin Shepard



Emma Goldman. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

GRANDES HORIZONTALES.

“*Grandes Horizontales*” was one of a number of epithets awarded to high-class **courtesans** who flourished in 19th-century Paris, particularly during the July Monarchy (1830–48) and the Second Empire (1852–70). Such women inhabited the very highest rung of prostitution. The title “*grandes horizontales*” indicated both how these women made their living—horizontally, or lying down—and how accomplished they were at it—“grand” or “great.”

Other epithets awarded to such women included “*grandes cocottes*” and “*grandes abandonnées*.” Collective expressions included “*la haute galanterie*” and “*la Haute Bicherie*” (all virtually untranslatable). The greatest of the great were also known collectively as “*La garde*” (properly used to refer to the Imperial Guard); these were the top 12 or so courtesans, the aristocracy of the *demi-monde*.

The most famous **courtesans** who could be classed among “*les Grandes Horizontales*” included Blanche d’Antigny, one of the models for novelist **Émile Zola’s** *Nana* in his novel of that name; Guilia Beneni, known as La Barucci; **Cora Pearl**, described by the publisher of her memoirs as “The English Beauty of the French Empire”; Esther Guimond; Thérèse Lachmann, who became infamous as **La Païva**; Léonide Leblanc, known as Mademoiselle Maximum; Marguerite Bellanger, the last official mistress of Napoleon III; Caroline Letessier; Alice Ozy, an actress as well as a courtesan who became a respectable bourgeoisie; Elisabeth-Céleste Vénard, known as Mogador, who began her career as a rider in a circus and a dancer at the Bal Mabille and ended it as the Countess de Chabrilion; Adèle Courtois; Constance Rezuiche;

Anna Deslion; Caroline Hassé; Rosalie Léon; the actress Hortense Schneider, particularly famed for her roles in the operettas of Offenbach; and Marie Colombier, who, like Cora Pearl, wrote her memoirs.

Whereas the lowest prostitute had to accept whatever client she could find, the “*grande horizontale*” had an almost infinite number of aspirants to choose from. On the other hand, the choice of how to live her life was constrained by the fact that the more money she had lavished on her, the more she spent and the more her expenses grew. It was often part of her side of the bargain to spend, rather than save, the money given her by a wealthy protector, for the conventions of the age demanded that the mistress of a man of the world be an ostentatious status symbol, not someone to be hidden away in a secluded apartment. Consequently, the “*horizontales*” contributed to French culture, fostering the decorative arts in the furnishing of their *hôtels* (town mansions) and country *châteaux*, and making an impact on fashion by the enormous sums they spent on outfits from such *couturiers* as Worth and Laferrière. They also lavished money on carriages and horses, on liveried grooms and servants, and on food and drink. And so the courtesan could come to depend on a high income, and then, with the inevitable ending of a particular relationship, her debts would quickly accumulate, and she would need to find an equally wealthy replacement as soon as possible. It was a lifestyle that, once embarked on, was no easier to abandon than that of the common prostitute, and few “*horizontales*” succeeded in making adequate provision for old, or even middle, age. There were exceptions to this rule, however; the most extraordinary example was La Païva, who eventually succeeded in marrying (as her third husband) a wealthy Prussian industrialist. He funded the building of her opulent and extravagantly decorated Parisian mansion, which still stands at 25 Avenue des Champs Élysées, a fine example of what constituted the tastes of a Second Empire “*grande horizontale*.”

“*Les grandes horizontales*” began to die out after the collapse of the Second Empire, such an ostentatiously expensive lifestyle no longer fitting in with prevailing social mores. The “*horizontales*” had also fallen victim to the desire of many of the French to find someone and something to blame for the humiliating defeat of the Franco-Prussian War, the subsequent Prussian occupation of parts of French territory, and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The great courtesans were easy targets to use as scapegoats, and writers in the 1870s (including the novelist Zola and the playwright Alexandre Dumas *fils*) indulged in much moralizing about the showy, shallow, and extravagant *vie Parisienne*, the title of one of Offenbach’s operettas and epitomized by the opulent and brash lifestyles of the “*grandes horizontales*.”

See also Actresses; France, Second Empire; French Literature; Scapegoating.

Further Reading: Bellanger, Marguerite. *Confessions: Mémoires anecdotiques*. Paris: Librairie Populaire, 1882; Colombier, Marie. *Mémoires: Fin d’Empire*. Paris: Flammarion, 1898; Crouch, Emma Elizabeth. *The Memoirs of Cora Pearl*. London: George Vickers, 1886; *Petit glossaire de la prostitution*. Chimères Web site www.insenses.org/chimeres/glossaire.html; Richardson, Joanna. *The Courtesans: The Demi-monde in Nineteenth-Century France*. London: Phoenix Press, 2000; Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-Century Courtesans*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Virginia Rounding

GUIDEBOOKS. Guidebooks, also known as **blue books**, chapbooks, or sporting guides, refer to directories listing prostitutes and **brothels** and are some of the earliest examples of porno-

graphic literature in Europe and the United States. At a minimum, guidebooks listed the name and address of the prostitute or brothel and were typically published for red light districts where many prostitutes and brothels were concentrated in a small area. Guidebooks from the 18th and early 19th centuries were usually more elaborate, describing the prices, specialties, and physical characteristics of the women and the features and furnishings of the houses. Guidebooks from the late 19th and early 20th centuries were more discrete, only hinting at the services offered by the prostitutes and brothels listed. Most guidebooks also carried advertisements for saloons, hotels, livery stables, restaurants, and related goods and services. When cross-referenced with city **directories** and census information, guidebooks provide valuable information about the identities and working conditions of prostitutes.

Guidebooks listing prostitutes and **courtesans** lampooned the early social registries of high society called “blue books” after the “blueblood” or good breeding of the elite. Many guidebooks were in fact titled *Blue Book*; the most well known example is the *Blue Book of Storyville in New Orleans*. Conveniently pocket-sized, usually 3 × 5 or 4 × 6 inches, guidebooks were sold for a nominal price at railroad stations, barbershops, saloons, and newsstands. Guidebooks were available for most 19th-century red light districts in the larger cities of the United States, including **New York City**, Chicago, Denver, and New Orleans. The earliest known guidebook in the United States was *Prostitution Exposed: Or a Moral Reform Directory*, published in 1839 in New York City under the nom de plume Butt Ender. One of the last guidebooks to be published was the 1915 edition of the *Blue Book* from New Orleans.

The modern incarnations of guidebooks are **Internet** Web sites such as World Sex Guide that link users to Web pages listing brothels, clubs, and escort services from around the world. Like the earliest guidebooks, these Web sites are pornographic, including pictures, streaming video, and advertisements alongside the featured descriptions and first-person reviews of brothels and clubs from New York and Nevada to **Amsterdam** and Venezuela.

Further Reading: Arceneaux, Pamela. “Guidebooks to Sin: The Blue Books of Storyville.” *Louisiana History* 28 (1987): 397–405; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.

Rachel Hays Williams

GUNSMOKE. *Gunsmoke* was a popular and long-lived radio (1952–61) and television (1955–75) “adult Western” set in Dodge City, Kansas, of the legendary Old West, circa 1880. The four main characters were U.S. Marshal Matt Dillon, sidekick Deputy Chester (and later Deputy Festus), cantankerous Doc Adams, and kind-hearted Miss Kitty Russell. The long-suffering girlfriend of Marshal Dillon, Miss Kitty was the first female character with a significant role in a television Western series. Kitty developed into a self-possessed businesswoman running her own saloon, far removed from the vulnerable prostitute of the radio series. The Miss Kitty of radio, voiced by Georgia Ellis, was obviously a saloon “girl” and prostitute, distinguished only by her friendship with Matt. In contrast, the Miss Kitty of television, portrayed by Amanda Blake, was more entrepreneur than whore, selling drinks instead of sex. On the radio, Kitty served as Matt’s confidante and lover, not-so-subtly revealed by the squeak of bedsprings. Her position was clear, as seen in the episode “Kitty” from the first season: she accompanied Matt to a dance, but the “good” people of Dodge insisted that she leave. When *Gunsmoke* made the transition from radio to television, CBS wanted the character of Kitty toned down and cleaned up to avoid offending viewers. She became part-owner of the Long Branch Saloon while the exact nature



Amanda Blake (as Kitty) on the television series “Gunsmoke.” Courtesy of Photofest.

of the relationship between Matt and Kitty was left to the imagination. She remained Matt’s confidante, but the physical side of their relationship was obscured; Matt and Kitty’s only on-air kiss—a Christmas peck on the cheek—occurred in the show’s 17th season.

See also Alcohol and Drinking Establishments.

Further Reading: Barabas, SuzAnne, and Gabor Barabas. *Gunsmoke: A Complete History and Analysis of the Legendary Broadcast Series*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990.

Rachel Hays Williams

GWYN, NELL (1650–87). Nell Gwyn was an English actress and mistress of King Charles II of England. Eleanor (Nell) Gwyn may have been the daughter of a Royalist Army Captain and granddaughter of a Canon of Christ Church Oxford, but her family background and place of birth are largely unknown. By the time of the Restoration in 1660, Nell, her elder sister Rose and their mother Helen (Eleanor) Smith Gwyn were living in Drury Lane, **London**, and working as bar maids and oyster girls. Both Rose and Nell seem to have become child prostitutes for Madam Ross, Nell becoming the kept favorite of merchant Robert Duncan, Rose leaving prostitution to marry a highwayman.

In 1663, Duncan and one of Rose’s clients, Harry Killigrew, helped Gwyn become an orange-seller at the King’s Theater, which was owned by Killigrew’s father. Orange girls were expected to be prostitutes as well as arrange liaisons between **actresses** and audience members. Gwyn,

despite being illiterate all her life, began appearing in bit parts, and under the tutelage of actors Charles Hart and John Lacey, learned to dance and developed a keen comedic gift, which made her a success in John Dryden's *Secret Love* in 1667. Consistently panned for tragic or dramatic roles, Gwyn often appeared to deliver satirical and bawdy epilogues that delighted witty Londoners. As the mistress of **John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester**, and Charles, Lord Buckhurst, Gwyn increasingly attracted the attention of King Charles II, who took her as his mistress in 1668.

Among the mistresses of Charles II, Gwyn was a favorite for her bawdy humor, unpretentiousness, and disinterest in court politics. Gwyn was generous with a wide circle of friends, including theater people such as writer Aphra Behn as well as nobles such as the king's bastard son James, Duke of Monmouth. In 1670, Gwyn gave birth to Charles II's son, Charles (made Duke of St. Albans in 1684), and in 1671 a second son, James Beauclerk (d.1680). Gwyn lived comfortably in houses in Pall Mall and Windsor, providing a secure and friendly welcome for the king, who rewarded Gwyn with generous gifts and provisions. Although apolitical, Gwyn was extremely popular with the English people, who considered her the "Protestant Whore" in contrast to the deeply disliked French Catholic Louise de Kéroüelle, and was applauded for her favors to unfortunate London petitioners.

Charles II died in 1685, and his last words were "Let not poor Nelly starve," which his brother and successor James II obeyed. Gwyn died at her Pall Mall home of a stroke on November 14, 1687, and was buried in St. Martin in the Fields, London.

Further Reading: Carlton, Charles. *Royal Mistresses*. London: Routledge, 1990; Parke, Derek. *Nell Gwyn*. Thurpp, Stroud: Sutton, 2000; Wilson, John H. *Nell Gwyn, Royal Mistress*. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1952.

Margaret Sankey

H

HABSBURG MONARCHY. When it collapsed in 1918 at the end of World War I, the Habsburg Monarchy (Austria; after 1867, Austro-Hungary) comprised territories in Central Europe that approximate contemporary Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Galician Poland, western Ukraine, Alto Adige/the Südtirol in Italy, and Transylvania in Romania. Charters and city records confirm the presence of tolerated prostitutes in this region dating from medieval times, when **brothels** were opened on the initiative of local authorities—town councilors or the nobility—because, with the taxes and rents they generated, brothels constituted a lucrative source of income. The spread of **syphilis** in Central Europe during the 16th century, however, helped close brothels in some cities and drive prostitutes to the margins of society. Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–64), a great opponent of prostitution, took energetic action against it, including founding a Morals Commission, which used strong measures in the battle against prostitution.

In the second half of the 18th century, the devoutly religious Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa (1717–80) both used the help of the Morals Commission and enacted repressive laws in an attempt to stamp out prostitution. Her reform of imperial law in 1768, the *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*, included paragraphs that threatened any prostitute who robbed her clients or infected them with syphilis with punishment that included having her head shaved and then being tarred, after which she would also be whipped before the church. During Maria Theresa's reign, some prostitutes were imprisoned or sent to lunatic asylums, and others were deported to the Banat (then the military border with the Ottoman Empire). Prostitutes were also subjected to forced medical examination and treatment.

Modern efforts to regulate prostitution in Austria date from the mid-19th century. They were in part an attempt to keep it out of public view and a response to the spread of infectious diseases in Europe, which many church and medical observers agreed was the result of an alleged increase of prostitutes in the big cities of Austria. The regulation of prostitution in the Empire during the late 19th century was a compromise between complete **prohibition** advocated by the abolitionists, which was impossible to enforce, and **decriminalization**, which was unacceptable

to much of “polite society.” Regulation was meant both to police the “immoral” behavior of lower-class women, preventing disturbance of the public sphere, and to curb the spread of venereal disease. Indeed, hygiene played a large role in officials’ concerns about prostitution. The Austrian system as it developed did not legalize prostitution but rather placed “tolerated” or “registered” prostitutes under police rather than judicial supervision.

The regulation of commercial sex in the Habsburg Monarchy, which was the provenance of the police, was based on a variety of laws governing public behavior, the earliest of which was paragraph 512 [*Kuppelei* or pandering] of the Austrian penal code of May 27, 1852. The formal regulation of prostitution in Cisleithania, the Austrian half of the Monarchy, dated from the prostitution statute of February 6, 1873, when the first health books (*Gesundheitsbücher*) were issued to registered prostitutes. Beginning in 1894, the health books included photographs of their possessors, who were compelled to appear for twice-weekly medical examinations at the hands of police doctors. The registered prostitutes who skipped their physical examinations faced fines, whereas those found to have venereal diseases could be forcibly admitted to hospitals, where they were treated with a range of “cures” that included mercury. Their fear of invasive, often painful, medical examinations, together with the belief that registration branded them in the eyes of society and the fact that many women who sold sex only part-time did not consider themselves professional prostitutes, were among the reasons women did not want to register.

In addition to her health history, the potential—or continuing—prostitute in Cisleithania had to answer a series of questions concerning personal identification and familial relations, including the consent of parents if underage (initially, 14, the youngest age of consent in continental Europe; raised to 16 in 1900, and to 18 in 1911) or husband, if married, as well as criminal status. Potentially regulated prostitutes were also asked to provide a reason for their resort to prostitution. Registered prostitutes were held to particular standards of morality. Before a prostitute could be registered and receive a health book, officials had both to be convinced that there was no way to change her assumed “immoral” character via “normal means,” and that she gravitated toward immoral life only, and not toward criminal life, including pickpocketing and fraud, which could endanger the property of her clients or provoke scandal.

Reflecting the expanding literacy of the late 19th century, practicing prostitutes read and signed a variety of forms when they registered for their “profession” and were issued a list of rules they were expected to follow to help prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Although the focus of these regulations was on the prostitute’s personal health and hygiene—cleanliness of the entire body was considered an important defense against venereal diseases—prostitutes were also informed of the symptoms on men’s genitals that were characteristic of venereal infections and advised to avoid sexual intercourse with such men.

The system of regulation of prostitutes established in Budapest was similar to that in Cisleithania, although the police in the former initially had fewer powers than in the latter. A law from October 1867 authorized the existence of regulated brothels in Pest. Regulation was meant to impose hygienic conditions, maintain some control over the practice, and levy a tax on it. When the first Statute on Brothels in unified Budapest, by then the capital of the Hungarian half of the Empire, was passed in 1885, it adopted whole cloth the regulations from 1867.

Contemporary estimates of the proportion of prostitutes in the large cities of the Empire, including Vienna, Budapest, and Prague, who placed themselves or were placed in the regulatory regime in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were about 10 percent. In these cities, some registered prostitutes lived in brothels, although the number of brothels declined toward the end of the century, because, according to contemporary commentators, of changing social structures.

In Prague, the number of tolerated, registered **brothels**, which had long been relegated to the back streets of the center of the city, in or near Josefstadt/Josefov, the former Jewish ghetto, until its thoroughgoing reconstruction in the mid-1890s, was decreasing. There had been 86 brothels in Prague after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, but the number dropped from 50 to 30 in the late 19th century; by 1907, there were only 31 left in Prague. In the 1860s, the regulated prostitutes of Budapest had been concentrated in brothels, but in 1885, 36 of the Budapest brothels were closed in an attempt to stop corruption of and diminish the power of brothel owners. Beginning in 1900, both halves of the Monarchy began to use a mixed system of regulation that included registered prostitutes in brothels and private, independent, so-called discreet, prostitutes plying their trade individually in police-approved, private dwellings. As the number of brothels decreased, the number of discreet prostitutes, who followed stipulated rules, increased. By 1907, half of the 63 registered prostitutes in the eastern province of Bukovina lived in brothels, while the others were independent. In Vienna, these prostitutes, who included dancers and bar maids, did not have to carry health books and could choose to have their twice-weekly medical examinations outside their local district. In Budapest, too, discreet prostitutes were treated with more confidentiality than were registered prostitutes in brothels.

Local officials sought to ensure that the particular houses on designated streets whose owners had obtained police permission to rent rooms to prostitutes were far from the city center. As Prague officials noted, however, neither the toleration of individual prostitutes nor the closing of brothels (in part because of complaints that brothel owners enticed innocent girls into prostitution, although there had been no case of enticement in Prague since the 1870s) had improved the morals of that city's streets. Indeed, the streets had gotten worse, not least because independent prostitutes, who constituted an "active element" in prostitution, in that they actively sought customers in their environment, rarely went about their business alone, but rather were regularly accompanied by **pimps**. Some independent prostitutes had no fixed abode; worse, still others rented space in buildings where "better" families lived. Moreover, in contrast to prostitutes in brothels, who were not permitted to call attention to themselves, independent prostitutes mixed, fully undisturbed, with the greater public.

Shortly after the turn of the century, police records reflect registered prostitutes living in brothels or practicing independently throughout Cisleithania. Cities and towns with military garrisons, universities, or large train junctions were especially likely to have prostitutes. So, too, were the spa centers, which attracted large numbers of transients. Many provincial brothels were small, often housing only two to six prostitutes. The number of brothels in a particular town did not, however, necessarily increase with population of the town.

At least some clandestine, and later, some registered prostitutes plied their trade only occasionally, often in addition to having a "decent" job. The "part-timers," many of them between 14 and 18 years old, often somewhat younger than the average age of the registered prostitutes, included vacationing domestic employees, seasonal workers, **seamstresses**, and other low-paid workers, as well as married women whose husbands could not afford their tastes. These temporary, part-time prostitutes contradicted the contemporary image of the "fallen woman," who, once outside of society, could never reenter it.

Critics of regulation in both parts of the Monarchy fulminated against the failure of regulation to control most prostitutes who practiced their trade clandestinely in large cities, where their anonymity was assured. When arrested during regular police raids or *razzias*, these nonregistered, or clandestine, prostitutes were subject to the same set of punishments as beggars and vagabonds. By the turn of the 20th century, the number of secret prostitutes ranged in the

tens of thousands. Some worked in the wine cellars of Prague, as well as in those of Galicia's two major cities, Cracow, and Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, and their suburbs. Elsewhere in Galicia, they worked in bars and inns of small towns in the countryside. In Hungary, hotel maids served as prostitutes for traveling salesmen. After 1893, there was compulsory sanitary inspection of hotels and rest houses in Budapest, and their female employees were treated as prostitutes and given regular checkups.

The effect of the different kinds of prostitutes (regulated in brothels, regulated "discreet" prostitutes, and clandestine prostitutes) on public health became a topic of increasing contestation. On the one hand, secret brothels were a particular health hazard because their owners were likely to employ quacks in the attempt to eradicate sexually transmitted diseases, while clandestine prostitutes found little reason to be examined for venereal diseases. By the late 19th century, police in the larger cities of the Monarchy regularly conducted raids on wine cellars, bars, all-night cafes, and cheap hotels, picking up women and sending them to the hospital to be examined for venereal disease. Hundreds of barmaids were examined, and many were found to have venereal diseases (the estimates of percentages of clandestine prostitutes infected with venereal disease varied wildly). Those with the worst cases of venereal infections—far worse than found in brothels, according to police reports—were sent to the hospital. On the other hand, while the registration of prostitutes limited their location geographically, registered prostitutes turned some 20 tricks a day, thus risking greater exposure to venereal infections and at the same time exposing more people to them. Indeed, by the time a brothel prostitute was discovered to have a venereal disease, she had already infected numerous clients. Police records reflect also significant **migration** of registered prostitutes from city to city throughout the Monarchy, including the failure of some of them to reregister in their new locale.

Although the cities and towns of the Monarchy in which brothels were located had rules prescribing the treatment of prostitutes by the keepers of registered brothels, many brothel keepers both provided their prostitutes deplorable living conditions and cheated them, making it difficult for the prostitutes to leave, because they became indebted to the brothel keepers. The procurers associated with independent prostitutes were alleged to be even worse than brothel keepers, however, because they often led their prostitutes to associate with the criminal world and into criminal activities.

The women who became prostitutes were subjects of heated discussion. Although young domestic servants had long been thought to be susceptible to the lure of prostitution, in the urbanizing Monarchy of the late 19th century, so, too, were the thousands of young girls who came annually from rural areas to the cities and towns in search of jobs. Some of them fell into the "wrong" hands on arrival, ending up as prostitutes. Girls from proletarian families sometimes became prostitutes because of social squalor. Young women in a variety of badly paid positions, among them chorus girls, bar maids, and those who sold matches and flowers, might also take up prostitution. These young women at risk could be found working in all night cafes, cheap hotels, taverns, wine cellars, and on dance floors, according to officials.

For both physical and moral reasons, as well as to keep registered prostitutes under the strictest medical and police supervision, officials sought to keep them away from public places, such as churches and schools, and to control their behavior. Among the varied limitations, registered prostitutes were forbidden to promenade ostentatiously along streets or squares; neither could they stroll slowly, thus inviting male attention. They were forbidden to frequent public places of amusement, dances, or balls. Moreover, prostitutes were not permitted to entice men with words, sounds, or signs, such as winks. They could not gather before their house door with other

prostitutes, nor could they walk, stand, or sit with them. In addition, they were not permitted to lean out the windows of their own or other domiciles (this was apparently a standard method of enticing clients and one the police attempted to prevent), especially if the windows were on the first floor, or if they were not fully dressed. And, both their dress and behavior were to be “decent.” Nor were prostitutes permitted to have extra lights in their rooms. View of their rooms was in any case to be entirely blocked from the street. In some cities, members of the bourgeois public protested the continuation of “unacceptable” behavior by prostitutes because of police failure to enforce the regulations.

Although brothel keepers were accused of running a white slave trade in their attempt to maintain a regular supply of new prostitutes, they appear to have obtained many of their employees through contacts with brothel keepers elsewhere in the Monarchy, primarily Galicia and Hungary (Lemberg and Budapest, the capitals of the two provinces, were alleged to have large percentages of prostitutes relative to their populations), as well as from Germany. **Trafficking** in women and girls was a problem in the Monarchy, and contemporary reports describe young women from Austro-Hungary being rescued from sex traffickers as far away as Istanbul and Buenos Aires. Representatives of Austria and Hungary were signatories of international treaties banning white slave trade in Paris in May 1904 and 1910. These treaties replaced the bilateral treaties that European countries had been concluding since the late 1880s. Central offices for monitoring the white slave trade were set up in the police headquarters of Vienna and in Budapest in 1905 and increasingly stringent measures against the practice were enacted.

Educated society in the Monarchy interpreted prostitution similarly to how the middle and upper classes elsewhere in Europe did, ascribing it to the dual traumas of industrialization and urbanization. The philosophy behind the regulation of prostitution in Austria, as elsewhere in continental Europe, was imported from France. Indeed, the discussion in Austria was couched in virtually the same terms. The Frenchman, **Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet**, whose writings on public prostitution during the first half of the 19th century strongly influenced its regulation in France, stressed the threat prostitutes posed to both the public order and to public health. Parent-Duchâtelet, who recognized that prostitution could not be eradicated, had been optimistic about the possibility of regulating it. The regulation of prostitution in the Habsburg Monarchy differed somewhat from that in Western Europe, because it occurred within the context of the devoutly Roman Catholic patriarchal, paternalistic, and bureaucratic traditions of the slowly industrializing and urbanizing Monarchy. In addition, regulation varied both regionally and locally, a legacy of the multinational state.

By the late 19th century, prostitution was the subject of ongoing conflict between the abolitionists and the regulationists, both of whom considered prostitution an evil, but who proposed conflicting solutions to the issue. The former wanted to do away with prostitution altogether, while the latter did not think irradiation of prostitution was possible, and thus sought to control it. There was increasing tension in Cisleithania between the abolitionists and the “regulationists” over whether the government should continue to regulate prostitution, if, indeed, prostitution could be regulated at all. Moreover, the Habsburg military’s concerns over reducing the rate of venereal disease among the ranks complicated the debate. Diverse organizations and political parties, including the clerical and social democratic, all took stands on prostitution but from different points of view. Discussion of prostitution also raged in contemporary medical literature, focusing on the relationship between prostitution and venereal disease. The academic-medical discussion also involved the construction of class and assumptions about gender. Both this discussion and popular discussion about prostitution incorporated aspects of ethnic identity

and **eugenics**. The choice of prostitution to earn a living was perceived to be the result of inter-related components, including heredity, family life, material and social conditions, and the environment. Opinions varied on both the cause of prostitution (for example, did someone's choice of prostitution reflect "moral" degeneration, or was it the result of capitalist economic relations?) and its ongoing existence (was it a "necessary" evil—one that provided an outlet for sexually mature men—for example, clerks, tradesmen, teachers—who could not afford to get married?).

Suggestions for countering the evils of prostitution reflected both paternalistic social concerns for the lower classes and assumptions about the helplessness of women. They included the building of inexpensive, spacious homes for workers and the providing of nurseries for their children. Although some social reformers mentioned income when considering why young women might become prostitutes, increasing female earnings was not among the suggestions made to limit prostitution. Information centers for female travelers were to be provided at train stations. Moreover, helpless, pregnant women were to be provided refuge. The lowest forms of dance halls should be limited, and the one suggestion concerning the male clients proposed diversions for male sexual excitement, in addition to moderation in the consumption of alcohol, and encouraging participation in outdoor sports and games.

The conflicting rhetoric of regulation versus **abolition** dominated discussion of prostitution during the last decades of the Monarchy. Some administrators, while acknowledging that prostitution probably could not be eradicated, since at least some men considered use of prostitutes a natural reflection of male virility and some women became prostitutes out of material need or because they sought pleasure, made primarily moral arguments against legalized prostitution. Regulation of prostitution would eventually result in the state recognizing it as something necessary and useful, in contrast to existing laws that recognized so-called legal prostitution as immoral. This "moral argument" asserted that activities that took place in the brothel were bad for both the prostitute and her clients. It reflected reformers' perception that the abuses that might—for additional payment—take place during coitus could all too easily move from the brothel to the family home. Moreover, for those men who had their first sexual experiences in brothels, such activities could lead to aberrant sexual practices. Positions on prostitution also reflected a body of legal thought developed in Europe in the 18th century: individual rights. Prostitution exemplified contradiction between prostitutes' (or anyone else's) rights to do what they wanted with their own bodies, and the rights of the collective public in both spheres of morals and hygiene. These arguments also considered the right of a bordello to be located in a particular neighborhood: its very presence was so scandalous that upstanding citizens might feel uncomfortable being in its vicinity.

The links among prostitution, class, and venereal disease made it an ongoing topic of concern for those interested in the moral and physical well-being of the next generation of the "nation." Local attitudes toward the regulation of prostitution developed against the background of imperial and international events in the last decades of the Monarchy: military concerns about dysgenic behaviors and the maintenance of military strength in an increasingly tense Europe, sex scandals that highlighted problems with the regulation of prostitution, and the ongoing negotiation of international treaties to ban white slave traffic. From the Austro-German perspective, there were assumptions about the allegedly lax morals of Slavic women. That the (helpless) female servants of many bourgeois Germans in the Bohemian lands were often Czechs aided in the spread of this stereotype. The prejudice that poor Jewish prostitutes from Eastern Europe were "dirty" was also widespread. Both of these stereotypes were reflected in a wartime letter to the Austrian Ministry of the Interior protesting the conditions on the Polish-Galician

front (where Habsburg troops had long been garrisoned and a region filled with Slavs and Jews) that resulted in numerous young recruits and officers contracting venereal diseases, which had negative consequences not only for the soldiers themselves, but for the entire society as well as future generations.

The medicalization and regulation of prostitution reflects a contemporary understanding of sexuality based on gender difference. Indeed, the regulation of prostitution exacerbated the position of prostitutes by setting them apart. Regulation branded prostitutes—most, but not all, of whom came from the lower classes—as threats both to public health and the social order. In both cases, prostitutes were presumed to require medical and police supervision. Most prostitutes in the Habsburg Monarchy, like those elsewhere in Europe, chose not to register and thus evaded supervision. Many administrators accurately concluded that regulation was ineffective in large cities, which permitted sexual anonymity.

See also Fallen Woman Trope; Riehl, Regine; White Slavery.

Further Reading: *Bericht der Österreichischen Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels über das Vereinsjahr* Vienna: Privately Printed, 1908; Finger, Ernest, and A[nton] Baumgarten. *Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in Betracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe*. Vienna: Privately Published, 1909; Forrai, Judit. "Prostitution at the Turn of the Century in Budapest." In *Civilization, Sexuality and Social Life in Historical Context: The Hidden Face of Urban Life*. Budapest: Uj-aranydíj Kft, 1996, pp. 155–62; Hügel, Franz Seraph. *Zur Geschichte, Statistik und Regelung der Prostitution Sozial-medizinische Studien in ihrer praktischen Behandlung und Anwendung auf Wien und andere Grossstädte*. Vienna: Zamarski u. Dittmarsch, 1865; Jušik, Karin J. *Auf der suche nach der Verlorenen. Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende*. Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1994; Kukla, Karel Ladislav. *Konec bahna Prahy*. Prague: Václav Svec, 1927; Lenderová, Milena. *Chtyla patrola aneb prostitute za Rakouska i Republiky*. Prague: Karolinum, 2002; Schank, Josef. *Die amtlichen Vorschriften, betreffend die Prostitution in Wien, in ihrer administrativen, sanitären und strafgerichtlichen Anwendung*. Vienna: Josef Safar, 1899; Zimmerman, Susan. "Making a Living from Disgrace: The Politics of Prostitution, Female Poverty and Urban Gender Codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860–1920." In *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, ed. Malcolm Gee et al. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1999, pp. 175–95.

Nancy M. Wingfield

HARM REDUCTION. Harm reduction is a model for policy, service delivery, and individual practice where the primary objective is to minimize the negative consequences of potentially harmful behaviors in those instances where complete elimination of harm is not a viable option. An alternative to the abolitionist and criminalization approaches, which are driven by concerns of individual and social morality and social control, it is a pragmatic, public health–based approach that relies on a range of strategies to reduce the adverse health and social consequences that are associated with high-risk behaviors. Harm reduction initiatives for sex workers seek to address commonly associated harms such as vulnerability to HIV and other **sexually transmitted infections, violence** at the hands of clients and the community, psychological distress, substance dependence, and the **occupational safety and health** hazards. Harm reduction approaches to sex work, though obviously not termed such, have a rich history dating back centuries, including being reflected in primitive form in the work of **Saint Augustine** and **Thomas Aquinas**, two of the most influential philosophers of the Middle Ages, whose writings formed the basis for much of modern Christian doctrine. Both advocated "tolerating" prostitution, though their justification was not concern with the individual worker so much as the beneficial social consequences of the availability of sex for pay.

The term “harm reduction” was first coined in the Netherlands during the early 1980s when sterile syringes were, for the first time, made available by the government to persons who inject drugs, in this instance, as an attempt to reduce the spread of hepatitis B virus. A number of sex work–specific harm reduction projects began to appear in the 1980s, and similar efforts have since been implemented across the globe. Examples include the California AIDS Prevention and Education Project (CAL-PEP), the Sex Workers Outreach Project located in New South Wales, Australia (SWOP), and Amsterdam’s *de Rode Draad* (“Red Thread”) organization.

Driven by the burgeoning HIV/AIDS pandemic, during the 1980s and 1990s harm reduction became increasingly fleshed out and vitalized as a movement that aimed to provide communities with the tools needed to minimize the risk of HIV infection, rather than insist on the cessation of all high-risk behaviors. Though reducing the risk of HIV and other infectious diseases was, early on, the primary focus of harm reduction initiatives, minimizing additional negative health, psychological, and social consequences associated with sex work were also prominent considerations. Because of its implications for health and social policy, harm reduction is inherently a political movement. It has developed out of grassroots actions that are driven by “bottom-up” initiatives, where sex workers themselves define the terms of harm reduction efforts, as opposed to a “top-down” system where various authorities dictate policies and approaches. There is no universal definition or model of a sex work–specific harm reduction approach. Instead, proponents emphasize the uniqueness of individuals and their communities and recognize that applying harm reduction principles and strategies will differ according to the needs of those in the environments where they are applied. There are, however, a number of basic tenets that underlie harm reduction, whatever form it takes.

Harm reduction is firmly rooted in pragmatism, as opposed to abstract theory, and accepts that, often, eliminating all harms associated with risky behaviors is not a realistic goal. Instead, emphasis is placed on eliminating the maximum amount of harm possible within a particular context. As a corollary, harm reduction prioritizes disease prevention and health promotion as opposed to insisting on **abstinence** from targeted behaviors as the only worthwhile outcome. Particular emphasis is placed on confronting harm and reducing risk through taking incremental steps to address risky behavioral practices. Risk is seen as occurring along a continuum from least to most harmful and emphasis is placed on addressing the most risky behaviors and conditions first and foremost when at all possible.

There are no prerequisites for accessing harm reduction services. Taking a “low-threshold” approach, individuals are treated with dignity and accepted exactly as they are, in the moment, regardless of their current behaviors or goals. Harm reduction programs do not sit back and assume that service consumers will come to them. Instead, a proactive approach is taken. This often involves outreach workers going into communities to provide education and counseling, distribute prevention supplies such as **condoms**, syringes, and first-aid kits, and offer more involved services such as infectious disease testing and medical care. Thus, individuals and communities are engaged within a harm reduction dialogue that would not otherwise occur if rigid criteria for services were imposed. This offers an opportunity for relationship building, enhances access to prevention information and materials, and serves as a vital bridge to other health and supportive services.

Harm reduction adopts a holistic, multidimensional perspective when considering the causes of, vulnerability to, and consequences of high-risk behaviors. It recognizes that risky behavior does not occur in a vacuum and is influenced by biological, psychological, social, legal, environmental, and socioeconomic factors. Accordingly, harm reduction stresses the importance

of viewing the world through the lens of the individual and community and emphasizes the primacy of subjective experience. Much like humanistic psychology, harm reduction advocates take a nonjudgmental, empathetic stance, which is considered a prerequisite for maximum impact. This functions to achieve a better understanding of the individual's world and the contexts in which particular behaviors occur. Defining what constitutes a problem is determined by the individual and marks the starting place for supportive interactions with harm reduction workers. Initiatives to reduce the potential harms associated with specific contexts will be most effective if they are driven by the needs and priorities as defined by the targeted individuals and communities. Consistent with its "bottom-up" approach, harm reduction maintains that policies and programs be developed with substantial input from those for whom they are created and efforts are enhanced when they include peers in the service delivery process.

Using these principles as a structure within which harm reduction policy and practice are developed results in a broad array of approaches depending on the relevant factors identified within a particular context. Harm reduction initiatives for high-priced indoor sex workers will differ from those for non-substance using street-based sex workers, which will be different still for **crack**-using sex workers operating out of crack houses. Similarly, applying a harm reduction approach to injection drug use will differ from applying harm reduction to **alcohol** use. In those cases of co-occurring substance use and sex work, the approach involves addressing both behaviors and their intersection, when relevant.

Harm reduction as governmental policy has become more prevalent as the movement has grown since the 1980s. A number of countries and regions have adopted harm reduction as official policy for addressing substance use and/or sex work, including Canada, Australia, New Mexico, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. In some instances, harm reduction has been erroneously tied to the legalization/**decriminalization** of sex work and/or drugs, which has further alienated elected officials and governmental entities in some parts of the world. Though advocating for legalization/decriminalization is consistent with harm reduction as many of the harms associated with sex work and drug use stem from prohibition and the criminal penalties attached to them, those advocating for harm reduction measures do not necessarily support removing all legal or regulative restrictions associated with them.

See also Abolitionism.

Further Reading: Erickson, P., D. Riley, Y. Cheung, and P. O'Hare, eds. *Harm Reduction: A New Direction for Policies and Programs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997; Harm Reduction Coalition Web site <http://www.harmreduction.org/>; Heather, N., A. Wodak, E. Nadelmann, and P. O'Hare, P., eds. *Psychoactive Drugs and Harm Reduction: From Faith to Science*. London: Whurr, 1993; Marlatt, Allan, ed. *Harm Reduction: Pragmatic Strategies for Managing High Risk Behaviors*. New York: Guilford Press, 1998; Overs, Cheryl, and Paulo Longo. *Making Sex Work Safe*. London: Russell, 1997; Sex Trade Opportunities for Risk Minimization Web site <http://www.thestormproject.org/>; Stern, L. S. *Tricks of the Trade*. Harm Reduction Coalition Web site <http://www.harmreduction.org/>.

Michael Carden

HAVANA. Prostitution and Havana, Cuba, have been tied together in the Western imagination since the 19th century, and especially during the first half of the 20th century when Havana was thought of and depicted as the whorehouse of the **Caribbean**. Although prostitution practices have undergone waves of regulation and repression, prostitution has always been a legal profession in Cuba. From the 17th to the 19th centuries, clerics and other Spanish colonials ran

brothels that sold the sexual services of underclass women and girls, often to pirates, sailors, and other nomads. During the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, prostitution flourished in Havana. City revenues grew as brothel owners and prostitutes (then termed *meretrices* or *prostitutas*) were taxed by police officers. These officers ensured that *meretrices* were registered and underwent regular medical examinations, ameliorating public concerns related to the international “social **purity movements**” common during the 19th century. With the increase of (largely American) **tourism** during the first half of the 20th century, the areas of prostitution shifted from the **ports** to hotel areas.

The revolutionary government led by Fidel Castro took power in 1959 and practically eliminated prostitution. This was part of the government’s broader goal of incorporating women into public life, and in particular, to work for the State instead of for individual men (whether as a prostitute or as a wife). During the economic crisis of the 1990s, which was initiated by the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, young women and men began capitalizing on the international demand for young, exotic bodies. Tourism became Cuba’s answer to its economic problems and thousands of young men and women from the countryside migrated to Havana illegally to make money from tourists. Although many writers and travelers call these young men and women prostitutes, within Cuba, they are called *pingueros* (from *pinga*, meaning “prick”) and *jineteras* (from *jinete*, meaning “jockey”), respectively, and do not identify as prostitutes. Although some of these young Cubans sell sex explicitly, the vast majority use traditional methods of courtship and receive dollars in a much less overt way.

Cuba has been a continual sex destination for many reasons. Cubans and other Caribbean people have been exoticized and black bodies are sometime seen as untamed, primitive, and insatiable. This is especially true in relation to representations of black and *mulata* women. Black and *mulato* men, however, are also exoticized and deemed to have abnormally large penises. Although aspects of such exotic stereotypes have prevailed through the centuries, they have continually morphed and shifted in subtle ways. Contemporary tourists in Cuba continually emphasize the “*caliente*” nature of Cubans, by which they mean that Cubans are hot-blooded, horny, and sexually excited and energetic. As these stereotypes continue to dominate representations of Cubans inside and outside of the island, performances of these stereotypes increase by sex workers who try to meet tourist expectations.

Further Reading: Cabezas, Amalia. “Discourses of Prostitution: The Case of Cuba.” In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 79–86; Fosado, Gisela. “Gay Sex Tourism, Ambiguity, and Transnational Love in Havana.” In *Cuba Transnational*, ed. Damien Fernandez. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004, pp. 201–40.

Gisela Fosado

HENRY II. Henry II (1133–89), King of England, was a cosmopolitan king with extensive holdings in France. He was an able administrator whose chief responsibility early in his reign was to undo the damage caused by his predecessor, King Stephen. His accomplishments as king were many—for example, he lay the foundation of the English jury system—but he is best remembered for his clash with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, over the separation of Church and State.

Henry was a progressive and practical king who saw the growing red light district in Bankside, Southwark, on the southern bank of the Thames River, as an untapped source of revenue. The **brothels** were situated on land owned by the Bishop of Winchester. By leasing to

those who kept the brothels, the Church had tacitly condoned prostitution. With the legislation in 1161, however, of the “Ordinances touching upon the Government of the Stewes of Southwark under direction of the Bishop of Winchester,” the 18 brothels in Bankside became the first legally condoned and regulated red light district in Western Europe.

The extensive regulations protected both prostitutes and their clients. For example, no one could detain a prostitute against her will; she was free to come and go as she pleased. Brothel keepers were not allowed to charge exorbitant rates or to solicit pregnant women, married women, or nuns. Regulations provided imprisonment for a customer who refused to pay. Prostitutes were not allowed to work if they had a venereal infection, and in an effort to cut down on the likelihood of contracting a disease, they were required to spend the entire night with a client. Fines were levied for any infractions of the regulations, and bailiffs made weekly inspections of the brothels to assure compliance.

See also Medieval Prostitution.

Further Reading: McCall, Andrew. *The Medieval Underworld*. New York: Dorset, 1979.

Clinton P. E. Atchley

HETAERA. The ancient Greek word “*hetaera*,” the feminine form of *hetairos* (“male friend”), denoted a woman who was maintained by one man, or occasionally two, in exchange for his exclusive sexual access to her; typically, she did not reside in his home. However, a *hetaera* could also be a flute player (“*auletris*”) or even a brothel worker or streetwalker (“*porne*”). Often the *hetaera* was of foreign birth, usually from eastern Greece or Asia Minor, and began her career as a slave. A passage from the Greek historian Herodotus about the famous courtesan Rhodopis describes her professional trajectory:

She was originally from Thrace, a slave of Iadmon, a Samian man of Hephaistopolis, and the fellow-slave of Aesop, the story teller.... Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, but having come to ply her trade, she was freed for a lot of money by a Mytilenian man, Charaxos, son of Scamandronymos and brother of Sappho the Melic poet.

Rhodopis remained in Egypt, and with her beauty becoming well known, made a lot of money.... Later, she desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple, and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory. So she spent the tenth part of her wealth on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would finance, and she sent them to Delphi.

As evidenced by this passage, once freed from the exclusive control of a slave owner or brothel keeper, along with the help of a patron, a **courtesan** could amass great wealth, enough to finance a public benefaction, such as a large-scale dedicatory offering or building project. The *hetaera* consorted with illustrious men and was distinguished by a famous name, as in the case of Rhodopis, “All the Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and later, the name of Archidice became a notorious subject of song throughout Hellas.”

The *hetaera* also cultivated an aura of respectability: Her activities, her partners, and her social status were often elusive and difficult to pin down. Her refined demeanor and witty conversation advertised her as a respectable woman. Literary sources speak of the attempts of procuresses to

confer respectability on their charges by referring to them euphemistically as “daughters.” Moreover, the *hetaera* depended on the generosity of her patrons, accepting gifts and providing favors, rather than participating in a crass exchange of cash.

In contrast to the streetwalker or brothel slave, the *hetaera* expected relative permanence in her relationships with men and professed fidelity to her lover. An anecdote from the Hellenistic poet Machon described the *hetaera* Mania as cohabiting with an athlete named Leontiscus “in the manner of a wedded wife”; her affair with another man, moreover, is considered an act of adultery. In the 4th-century oration *Against Neaera*, the courtesan Neaera and her lover view her cohabitation with him as an opportunity to increase their revenues: her changed status not only permits her to charge higher fees, it also provides an opportunity for extortion because her clients can potentially be charged with adultery. The expected longevity of the *hetaera*’s relationships is also seen in the practice of military consorts: according to Greek writer Xenophon, *hetaeras*, not the common prostitute (*porne*), followed the Greek army on their campaigns.

A *hetaera* could thus be difficult to distinguish from a concubine or even a common-law wife. As keeping house with a man did not invoke the privileges of citizenship, a woman in such partnerships was probably more or less accepted by the community as a common-law wife without regard for her origin. For this reason, the prosecutors of two surviving orations that dealt directly with women of questionable sexual status had difficulty providing direct proof of their prostitution activities.

In the Athenian courts, however, the keeping of a *hetaera* suggested not only depravity but also prodigality as such relationships could be expensive, presumably quite a bit more than patronizing **brothels**. In one inheritance dispute, a speaker castigated his opponent for keeping a citizen woman as his *hetaera*, whose freedom he has purchased, instead of a lawful wife. Her expensive taste in jewelry and clothing illustrates the prohibitive cost involved in keeping a *hetaera*, and the prodigality of their paramours. Similarly, *hetaeras* are often depicted as profligate in Attic oratory: to wit, an alleged male prostitute Timarchus is said to have squandered the wages of his prostitution on female flute players and *hetaeras*.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998; Kurke, Leslie. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999; McClure, Laura. *Courtesans at the Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Laura McClure

HIJRA. See **Transgender Sex Workers**.

HIP-HOP. Pimping as a theme in hip-hop music has been around since the mid-1980s, beginning with songs such as Too Short’s “Mack Attack” and Ice-T’s “Somebody Gotta Do It (Pimpin’ Ain’t Easy).” (Ice-T, who took his name from pimp-turned-writer Iceberg Slim, has the distinction of being the only high-profile rapper who claims to have actual experience in “the game.”)

By the late 1990s, hip-hop had seen its market share of all music purchased in the United States steadily grow every year. With rap songs regularly topping the *Billboard* pop chart and hip-hop otherwise infiltrating every corner of pop culture, many cultural critics began voicing concern that as the increasingly consolidated music industry expertly marketed hip-hop to teens of all races, the genre was moving ever further from its roots as an expression of the social realities of black and Latino urban youth. What had previously been a meaningful source of

empowerment for those youth, they argued, was becoming homogenized and gutted of its political potential by the demands of what sells best in the American marketplace. And what sold phenomenally well in hip-hop at the turn of the century was pimping.

The pervasiveness of pimp imagery in mainstream hip-hop made it seem like a relatively harmless element of the hedonistic hypermasculinity that dominated rap music's image at the time—Jay-Z's 2000 hit single "Big Pimpin'" is a perfect example. Like the **pimps** glorified in 1970s blaxploitation films such as *Superfly* and *The Mack*, the rapper—in the role of the pimp—is portrayed in his songs and videos as the ultimate hustler.

Thanks largely to documentaries such as HBO's *Pimps Up, Ho's Down* series and the Hughes brothers' *American Pimp*, real and former pimps have become hip-hop celebrities themselves in recent years; none more so than self-proclaimed "king of pimps" Bishop Don Magic Juan, who has toured with Snoop Dogg as a member of his entourage and is featured in the remix version and video of 50 Cent's 2003 Top 10 hit "P.I.M.P." Though Juan is always shown in full pimp regalia—matching suit, sunglasses, and wide-brimmed hat, gator shoes, towering diamond-and-gold rings, chalice—the rappers he appears alongside of do not intend to portray him as a silly caricature. Rather, they mean to honor a pimp of Juan's stature for having mastered the pimp game, which they often liken to the "rap game."

Aside from a few female rappers (Lil' Kim, Foxy Brown) who have songs in which they assume a hustler persona, women generally have not fared as well in hip-hop's male-centered fantasy of economic power and sexual control. They are abstractly defined in song lyrics as sexually pliable, gold-digging "hos" who can be easily replaced or dismissed. And in the music videos that accompany the songs, they are presented as gyrating, (almost always) bikini-clad nymphets who adorn the rappers.

For as long as rappers have been using the words *bitch* and *ho* in their songs, hip-hop has drawn criticism for irresponsibly glorifying sexual degradation and exploitation of women. Defenders of hip-hop's pimping fixation, on the other hand, say that it actually has very little to do with prostitution; it is more about style—a way of walking, talking, acting, and dressing that signifies swagger and self-confidence. Besides the obvious affinity rappers have with pimps because both earn their living from their wit, guile, and dexterous use of language, the pimp figure is romanticized in hip-hop for what he represents: a black, urban antihero. He is at once a mythic American outlaw existing totally outside mainstream notions of respectability and American capitalism personified: the entrepreneurial spirit and egotistical pursuit of financial success.

See also Films, Exploitation; Gold-Diggers.

Further Reading: Brown, Cecil. *Stagolee Shot Billy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003; Queeley, Andrea. "Hip Hop and the Aesthetics of Criminalization." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 5, no. 1 (2003): 1–14; Slim, Iceberg. *Pimp: The Story of My Life*. Reprint, Los Angeles: Holloway House, 1987; Watkins, S. Craig. *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Popular Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2005.

Catherine Davis

HIV INTERVENTIONS FOR LONG-DISTANCE TRUCKERS IN INDIA. The truckers' community is mobile, and in India, it is considered as a major component in the transmission of HIV across regions. Most truckers are contracted to work on the truck for a specific period of

time and within a specific geographical area. In India, the quantum of surface cargo transported via roadways versus the railways is approximately 70 percent of the total. On an average, a long-distance journey entails a maximum of 300 miles per day at an average speed of 36 miles per hour. The longest journey (Srinagar to Madras) is 1680 miles with two drivers continuously driving. This takes approximately 12 days.

The job entails days away from home and a lonely existence. The fact that truckers are mostly from the sexually active age group and are known to access sex on the highways has put them into a category of high-risk populations. Targeted interventions with truckers, along with sex workers, men who have sex with men and street children have formed the backbone of many a prevention strategy in India.

This becomes a difficult task as far as the truckers are concerned because outreach on the highways can be difficult and sometimes fruitless. The truckers are so mobile, and the challenges for outreach workers include this mobility and illiteracy, and, language and cultural barriers. Interventions are further challenged by the fact that repeated contacts are not possible, time available to deliver the message is limited, and the trucker community is reacting badly to being focused on as a high-risk population, thus shunning outreach workers.

Truckers and Sex Workers

The highways in India are dotted with kiosks called *dhabas*, which provide food, alcohol, and company when needed. The owners of these *dhabas* are mainly men who hire a woman to take care of the prostitutes. Most of the girls and women are on contract and pay a small sum to do business in the *dhabas*. Some *dhabas* function as **brothels** but most are small eating houses that provide the additional services of sex workers for the truckers. Truckers are among the best clients of women in prostitution because they pay well and are the least violent. Barring regular clients, they constitute a major chunk of customers for women in prostitution, be it in the brothels (after the delivery of goods at the wholesale market) or on the highways. Women have a keen understanding of the habits of transport workers and are experienced in handling the various categories of drivers and cleaners.

In the late 1990s, when HIV prevention programs in SANGRAM, a nongovernmental organization from rural western Maharashtra, widened its gaze beyond sex workers to include their clients, truck drivers were too obvious a sight to be missed. They include the long-haul, cross-country truckers who ply the national highways around Sangli and the local truckers who cart local produce along the state highways. Truckers wait a day as the trucks are loaded and unloaded—a day that is a chance to relax and very often to buy sexual services.

In 2000, Veshya Anyay Mukti Parishad (Women in Prostitution against Injustice) (VAMP) started a program to convince truck drivers (and other transport workers) to treat **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) and prevent HIV. The program was shaped by two factors. One, it was a challenge to work with truckers, with whom they were already on the inside track. Women in prostitution thought they would run an effective program for truckers, because they knew their habits and

Jaanam, take care

It is the weekly animal bazaar on the Sangli-Maraj route. Shevanta, a sex worker, is demonstrating condom use to a group of embarrassed truckers. "*Jaanam, jara zapun,*" (dearest, take care), she says mock-sexually, repeating a recent anti-AIDS slogan. The VAMP (Veshya Anyay Mukti Parishad—Women in Prostitution against Injustice) educators burst into peals of laughter as the truckers start blushing.

behavior patterns. Two, many women wanted to leave prostitution, and were looking for spaces that could absorb them.

The truckers' program is built around the core idea of peer intervention—empowering individuals to prevent STIs, including HIV/AIDS. VAMP's strategy aims to build the self-worth and dignity of truckers. One way to connect with a trucker is through the time-tested tactic of friendship. Befriending truckers is fairly easy, because their routes are fairly regular, and it is important in a transitional lifestyle marked by long, empty patches.

VAMP's workers reach out to truckers at *dhabas* where they stop for meals, vegetable and animal markets where they unload produce, and industrial complexes dotting the Sangli-Miraj area. They talk to them about life on the road, the journey, relationships back home. Somewhere in the conversation, a small space opens up into which a mention of HIV can be slipped in. Talking to truckers about sex between men is an important aspect of this program, because many truck drivers have sex with the cleaners who accompany them.

Outreach workers also provide treatment access to truckers with STIs or HIV. A mobile clinic visits ten sites in Sangli and on National Highway four, everyday. The clinic is staffed by a physician and a counselor and has facilities to examine and treat patients for STIs and opportunistic infections. Other villagers and migrants along its route sometimes use the clinic, which also distributes **condoms** and provides information on HIV.

Further Reading: Goud, Ramesh. "Annual Report of SOS Foundation." Nashik, India, 2003; SANGRAM Annual Report 2004. Sangli, India; "Of Veshyas, Vamps, Whores and Women Point of View and SANGRAM." Report 2005. Sangli, India.

Meena Saraswati Seshu

HIV/AIDS AND THE PROSTITUTES' RIGHTS MOVEMENT. The prostitutes' rights movement was underway before the onset of the HIV epidemic. **Feminism** was the background to the onset of sex workers organizing in the many countries in the 1980s, although feminism and sex work have always had a tense coexistence. The goals of the nascent prostitutes rights movement in the United States, Canada, Australia/New Zealand, and several Western European countries included achieving better working conditions and stopping **violence** and police abuse, primarily through the **decriminalization** of prostitution and other policy change. In the 1970s, sex workers formed the Prostitutes Collective of Victoria in Australia, **COYOTE** (Cast Off Your Old Tired Ethics) in California, and Prostitutes of New York (PONY). Prostitutes in Lyon, France, called a strike and occupied a church in 1975. Feminism was a major topic at the first World Whores' Congress in 1985. By the second Whores' Congress one year later, feminism was eclipsed by HIV/AIDS. This marked an important turning point in the history of the movement, which was to expand rapidly to sex workers in developing countries and to male and **transgender sex workers** and see a shift in the emphasis from women's rights to health and **human rights**.

The onset of the AIDS epidemic led to the acceptance of condom use throughout the industry in many industrialized democracies. Australian sex worker leaders described **condoms** as the "hard hats" of the sex industry. However, in much of the developing world, the conditions that render sex workers vulnerable to HIV were in place and prevention programs did not reach men well enough to significantly reduce demand for unprotected commercial sex. As a result, HIV affects large numbers of male, female, and transgender sex workers globally today.

Even in those areas most affected by HIV, health may not be the most pressing issue for sex workers. **Stigma**, social exclusion, **rape** and **violence**, and poverty are all universal features of the local and international sex worker organizations.

HIV/AIDS relief efforts created new energy for the sex workers' rights movement by creating funding streams that fostered the development of organizations that work with sex workers, and in some cases, are run by sex workers. Perhaps equally important, the rights-based and inclusive approach of the Global Programme on AIDS (GPA) at the **World Health Organization** led by Jonathan Mann at the outset of the pandemic ensured that prostitutes had a role in planning the global response to HIV. The new term "sex worker," which had been coined two years earlier by U.S. activist **Carol Leigh** (a. k.a. **Scarlot Harlot**) first appeared in GPA documents as a result of the presence in GPA of Priscilla Alexander, U.S. activist and editor of **Sex Work**. From there, it came into common usage, including throughout the developing world, and is now a permanent fixture in several languages.

Although funding has enabled some strong organizations to make great strides, it has also led to divisions. Sex workers have rarely had control of such funds, as they are usually distributed by an organization above them. Sex workers and their organizations are marginalized within granting agencies and governments, and sex worker organizations may be beholden to their donors or compromised by funding policies promoting **abstinence** and **abolitionism**. Furthermore, where HIV prevention funds are limited to providing information about HIV and **condoms**, they fail to address the factors that make sex workers vulnerable and those that are of most importance to sex workers. U. S. government policy in 2004 deliberately set out to stop HIV funding for programs to reduce sex workers' vulnerability by promoting their human rights. Some responses to the AIDS pandemic have galvanized the sex workers' rights movement, not by supporting sex workers, but instead by generating a backlash against discriminatory and dangerous policies. The Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP) was founded in 1991 by **Paulo Longo** and Cheryl Overs to promote the health and human rights of sex workers around the world. Since then, regional networks have become established in Asia and the Pacific (APNSW), Latin America (Redtrabsex), and Europe (EPNSW). There are nascent networks in the **Caribbean** and Africa and several large sex work projects. National networks are highly active advocates. The APNSW includes some of the most well-regarded projects, such as the **Sonagachi Project**. Sonagachi has instituted sex worker "**melas**"—(cultural festivals)—in India. APNSW members have called for the recognition of March 3 as International Sex Workers Day, just before International Women's Day. Sonagachi, with more than 60,000 members, is a movement in itself.

The NSWP is primarily an activist organization that has organized many campaigns on rights issues around the world. In 2002 at the International HIV/AIDS Conference held in Barcelona, sex workers from 16 countries protested the implementation of 100% Condom Use Programs in Asia. This program was implemented in part by police and the military in Cambodia, creating a situation rife with bribery and abuse, while also forcing brothel workers to attend substandard clinics and escorting them back to **brothels**. In 2005, the NSWP held a rally in Bangkok to protest the U.S. government policy on support for services to sex workers.

Another important area of international advocacy by the sex workers' rights movement is AIDS research, which has been promoted by activists seeking prevention, treatment, and a cure. In the global north, the issues have been to hasten research, while in the global south, the greatest effort on the part of sex workers is to promote ethical research that will not harm participants. After disastrous trials of **microbicides** such as **nonoxynol-9**, informed sex workers have learned to proceed carefully when participating in research. Street-based

prostitutes in Cambodia boycotted a trial of a drug called **tenofovir** because they were not offered long-term care for those who became HIV-positive or suffered side effects. This trial was cancelled.

Emerging challenges for the sex workers' rights movement include

- human rights abuses generated by laws, policies, and interventions that are intended to prevent human **trafficking**,
- equal access to antiretroviral drugs for HIV, and
- the development and roll-out of HIV vaccines and prevention technologies such as the vaginal microbicides.

See also Asociacion de Trabajadora. Autónomas "22 de Junio" de El ORO; COYOTE; Research Ethics; Scarlet Alliance; Sexually Transmitted Infections.

Further Reading: Albert, Alexa. *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women*. New York: Random House, 2001; Longo, Paulo, and Melissa Ditmore. "100% Condom Use Programs: Empowerment or Abuse?" *Research for Sex Work* 6 (2003): 3–5; Murray, Alison. *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University Press, 2001; Overs, Cheryl, and Paulo Longo. *Making Sex Work Safe*. London: Russell, 1997.

Cheryl Overs and Melissa Hope Ditmore

HOG RANCH. "Hog ranch" is a term that was used particularly in Wyoming and parts of Colorado for combination saloons/dance halls/**brothels** serving military outposts in the 19th century. A limited number of women were permitted association with the daily workings of the camp, and most **camp followers** (prostitutes) were excluded from the post proper. Reportedly, the name came from the fact that they sometimes lodged at the nearby slaughterhouse that also served the military establishment.

See also Slang.

Further Reading: Brown, Larry K. *The Hog Ranches of Wyoming: Liquor, Lust and Lies under Sagebrush Skies*. Glendo, WY: High Plains Press, 1995.

Karen K. Swope

HOLLAND, ELIZABETH. See **Holland's Leaguer**.

HOLLANDER, XAVIERA (1944–). In 1972, Xaviera de Vries, a 28-year-old Dutch emigré working as a prostitute and **madam** in **New York City**, published her ground-breaking memoir, *The Happy Hooker: My Own Story*, under the name Xaviera Hollander (with coauthors Robin Moore and Yvonne Dunleavy). Her first book became a bestseller in the United States, was translated into 15 languages, and was an influence in the lives of prostitutes who came of age in the 1970s and 1980s.

Revised editions of *The Happy Hooker* were issued in 1987 (Grafton Books), 1995 (Diamond Books), and 2002 (30th Anniversary Edition, ReganBooks). With Hollander's permission, some passages were removed. Those looking for the excised narrative, viewed by some as excessively deviant, must locate Dell's first edition. Hollander went on to publish 20 other books (including a mature memoir, *Child No More*, in 2002) and was a popular advice columnist ("Call Me Madam") for *Penthouse* magazine from 1972 until 2005.

The epithet “happy hooker” took on a life of its own, and those who use it casually are not always aware of its painful origins. The romantic circumstances that brought Hollander to New York were disappointing; her first book is a gritty tale of survival rather than an erotic fairytale. In *The Happy Hooker*, Hollander recalled the hardships, dangers, and indignities of her physically demanding (and illegal) profession, while exploring in arcane detail her experiences with New York City police corruption.

Born in Indonesia during World War II to a Dutch father and a German mother, Hollander spent her infant years in a Japanese prison camp with her mother. Her father, a Jewish physician, was imprisoned separately. Eventually, the family settled in postwar **Amsterdam**, where Hollander came of age. In the early 1960s, Hollander moved to South Africa, then to New York City in 1967, where she began to work as a part-time prostitute.

In 1971, Hollander (who was making monthly payments to the local police) attracted the attention of the Knapp Commission, which, under Mayor John Lindsay, had launched a large-scale investigation of corruption in the New York City Police Department. After being (in her own words) “hounded out of the country,” Hollander attempted to make a life for herself in Canada. When she was deported by the Canadian government, she resettled in a suburb of Amsterdam and maintained an additional home in Marbella for many years. In 2005, she operated a bed and breakfast in Amsterdam, was actively involved in local theater, and maintained a colorful, informative Web site: <http://www.xavierahollander.com/>.

See also *Memoirs*.

Further Reading: Hollander, Xaviera. *Child No More: A Memoir*. New York: Regan Books, 2002; Hollander, Xaviera. *The Happy Hooker: My Own Story*. New York: ReganBooks, 2002.

Tracy Quan

HOLLAND'S LEAGUER. Holland's Leaguer (1603–32) was the most famous and successful **brothel** of 17th-century England, and patrons included King James I and his favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Located in **London**, Old Paris Garden, in the region of Southwark, south of the River Thames, the house itself was a grand mansion that stood by the river and was fortified with a moat, drawbridge, and portcullis. The luxury brothel was run by Elizabeth (Bess) Holland. In December and January of 1631–32, the establishment was besieged by the forces of law and order, King Charles I having ordered the authorities to close the operation down. When a troop of soldiers arrived to enforce the closure, Holland enticed them onto the drawbridge, which she then let down, depositing the men in the moat. The prostitutes of the bawdy house then proceeded to empty the contents of their chamber pots over the soldiers, who swiftly retreated. The event figured in three contemporary works, all published in 1632: Nicholas Goodman's pamphlet *Holland's Leaguer*, Shakerley Marmion's play *Holland's Leaguer*, and Lawrence Price's ballad “News from Holland's Leaguer.” The victory of Holland's Leaguer, however, was short-lived: by the following year the brothel had been closed down and the property sold. What is so striking about Holland's Leaguer is the way in which it was set up as a female community set apart from the rest of society—the drawbridge being the main means by which visitors could gain entrance to the establishment. The fact that the brothel was owned and presided over by a female further complicates the model of prostitution, so frequently invoked by historians of all periods, as men oppressing women: Holland was a woman who reaped the profits of exploiting other females' bodies.

See also Renaissance.

Further Reading: Barnard, Dean Stanton, ed. *Holland's Leaguer*. The Hague: Mouton, 1970, pp. 1–46.

Victoria E. Price

HONG KONG. Hong Kong was a sparsely inhabited area when it was first visited by European sailing ships in the 16th century. When the British imposed their rule on the port in 1841, there were approximately 20 prostitutes in Hong Kong. As the city and the port grew in economic importance, and with the increasing flow of sea traffic and the consequential increase of foreign migrant workers, there was a greater demand for prostitutes. By 1845, the total number of prostitutes increased, to 123. Most were Chinese, with a minority of them being Portuguese (the Portuguese colony of Macao was near), or other nationalities. At those times, prostitutes concentrated in the Hong Kong Island, charging from HK\$1–\$5 (1 picul of rice was sold at around HK\$1.2).

When Hong Kong was occupied by the British in the 19th century, medical facilities were limited and basic, and there were few measures to prevent and treat **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs), which spread quickly. The second British governor of Hong Kong, Sir John Francis Davis (1844–48), tried to control the situation by expelling prostitutes in 1845. However, the harsh living and working conditions in the rural areas drove prostitutes to return to Hong Kong, and the number of prostitutes increased. Governor Davis compromised by imposing a tax on prostitutes, called a “prostitute levy.” Davis imposed taxes on a number of industries during his four years in office, and the sex industry was not spared. Such money collected was used for the operation costs of STI clinics. Prostitutes, seamen, and soldiers (the most prevalent prostitution customers) received free services from these clinics. At this time, there were a total of 31 brothels with 156 prostitutes in Hong Kong. Each prostitute was charged HK\$1.5 per month for the “prostitute levy” while a **brothel** paid HK\$5 per month. The Hong Kong government was able to raise HK\$400 per month with these levies. The levy was collected on site by the police.

This was the first time the Hong Kong government recognized sex work. Such recognition came from the need to manage, control, and regulate prostitution. The various taxes imposed by Davis aroused the dissatisfaction of the “Western Commerce Association,” a group of merchants who requested that the government stop all types of taxes. In 1847, the waiver of all taxes led to the closing of STI clinics and the sex industry was driven underground.

In 1857, the government issued an ordinance that required prostitutes in registered brothels to have medical checkups and thereby reinstated regulation of prostitution. With such measures, brothels that could afford the checkups were able to expand their business, as they claimed their prostitutes were “healthy and clean” and thus had attracted more business. Brothels that were not able to pay for these exams—either because they were small or just less lucrative—did not necessarily close down; many went underground and remained unregulated.

In 1903, the Thirteenth Governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, decided to establish the red light district and relocated all prostitutes to Shek Tong Tsui in Hong Kong Island. At its peak, there were 100 brothels with 3,000 prostitutes. In Kowloon Peninsula, a prostitute district was set up in the Yaumatei District near Temple Street. The sex industry peaked from 1905 to 1935. It was said that half of the government’s revenue came from the sex industry during this time.

With the evolution of the women’s movement in Great Britain in 1932, the anti-prostitution abolitionist campaign put pressure on the government to ban prostitution. The colonial

government had to follow the British policy in banning prostitution. However, many people's livelihoods depended on the sex industry, and the ban was anticipated to adversely effect revenue collection. Under tremendous pressure, the government finally closed down all brothels on June 30, 1935.

The ban, however, did not wipe out the prostitutes but instead drove them underground to work clandestinely. This created opportunities for exploiters who lived off the earnings of the prostitutes. Sex workers faced greater danger and earned less money. Though the government had intervened twice to control or ban prostitution, it also gained many benefits from it, and the middle agent (the brothels) also exploited the prostitutes.

In the mid-1970s, a religious group conducted research on the situation of prostitution in Hong Kong. According to the findings, 18,000 women were participating in the sex industry. In the mid-1980s, findings from unofficial statistics reflected that around 40,000 women practiced prostitution in Hong Kong in 1984; now the estimate is 200,000. Reasons given for such a large community are

- ♦ Poverty: In the 1980s, with the decline of the manufacturing industries in Hong Kong, most entrepreneurs shifted their investments overseas. Recently, the Asian financial crisis in 1997 had also worsened the unemployment situation of local workers. Many women faced hardship and have entered the profession.
- ♦ Hong Kong is an internationalized free trade city. With the extensive communication and information system, and a highly mobile population, tourists come from all over the world. It has also attracted prostitutes from other countries. Most of them have come from **Southeast Asia**, and even from Europe and the United States. In recent years, prostitutes from Eastern Europe and Russia have also come to Hong Kong using a tourist visa. They have worked in Hong Kong and have charged a relatively high price when compared with local women.
- ♦ Young girls from mainland China come via various channels. Some obtain valid travel documents; others travel with fake identification. When they arrive in Hong Kong, many choose to work in entertainment establishments. Because of the language barrier, many are exploited by middle persons.

Despite the ban on prostitution, it has never been contained in Hong Kong. Instead it has become a more lucrative field. The government has taken the "one eye open, one eye closed policy." In 1976, the locally elected district board reacted to a plan to combat prostitution. Over 90 percent of the district board councilors objected to the idea because the entertainment industry supported many of the district councilors. Combating prostitution would greatly affect their income.

In 1984, a physician proposed legalizing prostitution. This was met with unanimous opposition by district board councilors, with the rationale of prostitution as disturbing the social morals.

In 1997, four months before the handover of Hong Kong from the British to the Chinese, the government initiated a process of "cleaning" the city. They drove away the prostitutes and the homeless street sleepers and gave them one month's rent for an apartment. Hypocritically, the government and the Tourist Association gave out free coupons for tourists to visit night clubs and karaoke bars, venues where some prostitutes worked.

Prostitution in Hong Kong is addressed under the law as in much of the British Commonwealth, a legacy from Hong Kong's former status as a British colony. This means that although prostitution itself is not illegal, every attendant activity—advertising, soliciting, procuring clients,

living off the earnings, keeping a bawdy house, etc.—is illegal. Now, one-woman brothels are legal, so a woman who lives alone can legally perform sex work in her apartment.

Currently, the main forms of sex work in Hong Kong are “street girls” (soliciting sex business on the street), “one girl in one apartment” (providing sex service in apartment), karaoke bars, night clubs, massage parlors, saunas, “tourist guides,” **Internet** cafes, topless bars, and private club houses; most are between the ages of 18 and 65. Most work for an employer or even have an employment contract, except for street girls and apartment girls. However, if the sex workers encounter problems in work, the employers will not help. And prostitutes cannot solicit support from the workers **unions**, workers organizations, and relevant government departments. They are not considered part of the workers community, and thus there is no concern for their **occupational safety and health**, provident fund, and other labor protection measures.

Further restrictions imposed on sex workers and informal prostitutes include a statute forbidding “soliciting or loitering for the purpose of immoral purpose.” This ordinance stipulates that those who “initiate/induce others” are breaking the law, but the act of prostitution is not illegal. This means that sex workers cannot legally solicit customers. Some typical ways sex workers seek clients are by asking, “Are you lonely?” or “Would you like to have sex service?” There are law enforcement officers who consider the use of facial expressions, gestures, and even suspicion of the intention of solicitation to be grounds for arrest. This law was not intended to be used specifically against sex workers, but it is often used to press charges against sex workers. There have been incidents where sex workers were recognized by the police and were arrested when they were not engaging in prostitution but rather engaging in other activities, such as shopping in the market. The police also set up sting operations to induce sex workers to solicit. The police, disguised as customers, first ask for the service rate, and then charge the sex worker with inducing them to have sex. Some even threaten and lure clients to testify against sex workers who have been charged on false grounds.

There is no law against sex workers who work alone in their own apartments, but police nonetheless uses various means to harass them and stop them from doing business. They use the excuse of checking licenses to create disturbances, threats, or even charge them or their landlord with the clause of “permitting the owners or tenants to use the premises/vessel for prostitution,” which is against the law. The law itself is contradictory in that the people who rent to sex workers operating legally are committing a crime. Under such circumstances, the owners may then refuse to lease the premises to the sex workers, effectively rendering them homeless. There have been occasions when police stood in front of the business apartments of sex workers so as to discourage customers. Some police abuse their authority by refusing to pay after having sex services. Women working alone also face the threat of robbery, sexual harassment, and abuse. When they report violations to the police, their complaints are not usually acted on because of the **stigma** faced by sex workers.

The crucial question now is who initiates the sex business. Police usually work with the customers to press charge against the sex workers. Sex workers who go to trial generally find that the judges will not believe them. Police seem to possess endless authority and can arrest without evidence. They can arrest the same sex worker on a daily basis. Although these laws could also be applied to clients of sex workers, it is only the sex workers who are arrested and experience **violence** from law enforcement officers, exposing sexism and discrimination on the part of law enforcement. Sex workers are subjected to fine and imprisonment and are not guaranteed their basic rights before the law. In 1986, there was a court case in which a sex worker was raped, and



Sex workers hiding their faces to protect their identities, take to the streets of Hong Kong during a march to police headquarters in the Wanchai district, 2004. The workers alleged the police were treating them violently and asking for free sex. Mike Clarke / Getty Images.

the case was brought to the court. The judge insisted that a sex worker could not be raped, and the offender was declared innocent and released. Such cases still happen frequently. Because of this discrimination, sex workers have found ways to share information about violent offenders with each other in attempts to prevent victimization. This can include using camera phones and text messages to circulate information and pictures of violent men.

Before 1997, street-based sex workers were mainly local Hong Kong residents. In recent years, the government has allowed mainland Chinese tourists to travel with a special permit, and the number of sex workers from mainland China has increased. Many of them are middle-aged women from rural areas. Their problems are more complex. They are often charged with “soliciting or loitering for the purpose of immoral purposes,” or “against the approved condition of stay.”

Discrimination and stigma contribute to the public’s attitude of blaming sex workers for their own misfortunes when they are robbed or beaten or contract STIs. Yet most women engage in sex work because of economic pressures. Many of them are single parents and cannot find a job in the formal employment sector. They are trying to earn a living for themselves and their families. The harsh economic conditions already mean a reduced income. Recently some politicians have encouraged **resident activism** against sex work. The government response to prostitution has made the lives of women in the sex industry harder. To improve their working conditions and to fight for basic rights, a group of sex workers has met with the councilors of the Legislative Council.

See also Abolitionism; Migration and Mobility; Ports; Rape.

Further Reading: Wu, Hao. *Xiangjiang feng yue shi, Xi yue wen hua bian ji wei yuan*. Hui, ed. Hong Kong: SCMP Book Publishing, 2001; Yizhong. *Xiangang huang ye*. Xiangang: Hai shan tu shu gong si, 1985; Zi Teng. *Research Report on Mainland Chinese Sex Workers: Hong Kong, Macau & Town B in Pearl River Delta*. Hong Kong: Zi Teng, 2000; Zi Teng. *Research on the Situation of the Chinese Migrant Sex Workers in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Zi Teng, 2004.

Zi Teng

HOMOSEXUAL PROSTITUTION. See **Male Prostitution**.

HOOVER, J. EDGAR (1895–1972). J. Edgar Hoover's early career in law enforcement was built on prostitution raids, and he went on to lead the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from 1924 to 1972. From its formal beginnings in 1908, the FBI used campaigns against individuals who were deemed to symbolize social problems, notably, prostitutes and drug dealers, to build its resource base, its credibility, and its profile, both within law enforcement circles and publicly. In 1910, Congress enacted the White Slave Traffic Act (**Mann Act**), which placed policing of interstate prostitution under the Bureau's jurisdiction. The FBI used the Mann Act, which made it a federal crime to transport women or girls across state lines for prostitution or other supposedly immoral purposes, to extend its jurisdiction and the range of federal criminal authority. Instead of directing its efforts against national and international "white slavery" rings, the supposed purpose behind the legislation, the FBI targeted individual prostitutes and their clients. The FBI quite literally fulfilled the role of morality police. Indeed, the Mann Act was the first federal attempt in the United States to regulate sexual activity among consenting adults. So broadly was the legislation interpreted that it made it illegal to cross state lines for extramarital sexual involvement, regardless of the circumstances. The Mann Act gave the FBI a valuable tool in its campaigns against unpopular, controversial, or dissenting figures. Prosecutions under the Mann Act were directed against African American heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson, who was involved in an interracial relationship; against Charlie Chaplin, whom Hoover described as one of Hollywood's "parlor Bolsheviki"; and against Pan-African leader Marcus Garvey. Enforcement of the Mann Act played a large part in the growth and development of the FBI. Under the lengthy directorship of Hoover, the FBI treated prostitution more severely as a criminal offense, raiding brothels and carrying out large-scale sweeps and arrests of women suspected of prostitution. The FBI's efforts under Hoover, especially in the 1930s, played a significant part in the growing stigmatization of prostitutes in the United States. The criminal targeting of prostitutes by public officials, relayed in sensationalistic news accounts, altered the public perception of prostitutes as women drawn into the trade by social circumstances and encouraged instead a more punitive view that saw prostitutes as fringe or deviant members of society deserving of disdain.

Further Reading: Fee, Elizabeth. "Sin vs. Science: Venereal Disease in Baltimore in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 43 (1988): 141–64; Kessler, Ronald. *The Bureau: The Secret History of the FBI*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002; Powers, Richard G. *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1987; Theoharis, Athen G. *The FBI and American Democracy: A Brief Critical History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Jeff Shantz

HOSTESS BARS. *See Alcohol and Drinking Establishments; Gentlemen's Clubs; Tokyo; Venues and Labor Forms.*

HOTEL. *See Venues and Labor Forms.*

HUMAN RIGHTS. Throughout the world, men and women in prostitution are subject to laws, policies, and practices that both violate their human rights and impede their capacity to defend against human rights abuses.

Criminalization of sex work, and the extreme **stigma** attached to it, subject individuals in prostitution to human rights abuses by police and government officials. All over the world, police **rape**, extort money and sex, and otherwise harass and abuse sex workers with little fear of censure. In some places, police confiscate **condoms** from AIDS outreach workers and from sex workers, threatening to use them as evidence to arrest and prosecute prostitution. Even where sex work is not criminalized directly, national laws often allow police great latitude to arrest sex workers for vagrancy or loitering, and detain them for "rehabilitation," even absent any evidence of prostitution.

The extreme stigma attached to prostitution further impedes sex workers' capacity to realize their rights. Stigma and discrimination keep many sex workers from seeking redress for physical **violence** or other crimes committed against them, especially where police themselves are known to participate in abuse. Stigma and discrimination also impede sex workers' access to education and information, health care, housing, social security, welfare services, and the justice system. In many parts of the world, men and women in prostitution face discrimination by health care providers, who provide inadequate treatment, sometimes refusing even to touch them. In some places, sex workers cannot register the births of their children.

Human rights abuses against sex workers extend to their family members. Children of sex workers face discrimination in school, and sometimes are denied the right to enroll altogether, or suffer other abuse and discrimination because of their parents' work in prostitution. Children of sex workers who are orphaned or whose parents are unable to care for them are also turned away from orphanages, relegating them to a life on the street and subjecting them to further abuses.

In some parts of the world, governments have forcibly evicted sex workers and their families from their residences, ostensibly for the purposes of rehabilitation, destroying homes and personal property in the process. These evictions have taken place without the consultation or consent of sex workers and their families, and, in some cases, in places where prostitution is legal.

These frequent violations of the rights of sex workers persist despite the many international treaties that recognize the human rights to freedom from violence and arbitrary arrest and detention, and to freedom of association and assembly, the highest attainable standard of health, privacy, nondiscrimination, just and favorable conditions of work, and housing. These treaties include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Nonbinding interpretations of international law, such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)/UNAIDS International Guidelines on HIV/AIDS and Human Rights, support the promotion of rights protections for sex workers. These human rights are universal. But few governments ensure protection of these rights for sex workers.

The failure of human rights conventions to protect sex workers from commonplace rights abuses is related to a fundamental ambivalence in the international legal conceptualization of prostitution. The 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others combined and superseded a series of international instruments on trafficking and prostitution. These were the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (1904), the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (1910), the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (1921), and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women of Full Age (1933). The 1949 convention was premised on the view that any form of prostitution is a human rights violation and should be abolished, and that sex workers should be rehabilitated and subject to “social adjustment.” It stated that “prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community.” It denied the capacity to consent to prostitution and asked states to take measures to prevent prostitution and “for the rehabilitation and social adjustment” of its victims.

The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) echoed the 1949 convention in calling on state parties to “take all appropriate measures ... to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.” However, the rejection of an amendment calling for the suppression of prostitution as well as the suppression of the exploitation of prostitution suggests that CEDAW can be read not to consider all forms of prostitution inherently coercive.

More recent UN documents focus on “**forced prostitution**” of adults and recognize the importance of certain human rights protections for sex workers. General Recommendation 19 of CEDAW on violence against women (1992) reaffirmed CEDAW’s calls for suppression of **trafficking** and exploitation of prostitution of women but also acknowledges that “[p]rostitutes are especially vulnerable to violence because their status, which may be unlawful, tends to marginalize them. They need the equal protection of laws against rape and other forms of violence.”

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) condemned “trafficking in women and forced prostitution,” implicitly acknowledging that not all prostitution constitutes a human rights violation and that adult women may consent to prostitution.

The 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children condemns trafficking in persons for the purpose of exploitation, including “exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation.” These terms have no definition in international law and were intentionally left undefined, in part because states could not agree on the core question of whether all prostitution (including voluntary and legal prostitution) was by definition exploitative.

The failure of international law to recognize a clear distinction between forced and unforced prostitution, and the absence of explicit calls by human rights bodies for states to protect and promote the human rights of all individuals in prostitution and respect their agency and capacity to consent to sex work, are obstacles to efforts of prostitutes’ rights groups. Nonetheless, sex workers have effectively worked to empower themselves to demand human rights protections in many parts of the world. They have worked to protect their human right to health by collectively demanding condom use from their clients, have fought child trafficking, and have offered job training and education for sex workers. Peer educators are often the most effective and only

possible AIDS educators for sex workers and have been acknowledged for their success in providing HIV/AIDS education and prevention services in many countries throughout the world.

Police violence and abusive government actions threaten these efforts. U.S. law and policy barring funding to organizations that promote or advocate prostitution as an employment choice or the legalization of prostitution with no policy explicitly opposing prostitution further limits the extent to which other organizations might advocate for sex workers' rights, even in countries where prostitution is legal.

See also Abolition; Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22 de Junio" de El ORO; Condoms; Crime; Decriminalization; HIV/AIDS and the Prostitution Rights Movement; Legal Approaches; Migration and Mobility; Prohibition. Appendix documents 14, 18 and 19.

Further Reading: Jordan, Ann D. *The Annotated Guide to the Complete UN Trafficking Protocol*. Washington, DC: International Human Rights Law Group, 2002; Kempadoo, Kamala, and Jo Doezema, eds. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Rebecca Schleifer

IMPERIAL CHINESE THEATER. For most of Chinese history, the roles of performers and prostitutes were closely associated, and the two were lumped together in a single legal category (and in popular morality) right up to the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). **Courtesans** and local prostitutes were never entirely separated in the public imagination, and anyone selling sex was required to display at least a little talent in song and some skill with at least one instrument. These features, as well as distinctions made between status categories and categories of slaves and servants, can make it difficult to translate terminology from Chinese history accurately. In remote antiquity, terms such as *chang* (“singer/musician”), *ji* (“performer”), and *you* (“entertainer”) already carried some connotation of sexual service. The association became stronger as time went by, and later terms such as *changyou* (“actor-prostitute”) and *changji* (“performer,” and later, “whore”) mark the transition in their meaning with a change in their written form, removing the “person” radical in exchange for the “woman” radical.

In the Zhou Dynasty (1046 B.C.E.–256 B.C.E.), stage performers were recruited from the families of captive slaves, trained in performing arts, and required to provide sexual gratification for elite men. Defeated cities or states also offered young women to the victors. By the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), the institution of “barracks-entertainers” (*yingji*) was evolving into a more exclusive form of courtesan-entertainer known as *nüyue* (“female-musician”), available only to the imperial court and its officials. From the 3rd century, the most influential elite families owned their own “household troupes” (*jiayue, jiaji*), providing banquet entertainment. Household troupes continued to provide a combination of both theatrical and sexual services right up until the mid-18th century.

In the Sui (581–618), Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) Dynasties, the imperial government provided and trained official courtesans (*guanji*) for the entertainment of officials. The young women working in official establishments were legally slaves, as they had no freedom over their own movements, but they could also be understood to have had an “official” career with possibilities for promotion or transfer to more respectable forms of service. All were well trained in musical and even literary arts, and many became close confidantes to some of the most influential officials and scholars of their time. One of their most important roles was entertain-

ing at official functions and celebrations. A traveling official of high standing could decide to take a courtesan with him when he continued on his circuit.

The presence of official courtesans in the capital and in other large urban centers had an enormous influence on Chinese literature, particularly during the Tang and Song Dynasties. The popularity of official courtesans probably also led to the appearance of commercial prostitution located in “blue mansions” (*qinglou*), particularly in Chang’an, Luoyang, and the thriving eastern metropolis of Yangzhou. It was during this period that an image of the romantic and learned scholar-official began to emerge as an important figure in literature: their love affairs with courtesans or sing-song girls formed the basis of much of their own writing, and their romantic adventures became popular subject matter in the **poetry**, fiction, and drama of later generations. The talents and tribulations of individual courtesan performers also came to be memorialized in both elite and popular literature.

Dramatic performance was not a major form of artistic expression in China until the Song Dynasty, when there was a sudden flourishing of dramatic genres associated with the emergence of an urban mercantile class. During the same period, prostitution also underwent further commercialization, the services of courtesan prostitutes becoming available to men outside the traditional elites. In the Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368), the close association between prostitution and the world of theater was reflected in a proliferation of dramatic works depicting the romantic world of the entertainment quarters, an urban space that theaters and **brothels** by then had come to share. Plays recounting the lives of famous courtesan prostitutes were the most popular. Of particular note in this respect are the plays of the preeminent Yuan dramatist, Guan Hanqing (ca. 1240–ca. 1320), including *Jiu fengchen* (“*The Rescue of a Courtesan*”), *Xie Tianxiang*, and *Jinxianchi* (“*Golden Thread Pond*”).

Much of the attraction of Yuan drama was focused on the performance of the female lead (*dan*), and female lead actors were pursued by wealthy men who went to great expense to win their attention. A “romance” with the current star of the theater was an enormous boost to a man’s prestige. By the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), actors and prostitutes had become by far the most educated class of women in Chinese society—women from elite households were discouraged from pursuing knowledge. The actor-prostitute’s knowledge of art and literature was celebrated in the writings of the Ming literati, including a new minor genre, the “flower guide” (*huapu*), which emphasized a woman’s literary attributes alongside her beauty. Highly cultivated actor-prostitutes may have even inspired the speculation current among a small circle of Ming thinkers that women shared many of the same talents as men.

Libertine fashion among the late Ming literati witnessed an increasing interest in young men as a source of pleasure (household pages, entertainers, prostitutes). In the early Qing Dynasty, most catamites were owned by elite households as members of private musical troupes (*jiayue*). In the early to middle years of the Qing, some elite men attempted to redefine their relationships with young male entertainers through arrangements that approximated concubinage. Then, following the rise of Beijing opera (**Peking Opera**) in the middle of the 18th century, male-male love (*nanfeng, nanse*) entered a period of commercialization through the promotion of boy actors playing female leads (*dan*). The *dan* were immensely popular in Beijing throughout the 19th century, and contemporary sources described them as displacing female prostitution from the elite market. Their “nightclubs” (*siyu*, “private apartments”) were fed customers from theaters and restaurants concentrated south of the inner-city wall. The *siyu* subculture inspired homoerotic “flower guides” (*huapu*) and other forms of literary expression, the most representative of which is the novel *Pinhua baojian* (“*The Precious Mirror of Ranked Flowers*”).

Before the 20th century, visiting the entertainment quarters was never a source of shame for young men in China (although they did fear possible conflict with their fathers), and brothels were important venues for socialization and ostentatious display. One of the great paradoxes of the performer-prostitute in China was the fact that throughout the entire Imperial period, from the 3rd century B.C.E. to the first decade of the 20th century, they continued to belong to the lowest level of social caste, but they could at the same time attract enormous fame and great wealth through the aura of their beauty.

See also Geisha.

Further Reading: Gronewald, Sue. *Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China, 1860–1936*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1985; Mackerras, Colin. *Chinese Theater: From Its Origins to the Present Day*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989; Wang, Shunu. *Zhongguo changji shi* (“A History of Entertainer-Prostitutes in China”). Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1995; Wu, Cuncun. *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

Cuncun Wu

IMPERIAL RUSSIA. Prostitution existed in Imperial Russia (1682–1917) for centuries, governed by state policies that veered between begrudging toleration and harsh **prohibition**. It had much in common with prostitution outside of Russia in terms of the trade’s ups and downs, its occupational hazards, and how it drew clientele from all social classes. Women from the Russian Empire who engaged in prostitution during this period turned to commercial sex for reasons that resembled the reasons of prostitutes elsewhere: unemployment, underemployment, poverty, seduction, and personal inclination. Like prostitutes elsewhere, they suffered in disproportionate numbers from alcoholism, drug **addiction**, and venereal infections. Much like their American and European counterparts, at the end of the 19th century, educated observers in the Russian Empire attributed prostitution’s increased visibility to industrialization and urbanization. As in many cities and states, prostitutes in Imperial Russia were subject to state regulation designed to keep women who engaged in prostitution under police and medical surveillance.

Yet political, economic, and social circumstances peculiar to the Russian Empire shaped both the nature of prostitution as well as how members of Russian society understood and treated prostitution as an issue. Key here is the way that the emancipation of Russia’s serfs in 1861 and subsequent state policies spurring industrialization and urbanization fostered unusual economic and social dislocation. (Imperial Russia’s domestic instability, as well as its losses in the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War, would give rise to revolutions in 1905 and 1917.) Although Russia was not the first European state to undergo an industrial revolution, the extreme poverty in which its formerly enserviced peasantry found itself in the last quarter of the 19th century spurred mass migrations of men and women to the cities in search of livelihood. Not surprisingly, these former peasants created both a tremendous (predominantly male) demand for commercial sex and (mostly female) supply to meet that demand. Tsarist prohibitions against labor organizations meant that both male and female workers suffered from cruel economic exploitation. But because female wages fell short of the minimum required for subsistence, single women in particular needed to find supplemental wages, often in the form of occasional or frequent prostitution.

Regulation of both street and brothel prostitution increased the ranks of female prostitutes, rendering them ineligible for other forms of paid labor. Implemented by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1844 for the twin capitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow, and expanded gradually to

the rest of the Empire according to rules issued in 1861 and 1903, regulation sought both to prevent the spread of venereal disease and to control the movement of women from the lower classes. Like the Parisian system on which it was based, it required women who engaged in prostitution to register with the local police, undergo periodic pelvic examinations, and subject themselves to prolonged stays in hospitals if they were diagnosed with venereal disease. Regulation, administered by “medical-police committees,” also provided licenses to women between the ages of 35 and 55 for running **brothels**, so long as certain rules were followed. Although Russian legislation forbade any form of prostitution, the Ministry of Internal Affairs circumvented this law by establishing regulation as an administrative, rather than legal, measure.

According to an 1889 census, some 7,840 women in the Russian Empire were registered as brothel prostitutes and another 9,760 as streetwalkers. Regulation drew outrage and criticism throughout Europe for the way that it turned women who might have engaged in prostitution on occasion into full-time prostitutes, for how it created an illusion of safety around commercial sex, and for how it targeted only women, not men. Indeed, because contemporary medicine could not cure **sypilis**, gonorrhea, or other sexually transmitted diseases, nor could it diagnose these diseases accurately, the medical component of regulation often did more harm than good. In Russia, in particular, regulation deserved its terrible reputation. Although the Ministry of Internal Affairs required cities and towns to establish medical-police surveillance, it did not provide any funding for this purpose. In those areas where local authorities managed to install some kind of regulation, their efforts invariably fell prey to the Empire’s notoriously widespread corruption in the form of bribery and extortion, incompetence in the form of mistaken diagnoses and arrests of nonprostitutes, and widespread medical errors. Physicians who were drafted into the service of medical-police committees were known to work in facilities without running water and without medical supplies, and where the only illumination came from windows open to the street. Although regulation required the incarceration of women suspected of having venereal disease in hospitals, most hospitals not only lacked special venereal wards but available beds.

At the turn of the 20th century, members of educated Russian society, like middle-class Europeans, voiced their outrage over regulation. For Russian society, however, opposition to regulation served also as a weapon in their ongoing struggle against Russia’s autocratic and repressive political system. Bristling over their lack of civil liberties, various groups used regulation to further their larger grievances against the tsar and his bureaucracy. Physicians, indignant over restrictions that inhibited their profession’s autonomy, criticized regulation’s medical failures. Local elected officials criticized the role in regulation of the Ministry’s arm, the police, to augment their own authority. Feminists also excoriated the regulatory system, using what they saw as its oppression of women to further their cause of women’s rights. Members of the Russian elite tended to be less vocal in their criticisms, but philanthropists who worked to “save fallen women” and to stem the tide of international prostitution also tended to find themselves at odds with regulation because it interfered with their efforts and appeared to sanction sexual immorality. In general, prostitution and its regulation garnered a great deal of attention from Russian educated society at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century because they came to be perceived as symbols of all that was wrong with the tsarist autocratic system.

See also *Brothels*; *Fallen Woman Trope*.

Further Reading: Bernstein, Laurie. *Sonia’s Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Laurie Bernstein

INCEST. Definitions of incest hinge on significant cross-cultural and historical variation in the meaning of “sex,” “child,” “family,” and “too close.” Fast-changing family forms and social norms and methodological and political debates have expanded the definition of incest and complicated estimates of its prevalence and psychodynamic consequences, including entry into prostitution.

Since the 1970s, some researchers and activists have increasingly linked incest to prostitution, implicating both individual men and the unquestioned male sexual prerogatives of compulsory heterosexuality and **patriarchy**. Correlations between childhood experience of incest and later entry into prostitution are high in most studies but are nevertheless subject to significant dispute among and between researchers and activists. Sexual abuse is common generally, with most estimates ranging between 15 percent and 35 percent of all females before 18 years of age. Intervening variables such as drug use, poverty, and homelessness are difficult to clarify and operationalize. Prostitution takes many forms, and some are more obviously and intimately connected to youth and homelessness. Many studies have been conducted among those already incarcerated in juvenile homes and **prisons**. Studies of prostitution and of incest can be particularly Christian-inflected and moralistic in nature, and opponents argue that such both overestimates prevalence and robs females of agency.

Research conducted since 1970 has established clearly that female entry into prostitution is enabled by economic imperatives, drug use and abuse, early pregnancies, low educational achievements, and family breakdown, plus consistent involvement of male intimates and relatives. The empirical data, however, do not currently justify moving from correlation to causation, though. Anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, and others have contributed impressive empirical research findings. Jennifer James found in a study of streetwalking she conducted in Seattle in the early to mid-1970s that one in five women had experienced pregnancies and/or **abortions** in early adolescence and that one in six had been victimized by incest. In one study conducted in San Francisco by the psychologist Mimi Silbert and colleagues with 200 streetwalkers, 61 percent had been sexually victimized when young, beginning at an average age of 10. The perpetrators were strangers about 10 percent of the time, but about two-thirds were male relatives. A large study conducted by the sociologist Nanette Davis in Minneapolis found that 63 percent of all streetwalkers had been molested, for an average of five years, by fathers, stepfathers, uncles, brothers, and male family friends, some of whom also impregnated them. A study conducted in urban New Jersey found that nearly 30 percent of primarily African American women in prostitution had been sexually abused by male relatives, leading often to early pregnancies, running away, and drug use. Roberta Perkins’s study in the late 1980s in Sydney, Australia, found that, compared with matched groups of health workers and students, prostitutes had suffered rates of sexual molestation not sufficiently high enough to justify speaking of causation. Prostitutes were, however, frequently given cash and gifts for sex when children, experienced coitarche under age 12 at eight times the rate of health workers, and did not always see molestation as having negatively influenced them, much less to enter prostitution. Research conducted recently in Papua New Guinea showed that most females in prostitution had experienced a traumatic coitarche, often with male relatives, who were on average 17 years older. Of 100 streetwalking women surveyed recently in Washington, DC, 44 reported childhood sexual abuse, more than half of which was incest perpetrated by male relatives and family friends.

Further Reading: Dalla, Rochelle. “Exposing the ‘Pretty Woman’ Myth: A Qualitative Examination of the Lives of Female Streetwalking Prostitutes.” *Journal of Sex Research* 37, no. 4 (2000): 344–53;

James, Jennifer, and Jane Meyerding. "Early Sexual Experience and Prostitution." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 234 (1977): 12; Perkins, Roberta. *Working Girls: Prostitutes, Their Life and Social Control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991; Silbert, Mimi, and A. M. Pines. "Child Sexual Abuse and Adolescent Prostitution: A Comparative Analysis." *Social Work* 28 (1983): 285–89.

Lawrence Hammar

INSTITUTIONALIZATION. During the 18th and 19th centuries, prostitution came to be understood as a potentially disruptive element in the management of society. New forms of social control developed that sought to transform the souls of prostitutes to better control their bodies. Institutions for managing prostitutes, such as **Magdalen Homes** and lock hospitals, were introduced or increased in number throughout the British Empire, North America, and Western Europe. Often these institutions had as their stated objective the physical purification and moral reform of prostitutes, appearing to make a dramatic break with earlier methods of social control that had relied on practices of physical punishment and spatial segregation. Emergent institutions for the social control of prostitutes used a regimen of religious training, hard labor, and medical expertise. The objective of the Magdalen Home was not to punish sin but to absolve it, while the function of the lock hospital was not simply to confine the ill, but to confine the ill to "cure" them. The role of these institutions was not only symbolic, mirroring in some way the operation of earlier forms of social control, but was also practical and transformative. The mass institutionalization of prostitutes that occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries produced and emphasized sexual, class, and gender boundaries, grounded in the broad distinction between "pure" and "impure" women.

Because of its association with sin, prostitution before the 18th century had been constructed as a religious problem relating to salvation and penitence. Throughout Western Europe during the Middle Ages, prostitutes, like the medieval leper and the Jew, were subject to restrictions designed to distinguish and isolate them from other members of their communities. The repression of prostitution during the Middle Ages was neither systematic nor highly organized, although it reinforced the image of the prostitute as sinful "other."

Projects directed at the moral regulation of prostitutes intensified during the period of the French and Industrial Revolutions, generated by the social, political, and economic anxieties of propertied classes toward the urban poor. Moralists and political economists associated prostitution with sterility and disease, both of which threatened population growth. A diminished or unhealthy populace was considered a threat to national prosperity and military power. Certain sexual activities such as prostitution, which had previously been regarded as sinful, no longer had individual or spiritual consequences alone, but also came to have wider sociopolitical ramifications. More than anything else, rapid urbanization amplified concerns relating to prostitution. The presence of prostitutes' bodies within the urban landscape came to disrupt socially vital class and gender distinctions, being emblematic of urban disintegration and disorganization. Yet, the solution to the problem of disorder was not to punish or isolate the prostitute's body, but re-order it through institutional coercion and training.

The mass establishment of hospitals, refuges, homes, and asylums for prostitutes represented a shift in public attitudes toward "fallen women," from hostility to compassion and was part of a larger charitable crusade to improve the conditions in prisons, workhouses, and hospitals. Women incarcerated in the new institutions were loosely considered prostitutes, but their number could include single mothers, socialists, mill girls, and girls dressed immorally.

Unlike other forms of deviance, the moral regulation of sexual deviance was largely focused on women, especially those deemed prostitutes. Also, in contrast to other public health initiatives, the management of **syphilis** was clearly gendered, as it was primarily women who were subject to institutionalization. The institutionalization of prostitutes was premised on a new understanding of some prostitutes as victims of poverty or seduction, being at once redeemable and deserving “objects” worthy of compassion.

In 1746, the first lock hospital was founded in London. This sought to provide public treatment facilities for diseased prostitutes. Lock asylums, which trained women as servants, and in needlework and laundry, were first attached to hospitals in London in 1787. These institutions would spread throughout the British Empire, providing “treatment” to tens of thousands of prostitutes. Patients of lock hospitals were those rejected by general hospitals, being without character reference or proof of respectability. Wealthy men and women were treated privately in their own homes. During the 19th century, lock hospitals would be used in conjunction with contagious diseases legislation to treat and contain prostitutes who could leave only with official consent. Lock hospitals served nonmedical functions and were as much a product of sexual and social ideologies as they were of medical knowledge. Lock hospitals were criticized for having failed from a sanitary or preventative point of view. Fundamentalists argued that lock hospitals interfered with God’s will, and that they would increase immorality by breaking down the distinction between virtue and vice. Radicals also objected to lock hospitals, arguing that they eroded individual liberties by holding women against their will.

Magdalen Homes were designed specifically for “fallen women.” Various “homes” for former prostitutes had been used intermittently on the European continent for centuries, especially throughout Italy. These had provided permanent or temporary accommodation, sometimes with religious vows, to women who had been or were in danger of entering into prostitution. The first modern Magdalen Hospital was established in Britain in 1758 as a philanthropic initiative, with admission being voluntary. It may be distinguished from earlier institutions in that it was linked to neither policing nor government initiatives, but was established as a charity. Religious reformers, critical of poorhouses and the penal system for hardening young offenders, claimed that existing institutions lacked a moral focus and were incapable of treating the mind. The objective of these institutions was for women to recover self-respect and social position. Education was restricted to moral and financial considerations. Supporters of the Homes sought to provide a humane regime of treatment for prostitutes that offered a compromise between the fundamentalist view of prostitution as a sin and what they saw as the “scientific” response to prostitution, which imposed coercive policing strategies that neglected treatment of the soul. Inmates adopted a strenuous and regular lifestyle, with excess punished with forfeiture of wages. Work, primarily in laundries, was undertaken in these institutions, with money earned being given to the inmates on release, so they would be self-sufficient. The Magdalen Homes had as their goal the transformation of the outcast poor into the respectable and disciplined Christian poor. These were initially structured as short-term refuges, but increasingly became long-term places of confinement, prison-like, with strong discipline to discourage women from leaving and to encourage penance.

One of the fundamental legacies of these institutions was the distinction of two broad “types” of prostitute—one institution catering to prostitutes deemed to be free of disease, the other catering to a class of diseased prostitute. This distinction, compounded with moral imperatives,

gradually came to be translated in terms of managing “responsible” and “irresponsible” or “deserving” and “undeserving” prostitutes. For example, Magdalen Homes would commonly take in women under the age of 24 who were neither pregnant nor ill at the time of admission, or women who were willing to submit to discipline and were of reasonable intelligence. In contrast, the lock hospital catered to a more “hardened” type of prostitute, inmates being typically drawn from a population of destitute prostitutes deemed “incorrigible.”

The lock hospital performed a curing function, having the body of the prostitute as its object, while the Magdalen asylum sought to reform the soul of the prostitute. Each institution extended its reach during the early 20th century beyond “prostitutes” to abused girls, unmarried mothers, and developmentally challenged women. Lock hospitals, despite frequent challenges from morals campaigners, survived to be revived during World Wars I and II. Magdalen Homes survived in Ireland up until the second half of the 20th century, with changing moral attitudes and the mass introduction of washing machines finally signaling their social and economic demise.

See also Fallen Woman Trope; Laundresses.

Further Reading: Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Women’s Asylums since 1500: From Refuges for Ex-prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; Lloyd, Sarah. “Pleasure’s ‘Golden Bait’: Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London.” *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996): 50–70; Mahood, Linda. *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in Nineteenth Century London*. New York: Routledge, 1990; Scott, John. *How Modern Governments Made Prostitution a Social Problem: Creating a Responsible Prostitute Population*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005; Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

John Scott

INTERNET. The advent of the World Wide Web has brought about a new venue in which prostitutes and their **clients** may connect. Forums such as escort Web sites, chat rooms, message boards, and instant messaging have profoundly altered the ways in which many prostitutes conduct business. Clients have also taken advantage of the anonymity offered by the Web and have built review Web sites where the services offered by various prostitutes are rated and discussed among clientele. For prostitutes, the Internet has provided a new way of working independently, without a third-party mediator such as agencies, **madams**, or **pimps**. This has enabled prostitutes of all genders to exercise increased control over their working conditions.

Gender Differences in the Use of the Internet by Prostitutes

Although the Internet has made working independently easier for prostitutes of all genders, not all prostitutes who advertise on the Internet work independently. This becomes especially apparent when comparing male with female prostitutes. The number of women who work independently has increased each year, but **escort agencies** that employ female prostitutes continue to be a strong presence on the Internet. Photos (real or fake) and descriptions of individual escorts are frequently posted on escort Web sites, and the contact phone number and corresponding Web site or e-mail address frequently lead to an agency. This is much less often the case for male prostitutes, most of whom work as independent agents, screening their own clients, setting their own rates and work schedules, and dictating which sexual activities they will agree

to engage in with clients. Male-to-female **transgender sex workers** have also established a presence online, and much like their male counterparts, generally work independently of agencies and other intermediaries.

Forums for Contact between Prostitutes and Clients

Individual Web Pages. A common method used by men and women prostitutes, personalized Web pages generally offer pictures of the provider, information about scheduling and rates, and sometimes even a link to PayPal, an online service that enables clients to pay for the session in advance of meeting.

Chat Rooms. A more informal way of connecting with clients, chat rooms provide perhaps the fastest route from first contact to first session for many prostitutes. In some major urban areas, outreach workers have noted an increase in formerly street-based prostitutes purchasing disposable cell phones and using Internet cafés to go online and linger in chat rooms. Many expect that with the increasing availability of Internet technology, more and more prostitutes will be able to access this venue.

Instant Messaging. Similar to chat rooms, instant messaging enables prostitutes and clients to chat online in real time, enabling screening and scheduling appointments to proceed at a rapid pace.

Message Boards. Message boards are a convenient forum for open communication between prostitutes and clients. Often a featured area on a Web site that reviews prostitutes, the message board provides a forum where prostitutes may advertise, clients may post messages about the type of service they seek, and all can engage in a discussion “thread” (a message posting that is then followed by responses to the original posting).

Review Sites. Review sites are Web sites in which clients may post reviews of a prostitute. Many prostitutes receive extra business this way—a good review of their services may encourage other clients to experience this for themselves. Conversely, negative reviews can adversely affect a prostitute’s business. Many review Web sites offer an arena where a prostitute may respond to a negative review.

Prostitutes also have their own client review Web sites. These tend to be much less public than the other review sites, often accessible only to individuals with a membership in a carefully screened private Web site. Most client review sites do not mention names, but rather identify individuals through e-mail “handles,” phone numbers, or other individual characteristics. Information posted on a client review board most frequently concerns legal, safety, and financial issues. For example, a prostitute may post that a client was respectful, was not a police officer, paid the agreed-on fee, and was clean, etc. Other prostitutes may then use these sites to verify clients before meeting them in person—an important safety measure.

Web sites. Web sites offering hundreds, even thousands, of advertisements for prostitutes have sprung up over the past few years. Many Web sites are national or international, offering pages for prostitutes that are divided by geographic locale, then subdivided by characteristics of the prostitute, such as gender, hair color, race/ethnicity, bust size, and services offered, such as erotic massage, escorting, private striptease shows. These Web sites typically charge advertisers a monthly fee, which may vary according to the size and complexity of the advertisement. Individual prostitutes may create their own advertisements, often with a link to a private Web site featuring more detailed information; escort agencies also post advertisements for individual prostitutes affiliated with the agency, or a single advertisement for the agency as a whole. Many

independent prostitutes use such Web sites to advertise their services in a variety of locations to which they travel, a practice known as “touring.”

Legal Issues and Doing Business on the Internet

Police and other law enforcement agents have become aware of online prostitution, and in places where prostitution remains criminalized (as it does in the United States), there have been scattered “crackdowns” of Web sites and individuals who advertise online. Much like other forms of non–street-based prostitution, the likelihood of arrest is moderate to minimal in comparison with the much higher level of police action against the more visible street-based prostitutes. In an effort to minimize the risk of legal action, most Web sites for prostitutes and clients forbid any explicit discussion of sex; however, an elaborate **slang** lingo has been developed, and using these couched words and phrases clients and prostitutes discuss sexual activity fairly openly. For example, a posting on an online message board for clients might read: “I saw Julie last night, she was a true GFE, I had two cups and she also allowed DATY” (translation: “I saw Julie last night, she offered a true girlfriend experience, I came twice and she let me perform cunnilingus on her”).

Prostitute Activism and Outreach Online

The Internet has enabled prostitutes who may be separated from one another by geographic and temporal barriers to communicate, often anonymously. Many political activists have found this useful for organizing efforts at public education, political action, and outreach to other prostitutes. Some outreach efforts are entirely online, such as <http://www.HOOKonline.org>, a Web site run by male sex workers for male sex workers. Internet outreach efforts may reach large numbers of prostitutes in a manner that is fast, low cost, and efficient, an exciting development for prostitutes and activists who wish to connect with each other, as for well as agencies that provide services to prostitutes.

Further Reading: Koken, Juline A., David S. Bimbi, Jeffrey T. Parsons, and Perry N. Halkitis. “The Experience of Stigma in the Lives of Male Escorts.” *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 16 (2004): 13–32; Parsons, Jeffrey, Juline Koken, David Bimbi, and Perry Halkitis. “Looking beyond HIV: Eliciting Community and Individual Needs of Male Escorts.” *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*; Parsons, Jeffrey, Juline Koken, David Bimbi, and Perry Halkitis. “The Use of the Internet by Gay and Bisexual Male Escorts: Sex Workers as Sex Educators.” *AIDS Care* 16 (2004): 1–15.

Juline A. Koken

INTOLERANCE. *Intolerance: A Sun Play of the Ages* (1916) was director D. W. Griffith’s sweeping look at religious and social intolerance throughout human history, including its effects on prostitutes. The film contained four interwoven plots: the Babylonian story, in which a mountain girl (Constance Talmadge) discovers a religious rivalry that will destroy the city; the Judean story, in which the Pharisees condemn Jesus (Howard Gaye) to death for his social gospel; the Medieval story, in which two young Huguenots (Margery Wilson, Eugene Pallette) preparing for **marriage** are slaughtered in the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre; and the Modern story, in which social reformers known as the Uplifters nearly destroy the lives of an impoverished young couple (Mae Marsh, Robert Harron). Griffith exploited the parallel narrative structure to critique the morals of modern society. After Jesus prevents the stoning of **Mary Magdalene**, for example, Griffith cuts to a title card reading, “Now let us see how this Christly example is

followed in our story of today," then cuts to an Uplifter-inspired raid on a **brothel** and the prostitutes being taken to jail. The Babylonian story offered a third, more ambiguous, alternative: though available young women like the mountain girl can be unwillingly put up for sale in a marriage market, "street outcasts" can be made wards of the state for life. However, Griffith avoided the traditional depiction of Ishtar priestesses as temple prostitutes, instead labeling them "vestal virgins." Griffith also dealt with prostitution in the short film *The Resurrection* (1909) and the feature *Lady of the Pavements* (1929).

Further Reading: Campbell, Russell. "Fallen Woman' Prostitute Narratives in Cinema." <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1199/rcfr8b.htm>; Drew, William M. D. *W. Griffith's Intolerance: Its Genesis and Its Vision*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1986.

David Yost

J

JACK THE RIPPER. “Jack the Ripper” was the sobriquet given to the killer of five female prostitutes murdered in Whitechapel, London, between August and November 1888. During this period, letters allegedly from the murderer and signed “Jack the Ripper” were sent to the press. In one, the writer claimed, “I am down on whores and I shan’t quit ripping them till I do get buckled” (i.e., arrested). Whether these letters were genuine or hoaxes has never been established.

The five victims were Mary Ann Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes, and Mary Jane Kelly. All had their throats cut, and all except Stride had been mutilated. Organs had been removed from the bodies of Chapman, Eddowes, and Kelly.

The notoriety of these murders derived from their inherently macabre nature, from the mystery surrounding the identity of the murderer, and from the prominence given them in the press. The mutilations led to speculation that the murders had ritualistic significance, and/or that the culprit was perhaps a person with dissection skills, such as a physician. Robert Louis Stevenson’s story, *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, had been published only two years previously, in 1886, which may have fuelled public imagination.

Despite unprecedented police activity and numerous arrests, no one was ever charged with any of these murders, leaving unlimited scope for the wide range of theories about the killer that have been put forward since.

The Ripper murders have also had a lasting effect on public and journalistic assumptions about those who attack prostitutes, particularly that such killers target only prostitutes, and are criminally insane. Neither assumption is correct.

See also London; Murder; Serial Killers; Violence.

Further Reading: Begg, Paul, Martin Fido, and Keith Skinner. *The Jack the Ripper A-Z*. Terra Alta, WV: Headline, 1996; Metropolitan Police Service Web site “The Enduring Mystery of Jack the Ripper.” <http://www.met.police.uk/history/ripper.htm>; Sugden, Philip. *The Complete History of Jack the Ripper*. London: Constable and Robinson, 1995.

Hilary Kinnell

JAPAN. See *Geisha*; *Japanese Cinema*; *Tokyo*; *Yoshiwara*.

JAPANESE CINEMA. The plight of prostitutes is one of Japanese cinema's recurrent motifs. Kenji Mizoguchi's (1898–1956) leisurely paced, beautifully acted melodramas, Shohei Imamura's grittier modernist films, and the innumerable depictions of the sex industry in soft-core pornography all pinpoint (with greater or lesser degrees of subtlety) the status of women in Japan and chronicle the relationship of prostitution to major cultural shifts within Japanese society.

Although prostitution surfaces in countless Japanese movies, Mizoguchi is unquestionably the most influential (and arguably the most artistically distinguished) director to ever tackle the historical implications of the many varieties of sex for hire in his native country. Feudal **courtesans**, geishas, concubines, and streetwalkers all appear as protagonists in his work. A woman's perspective is invariably given precedence, and, although his heroines might be deemed victims, they are rarely passive and often prove extraordinarily courageous before yielding to inevitably tragic fates.

A hefty tome could be devoted to Mizoguchi's prostitute heroines, but a few key examples are discussed here. *Osaka Elegy* (1936), a major work from early in the director's career, underlines the traditional Japanese tension between familial responsibility and a desire for autonomy that is often repressed as a result of social pressures. This quandary is especially acute for women; Ayako, *Osaka Elegy's* long-suffering, self-sacrificing protagonist, eventually feels obliged to prostitute herself to help her shiftless father repay some ineptly embezzled money. Ayako is stymied by a double bind that plagues many of Mizoguchi's heroines: her efforts to help meet only with moral disapproval and her subsequent decision to rebel against patriarchal standards brand her an ungrateful wretch.

Even more tragic consequences envelop the doomed women at the center of Mizoguchi's *Life of Oharu* (1952) and *Street of Shame* (1956). Based on a 17th-century novel by Saikaku Ihara, *Life of Oharu* is a harrowing account of a courtesan's downward spiral. Despite the period setting and the ostensible attack on Japanese feudalism, Mizoguchi's evisceration of the conservative patriarchal values that force Oharu into sexual servitude is strikingly similar to the critique embedded in his contemporary melodramas. From one vantage point, Oharu's near-schematic decline—from a beautiful woman who is initially worshipped by her aristocratic patrons and ultimately left to fend for herself as a common streetwalker—seems to encourage a pessimistic belief in redemption through suffering. Yet, Mizoguchi's career was strewn with paradoxes: a man who both denounced Japanese prostitution and frequented **brothels**, he was both a protofeminist and a director whose fatalistic creed led him to describe himself as a mere “dedicated observer and recorder” who thought his primary responsibility was to “portray life as it is.” Given Mizoguchi's lack of faith in utopian solutions, it is perhaps fitting that, of the five oppressed prostitutes in *Street of Shame* (his last film), the only one who achieved at least a partial victory over adversity was the least altruistic and most avaricious character.

Nothing could be farther from the languid pace and traditionalist emphasis of Mizoguchi's late masterpieces than the unabashedly modernist films of Shohei Imamura (1926–), which often feature brazenly assertive, earthy women. *Pigs and Battleships* (1961) takes a palpable delight in dissecting the cultural collisions between American GI s and local prostitutes in post–1945 Japan. Another major early film, *The Insect Woman* (1963), is a picaresque narrative that revolves around Tomé, a woman who escapes her abusive father by fleeing a countryside she associates



Toshiko IIZUKA (as Takasode), Kôtarô BANDÔ (as Seinosuke) in Kenji Mizoguchi's 1946 film *Utamaro's Five Women*. Courtesy of Photofest.

with **rape** and **incest**. After a brief hiatus as a factory worker and **union** activist, she rises to the top of the economic heap in **Tokyo** as a successful madam. Punctuated with quasi-Brechtian freeze frames and protracted narrative interruptions (and greatly enhanced by Sachiko Hidari's bravura lead performance), Tomé's career in the sex industry is viewed against the background of seminal events in 20th-century Japanese history: the post-World War II American occupation, the Korean War, and the economic resurgence of the 1950s. A filmmaker blessed with a propulsive, healthily vulgar energy, Imamura seems to be making a point that is oddly congruent with the conclusion implicitly reached by Mizoguchi in *Street of Shame*: to survive in the hyperkinetic capitalist ambience of post-World War II Japan, hookers and **madams** need to be as ruthless as the corrupt businessmen who seek out their services.

Although even more stylistically daring than Imamura's audacious movies, Seijun Suzuki's (1923–) florid tributes to downtrodden, rebellious prostitutes—*Gate of Flesh* (1964) and *Story of a Prostitute* (1965)—are examples of the once-derided “*roman porno*” (or “romantic pornography”) films produced by Nikkatsu Studios. However, Suzuki's films, with their antiauthoritarian and antimilitaristic themes, bear little resemblance to what Westerners term “pornography.” In certain respects, the pulpy genre context allowed Suzuki to eschew mainstream respectability and take on the interrelationship of sex and power with unflinching bluntness. A daring assault on Japanese propriety, *Gate of Flesh* focuses on the peculiar code of honor shared by a bedraggled group of prostitutes who hide out in a bombed-out building within a Tokyo still coming to terms with the aftermath of World War II. In a city teeming with sex-starved American servicemen and crafty black marketers, the women pledge to never

sleep with a man without remuneration—unless they want to face nearly unendurable punishment. When one of the female cadre's recruits falls transgressively in love, any illusion of female solidarity evaporates. *Story of a Prostitute* takes on the even more daring topic of the “**comfort women**” requisitioned by the Japanese military during World War II to serve as sexual slaves for the officer corps. An over-the-top melodrama aided by inventive wide-screen compositions, the impossible love affair between Harumi, a Chinese “comfort woman,” and Mikami, a compassionate Japanese officer, suggests a synthesis of *Tristan and Isolde* and one of Samuel Fuller’s more lurid film noirs.

Given Japan’s booming sex industry, it is unsurprising that a motley assortment of prostitutes, madams, and sadomasochism devotees pepper pornography, anime, and other less than respectable (if not entirely dismissible) cinematic genres. The prostitutes at the center of recent Japanese movies are rarely as memorable as their counterparts in Mizoguchi and Imamura’s now-classic films. The call girl, for example, who dons whips and sadomasochistic regalia for the delectation of wealthy clients in Ryu Murakami’s *Tokyo Decadence* (1992), is a semicatatonic cipher. On the other hand, the teenage prostitutes of Masato Harada’s *Bounce Ko Gals* (1997), whose schoolgirl uniforms conceal a shrewd business sense, embody both resourcefulness and a melancholy pride in their ability to deceive lecherous, middle-aged men.

See also Films; Patriarchy.

Further Reading: Barrett, Gregory. *Archetypes in Japanese Film: The Sociopolitical and Religious Significance of the Principal Heroes and Heroines*. Toronto: Associate Universities Press, 1989; McDonald, Keiko. *Mizoguchi*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984; Teo, Stephen. “Seijun Suzuki: Authority in Minority.” Senses of Cinema Web site <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/00/8/miff/suzuki.html>.

Richard Porton

JEWETT, HELEN (1814–36). Helen Jewett, born Dorcas Doyen, was an outspoken New York City prostitute whose clients included many prominent men. In 1836, she was brutally murdered in her bed, and the crime and subsequent trial were followed closely in the press. Jewett worked in some of the best establishments at the time and was open about her trade. She corresponded with her lovers by mail and her daily trips to the post office were the subject of press after her death, as were her numerous relationships with important men in the city. Jewett was also noted for her “spunk” and sarcasm in dealing with men who were ungentlemanly. At the time, prostitutes went to the police when they had disputes with others, and record shows that Jewett sought and received damages after a rowdy client cut some of her dresses. Richard P. Robinson, a young man from a respected family with whom Jewett had an affair, was acquitted. Media coverage of the **murder** and the trial was sensational and thorough. Pamphlets were published within weeks of the murder. It is reported that Robinson raved about Jewett to a nurse (who then assumed that Jewett was his wife) before he died of a mysterious illness in 1855.

Further Reading: Cohen, Patricia Cline. *The Murder of Helen Jewett*. New York: Random House, 1998.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

JOHN SCHOOL. See Diversion Programs.

K

KAMA SUTRA. Vatsyayan's *Kama Sutra*, an ancient Indian text of great erudition and immense sociological and medical importance, may have been written as early as the 5th century B.C.E., although several scholars have argued for its composition as late as 6th-century C.E. One of the finest works of its kind, the *Kama Sutra* (which in Sanskrit means "aphorisms on love") embodies the culmination of a long tradition of erotic literature as is evident from references made in it to several earlier works. The impact of the *Kama Sutra* on the subsequent works in this genre is indisputable. Also, classical Sanskrit literature is replete with descriptions where Vatsyayan's influence is unmistakable and points to the *Kama Sutra's* widespread use by the later poets for this purpose.

Despite its reputation in the West as a work of intensely provocative Oriental exotica, the *Kama Sutra* can be read in the larger context of ancient India thought rather than treated merely as a technical guide to sexual enjoyment and other sensual pleasures. The Vedic texts of ancient India enjoin on man to pursue the threefold path of *dharmā* (religious and moral duties), *artha* (practical life in general), and *kama* (desire, passion, and pleasure but not exclusively sexual pleasure). *Kama Shastras* (books dealing with the pursuit of sexual pleasures) thus complement religious and scriptural writings and works such as Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (which deals with techniques of acquisition of wealth, and other worldly matters) provide guidance for a complete and integrated life for a citizen.

Written in a tone and manner—dry, didactic, business-like—akin more to obtuse critical commentaries than literature of seduction, the *Kama Sutra's* 1,252-line stanzas devote ample space to an explanation of man's obligation to study *Kama Shastras* to achieve earthly fulfillment. Several early sections dilate on the daily life of a citizen, festivals, social gatherings, drinking parties, picnics, and other social diversions; the kind of women the citizen should court and the benefits to be expected out of such liaisons; and the virtues of a friend and female messengers who help men approach and seduce women. Another section details the arts and skills a man should master along with those of *Kama Shastras*. The 64 skills thus listed include singing, painting, architecture, chemistry and mineralogy, water and other sports, study of languages, gambling,



Erotic scene of lovemaking from the 18th century Indian manuscript of the *Kama Sutra*. The Art Archive / JFB.

gymnastics, and versification. Advice is offered on the manner and method of acquiring a wife and how a wife should conduct herself in the absence of her husband or treat other wives of her husband if there are any. Concluding sections spell out how to make oneself attractive and provide information on aphrodisiacs, potions, and charms.

The *Kama Sutra's* widespread popularity, of course, stems from sections that discuss the modes of enjoying sexual love with women, establishing relations with maidens through successful courtship, and relations with wives of others through manipulation with the help of friends and female messengers. Suitability of sexual partners to each other, whether women ejaculate, the nature of female sexual pleasure, and kinds of love are discussed. The varieties of embraces, kisses, and postures used for sexual congress are elaborately enumerated. Oral sex gains a separate section. A detailed analysis of the nail-scratches and love bites is provided; their size, location on the body, and the preferences of women of different regions in this context are listed and compared. The qualities that *all* women should have include knowledge of the

Kama Sutra and adequate skill in all the arts connected with it, the sage Vatsyayan insisted. There is a section on **courtesans** and how to interact with them, the kinds of men courtesans should avoid (sickly, avaricious), the qualities they should possess (beauty and amiability, liking for wealth, ability to take delight in sexual unions resulting from love), and dos and don'ts for courtesans living in open marriages and ways of getting rid of men who are no longer wealthy or desirable to a courtesan.

The morality that underpins the *Kama Sutra* is no different from that of the *Arthashastra*. If the author of the *Arthashastra*, chiefly concerned with profit, elaborates on the means of cheating opponents by devious means to amass wealth, the author of the *Kama Sutra* instructed the reader how to deceive maidens and seduce wives of others.

Frank eroticism and sexual symbolism that permeated life and letters in ancient India has two distinct features that stand out. In their treatment of sexual relations, *Kama Shastras*, including the *Kama Sutra* as well as classical Sanskrit literature, showed remarkable restraint and sophistication as compared with the grossness of erotic writings elsewhere. Also, sex was treated as the basis of a mutually satisfying relationship for both man and woman and not merely as an unrestrained expression of lust of the male.

See also *Kuttani-mata*.

Further Reading: Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*. London: 1954. Reprint, Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1981; Chaudhuri, Nirad C. *The Continent of Circe: An Essay on the Peoples of India*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1975.

Gulshan R. Taneja

KANHOPATRA. Kanhopatra was a **courtesan** saint poet in 16th-century India. She belonged to the Varkari cult, a community of devotees who worship the god Pandurang Vitthal of the Pandharpur temple in the Marathi-speaking region of western India. Beautiful and devout, she was forced to follow her mother's matrilineal profession though she was strongly opposed to it. Her poems, known as *abhangas* in Marathi, movingly portray her struggle to escape her lot and are still sung by the Varkaris on their yearly pilgrimage on foot to Pandharpur. These poems, some 30 in number, are a window into the mind of a woman deeply devoted to the god Vitthal, who implored him to rescue her from the clutches of a lifestyle that she found intolerable. Courtesans such as Kanhopatra are to be distinguished from the *devadasis* who are temple prostitutes.

It is said that the king of Bedar (through whom Kanhopatra is historically located) learned of her great beauty and requested that she come to his palace as his mistress. When Kanhopatra refused, he sent his men to bring her by force. She ran to the Pandharpur temple pleading with Vitthal to save her, and as the story goes, died at the spot. It is believed that she merged into the idol of Vitthal in a **marriage** that was denied in her mortal life. Another version of the story claims that Kanhopatra had told the temple priests not to give away her dead body, which was then buried to the south of the temple, on which spot a tree sprung up mysteriously and which devotees still worship.

Further Reading: Mahipati's *Bhaktivijaya*, trans. Justin E. Abbott and N. R. Godbole as *Stories of Indian Saints. Vol II*. Pune, India, 1933. Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1982.

Rohini Mokashi-Punekar

KEELER, CHRISTINE (1942-). Christine Keeler, a London call girl, became famous after her involvement in what became known as a **Profumo Affair**—a political scandal in the United Kingdom in 1963, involving the Secretary of State for War, John Profumo (1915–2006), a conservative cabinet minister. Profumo had a brief affair with Keeler, whom he met at a party at Cliveden in 1961. The relationship lasted only a few weeks and was ended by Profumo. The press picked up rumors of the affair in 1962, when information leaked out that Keeler had an affair with an attaché of the Soviet Embassy in London, Evgeny Ivanov. Asked about his affair with Keeler in the House of Commons, Profumo lied. In June 1963, he admitted to the affair and resigned. In October 1963, the Conservative Prime Minister Harold MacMillan resigned as a result of the scandal in the party. Keeler was found guilty on perjury charges and sentenced to nine months in prison. Stephen Ward, a friend of Keeler's who introduced her to Profumo, committed suicide. The image of Keeler, where she, naked, straddles a back-to-front chair, became a 1960s icon.

Further Reading: Granatstein, J. L., and David Stafford. *Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1990.

Maria Mikolchak

KIMBALL, NELL (1852–1934). Kimball, an American prostitute and madam, wrote a frank autobiography of her life that was published in 1918. Born on June 14, 1852, to devout Roman Catholic, German-American parents in southern Illinois, Kimball suffered through a physically abusive childhood. At 15, after being abandoned by a suitor with whom she had run away to St. Louis, Kimball joined the **brothel** of Sigmund and Emma Flegel as “Goldie Brown.” Kimball’s maternal aunt had been a prostitute in the same house. Goldie serviced four to five guests a night, never hurrying them, always using a low voice, and always acting as though she was having the time of her life.

Kimball noted that prostitutes had three good ways to leave the business: by becoming the mistress of a wealthy man, by marrying, or by becoming a **madam**. She became the kept woman of a cigar maker for two years. In 1878, with the man’s wife pressuring him to end the relationship, Kimball was given money to leave St. Louis. Kimball moved to Chicago, met a safecracker in a whorehouse, married him, and bore a son. After the **murder** of her husband and the death of her child, Kimball used the cigar maker’s money to become a madam.

Kimball opened a high-class brothel on Basin Street in **New Orleans** in the early 1880s. She noted that business jumped dramatically in times of epidemics, wars, and other stresses. The self-defense killing of a client by one of her prostitutes forced Kimball to relocate to the Tenderloin section of San Francisco in 1898. She returned to **Storyville** in New Orleans in 1901 and closed her brothel in 1917 under government pressure. Kimball died in Florida in 1934. She adopted the name “Nell Kimball” after her retirement, with her original name unknown.

Further Reading: Longstreet, Stephen, ed. *Nell Kimball: Her Life as an American Madam by Herself*. New York: Macmillan, 1970.

Caryn E. Neumann

KINK. “Kink” refers to sexual fantasies and activities beyond sexual intercourse that prostitutes and other sex workers may be asked to perform. Kinks are not **paraphilias**, as they are not pathological. They are fantasies that sex workers can decide whether or not they feel comfortable acting out. Some of the most common are described here.

“Age play” encompasses fantasies related to different stages in life, such as infancy, and various age-related roles, such as parent or teacher.

A client with a baby fantasy wants to be treated as if she or he were a baby. Often this is without sexual play, or with limited sexual play such as self-pleasuring. The “adult baby,” as they are called by aficionados, wants to be diapered, may want to wet or soil the diaper and then be cleaned and changed, wants bottles, and wants to be cuddled, nurtured, cared for, held, and babied. This fantasy often stems from a client’s desire to be taken care of, treated well, to surrender the responsibilities of adult life, and to be able to fully relax into a child-like calm.

Incest fantasies can involve parents and children or siblings. In mother and child fantasies, the client generally takes on the role of the child, and the sex worker takes on the role of the mother. This fantasy often includes some sort of discipline scenario.

Father and child incest fantasies usually involve a male client playing with his “little girl” or “little boy.” Often clients desire a young-looking sexual service provider for this fantasy, and one who is able to accommodate this sensitive subject matter. This fantasy may include the client tucking his little girl or boy into bed, reading a bedtime story, some sexual exploration and sexual play, often with the part of the curious sexual novice being played by the professional,

or self-pleasuring on the part of the client. The client may want the service provider to call him “Daddy.”

Sibling incest fantasies often involve sexual exploration or activity, sometimes including intercourse, in which the participants pretend to be siblings.

Sexual initiation fantasies may involve an aspect of sex education with a teacher or parent. Some such fantasies involve “teachers,” who, in the process of teaching sex education, shows the “student” how sex works. Students may want to be praised for what good learners they are, what nice genitals they have, or how well they follow instruction. This same sort of scenario can be enacted with a “mother” role, for which the sex worker plays the client’s mother instead of teacher and is teaching him or her about sex.

Another variation on the sexual initiation fantasy involves an older friend. This has been called the “Mrs. Robinson” fantasy after the film *The Graduate* (1967), in which the main character is seduced by an older woman, Mrs. Robinson, who is the mother of his fiancé. The client usually plays the young and innocent one being seduced by an older woman or man.

Some kinks focus on specific activities or even body parts rather than roles. “Ass worship” often includes rimming (mouth-to-anus contact), finger play, and sometimes anal sex in addition to stroking, kissing, and massaging the buttocks.

“Cross-dressers” want to dress counter to their sex and are usually men who want to dress as women. Cross-dressers who seek prostitutes or other sex workers dress up with the help, guidance, and companionship of the sex worker. This fantasy may or may not include sexual contact. Some cross-dressers merely want to be able to dress up in a safe environment. Many male cross-dressers like to dress up and hang out with a group of women as “one of the girls.” Some clients may want to go out while cross-dressed with the moral support of the sex worker.

Domination, when used to refer to sexual activity, refers to playing with power dynamics. Prostitutes and other sex workers are often willing to incorporate such activity into their work. A female sex worker who specializes in domination is called a dominatrix. Various roles and activities recur in fantasies of domination.

“Female-dominant anal play” refers to a woman with a dildo who has anal sex with the receptive client.

Slave fantasies cast the client in the role of slave to the prostitute or dominatrix. Slave fantasies can involve servant tasks, and clients may seek punishment (humiliation or pain) or reward (the chance to kiss the feet or shoes of the dominant, masturbate in front of the sex worker, or whatever reward has been negotiated between the players).

Humiliation scenes or role-playing may be sex-based, racially based, or whatever personal orientation the client has and depend on how far the sex worker is willing to go. These scenes may include the client being “forced” to drink his or her own urine or other bodily excretions, being treated like an animal, or being paraded or displayed in compromising situations in front of others of the sex worker’s choosing.

“Pain play” refers to actual physical pain and may incorporate flogging, spanking, beating, piercing, branding, cigarette burning, hair pulling, and other activities. Pain play may be mixed with other elements (such as dominance and submission, or humiliation) or may be used on its own. Pain play has the potential of being highly activating and cathartic, and has been used in many religions as a route to altered states of consciousness.

Teacher fantasies often have discipline as a component, and almost always involve an element of age play.

Discipline may be mixed with other elements (teacher, slave, etc.) and is rarely a stand-alone fantasy.

In financial domination scenes, the sex worker takes control, to some extent, of the client's finances. This may be as limited as going on a shopping trip and running up the client's credit cards, or as intricate as the client having a drawer full of bills in different denominations that the sex worker can take from as they talk or play.

Foot and shoe fetishes or "foot worship" are commonly known and often joked about, but foot and shoe fetishes are not as common as this might lead one to believe. However, those who have this kink are very committed to it. Foot fetish may also include trampling the client, which means stepping on the genitals or other parts of the body.

A "girlfriend experience" (GFE) involves the sex worker acting the part of the client's temporary girl friend, with all that term entails. Clients looking for a GFE usually want deep kissing, cuddling, talking, and sometimes even a meal together, in addition to the usual sexual activity.

In goddess worship, the sex worker is a Goddess, and the client treats her accordingly. This may include lavish gifts, massage, shopping trips, and other luxurious treatment.

"Golden showers," known as "piss play" or "water sports," involve urine. Golden showers may be given or received by the sex worker, depending on the sex worker's comfort levels and the desires of the client.

Saddles, tails, riding crops, and even full riding gear are all part of fantasy "horse play." The "secretary fantasy" puts the client in control and the sex worker at his behest. Secretary fantasy scenes may include office sex combined with discipline.

LaSara Firefox

KIRCHNER, ERNST LUDWIG (1880–1938). Ernst Ludwig Kirchner was a German painter whose depictions of Berlin street scenes from 1913 to 1915 made reference to the city's rampant prostitution and reputation for modernized, urban sexuality. A member of the earlier German Expressionist group *Die Brücke* (*The Bridge*), Kirchner continued his Expressionist style in the street scenes, his sharply angular and elongated figures set in swift motion to echo the frenetic pace of the modern city.

In 1905, Kirchner and several other artists in Dresden founded *Die Brücke*, a group noted for its use of harsh colors and distorted shapes to convey strong emotions. Many of the group's members, including Kirchner, moved in 1911 to Berlin, where the artists gradually drifted apart and formally dissolved their association in 1913. Kirchner's subsequent street scene paintings conveyed the fragmented experience of life in Berlin. The broken lines and quickly rendered figures denote Kirchner's impressions of the bustling big city street at night. Focusing frequently on the figure of the streetwalker, Kirchner's paintings operated within contemporary debates about urban immorality and the corruption of youth. At a time when morality associations were calling for restrictions on everything from prostitution to provocative shop window displays, Kirchner painted the erotic interactions of Berlin nightlife in a series of 14 works. Kirchner's rapid brushstrokes and bold colors suggest an agitated sexual tension as bodies purposely brush against each other on the crowded street. Inspired by his observation of prostitutes in Berlin, Kirchner's street scenes celebrate the free sexuality mythologized as part of modern life and inherently poke fun at contemporary legislation seeking to protect the morality of society.

Further Reading: Simmons, Sherwin. "Ernst Kirchner's Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury, and Immorality in Berlin, 1913–1916." *Art Bulletin* 82, no.1 (March 2000): 117–48; Sykora, Katharina. *Weiblichkeit*,

Grossstadt, Moderne: Ernst Ludwig Kirchners Berliner Strassenszenen 1913–1915. Berlin: Museumspädagogischer Dienst Berlin, 1996.

Rachel Epp Buller

KLUTE. *Klute* (1971), a detective film noir, explores the psychological, social, and economic dynamics of prostitution. Obscene letters to a prostitute “written by a very disturbed man” lead John Klute (Donald Sutherland), a rural Pennsylvania policeman, to Bree Daniels (Jane Fonda), a streetwise but classy and successful **New York City call girl**, whom he coerces into guiding him through the *demi-monde* of prostitution. Having been savagely beaten by a sadistic “freak,” she is reluctant to return to her former haunts.

Bree’s desire to get out of the sex business and establish a new identity as an actress is complicated by the fact that she cannot meet the expectations of commercial producers, agents, and directors. In contrast, prostitution gives her a modicum of control over the economic terms, and meeting the sexual fantasies of clients allows her to feel that she is “the best actress in the world.” The juxtaposition of visual scenes with overlapping audiotracks develops themes of patriarchal oppression in both commercial enterprises, legitimate (acting) and illegitimate (prostitution). The film also critiques the extremes of existentialist and libertarian philosophies in the permissive, no-shame, anything-goes 1960s ethos.

The tour of the underworld of prostitution reveals a socioeconomic hierarchy. Distinctions are made based on self-regulated norms of appearance and behavior consistent with the class of client served. Dialogue features metaphors of family in both patriarchal (pimp) and matriarchal (madam) domains. The cinematography and editing contribute to the treatment of the psychology and gender politics of patriarchal oppression. Director Alan Pakula and cinematographer Gordon Willis used naturalistic lighting in the New York cinematographic style to heighten the psychological realism. Restrictive framing of the wide-screen format with silhouettes and shadows contributes to themes of despair, paranoia, and patriarchal oppression.

Fonda won the Academy Award for Best Actress in 1971, although the film was criticized for its frank portrayal of prostitution and drug use. It has been noted the film undermines the noir genre in reframing the woman’s role by providing Bree with a realistic place in the socioeconomic system. Bree has been seen as an everywoman caught in the dilemma of choice and struggling for love and independence.



Jane Fonda (as Bree Daniel) in Alan J. Pakula’s 1971 film *Klute*. Courtesy of Photofest.

See also Patriarchy.

Further Reading: Giddis, Diane. "The Divided Woman: Bree Daniels in Klute." *Women & Film*, 3–4, no. 1 (1973): 57–61; Gledhill, Christine. "Klute 1: A Contemporary Film Noir and Feminist Criticism." and "Klute 2: Feminism and Klute." In *Women in Film Noir*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan. London: British Film Institute, 1998; Goldstone, Bobbie. "Klute, Again." *Off Our Backs*, 31 October 1971, p. 34; Lukas, Karli. "Klute." Senses of Cinema Web site <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/cteq/01/13/klute.html>.

E. Alyn Warren III

KUTTANI-MATA. Of the several literary and artistic works in erotic genres produced in ancient India, Damodaragupta's *Kuttani-mata* [the counsel of a retired prostitute turned a procuress to a younger or a new member of the profession ("Kuttani" means prostitute and "mata" means counsel)] is unique in many ways. Written in the late 8th or early 9th century, it acquired great reputation and was widely known, read, quoted, and referred to in major works of rhetoric, grammar, and historiography, such as Kalhana's *Raja-tarangini*, during the next 500 years. From the 13th century onward, *Kuttani-mata* lapsed into almost complete obscurity until it came to light with the discovery of a 13th-century palm leaf manuscript in 1883. Several scholarly editions based on collations of different manuscripts have since been published.

The narrative, running to upward of 1,000 two-line verses, describes a young and beautiful courtesan, Malati, who, despite her obvious charms, was able to entice only "low-caste, unattractive, sickly, ugly and low-paying" clients. She, therefore, resolves to seek the counsel of a prostitute who, now being old and incapable of earning a living, had become a procuress. Vikrala, the procuress, accordingly advises her over a length of time about the art of charming young, attractive, and affluent customers. The schooling of the novice takes the form of direct advice as well as stories and parables that vividly illustrate the counsel offered by the teacher. The poet describes the whole process of education as comparable to those described in ancient *Puranas* in which young students are taught scriptures and literary texts and imparted other forms of knowledge. The end and object of the counsel sought, and given, is how to dupe infatuated customers of their wealth and move on to others when these are bereft of their last penny and how a professional prostitute can ill afford to become emotionally involved with her customers. Incapable of practicing her profession when in childhood or in old age, a prostitute who falls in love in her youth ends up with begging for a living, the procuress maintains.

Elegantly written in the then-popular verse form *arya*, *Kuttani-mata* emerges as a work of great literary merit. There are vividly drawn characters, a lively narrative, flashes of wit, and irrepressible humor. Damodaragupta was a master of word-picture and was erudite in the true tradition of ancient poet-scholars in Sanskrit.

No other Sanskrit work goes into the intricacies of the social and professional aspect of prostitution as *Kuttani-mata* does, such as the harlots' fees, detailed descriptions of **brothels**, the steps of initiation a young prostitute goes through, procurers, female messengers, customers from varied strata of society, and colonies of prostitutes. Although society looked down on them on account of the proverbial deceptive character of the prostitutes, prostitution as an institution flourished because of some much-admired features. Courtesans were urbane, educated, and sophisticated women who had attractive personalities and beguiling manners and took the art of pleasing men seriously. They were proficient in arts such as music, dance, and theater. Their education and training involved study of literature, including erotic genres, and crafts such as

wood work and metal work. However, pecuniary gain was the sole objective of their profession. Their bodies were a means of livelihood. Lovemaking was an art to be learned and a craft to be practiced with the express intention of making a livelihood. The full and final extortion of besotted customers' wealth in total was inevitable. An erstwhile wealthy aristocrat rendered penniless by the prostitutes he frequented was a stock character in many literary texts in Sanskrit.

Kuttani-mata is densely packed with social, economic, and political realities of the day and is considered a valuable source of information on contemporary beliefs and practices in politics and administration, religion, arts and architecture, the family, **marriage**, and the position of women in society, social attitudes toward prostitution, education, and regional geography. The ideal female form receives much attention and analysis through the characterization of both Malati and other female characters. Frequently, these descriptions follow well-established literary norms.

Damodaragupta's objective in composing *Kuttani-mata* was to warn the readers of the vices of prostitution and the poem is widely interpreted as a work of social criticism and comic satire. Yet there is much to distract the reader from the moral that appears as formal statement of intent tagged to the poem rather than embodied in the structure of the work.

Further Reading: Damodaragupta. *Kuttani-mata*, ed. T. M. Tripathi. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944; Shastri, Ajaya Mitra. *India as Seen in the Kuttani-mata of Damodarragupta*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1975.

Gulshan R. Taneja



LA PAÏVA. La Païva (1819–84) was born Esther Pauline, to a Jewish family living in Russia. At the age of 17 she got married but soon abandoned her husband and went to live in Paris. During the early months in Paris, she worked in a **brothel** desperately trying to find a protector. In 1841 she moved to Ems in Prussia where she met the pianist Henri Herz and lived with him as a wife for several years. It was then that she changed her name to Blanche, symbolizing purity and whiteness. In 1846, abandoned by Herz, Blanche had to start anew, searching for men to pay her bills. Several came her way. When in 1849 news came of her husband's death, Blanche, by that time famous for her conquests, married a Portuguese gentleman, Albino Francesco de Païva-Araujo, in exchange for her paying off his debts. She adopted for herself the name of Marchioness de Païva and since then was known as "La Païva," one of the most sought-after **courtesans**. The difficulty of obtaining her favors became legend. With a keen business sense, La Païva cleverly invested the money she received from her lovers. One of her most famous projects became the Hotel Païva, which took 10 years from design to its building. When divorce became legal in France, La Païva divorced her husband and in 1871 married Count Guido Henckel von Donnersmarck. At the time of her **marriage**, La Païva was 52 years old, but she took 10 years off her age. She died in 1884 from a stroke and was buried in the Henckel von Donnersmarck family vault.

Further Reading: Hickman, Katie. *Courtesans: Money, Sex and Fame in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: William Morrow, 2003; Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*. Trans. Richard Daly. New York: Grove Press, 2004; Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-Century Courtesans*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Maria Mikolchak

LAP DANCING. *See Stripping.*

LATIN AMERICAN CINEMA. The prostitute in Latin American cinema is remarkable for her visibility when compared with the cinematic tradition of Hollywood, where, through the

years, morality codes have dictated the content of much of what was released, and, therefore, it omitted sensitive subjects such as prostitution in screen presentations. In Latin America, unlike the United States where prohibitionist state policies toward prostitution have prevailed, most countries have had regulationist policies similar to those of Catholic countries such as France and Italy, which have legalized sexual commerce and tended to view prostitution in the light of the Augustinian school of “necessary evil” rather than Protestant taboo. In large measure, the greater presence of the prostitute in Latin American cinema is a product of the deep social history of that region, as well as a product of a literary tradition that has remained true to the realities of this tradition. Moreover, the portrayal of the prostitute in this region reflects the politics of filmmaking itself as played out from country to country from the beginning of movie making in the early 20th century.

Historically, relatively strong cinematic traditions have developed, particularly in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Cuba. The treatment of the prostitute in each serves to illustrate how ideologies of state in historical contexts impacted the way sexual commerce was represented, as well as how sexual commerce impacted on culture in various parts of Latin America. In Argentina, the silent film era of the 1920s produced numerous films that combined stories of the prostitute with tango. Tango as a musical form was initially identified with the brothel in much the same way that jazz was associated with the bordellos of **New Orleans**. Director Augustin Ferreyea, shunned by the Buenos Aires establishment, dominated the silent film industry of Argentina of the 1920s with such films, shot in the working-class tenements of the *arrabales* (“suburbs”) depicting prostitutes, the poor, the marginalized, and those left out of the liberal dream of Argentina. Similarly, in Mexico from the 1930s to the 1950s, a filmic genre—cabaret films—which were melodramas about prostitutes, drew on popular music such as that of singer/composer Agustín Lara, to poeticize brothel life. Mexico’s first sound picture, *Santa* (1931), based on the novel by Federico Gamboa, portrayed an innocent girl forced into prostitution. By 1943, the prostitute of the film *Maria Candelaria*, the antithesis of the innocent *Santa*, is depicted as a self-contained, strong woman, a reflection of a period of heightened Mexican nationalism during the “Good Neighbor” period of U.S.–Latin American relations.

During the “Cinema Novo” period of Brazilian cinema—a period of state-sponsored filmmaking (1960s–80s) that used cinema as a vehicle for nation building—numerous films were produced that recognized prostitutes in a variety of ways, from victims of imperialism to agents of desire, reflecting not only a wide range of approaches, but also the absence of inhibition and restriction on the part of filmmakers and the state in the discussion of prostitution. This tradition includes the films *Iracema* (1977), *Xica* (1977), *Bye Bye Brazil* (1980), and *All Nudity Will Be Punished* (1973). The approach of the equally strong state project, The Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC), founded in March 1959, less than three months into the Cuban Revolution, departed quite radically from the Brazilian approach, representing more the pedagogical strategy of a socialist experiment. Until recently, the revolution eliminated prostitution itself from Cuba, citing it as a vestige of capitalism, and rarely used it as the subject matter of its prolific film program. During the 1990s, along with market capitalism, the prostitute seeped through the cracks of the revolution via street and film. *La Vida es Silbar* (“Life Is to Whistle”) (1998), funded by a grant from the Sundance Institute in the United States, tells the story of a Cuban male who has a paid affair with a foreign woman. Here, both film and financing eluded the girdle of the socialist state.

A discussion of the prostitute in Latin American cinema is incomplete without reference to the role played by writers of the recent of literature “boom” in that region. For example, Peruvian

writer Mario Vargas Llosa's 1973 novel *Pantaleón y las Visitadoras* ("Captain Pantaoja and the Special Service"), a comedy, was recently adapted to film portraying a prostitute as a sympathetic character, part of a secret arm of the Peruvian military intended to alleviate tensions of soldiers serving in the jungle. Columbian writer **Gabriel García Márquez'** 1972 novella *La increíble y triste historia de la cándida Erendira y de su abuela desalmada* (*The Incredible and Sad Story of the Candid Erendira and her Heartless Grandmother*), adapted to the screen in the (first) 1983 Miramax production *Erendira*, directed by Mozambique-born Brazilian Ruy Guerra, addresses the social problem of **child prostitution** in the story of an 11-year-old girl forced into prostitution by her grandmother. Aside from critiques of such obvious abuses, Latin American screenplays generally treat prostitutes with warmth, and prostitution itself as a simple, neutral, and relatively problem-free fact of life.

Further Reading: Chanan, Michael. *The Cuban Image*. London: British Film Institute, 1983; *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2003), <http://www.frameworkonline.com/about1.htm>; Johnson, Randal, and Robert Stam, eds. *Brazilian Cinema*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982; King, John. *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America*. New York: Verso, 1990; Lopez, Ana. "A Short History of Latin American Film History." *Journal of Film and Video* 37, no. 1 (Winter 1985), pp. 55–69.

Anne Hayes

LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Latin America's history, which includes a colonial period of some 300 years, offers a logical starting point for the discussion of prostitution as reflected in literature. The Nobel Prize–winning Mexican author Octavio Paz, in an essay in his masterpiece *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (1950), depicts Melinche, the assenting Indian mistress and translator of 16th-century Spanish conqueror Hernán Cortés, in terms of the prostitution of the country to foreigners. As a symbol of Eve and original sin, Melinche represents for Paz all betrayed and violated Indian women, thus underscoring the role of the woman as prostitute as the basis of shame for Mexicans, as well as offers an understanding of the strong tradition of machismo responsible for the simplistic goddess/prostitute dichotomy traditionally associated with that region.

Nineteenth-century Latin American fiction generally depicted the prostitute as a reflection of the basic drives of human beings. Examples include the sentimental prostitute in *Música Sentimental* (1884) by Argentine writer Eugenio Cambacere and the idealistic one in *El Conspirador* (1892) by Peruvian Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera. Twentieth-century Latin American fiction is replete with man-eaters such as portrayed in the Venezuelan novel *Doña Barbara* by Rómulo Gallegos (1884–1969), and promiscuous types such as the oddly named Pura, the sensual dancer of *El Embrujo de Sevilla* (1922) by Uruguayan Carlos Reyles. The prostitute as protagonist enters the century through Chilean Augusto D'Halmar's *Juana Lucero* (1902) and Mexican Federico Gamboa's now-classic *Santa* (1903). A poor, seduced, and abandoned country girl, Santa becomes first a high- and then a low-class prostitute in **brothels** and **bordellos**. Mixing lasciviousness with moralism, by today's standards this would be considered an "exploitation novel" with no in-depth treatment of the character of Santa as an individual.

In the "boom" period of Latin American literature later in the 20th century, the harlot emerges as an individual. In particular, Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa views prostitution as a primary institution of Peruvian society and uses its connection to other more respectable institutions—government, the military, organized **religion**—to expose aspects of them. In *La casa verde*, *Conversación en la Catedral* and *Pantaleón y las visitadoras* (*The Green House*), the

prostitute herself is never presented as an incarnation of evil, nor is there moral judgment of her. Yet those who exploit her are portrayed as evil, thus creating the brothel as the site of truth both literally and metaphorically. Another leading figure of Latin American “boom” literature, **Gabriel García Márquez**, regularly includes the prostitute in his novels. A brief list of important prostitutes in his work include Pilar Ternera and Petra Cotes in *Cien años de soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*)(1967), the abused child prostitute in the novella *La increíble y triste historia de la cándida Eréndira y de su abuela desalmada* (*The Incredible and Sad Story of the Candid Eréndira and her Heartless Grandmother*) (1972), the patriarch’s mother Bendición Alvarado in *El otoño del patriarca* (*The Autumn of the Patriarch*)(1975), Florentino Ariza’s friends in the hotel in *Amore en los tiempos de colera* (*Love in the Time of Cholera*)(1985), and the 14-year-old in *Memories of My Melancholy Whores* (2005). Generally, García Márquez laments the exploitation prostitutes suffer, but he does not disapprove of the workers themselves, or of the male customers of prostitutes, unless the men use coercion or **violence**. For García Márquez, prostitution is a specific manifestation of more generalized economic and political suppression. Feminist Puerto Rican writer Rosario Ferré’s 1986 novella *Maldito amor* uses the prostitute Gloria as a metaphor for Puerto Rico’s colonization by the United States, thereby reinforcing the view of the prostitute as victim of **patriarchy**. In general, Latin American women writers have not afforded prostitutes status outside of that of tragic victims.

Brazil, the receptacle of the largest and longest forced migration of Africans during its colonial and national periods, has linked the prostitute in literature not only to patriarchy and capitalism, but more specifically to slavery and postemancipatory (1898) race relations. For example, modernist literary icon Oswald de Andrade (1890–1954), in *O santeiro do Manguê* (“*The Saint-Seller of Manguê*”), a censored dramatic poem that came out only in 1991, 30 years after its composition and several attempts at publishing, chooses Rio de Janeiro’s red light district, Manguê, as a place of convergence for degraded human relations surrounded by an urban space. Using Manguê’s proximity to the harbor, prostitution is linked to the slave ships of an earlier time, creating a scathing critique of bourgeois society via the prostitute. Prostitution as portrayed in Portuguese and Latin American literature is presented with the complexities that accompany this subject in a region where poverty, miscegenation, double standards, and machismo have shaped understandings of gender and culture.

Further Reading: Castillo, Debra A. *Easy Women: Sex and Gender in Modern Mexican Fiction*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1998; Schwartz, Kessel. “The Whorehouse and the Whore in Spanish American Fiction of the 1960s.” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 15, no. 4 (November 1973): 472–87.

Anne Hayes

LAUNDRESSES. “Laundress” appears as a euphemism for “prostitute,” particularly in U.S. military records, but also in census records and other official documents dating to the 19th century. In historical documentation, several “laundresses” listed as sharing living quarters may generally be assumed to represent prostitutes in a brothel. This occupation seems to have been both reported by prostitutes and supplied by military officials and census enumerators, and reasons for both are easily understood. Legitimate uses of the term should not, of course, be confused with the codified use. Other historical and modern euphemisms exist, and include **seamstresses** and **actresses**.

Reform institutions such as **Magdalen Homes** did operate laundries, in which “fallen women” labored.

See also Institutionalization.

Further Reading: Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865–90*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Karen K. Swope

LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Following the miseries of **World War I**, there was a determination to create a new and better world for people to live in. This resolve led to the establishment of the League of Nations—the brainchild of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. With these humanitarian concerns in mind, the League made a commitment to honor the terms of previous international agreements and give a high priority to the needs of women and children. Thus, Article 23 (c) of the Covenant of the League of Nations stated, “The members of the League of Nations will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children.”

A framework of agreements had already been reached through the International Agreement (Paris) 1904, signed by Great Britain, France, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. Signatory parties agreed to establish authorities in each country, charged with coordinating information on trafficking, to keep a watch on railway stations and other places of embarkation, to exercise supervision over employment agencies finding employment abroad, and to interview foreign prostitutes with a view to repatriation.

The International Convention (Paris) 1910 was another such agreement. Austria, Belgium, Hungary, Portugal, and Brazil were added to the list of signatory nations. Signatory parties agreed to punish people who (to gratify the passions of another) procured, enticed, or led away a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes and/or women over the age of 20 through methods of compulsion or fraud, and to keep watch on **ports** and railway stations for people in charge of women or girls destined for an immoral life.

However, as the articles did not include detention in a **brothel** (which was still to be covered by internal national legislation), the primary concern of these instruments remained the protection of respectable white women and girls from **trafficking**. These provisions were included in a new Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children adopted in 1921, drawing in many more countries. This convention raised the age of legal protection from 18 to 21 and dropped the term “white slave traffic.”

The League established an Advisory Committee on Trafficking in Women and Children that included the American social reformer Grace Abbott. A pragmatist, Abbott encouraged the Committee to establish whether or not there really was a traffic in women and children, and if so, between what countries and how it was carried out. This initiative led to the creation of a “Special Body of Experts” appointed to investigate the problems. Over a three-year period, it distributed hundreds of questionnaires, visited 112 countries, and interviewed more than 6,500 people. The final report, published in 1927, took the world by storm. The findings concluded that prostitution and the abuse of women flourished around the world, that most prostitutes in brothels (80%) were foreign, and that a foreign woman was easier to exploit, was unlikely to speak the language, had had her passport stolen, was an illegal immigrant, and had been induced to travel abroad on the promise of employment, **marriage**, or some other fraudulent practice.

It was agreed that the tolerated brothel generated the traffic. However, as most of the “trafficking” consisted of voluntary movements of established prostitutes, they were not covered by existing conventions.

This contradiction remained the nub of the problem that dogged the deliberations and policies of the League, leading to an ever-widening definition of trafficking. Consequently, by 1933 a further convention was adopted that widened the terms of reference to protect persons of full age and of either sex from procurement for profit, even when they consented and were not taken abroad.

Solutions were seen in terms of controlling the movement of women through coercive measures concerning emigration, migration, immigration, and repatriation. They hoped to separate the respectable from the undesirable. Much of this was to be achieved by employing armies of volunteers who patrolled parks and open spaces, manned kiosks at railway stations (on the lookout for lost girls and suspicious characters), and supervised the journeys of women immigrating abroad. The Canadian government, for example, made it a condition that unaccompanied women should proceed only on steamships carrying an officially accredited matron. Indeed, any woman traveling alone might be suspected of being a prostitute, and at times, measures such as compulsory medical examination at ports were proposed.

Repatriation was also a source of much frustration and embarrassment. Then, as now, the prostitute was viewed as a victim under the control of a trafficker; therefore, the emphasis was placed on establishing *who* had caused her to leave her country of origin. Under the conventions, the cost of repatriating a woman who wished to return home and who had no financial means was to be borne by the country of residence as far as the border and the remainder by the country of origin. However, it was discovered that many women given financial assistance only reentered a country via a different route. Inevitably, these frustrations led various countries toward more devious and unjust means for expelling those they considered undesirable.

For more than a quarter of a century, the League of Nations and associated experts expended much time and energy, analyzing, pathologizing, and criminalizing the prostitute. Yet, somehow prevention of prostitution always eluded it. Occasionally, a trickle of reality would appear in one of its many publications, as for instance this comment from the League of Nations on the Prevention of Prostitution, Geneva, 1943: "The other striking characteristic of prostitution is its recalcitrance to control. Its long history is full of attempts to regulate it and confine it to certain persons, times and places, but a large amount of prostitution has always slipped through the fingers of authority."

See also Migration and Mobility; White Slavery.

Further Reading: Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. New York: Frank Cass, 2003.

Helen J. Self

LEGAL APPROACHES. Each legal jurisdiction can address prostitution in its own way. Most approaches are covered by the general terms **abolition**, criminalization, **criminalization of clients**, **decriminalization**, legalization, regulation, and tolerance.

Abolition refers to both a historical movement that sought to abolish state-regulated brothels and a contemporary legal approach that does not permit prostitution in any form.

Criminalization refers to the inclusion of prostitution in the criminal code of the law. Criminalization of clients means that customers of prostitutes and sometimes other sex workers also face criminal penalties. The most common penalty for clients is a fine. In some areas, "John

Schools” have been implemented, in which patrons of prostitutes are berated and told that prostitution victimizes women.

Decriminalization means the removal of prostitution and associated activities from the criminal code, which enables the law to address prostitution as other businesses are handled.

Legalization means that prostitution is legal and may be regulated.

Regulation refers to state-regulation and monitoring of brothels. This can mean occupational safety codes, which address prostitution as sex-related work, or state-required health checks that address prostitution as a contained vice in which **sexually transmitted infections** and in prostitutes (but, so far, not clients) must be monitored and treated, or prostitutes with infections expelled from regulated employment in the sex industry.

Tolerance of prostitution means that whatever the legal statues indicate, prostitutes are not addressed by the law unless other problems, such as violence or robbery, occur.

See also Appendix D; Prohibition.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

LEIGH, CAROL, A.K.A., SCARLOT HARLOT (1954–). Carol Leigh, who performs and publishes under the name Scarlot Harlot, has worked as a prostitute, activist, and artist in the Bay Area since the late 1970s. Leigh, a leader in the movement for sex workers’ rights in the United States and internationally, is credited with coining the term “sex work.” In 1993, along with **Margo St. James** of **COYOTE**, Leigh joined the San Francisco Board of Supervisor’s



Carol Leigh speaks to participants in “Whores College,” a day of classes for sex workers, San Francisco, 2005. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

Task Force on Prostitution, which resulted in the publication of a report that recommended the **decriminalization** of prostitution in San Francisco to the supervisors. In addition to her work as an activist, Leigh is an award-winning and respected performance and video artist. She has received numerous awards for her video documentaries on women's and gay/lesbian issues, including three awards from Visions of United States at the American Film Institute. Leigh is the director and founder of the San Francisco Sex Worker Film and Video Festival, which she continues to curate, and in 2002–2003 was part of the Sex Worker Art Show tour, which visited 26 cities across the United States. In 2004, as a member of the Sex Workers' Outreach Project, she was one of the authors of the defeated Measure Q, a ballot initiative in Berkeley, California, to decriminalize prostitution.

Further Reading: Dangerous Bedfellows, ed. *Policing Public Sex*. Boston: South End Press, 1996; Delacoste, Frederique, and Priscilla Alexander, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1988; Leigh, Carol, a.k.a. Scarlot Harlot. *Unrepentant Whore*. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004; Nagle, Jill, ed. *Whores and Other Feminists*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Alexandra Gerber

LEITE, GABRIELA SILVA. Gabriela Silva Leite is a Brazilian activist famous for her work promoting sex workers' rights. Her activism began in 1979 in São Paulo in response to constant police abuse of prostitutes in **brothel** raids. She later moved to Rio de Janeiro to work in the oldest red light district, Vila Mimosa. At that time, an evangelical pastor bought a TV station in this region and worked to evict the local prostitutes, with the objective to "clean the area." Leite then mobilized prostitutes and business owners to found the Prostitutes Association of Rio de Janeiro in 1987. Later that year, she organized the First National Meeting of Prostitutes, an event that garnered great national publicity and visibility. The Brazilian Network of Sex Workers was created in 1987, with 23 member organizations throughout Brazil. The Brazilian Network of Sex Workers' activities include lobbying politicians and health authorities to promote sex workers' rights, as well as membership in a consulting committee of the Brazilian National AIDS Program. Leite's tireless defense of **human rights** and better working conditions for sex workers has earned the respect of sex workers nationally and internationally. She was influential in Brazil's 2005 decision to reject U.S. aid that would have required Brazilian national AIDS policy to distance itself from work with sex workers.

Further Reading: Online News Hour Extended Interview Transcript." <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/aids/brazil/leite.html>; "Online News Hour Straight Talk, 16 July 2003." http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/health/july-dec03/brazil_7-16.html.

Paulo Henrique Longo

LI, SHISHI. Li Shishi was the best-known **courtesan** of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127) in China. Li's mother died when she was born, and her father Wang Yin was a craftsman in a pigment shop in Dongjing (Kaifeng, Henan Province), then the capital of the Song Empire. When Shishi was four, her father was jailed and later died in **prison** for delay of imperial textile orders. She was first taken in by an orphanage, then adopted by a procuress named Li, who led her to Jinqian Xiang, the entertainment district in Dongjing. When Li became a young prostitute, she was widely recognized for both her astonishing beauty and artistic talent. Among her numerous admirers was Zhou Bangyan (1056–1121), a renowned poet in

the Song Dynasty. It was said that Li was so famous that Emperor Huizong (1082–1135), who was a devotee of fine arts and calligraphy and had little interests in state affairs, decided to pay her a visit while undercover one night. He was immediately attracted by the charm and elegance of Li and went to see her whenever he had a chance. The romantic liaison became an open secret of the capital city. Part of the story was vividly captured in the Ming classical novel *Outlaws of Marsh (Shui Hu Zhuan: All Men Are Brothers)*. However, the royal affair was short-lived. In 1127, Dongjing was invaded by the powerful Jin army; Emperor Huizong was captured and died a few years later, marking the end of the Northern Song Dynasty. Li reportedly fled south and disappeared. Another tale was that she was presented to the general of the Jin forces but refused to accept her fate and committed suicide by swallowing gold nuggets.

Further Reading: Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei: Xiapu Press, 1994.

Wenxian Zhang

LIANG, HONGYU. Liang Hongyu was a legendary heroine in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279) in China, although few knew of her humble beginnings. Originally from Yingkou, Liang mastered the essence of kung fu at a young age from her father, who was a well-respected martial arts instructor. Her parents died when she was young, and she ended up in a **brothel** like many other girls of her time. From there she learned the tricks of her trade, immersing herself in music, dance, and other artistic work, and quickly became a highly regarded **courtesan** in southern China. However, unlike other countless female entertainers, Liang had a vision and an ambition. It was said that she had a nightmare one night when she was 16, so she went to a Taoist temple early that next morning to pray and seek inner peace. There, by serendipity, she met a homeless and destitute young man in his late 20s named Han Shizhong (1089–1151), who was seeking opportunities to serve his country but struggling during the turbulent time of the defeat of the Song army and the subsequent relocation of the imperial capital. Liang was so impressed by Han, she gave him money for clothing and sent him to a general on the front line. Han quickly rose in military rank through his bravery and leadership and redeemed Liang out of prostitution a year later. The two promptly got married, and Liang faithfully followed her husband on many of his military expeditions. In 1130 when the Jin forces attacked the Yangtze region, Han and his soldiers sailed to defend the river in Huang Tian Dang, near Nanjing, for 48 days. One time it was reported the situation was so grave that Liang went to battle and beat the military drum herself. This act of bravery greatly raised the morale of the Song army, and for her heroism she was awarded an honorary title by the imperial court.

Further Reading: Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei: Xiapu Press, 1994.

Wenxian Zhang

LICENSED PROSTITUTION, NEVADA. Like many Western U.S. states, Nevada traditionally had a history of “tolerance” for prostitution, having no specific laws dealing with the practice. In 1911 and 1913, the state adopted laws restricting prostitution activity and thereafter generally

prosecuted acts of prostitution under nuisance abatement statutes. The law in Nevada changed in a peculiarly indirect manner when, in 1971, the Nevada Legislature accepted an amendment to a statute stating that “the license board shall not license anyone to operate a house of ill fame or repute for the purpose of prostitution in a county of 250,000 or more [residents] (NRS 244.342).” In 1978, the Nevada Supreme Court ruled that in the 1971 Statute, the legislature was, albeit tacitly, allowing for the licensing of **brothels** in 16 of Nevada’s 17 counties (*Nye County v. Plankinton* 94 Nev. 739, 1978).

As a result, legalized brothels have been established in seven counties and in municipalities in five counties, most isolated and hidden in rural areas. In Lyon County, for example, three brothels are clustered at the end of a road zoned for brothels and salvage yards only. Most legal Nevada brothels are actually several trailers attached together, overlooking a bleak and barren countryside. All are surrounded by high fences, some electrified, with barbed wire on the top. To enter, one must be buzzed in and later, usually also buzzed out.

Brothel prostitutes, who are all female, are considered to be self-employed and thus receive no employee benefits. Each woman rents a room for the length of her shift. Her suitcases are searched each time she arrives. Some brothels impose 12- or 14-hour daily shifts. Brothels are open 24 hours a day, seven days per week. In most licensed Nevada brothels, prostitutes may not refuse any customer for any reason except race.

Brothels take 50 percent off the top of all income generated by prostitution fees; however, after paying the innumerable fees tacked on by the brothels, prostitutes actually earn 20 percent of the money they generate. In 1995, the average prostitute working for a Nevada brothel cleared \$40,000 annually before taxes.

There is some variety in the specifics of Nevada’s ordinances, but Nye and Storey Counties are fairly representative. Nye establishes a licensing board to authorize and regulate brothels and establish fees. In 1994, Storey County charged \$35,000 annually for a brothel license. This fee makes it virtually impossible for a woman to own her own licensed, small, self-employing brothel. Nye’s ordinance requires prostitutes be registered and undergo weekly medical exams for chlamydia and gonorrhea and monthly exams for HIV and syphilis. It specifies acceptable locations for brothels and requires all prostitutes have valid police cards, requiring fingerprinting and background checks.

Legalized brothel prostitution is also governed by myriad extra-legal and informal rules enforced by local authorities. Depending on jurisdiction, such regulations include the following list. Prostitutes must live in the licensed brothel throughout their shifts, often three out of every four weeks. In some instances, prostitutes may not leave brothel premises during their shifts except in emergencies. In such situations, if she needs shampoo, for example, she has to pay a nonprostitute brothel employee to purchase it. In some jurisdictions, prostitutes must leave town when not working; in others, her children cannot live in the community. Winnemucca requires prostitutes be in the brothel by 5 P.M. and if they own a car, it must be “registered with the police and its use is very limited,” while in other jurisdictions, prostitutes may not own cars at all. In Ely, prostitutes are provided with written copies of local police regulations that stipulate that prostitutes can go to movies but not bars. Prostitutes can only go to restaurants with bars if they have a separate entrance, and prostitutes may not be accompanied by a male escort in these cases or “she will not be allowed to return to this city or county.” In Winnemucca, no woman not working in the brothels can visit them or even drive through the area where they are located.



Emily, 19, checks her income book in her room at the Wild Horse Canyon Ranch and Spa near Reno, 2003. Emily said she uses the book to record the money she makes at the brothel. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

The Nevada system of legalization clearly reinforces the stigmatization of prostitutes and denies them their most basic rights. It creates a working environment and conditions that are so unattractive and violating that brothels are hard pressed to find prostitutes to work for them. The vast majority of Nevada prostitutes work in illegal venues.

The main justification offered for legalization of prostitution is the belief that commercial sex is a significant source of venereal diseases. In the Netherlands, where medical exams are not required and most forms of prostitution are decriminalized, it has been found that only 10 percent of the national **sexually transmitted infections** are attributable to prostitutes or their clients. Recent studies of Nevada brothel prostitutes indicate a lower rate of HIV compared with those prostituting illegally; however, this is solely attributable to condom use. Nor is there any evidence of lower STI rates in these Nevada counties overall. Indeed, medical exams force prostitutes who are infected to work in criminalized venues, where they are more likely to infect clients because of the related difficulties of practicing “safe” sex. Systems such as that of the Dutch, where prostitution has been fundamentally decriminalized since the turn of the last century, have proven to be more effective at controlling STIs.

See also Decriminalization; HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement; Stigma.

Further Reading: Albert, Alexa E. *Brothel*. New York: Random House, 2001; Brents, Barbara G., and Kathryn Hausbeck. "State-Sanctioned Sex: Negotiating Formal and Informal Regulatory Practices in Nevada Brothels." *Sociological Perspectives* 44 (2001): 307–32; Kuo, Lenore. *Prostitution Policy, Revolutionizing Practice through a Gendered Perspective*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Lenore Kuo

LIU, RUSHI (1618–64). Originally named Yang Ai, Liu Rushi came from Wujiang, Jiangsu Province, China. She was purchased by Madam Xu when she was eight years old and brought to Shengze where Liu learned the arts of music, painting, calligraphy, and poetry-writing. When Liu was 13, she caught the eye of Zhou Daodeng, who at that time was the Prime Minister of the Imperial Ming Court. Zhou purchased her to be his personal servant, then took her in as his favorite concubine. When Zhou died in 1632, Liu was chased out by his family. With nowhere to go, Liu decided to see a young scholar named Chen Zilong (1608–47), whom she met once at the prime minister's residence. The two promptly fell in love, which made Chen's wife furious. When Chen went to the capital for the civil service examination, Liu could not endure the abuse she received in his absence, so she ran back to Madam Xu. When Xu got married three years later, Liu became a madam herself and only entertained a selected clientele, gentlemen with noble characters. In 1640, Liu met with Qian Xianyi (1582–1664), a widely recognized intellectual at the end of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Qian was amazed not only by her physical attributes, but also her talents and inner beauty. He married her with a formal wedding ceremony, against the custom of the time. When the Qing army conquered Nanjing, Qian, who was then a high-ranking official of the Ming Dynasty, surrendered to the Manchu authority. Deeply disappointed, Liu succeeded in persuading him to quit his new post within six months; thereafter, both were actively involved in the resistance movement. When Qian died in 1664, Liu's possessions were taken away by the clan members. Eventually, Liu could no longer bear the humiliation from his relatives, and she hanged herself at age 45.

Further Reading: Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei: Xiapu Press, 1994.

Wenxian Zhang

LONDON. As London's importance grew from the 11th century on, specific areas of the city began to be associated with prostitution. When King **Henry II** granted the district of Southwark on the south bank of the Thames River to the church in 1161, the infamous "stewes" or bathhouses seem already to have been well established. Henry also issued an ordinance laying down detailed regulations for the administration of the stews under the direction of the Bishop of Winchester. The ordinance addressed a number of issues, including public health—stew-holders were fined if they employed any woman suffering from "any sickness of burning"—and what could even be regarded as elementary rights for prostitutes; stew-holders were forbidden to detain any woman against her will or prevent her from leaving the trade, to charge her more than 14 pence for board or lend her more than a fixed amount. If these rules were indeed honored, they would have protected the women against some forms of coercion or exploitation. Other articles addressed client's rights, stipulating that a woman who

accepted money must remain with her customer the whole night, or tried to make sure that “orrible synne” was kept out of the city of London across the river by forbidding stew-holders to own boats.

Successive kings followed Henry’s example in trying to keep prostitution out of the City of London, while maintaining Southwark’s Bankside on the opposite side of the river as a kind of tolerance zone. In 1285, King Edward I decreed a punishment of 40 days imprisonment for any “common whore” dwelling within the walls of the city and imposed restrictions on boatmen to ensure that the riff-raff of Southwark could not cross surreptitiously to the city. Edward’s efforts to keep the city free of vice cannot have been entirely successful, as in 1417, King Henry V found it necessary to put forward an ordinance for the “Abolition of the Stews within the City of London.”

The Bishop of Winchester’s London estate in Southwark, known as the Liberty of the Clink, was the most infamous of the so-called Liberties, areas that lay outside the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor of London by reasons of geography or special dispensation. Other London Liberties were also known as centers of prostitution. Some of them, such as Whitefriars and Blackfriars, actually lay within the walls of the city, while others were farther afield. Thomas Nashe’s *Christ’s Tears over Jerusalem* (1592) described the suburbs as “licensed stews” and hinted that **brothels** were allowed to flourish there because of official corruption, with officials turning a blind eye not only to prostitution but also to the drugging and robbing of customers. Some brothels were quite overt in their defiance of authority. Bess Holland’s famous brothel, “**Holland’s Leaguer**,” was built like a small fortress with a moat and drawbridge, allowing the staff to successfully fight off sieges by the city authorities on two occasions in the early 1630s.

As a port city, London supported a number of districts that catered to sailors, of which the best known may have been the Ratcliffe Highway, lying to the north of the Wapping waterfront. It was here that Damaris Page—described by writer Samuel Pepys as “the great bawd of sailors”—opened her brothel in the mid-17th century. A number of pubs along the highway, including the Malt Shovel, the Gunboat, and the White Swan, were associated with prostitution, which flourished here until at least the early years of the 20th century.

Attempts to suppress prostitution in London were usually short-lived and tended to disperse rather than eliminate the trade. In 1506, the stews of Southwark had been closed for a season on the order of King Henry VII. King Henry VIII ordered the closure of the stews again in 1546, again with limited success. Prostitution quickly spread to other areas including Smithfield, Shoreditch, Clerkenwell, and even Westminster. London street names such as Petticoat Lane, Cock’s Lane in Clerkenwell, and Cheapside’s Gropecunt Lane (subsequently renamed Threadneedle Street) bear testimony to the extent of the trade. The closure of the stews meant that many prostitutes now worked out of other locations such as alehouses and theaters. In 1642, the Puritans ordered the closure of all London theaters, primarily for political reasons but perhaps also with an eye to policing public morality.

The Restoration brought back the theaters and created a more favorable climate for the sex trade. Toward the end of the 18th century, the observer M. D’Archenholz estimated that London had twice as many prostitutes as Paris, putting the number living in the Parish of Marylebone alone at 30,000, a figure that, if correct, must call into question his estimate of 50,000 for the capital as a whole. What is certain is that prostitution in London spanned all social classes and incomes. At the lowest end were poor prostitutes who worked the streets and alehouses, many of whom lived permanently on the streets. At the opposite extreme were the elegant women of

King's Place off Pall Mall or Miss Fawkland's "temples" in St. James' Street. Such high-end brothels and prostitutes catered to aristocrats, wealthy men, and Members of Parliament and carried on their trade with impunity, untroubled by any threat of official interference. According to D'Archenholz, the total also included large numbers of child prostitutes, middle-class married women engaging in part-time prostitution, and even male prostitutes catering to wealthy women.

The 18th century saw the rise of the bathhouses or bagnios, largely concentrated around Covent Garden. Despite the name, these had little in common with the stews of earlier centuries, but were simply luxurious brothels. Other venues for prostitution included theaters and alehouses, as before, but also the newly fashionable coffeehouses and public tea-gardens such as the Dog and Duck in St. George's Fields. A 1757 Act of Parliament classed unlicensed tea-gardens as "disorderly houses," exposing owners and patrons alike to the threat of arrest. It did little, however, to curb prostitution in other public gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh.

Prostitution continued to be associated with other forms of vice and even crime. Many brothels doubled as gambling dens (and vice versa), and even the more elegant brothels such as Molly King's would often feature a card table among the attractions of the house. Elsewhere, clients in search of sex were at risk of robbery, blackmail, or more simply having their pockets picked, either by the prostitute or by independent pickpockets working in prostitution strolls.

The 18th century also saw early efforts by reformers to "reclaim" prostitutes. **Bernard de Mandeville's** *Modest Defence of Public Stews* (1724) suggested that those who wished to give up the life should be provided for. However, the first home for reformed prostitutes, the Magdalen Hospital founded in 1758 by William Dodd, bore more than a passing resemblance to a prison. The inmates were subject to strict control and expected to earn their keep by sewing and other light labor. In its first 30 years, the hospital admitted around 2,500 women, of whom approximately two-thirds were judged to have been successfully "reformed."

Efforts to **reform** or rescue prostitutes gathered pace in the 19th century. Organizations such as the Rescue Society, founded in Finsbury in 1854, sought to "redeem" individual prostitutes, while other individuals or groups worked to change the law entirely. William Stead's campaigning assisted the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment (1885), which went further than Stead himself might have wanted by giving the police increased powers to prosecute streetwalkers and brothel keepers.

For perhaps the first time, the sex industry was also subjected to detailed, systematic study with the publication of works such as **Henry Mayhew's** *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) and **William Acton's** *Prostitution Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects* (1857). As well as describing the circumstances and characteristics of prostitution in the capital, these studies also suggested numbers with Mayhew's coauthor, Bracebridge Hemyng, accepting the figure of 80,000 prostitutes proposed by the Society for the Suppression of Vice. This may have been an overestimate: modern historians view a total of around 60,000 as more plausible.

High-class brothels continued to exist in Victorian London, as illustrated by the 1883 trial of brothel keeper Mary Jeffries, whose clients were alleged to have included members of the royal family. Public concern and awareness, however, focused on prostitution among the poor who worked on the streets or in rooming houses. The conventional Victorian image was that of the poor girl who fell into a life of vice after being seduced and abandoned and whose inescapable destiny was an early death from disease or sexual exhaustion. The brutal murders of five Whitechapel prostitutes by a maniac known as **Jack the Ripper** in 1888 added violent



A tart card from a London telephone booth. Courtesy of Melissa Hope Ditmore.

death to the perceived wages of sin. The reality was rather different. Although prostitutes were certainly at risk from disease or **violence**, prostitution was typically a transitional occupation for young women. Early death was by no means the inevitable outcome, and most subsequently married or moved on to other occupations.

Numbers of prostitutes declined during the 20th century, with recent surveys suggesting up to 8,000 prostitutes, many of them foreign, working in the escort industry or in flats, massage parlors, and saunas in the capital and advertising through the press, the **Internet**, or printed cards placed in public phone booths. Reliable figures for sex workers on the street and in other milieus are hard to come by, but the total probably falls well short of the Victorian numbers, even though the population of the Greater London area is now four times greater than it was in Victorian times. Prostitution occurs throughout the area, with Soho in the borough of Westminster still preeminent despite police crackdowns in the 1980s.

See also Dickens, Charles; Fallen Woman

Trope; Magdalen Homes; Victorian Literature.

Further Reading: Dickson, Sandra. *Sex in the City: Mapping Commercial Sex across London*. London: The Poppy Project, 2004; Henriques, Fernando. *Prostitution in Europe and the Americas*. Vol. II of *Prostitution and Society*. New York: Citadel Press, 1965; McCall, Andrew. *The Medieval Underworld*. London: A. M. Heath, 1979; Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Angus McIntyre

LONGO, PAULO (1964–2004). Paulo Henrique Longo was an influential leader in the fight for **human rights** for gay people and sex workers in Brazil and around the world. Longo was instrumental in the emerging gay rights movement in Brazil and was an ex-prostitute who co-founded the Network of Sex Work Projects. He was coauthor, with Cheryl Overs, of *Making Sex Work Safe*, a handbook for offering services to sex workers.

Longo advocated for the rights of sex workers in many international forums, including AIDS Conferences and United Nations meetings on public health and human rights. Longo

emphasized the importance of the participation of sex workers in determining policies addressing sex work: “We are most of us sex workers ourselves, or we have personal experiences with the sex industry. The slogan of the NSWP is ‘Sex workers are part of the solution.’ We strongly believe that we who have been affected by the issues can contribute more than people from the outside. Of course we recognize the contributions of others, from technicians, health care professionals, social workers, but believe that we hold the solutions within ourselves.”

Longo discussed the rise of his strongest convictions in a 2003 interview. “In 1988,” he recalled, “I was training at a public hospital and I was asked by a local NGO to help a researcher do a study of rent boys in Rio.” A year later, when Longo saw the so-called results in a British medical journal, he reacted with horror: “They were saying that 43 percent of Brazilian male sex workers were infected with HIV—but I knew that this study only tested 33 people, eight of whom were seropositive.” The boys, whether infected or not, were never told about their results. Longo was discovering a pattern of unethical research. Longo continued his efforts to improve research ethics throughout his career. Longo brought his ethical standards to his own research as the principal investigator on a study of community development among sex workers in Rio de Janeiro. Sex workers were heavily involved in designing the methodology of this study and conducting the research, using newer, participatory research methods.

See also Research Ethics.

Further Reading: Longo, Paulo. “From Subjects to Partners: Experience of a Project in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.” *Research for Sex Work* 7 (2004): 9–10. Network of Sex Work Projects Web site <http://www.nswp.org/pdf/R4SW-07.PDF>.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

LOS ANGELES. Since the 1800s, Los Angeles has been characterized as a city of sin, but only after World War II did Hollywood become the center of the sex trade. From political and police scandals to horrifying murders, Los Angeles prostitutes have been linked to corruption and **violence**. However, L.A. prostitutes are also associated with wealth and celebrity culture. Novelists and the Hollywood film industry have both created and reflected the themes of sordid **crime** and glamour in both heterosexual and homosexual prostitution. Perhaps because of the national attention focused on L.A. prostitutes, several advocacy groups have emerged in the city.

Red light districts and visible prostitution have been recorded in Los Angeles since the 1800s. Franciscan missionaries were the first to report prostitution. In 1886, the missionaries “complained of loose women in the pueblo.... The Los Angeles town council issued a resolution declaring prostitution an evil to be eliminated, along with gambling and blasphemy. During the 1870s and 1880s prostitution flourished in Sonoratown, around the Plaza, near the railroad depots, [and] at downtown flophouses” (Pitt 409). Prostitutes’ increased visibility then led to **abolition** efforts as well as efforts to aid women. “For 30 years, beginning in the 1880s, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union lobbied for the licensing of ‘bawdy houses,’ as well as for other reforms” (Pitt 409). Flophouses, or downtown hotels catering to single males, were rife with visible prostitution, but L.A. also had legal **brothels**. One of the most notorious brothels was the Ballarino Hotel, and the “higher-class” brothels were located on what was then known as New High Street.

Through the end of the 19th century, Chinatown was known as the city's red light district. Chinese women were often forced into prostitution. Illiterate, many would scrawl their signatures on documents that stated for every day the women were unable to work, several weeks would be added to their "contract." Many of these Chinese prostitutes would not receive any compensation for their servicing of large numbers of men. Miscegenation laws forbidding **marriage** between Chinese men and non-Chinese women, as well as U.S. immigration policy forbidding all but a few Chinese women from entering the country, contributed to the large numbers of Chinese bachelors entertaining themselves with Chinese prostitutes. The Red Light Abatement Act of 1913 finally outlawed houses of prostitution, but there were still red light districts. In the 1920s, prostitution and bootlegging centered along the Plaza area, along the Sunset Strip, and in Culver City.

From the 1970s until recently, L.A. prostitutes could be procured in a number of ways. Male hustlers and transvestite streetwalkers walked along Santa Monica Boulevard. Female prostitutes were most noticeably available along Sunset Boulevard. In the Downtown skid row areas, cheap prostitutes and hotels proliferated. The West Hollywood bar Numbers was known up until the mid-1990s as a gay "daddy bar" where young men could be found. Two widely distributed newspapers, the free *LA Weekly* and the *LA Xpress*, as well as publications including the male homosexual *Frontiers*, advertised massage services, **call girls**, and rent boys.

Los Angeles prostitution was often coupled with political or police scandal. At the turn of the 20th century, prostitution was "associated with saloons, gambling, and political corruption [The Mayor] ... protected vice ... and [was] known to frequent bawdy houses In the late 1940s, the *Los Angeles Daily News* published reliable information that the police were protecting prostitutes with the knowledge of [the] Police" (Pitt 409). This pattern continued until the 1990s, with, for instance, the Rampart Police Department scandal.

The Black Dahlia is a grisly example of the potential dangers of prostitution, as well as the difficulty in discerning who exactly is a prostitute. Beth Short, known as the Black Dahlia, was murdered in 1947. Although there is no evidence naming her definitively as a prostitute, there was and still is speculation regarding whether she sold sex for money. Most agree that she was not a prostitute because a vaginal deformity was discovered during her autopsy that would have made it impossible for her to engage in intercourse.

The Black Dahlia complicates definitions of prostitution, however, and Hollywood blurs the notion further with the "casting couch," the place where women exchanged sex for film roles or modeling jobs. **Actresses** and models are rumored to have used the casting couch method when in fact they did not, and alternately, women who did not consider themselves prostitutes did indeed sleep with directors and producers to further their careers.

The **serial killers** Ken Bianchi and Angelo Buono, known as the Hillside Stranglers, are an extreme case of the **violence** facing prostitutes. During the 1970s, they murdered several women, including prostitutes who worked on the street and for **escort agencies**. National media attention brought to light different forms of prostitution through the brutal killings of prostitutes Yolanda Washington and Lissa Kastin, 16-year-old Hollywood street prostitute Judy Miller, and call girl Kimberly Diane Martin. During the investigation and court proceedings, survivors Becky Spears and Salena Hannan assisted prosecutors through testimony about how they were forced into prostitution, through threats and violence, by the Hillside Stranglers.

Perhaps Los Angeles prostitution is most often associated with Hollywood glamour. Prostitutes face danger everywhere, but in L.A., one has the possibility of selling sex to famous movie

stars. Brenda Allen was “Madam to the Stars” until she was arrested in 1948. Alex Adams’s high-priced call girls catered to Hollywood stars and international businessmen until madam Heidi Fleiss took over the business. The 1990s witnessed several prostitution celebrity scandals. Fleiss was arrested in 1993 for pandering, and intense media coverage and paranoia erupted over the little black book rumored to contain the names of her wealthy clients. The black book never surfaced. However, one high-profile Hollywood star who testified in court was actor Charlie Sheen. A prostitute does not have to be a high-priced call girl to service the famous. In 1995, streetwalker Divine Brown and actor Hugh Grant were both arrested on Sunset Boulevard when they were caught with Brown performing fellatio on Grant for money in Grant’s BMW. In 1997, Eddie Murphy was caught with preoperative transsexual prostitute Shalamar (Atisone Kenneth Seiuli) on Santa Monica Boulevard. As is often the case with the male customer, Murphy was not arrested. Further scandal ensued when, approximately a year later, Shalamar fell off her roof and died amidst speculations of foul play.

Literature and film document and construct images of Los Angeles prostitution. Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammet, who wrote detective novels during the 1930s and 1940s, were the inspiration for the Hollywood film noir genre. John Fanté’s *Ask the Dust* (1939) and Charles Bukowski’s *Post Office* (1980) are autobiographical novels featuring memorable prostitution scenes. Representations vary from the documentary *Hardcore* (2001), which concentrates on the porn industry, to the musical *The Singing Detective* (2003), which is a remake of a 1980s mini-series about the investigation of a prostitute’s **murder** decades earlier. *American Gigolo* (1980), *Pretty Woman* (1990), and *LA Confidential* (1997) (based on a novel by James Ellroy, a writer of detective fiction set in Los Angeles) are well-known **films** driven by heterosexual prostitution plots, plots that tend to highlight violence and/or perpetuate romance and fantasy.

Homosexual prostitution plots are more likely to reflect grittier realities. Los Angeles native John Rechy became popular as both a gay male hustler and autobiographical novelist in the 1960s. Dennis Cooper is another southern California native who has featured teenage male prostitutes in his Los Angeles–based novels since the 1970s. Films focusing on gay **male prostitution** include *Where the Day Takes You* (1992), *Hustler White* (1995), *Johns* (1997), and *Star Maps* (1997).

Several Los Angeles activist groups cater to prostitution rights and services. In 1997, prostitute and activist Norma Jean Almodovar founded ISWFACE (International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education). Almodovar and many other prostitutes and sex workers organized and participated in the 1997 international conference on prostitution. Sex workers raised the \$10,000 keynote speaker fee. Prostitution rights group **COYOTE** (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) has a chapter in Los Angeles. Another important organization is AIM (Adult Industry Medical Health Care Foundation), developed by porn star Sharon Mitchell. It is a nonprofit center providing sexually transmitted disease testing and counseling services for sex workers, including prostitutes.

See also Forced Prostitution; Madams; Trafficking.

Further Reading: Adult Industry Medical Health Care Foundation Web site <http://www.aim-med.org>; Heimann, Jim. *Sins of the City: The Real Los Angeles Noir*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999; International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education Web site <http://www.iswface.org>; Pitt, Leonard. *Los Angeles A to Z: An Encyclopedia of the City and the County*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Jaimy M. Mann

LOVELACE, LINDA (1949–2002). In 1972, the former Linda Boreman of Yonkers, New York, attained international notoriety as star of crossover X-rated film *Deep Throat*. Two pulp autobiographies written in the early 1970s, *Inside Linda Lovelace* and *The Intimate Diary of Linda Lovelace*, claimed that her participation in the film was the logical extension of her swinger lifestyle. Her third autobiography, *Ordeal*, published in 1980, became a national best-seller on the strength of her claims that she had been forced into prostitution and pornography by her husband/manager/pimp, Chuck Traynor. That book and all subsequent public appearances recounted an incredible litany of physical and psychological abuse perpetrated on her by Traynor, including being turned out to five men in a Holiday Inn and being forced to have sex with a dog in an 8-mm sex loop film under threat of death. Lovelace was appropriated by the feminist movement in the early 1980s, serving as spokesperson for **Catharine MacKinnon** and **Andrea Dworkin** in their ultimately doomed attempt to have pornography declared a violation of women's civil rights in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Lovelace's most famous public appearance of this period was a 1984 testimony before the Meese Commission, in which she claimed, "Every time someone sees [*Deep Throat*], they are watching me being raped." Although generally accepted as accurate, her oft-disputed claims suffered a further loss in credibility when, while discussing her recent divorce, she told the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1997, "I prostituted myself so I could have kids. They were all I ever wanted." In a 2001 interview in *Leg Show* magazine, Lovelace stated that in retrospect, she had been used by the feminist movement as she had been used by pornographers. Lovelace died on April 22, 2002, when she was taken off life support after a catastrophic car accident on the way to a dialysis treatment.

See also Feminism; Forced Prostitution; Pimps; Rape; Violence.

Further Reading: The Complete Linda Lovelace Web site <http://www.completelindalovelace.com/>; Danville, Eric. *The Complete Linda Lovelace*. New York: Power Process Publishing, 2001; Lovelace, Linda. *Ordeal*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1980.

Eric Danville

LUCIAN'S DIALOGUES OF THE COURTESANS. The *Dialogues of the Courtesans* consist of 15 brief exchanges between **courtesans** and their mothers, lovers, servants, and colleagues. The characters are drawn from the comedies of Menander (342–291 B.C.E.); however, in this text, the courtesans speak in the mode of philosophers. Presumably the author, Lucian (fl. 120–180 C.E.), a Syrian from Samosata, performed the *Dialogues* as he traveled throughout the Roman Empire.

Lucian depicts courtesans trading their company, both social and intimate, for gifts ranging from cheese and onions to fine **clothing** and jewelry, as well as for money, whether in the form of rent payment, the support of a household, or cash. Moneymaking is a constant theme. Mothers advise daughters how to turn the biggest profit, teaching them to present themselves in the image men find most attractive. A hardened courtesan leaves her disappointed john for a wealthier, but uglier, older man. Another courtesan reveals a competitive streak when she tells a lovesick client that her rival disguises her thinning hair, advancing age, and blotchy skin.

Although the dialogues are centered on the lives of courtesans, Lucian conveys a sense of their alienation from the mainstream. One pregnant courtesan worries about a rumor that the father of her child is getting married; others get their news from graffiti on the city walls. Philosophers and mothers warn young men against wasting their time with courtesans. The courtesans discuss witches, who are effective at renewing the wandering allegiance of favored clients.

Little is written about sex in these dialogues—the only encounter described is a three-way homosexual affair, in which one character's name, Megilla, is the feminine version of one of Plato's interlocutors in *The Laws*. Here, it seems likely that Lucian is playing on the association between Greek philosophy and pederasty, by translating it into the realm of the feminine and the socially underprivileged.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Sidwell, Keith. *Chattering Courtesans and Other Sardonic Sketches*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

Kate Gilbuly

LULU. Lulu in German theater and film is sexually voracious, a femme fatale, a child flower seller, a prostitute, an individual lacking a clear past or social standing, a murderer, Eve, and countless other personas. She is a woman who is so sexually alluring that men and women cannot help themselves from desiring her to the point of their own annihilation. In 1894, German playwright Benjamin Franklin Wedekind wrote *Pandora's Box: A Monster Tragedy*, which later became known as *Lulu*. However, because of its explicit sexuality and disturbing content, no producer would touch it, and Wedekind was forced to revise it to a more diluted form. He did so by separating it into two plays, *Earth-Spirit* and *Pandora's Box*, in which he starred as several characters. After Wedekind's death in 1918, the plays were often run together. In 1928, G. W. Pabst directed the German silent film, *Pandora's Box*, based on Wedekind's plays, which starred American actress Louise Brooks. *Pandora's Box* and Brooks became instantaneously famous. Lulu is also the title of a modern opera with a typical Lulu storyline. In 1980, a play closest to the original *Lulu* play was published in Germany. In this version entitled *Lulu*, Lulu is a young woman who was sexually abused and then prostituted by a man whom she calls her father, Schigolch. She marries a physician who likes her to dance for him and is commissioning a painting of her by an artist. When he steps out momentarily, the artist is overcome by her beauty and attempts to consummate his passion. When the husband returns, he walks in on them and dies suddenly from the shock. Lulu then marries the artist, maintaining a relationship with



Louise Brooks (as Lulu) in Georg Wilhelm Pabst's 1929 film *Pandora's Box*. Courtesy of Photofest.

another doctor, Schoning, a man she has been involved with while married. When Schoning reveals the affair to the artist, the artist cuts his own throat. Schoning and Lulu marry. Lulu meanwhile becomes involved with Schoning's son, Alwa, who is nearer to her own age, an acrobat named Rodrigo, and a lesbian, Countess Geschwitz. At the end of Act III, there is a shooting and all five of them flee to Paris where Lulu becomes involved with a banker who wants to send her to a brothel. Lulu has Rodrigo murdered by Schigolch. In Act V, Schigolch, Alwa, Lulu, and Countess Geschwitz have flown to London where Lulu is expected to support them through prostitution as they live in a dilapidated attic room. Lulu does so but is finally murdered, along with Countess Geschwitz by **Jack the Ripper**, who removes Lulu's reproductive organs.

See also Films.

Further Reading: Tatar, Maria. "Das war ein Stuck Arbeit!": Jack the Ripper and Wedekind's Lulu Plays." In *Themes and Structures: Studies in German Literature from Goethe to the Present*, ed. Alexander Stephan. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1997, pp. 164–87; Wedekind, Frank. *Lulu*. Trans. Nicholas Wright. London: Nick Hern Books, 2001; Wedekind, Frank. *The Lulu Plays and Other Sex Tragedies*. Trans. Stephen Spender. London: John Calder, 1972.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

M

MACKINNON, CATHARINE (1946–). Catharine MacKinnon is a prominent feminist legal scholar best known for her writings on sexual harassment and pornography. She articulated the theory that sexual harassment and pornography can violate women's civil rights and therefore should be prosecuted as such, and not because they involve obscenity or breaches of sexual morality. MacKinnon's work has significantly influenced sexual harassment law in the United States, but it has had less impact on the regulation of pornography. Yet, MacKinnon's writings on pornography galvanized a generation of feminist activists who continue to defend and promote her view that pornography stigmatizes women and thereby deprives them of the social respect necessary to participate as equal citizens in society. MacKinnon has argued that women in the sex industry in general, and not just in pornography, negotiate from a position of unequal social power and therefore are highly vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation by others. Because their participation in the sex industry is not fully consensual, they are the victims of sexual abuse perpetrated by their male coworkers and customers. Together with **Andrea Dworkin**, MacKinnon promoted a model ordinance that would permit those who have been allegedly harmed by pornography, both in and outside the sex industry, to seek damages in court from those responsible for producing and distributing it. In the United States, laws that follow MacKinnon's approach have not survived constitutional challenges, primarily because of weaknesses in the doctrines of consent and causality they assume. Also, sex worker civil rights groups are challenging MacKinnon's views that women in the sex industry are the unwitting victims of male sexual abuse, and that pornography violates women's equality and freedom of expression. Efforts to decriminalize prostitution in the United States have often been opposed by feminist activists who see both prostitution and pornography as forms of gender oppression and sexual exploitation.

See also Decriminalization; Legal Approaches.

Laurie Shrage

Madam

One thing I liked about doing jobs for Madeleine was the discreet way she asked me on the office phones. "Xaviera, I've got a Scotch (meaning \$50 customer) or a champagne (meaning \$100); will you be available for a drink around noon or one p.m.?"

From Xaviera Hollander, with Robin Moore and Yvonne Dunleavy, *The Happy Hooker* (New York: Regan Books, 2002), p. 95.

MADAMS. The term "madam," adapted from a formal verbal address reserved for older, well-respected women, refers to the female head of a prostitution ring or **brothel**. In erotic literature, the madam serves as the matriarch of a brothel, often taking on a pedagogical role in teaching the new prostitutes how to please their men. As madam, she often also takes on an administrative role in the business of the brothel or ring, receiving a percentage of each prostitute's earnings in exchange for her services

as provider, caretaker, or contact. In fictional brothels (such as the one in John Cleland's 1749 novel *Fanny Hill: Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*), the world of the prostitute ring becomes a self-contained, almost feminist enterprise, where women are often the sole source of comfort, support, and education for other women. The fictionalized character of the madam serves to interject a sense of reality to this problematically supportive world: she may demand an unfairly large percentage of the prostitute's earnings, place a prostitute in an unsafe situation, or even trick the prostitute into sexual situations for which she is not prepared—a characterization that starkly contrasts with the behavior of "real life" madams. In erotic fiction, the madam is often first a savior for the innocent woman, providing her with shelter, education, and food, only to become a demanding patriarchal presence, subjugating and objectifying the woman as she begins her descent into the world of prostitution.

The business of brothels reached a fever pitch in Europe in the 18th century. These brothels, often businesses run exclusively by madams, appealed to a range of consumers: from the working class frequenting lower-class brothels to the political, royal, and artistic elite. The success of the European brothels spawned similar bordellos in the United States. The madams who ran these brothels would become infamous—both for their chosen profession and for the opulence that characterized their outlandish lifestyles. The Everleigh sisters, Ada and Minna, used a \$35,000 inheritance to open a brothel in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1898. Supported by the Trans-Mississippi Exhibition and a barrage of travelers, the Everleigh sisters made enough money to open the even more extravagant Everleigh Club in **Chicago**. The beautiful and lavish club featured luxurious dinners, top-quality entertainment, and a dazzling array of beautiful "hostesses" who supplied the customer with an expensive night of pleasure. The Everleigh sisters reformed the brothel from a dingy and seedy place of service into a site of extreme luxury. A trip to the Everleigh Club became a class marker instead of a marginalized and tasteless indulgence. After the club was closed in 1911, under pressure from the Chicago city government, the Everleigh sisters reportedly retired with approximately \$1 million to their name.

Similar brothels cropped up all over the continental United States, spawning such famous madams as Atlanta's Abbie Howard (thought to be the model for Belle Watling in *Gone with the Wind*), Lexington's Belle Brezing, **New Orleans'** Kate Townsend and Hattie Hamilton, and Texas' Miss Jesse and Miss Edna, who founded the famous Chicken Ranch in 1844 (which would become one of the longest-running brothels in the country at its close in 1971). After the Red Light Abatement Act was introduced into the California State Legislature in 1911, many brothels moved underground to stay in business. Open sex businesses, such as the

Everleigh Club, could no longer be tolerated. Prostitution came to be viewed in the United States on an extremely small scale (as between a woman and her john), and bordellos were considered extremely taboo. The perception of madams as the most notorious and controversial businesswomen in the United States appeared to be a thing of the past.

This would change in the early 1980s in **New York City**, when Sidney Biddle Barrows, a well-born, well-educated and talented woman, was discovered to be running a prostitution ring and escort service called “Cachet.” Barrows, a member of the prominent Biddle family, was named the “Mayflower Madam” by the New York press after it was discovered that she could trace her ancestry back to the Mayflower. After being arrested in October 1984, Barrows received worldwide media attention because her service was reputed to be the most elite prostitution ring ever conceived. Barrow’s clients were well-known New York elite, her call girls made substantial amounts of money for each “date,” and Barrows was known to house new girls in her opulent Upper West Side apartment until they could afford to move out on their own. The epitome of the madam matriarch, Barrows was described as a sweet, caring, and honest employer. However, with the dangers of AIDS also becoming front-page news, Barrows was publicly scolded for not encouraging her women to get tested for **sexually transmitted infections** and for her lax attitudes on condom use. Barrows made use of her controversial fame, touring the country on a lecture circuit and publishing two successful books.

On the heels of the Mayflower Madam scandal swiftly came another, this one taking place in Los Angeles. Heidi Fleiss, daughter of a wealthy Los Angeles pediatrician, was arrested in 1993 for running a multimillion-dollar prostitution ring, based from a black book containing approximately 500 names of famous Hollywood movie stars, producers, directors, and businessmen. Fleiss was originally introduced to Madam Alex, an old-time Hollywood madam whose business was beginning to suffer. Fleiss was offered the task of managing the business, paying most of the profit to Madam Alex. After renovating Alex’s “workforce,” replacing older, jaded prostitutes with younger, prettier girls, Fleiss quadrupled Alex’s monthly income. After a falling out, Fleiss took over the business for herself, making millions in three years before she was



Heidi Fleiss in the 1995 television documentary *Hollywood Madam*. Courtesy of Photofest.

arrested and convicted of three counts of pandering in 1993. Fleiss, like Barrows before her, has built a successful career based on self-promotion: publishing a best-selling autobiography, *Hollywood Madam*, starring in a sex tips DVD, and producing her own line of undergarments called "Heidi Wear."

See also Adler, Polly; Hollander, Xaviera.

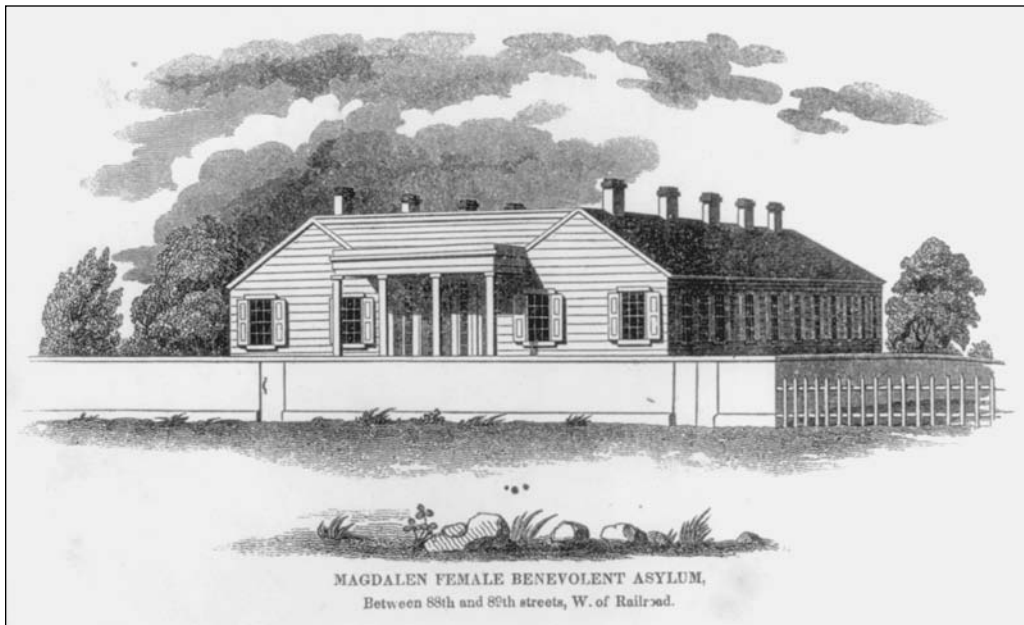
Further Reading: Albert, Alexa. *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2002; Delacoste, Frederique and Alexander, Priscilla, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. 2nd ed. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998; Fleiss, Heidi. *Pandering*. Los Angeles: One Hour Entertainment, 2003; Heyl, Barbara Sherman. *The Madam as Entrepreneur: Career Management in House Prostitution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1979; Nagle, Jill, ed. *Whores and Other Feminists*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Shaner, Lora. *Madam: Inside a Nevada Brothel*. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse Publishing, 2001; Weitzer, Ronald, ed. *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Kathryn Parker

MAGDALEN HOMES. Magdalen Homes were institutions for the detention and moral rehabilitation of prostitutes. Originating in the 13th century in Europe, Magdalen Homes began as a consequence of the Catholic Church's efforts to reclaim prostitutes, reform them, and reintroduce them into society. In the 18th and 19th centuries, similar reform movements became popular, and Magdalen Homes, asylums, or institutions, as they were also known, sprang up in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States to detain and reform not only prostitutes but other "fallen" women as well. Magdalen Homes lasted well into the 20th century.

Named for **Mary Magdalene**, the ultimate symbol of biblical penitence and spiritual improvement, these institutions demanded a strict regimen of prayer, work, and atonement for the inmates, or "penitents" as they were called. Though the reform movement's underpinning of the development of Magdalen Homes originally focused on prostitutes, by the late 19th century, they were also focused on "reclaiming" unwed mothers or any woman whose sexual purity was in question, including victims of **incest** and **rape**. Despite the severe regimen, often including lifetime detention, the homes were unsuccessful in either reforming "fallen" women or eliminating prostitution. Moreover, these philanthropic movements did little to question or change social conditions that encouraged prostitution, such as poverty, nor did they challenge sexual double standards that condemned women, but not men, for any individual expression of sexuality.

The ideology behind Magdalen Homes can be traced back to the Catholic Church's medieval reform movement, supported in particular by Pope Gregory IX, who, in 1227, officially sanctioned conversion movements. Subsequently, Magdalen Homes appeared throughout Europe to house communities of "converted" prostitutes. Treatment of women in these early asylums varied widely: some institutions accepted women of all ages seeking refuge. However, most were extremely strict and accepted only women under 25 who were then expected to take holy vows. Like their successors, these early homes often demanded that inmates work long hours at tasks deemed appropriate for women, such as spinning, embroidery, and market gardening. Disobedience was punished severely and often corporally. This early movement, like later ones, reached only a small number of women. After reaching their peak in the early 14th century, Magdalen Homes were devastated by plague and lost their popularity.



Magdalen Female Benevolent Asylum in New York, 1887. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Movements that aimed at reform and control of women's sexuality became popular again in the 18th and particularly the 19th century. Like the **Contagious Diseases Acts** passed in Great Britain, rescue/penitentiary movements, such as the Church Penitentiary Association for the Reclamation of Fallen Women, founded in 1848 by William Gladstone (who founded numerous other similar societies), were responsible for establishing and running the Magdalen Homes. William Dodd, a physician, founded the first Magdalen Hospital in London in 1758 with the aim of reforming prostitutes through "severe industry" and a strictly regulated religious and vocational education. The hospital set a precedent despite its low success rate; by 1898, there were more than 300 Magdalen asylums housing more than 6,000 inmates in England alone.

Other similar institutions to develop as a result of reform movements included Lock asylums, such as the London Lock Hospital and the Limerick, Dublin, and Cork Lock Hospitals. These institutions, separate from but complementary to Magdalen asylums, were attached to hospitals and were responsible for treating women with venereal disease. Magdalen asylums would not admit women diagnosed with or suspected of having venereal disease, and standard hospitals refused to treat venereal disease because of the **stigma** attached to it, so women in need of treatment were referred to these Lock asylums. Women diagnosed with venereal disease were assumed to be prostitutes; therefore, the Lock asylums also had reformation as one of their goals, and inmates were subjected to similar regimes as the Magdalens, including uniforms, segregation, and a lack of privacy.

The serious work of reforming prostitutes and other sexually wicked women fell to the Magdalen Homes. All Magdalen Homes, whether administered directly by the Church or by lay philanthropic organizations, were affiliated with religious groups. Most homes in Ireland were run by nuns belonging to one of three Catholic orders: **Sisters of the Good Shepherd**, Sisters of Mercy, or Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge. There were some lay institutions in Ireland

that were Protestant; most homes in England and Scotland were also Protestant. Though no asylum would turn away a penitent of either religious denomination, Catholic women generally went to Catholic institutions and Protestants to Protestant institutions.

Despite denominational differences, the regimen required by inmates at asylums was similar. Prostitution was perceived to be a great evil: it was thought that women become prostitutes either because they were abused by men or because they fell prey to their own physical and material desires. In either case, reform movements sought to rescue women from unchastity and to reform their ways. (No similar homes existed for men.) Reform would be accomplished through genuine penitence, hard work, self-denial, and prayer. Penitents worked long hours in the service of the Magdalen Home. Most asylums had laundries attached where the inmates worked. A typical day for a penitent would begin at around 6 A.M. with prayer before breakfast; breakfast would be followed by several hours work in the laundry and dinner; work continued in the afternoon until supper, which was followed by a few more hours of work. Typically an hour or two of education and religious instruction was set aside before bed, at about 10:30 P.M.

Laundry work had a symbolic function—the cleansing of the clothing and linens was symbolic of the spiritual cleansing of the inmates through hard work. Moreover, the work was intended to prepare suitable inmates for domestic services on their release from the asylum. Other domestic, gender-appropriate tasks, such as sewing, were encouraged for this purpose as well. More important for the institutions, the laundry work performed by the inmates provided significant financial support for the asylums, as the inmates were not paid for their work. Some women who proved to be outstanding workers were detained for life simply to keep them working in the laundry, demonstrating that financial motives lay behind the philanthropy.

In addition to the relentless work regime—most inmates worked six days a week, 52 weeks a year—the social climate within the asylums was repressive as well. Though entry into the asylums was ostensibly voluntary, the social stigma attached to being a prostitute, or particularly a “fallen” woman, was so great that the asylums may have seemed a refuge. Once admitted, leaving the asylum was also purportedly a matter of choice; however, the administrators of the institutions strongly discouraged any woman from leaving unless her future was assured, either through employment, **marriage** (though marriage was entered into cautiously, given a “fallen” woman’s sexual past), or a return to her family. Moreover, the stigma attached to being a former inmate made it likely that anyone leaving the institution without procuring of these positions would be deemed socially unacceptable, sometimes shunned even by her family.

Once an inmate was admitted, the asylums worked hard to separate her from her past to begin the reform process. On arrival, her clothes were confiscated, and she was given a shapeless, drab uniform. Long hair was cut or shorn off to discourage vanity, and as a sign of punishment and penance. To sever ties with her previous wicked ways, an inmate’s name was changed, and any contact with her family or friends was prevented. This was particularly traumatic for unmarried mothers: most institutions refused pregnant women or new mothers with their infants. In this instance, the mother and baby were separated, usually by adoption, before entry. New mothers were forbidden to talk about their infants, inquire about their well-being, or even grieve their loss.

In Catholic institutions, penitents became part of the Magdalen class inside the asylum, which had three levels: ordinary penitents, Children of Mary, and the consecrated, or the class of perseverance. Ordinary penitents were initially segregated from the other inmates; this was to

prevent each new inmate from corrupting other penitents. The highest class was the consecrated class, who took holy vows similar to the nuns and who chose to remain in the institution for life. Never sufficiently cleansed to become nuns themselves, consecrated penitents were held up nonetheless as moral exemplars to the other inmates and were given special privileges.

Friendships among the penitents were forbidden. Penance and reform required reflection and detachment from all things, particularly any bodily pleasure. Thus, the women were required to work in silence; forming friendships, especially “special” friendships could result in expulsion. It is not clear from the evidence whether “special” friendships referred to lesbian relationships, but this seems likely. Leisure activities were also strictly regulated and in some instances forbidden.

The length of time an inmate was required to remain in the asylum was also apparently a matter of choice. Some institutions required as little as 18 months to two years, after which time, if an inmate was deemed unsuitable for reform, she was dismissed. Other institutions, particularly ones run by nuns, were more interested in spiritual reform than restoring inmates to society; thus, women were encouraged to remain for the rest of their lives doing penance for their sins. Though leaving was discouraged, it appears as though most women who left did so of their own accord; however, some escaped, and some were expelled for insubordination, **violence**, madness, or a refusal to participate in religious duties or rituals.

The success rate of Magdalen institutions is unclear, although they had little impact on prostitution itself. The Glasgow Magdalen asylum and the Edinburgh Magdalen asylum reported 40 percent and 55 percent success rates, respectively, defined as achieving satisfactory “situations” on release, between the years 1860 and 1890. The Leeson Street asylum in Dublin, run by committees of lay people, reported a similar percentage, approximately 53 percent, for the years 1809–28. Irish asylums run by nuns, however, whose records appear more meticulous, reported a rate of 18 percent, which is likely a more accurate figure. The Magdalen Society Asylum in Philadelphia provided similar figures for the years 1836–77; from 1878 to 1908, after it had shifted its focus toward less “hardened” prostitutes, and less severe discipline, the asylum reported success rates of anywhere from approximately 25 percent to 83 percent, with most women returning to their families or entering service work. Conclusive figures are difficult to obtain because the institutions did not generally provide aftercare for their former inmates.

The low success rate can be attributed to the lack of attention paid to changing the social roots of prostitution, such as poverty, overcrowded slum housing, and lack of employment opportunities for women. Nor did the asylums challenge the sexual double standard that sought to control women’s, but not men’s, sexuality. Moreover, although the initial focus of the reform movements was prostitution, the asylums ultimately took in more women who were not prostitutes, but “first-fall” cases, such as unmarried mothers, victims of incest and rape, women (and girls) who were deemed incorrigible in nonsexual ways, feeble-minded girls, and women whose families simply wanted them out of the way. Finally, institutions such as those run by the Sisters of Good Shepherd in Ireland, who sought to keep their inmates for life, were unable to take in a large number of women. Moreover, the conditions in asylums were so harsh that inmates simply refused to stay or escaped.

Magdalen asylums continued well into the 20th century, likely as a result of ongoing attempts to control women’s sexuality. The Glasgow Magdalen asylum closed in 1958 after a mass escape of inmates, and the last Irish asylum, which by 1940 was taking in predominantly unwed mothers, closed in 1996. A 2002 film by Peter Mullan titled *The Magdalene Sisters* focused on the horrific experience of three Irish girls at a Magdalen Sister Asylum.

See also Bible; Fallen Woman Trope; Institutionalization; Laundresses; Religion.

Further Reading and Viewing: Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500: From Refuges for Ex-prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; Finnegan, Frances. *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Luddy, Maria. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Mahood, Linda. *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1990; Roberts, Nickie. *Whores in History*. London: Grafton, 1992; Ruggles, Steven. "Fallen Women: The Inmates of the Magdalen Society Asylum of Philadelphia, 1836–1908." *Journal of Social History* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1983): 65–82; *Sex in a Cold Climate*. [Documentary] Dir. Stephen Humphries. Testimony Films for Channel Four Television Corporation, 1997.

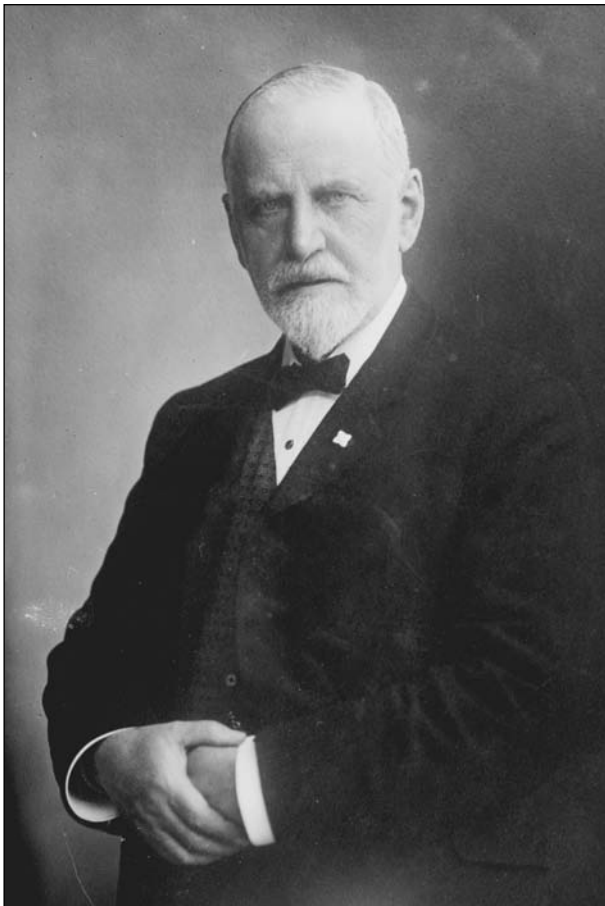
Carrie Runstedler

"THE MAIDEN TRIBUTE OF MODERN BABYLON." The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" was a sensational series of newspaper articles penned, at first anonymously, by *Pall Mall Gazette* editor William T. Stead (1849–1912) in London in 1885. A first-person, exposé style report on adolescent prostitution in London, it aimed and succeeded at shocking upper-

class Victorian sensibilities. Stead was at the time editor of the broadsheet and conducted his investigations by posing as a potential john and intermediary. His serialized story—widely read, republished, and distributed—galvanized both popular and elite support for parliamentary action to raise the age of sexual consent—legislation that had been languishing for several years. Yet it also would rouse Stead's enemies to exact an unusual revenge.

The Contributors

Stead's activist commitments were intertwined with his journalistic activity. Stead took early offense against prostitution from a liberal Christian socialist viewpoint, seeing it as an institution that stood in the way of both economic and gender equality. In a previous stint as editor of the *Northern Echo* newspaper, Stead had taken up the burgeoning anti-prostitution cause as early as the 1870s, in a unique way, by penning opposition editorials to the **Contagious Diseases Act**, which required women identified as prostitutes to submit to forced gynecological examination. Along with



W. T. Stead. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

other religiously inspired, politically and socially prominent activists such as **Josephine Butler** (1828–1906), who combined evangelical zeal with early feminist ideas, Stead saw the examinations as outrages to morality and chastity in themselves, and also all similar forms of state regulation as enabling the sex trade to continue. However, the alliance was marked by some difference in emphasis. Butler was well established as a redeemer of down-and-out and ill prostitutes. She focused her energies on shifting the blame for sin onto male patrons of prostitutes (demanding an end to a “double standard of morality”), and those public figures she believed were their apologists. Stead instead focused upon recruitment of the young, explicitly excluding commercial sex liaisons among the mature from his immediate concern. Yet together, having facilitated the famous serialized exposé, they would give an enormous boost to antiprostitution and social purity campaigns in general.

The “Maiden Tribute” Series

Although melodramatic renderings of sensational stories were not uncommon in **penny dreadful** publications (equivalent to today’s tabloids), which relied on street sales and working-class audiences, the appearance of the “Maiden Tribute” in a respectable daily paper with a well-heeled readership was a departure, both in terms of journalism and in influencing the way prostitution would come to be understood by reformers in the late 19th century. Stead’s preamble specifically addressed his readers as a community of the naïve, insulated by their privilege from the bleak realities to which he is about expose them. He wrote on July 6: “Therefore we say quite frankly to-day that all those who are squeamish, and all those who are prudish, and all those who prefer to live in a fool’s paradise of imaginary innocence and purity ... do well not to read the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Monday and the three following days.” Thus Stead titillated his potential audience while both reaffirming and chastising them for their Victorian sensibilities. In their place, then, Stead will be their proxy of “an actual pilgrimage into a real hell.”

The story relied on Stead’s interviews with young prostitutes, procurers, **madams**, and self-styled rescue workers. Of particular concern for Stead and his contemporaries in both journalism and reform activism was the specific trade in virginity. Most disquieting to the author and his readers was the apparently insatiable market demand for virgins on the part of wealthy, debauched men.

The role of the seduced and outraged virgin is more than just a sensationalistic subfeature of Stead’s portrait of East End girls involved in the sex trade. It is one of the elements of the story that explains why Stead and his contemporaries portray the entry of girls and young women into the sex trade as “unwitting or unwilling.” Stead’s rhetorical organization of the series around the recurring themes of physical abduction and virginity markets created a long journalistic and public issue legacy. For decades to come, progressive-minded reformers would tend to conflate the allure and seduction of the trade to girls and women with limited economic choices with the idea of kidnapped, tricked, and violated girls.

Stead also linked prostitution with class conflict, protesting the “continued immolation of the daughters of the people as a sacrifice to the vices of the rich.” It seemed that there was a need for the reader to believe the girls were ignorant of what work they would be doing and that they were often directly coerced (drugged, held captive, raped) in order to afford them any sympathy. He reassured readers that the even the girls who were technically willing were surely unwitting. In this way, virginity and the ability to regain or extend the innocence of childhood were seen as a universal birthright, rather than a product of privilege. This is consistent with changing elite views of adolescence at the time, but it was not necessarily one shared by working-class girls

themselves. The ones he interviewed for the articles were often streetwise and negotiated their own "seductions."

Push and Pull Factors in Prostitution

Even in the early 21st century, it is still possible to see echoes of this style, of Stead's undercover, walkabout methods, and these assumptions in contemporary articles by male journalists about girls and women "trafficked" in the sex trade. Then as now, even the authors' own evidence tends to suggest a more complex picture—dream of riches, fun, and finery that never materialize, bait-and-switch working conditions, and a variety of threats, enticements, and trade-offs. The girls that Stead interviewed talk to him about the need to make money for their families, or the desire to escape the drudgery and exploitation of factory work or domestic service. "A bag of sweets, a fine feather, a good dinner, or a treat to the theatre are sufficient to induce her to part with that which may be lost in an hour, but can never be recovered." It is obvious that the premium on virginity that Stead assumed was not shared by them, as their ideas about the future were otherwise conventional. Stead underscored the first seduction as a signal event from which he supposed a girl would never recover. In an interview with a hospital matron, Stead learned from her that "the innocent girl, once outraged seems to suffer a lasting blight of the moral sense. They never came to any good: the foul passion from the man seemed to enter into the helpless victim of his lust, and she never again regained her pristine purity of soul."

The Armstrong Scandal

Having heard that it was possible to buy a virgin for five pounds, Stead arranged the purchase of the young Eliza Armstrong. His underground pathway included the aid of Rebecca Jarrett, a former procurer and prostitute taken in by reformer Josephine Butler, who reactivated her old contacts to facilitate Stead's investigation. He reported that Armstrong's alcoholic mother heard of the attempt to purchase a neighbor's daughter, whose sister was already in the trade. "Don't you think she would take our Lily? I think she would suit." Stead also noted the indifference of the girl's father. Eventually a virginity-certification exam was made and the deal is transacted. In printing a detailed description of the event, he also provided ammunition for his political enemies. He was arrested for the procurement of Eliza (Lily) pursuant to the exact laws, the Criminal Law Amendment, that he had sought to change with the publication of the "Maiden Tribute." Charged with abduction and indecent assault, he conceded that he had not been present at the purchase of Eliza and instead relied on Jarrett's account of the parents' role, who denied that they consented to the removal of Eliza from their home. Jarrett herself proved an unreliable witness and broke down on the stand. Stead spent three months in jail, but reemerged as a martyr to the cause of purity. He helped establish "vigilance associations" to protect the virtue of the young against the predations of procurers, and in 1893, penned *If Christ Came to Chicago*, which blasted the city's efforts to establish a tolerated vice ("red light") district. Stead perished aboard the *Titanic* in 1912, and was widely memorialized as a reformer.

Conclusion

The "Maiden Tribute" shaped popular understanding of prostitution. It distorted the realities of working-class girls and women drawn to the sex trade, but it also shifted public discourse about prostitution away from a previous view of such girls and women as culpable, depraved harlots and encouraged reformers to see them as victims. Butler influenced her colleagues to insist that men take equal responsibility for producing a more chaste society, which, for a time,

encouraged some feminist and progressive support for the growing social purity campaigns in Britain and the United States at the turn of the 20th century.

See also Abolition; Child Prostitution; Contagious Diseases Acts; Purity Campaigns; White Slavery; Appendix document 2.

Further Reading: Butler, Josephine. "The Double-Standard of Morality." *Philanthropist*, October 1886; Jones, Victor Pierce. *Saint or Sensationalist: The Story of W. T. Stead*. Chichester: Gooday, 1988; Petrie, Glen. *A Singular Iniquity: The Campaigns of Josephine Butler*. New York: Viking Press, 1971; [William T. Stead]. "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 1885; Stead, William T. *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer*. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1894; Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Pamela Donovan

MALE PROSTITUTION. The history of male prostitution extends deep into the past, mirroring the historical depth of what was referred to (wrongly, and with negative implication) as "the world's oldest profession": female prostitution. But although records indeed indicate the existence of male prostitution in some of the most ancient societies, such a claim proves little and obscures much. In looking more closely at the topic, one is immediately confronted by the fuzziness of the terms: what is "male" and what is "prostitution"? How has what is known today as "male prostitution" come to be known as just that?

Perhaps the most widespread pattern of "male prostitution" practiced in Europe and the United States at the turn of the 19th century involved biological men who dressed similarly to female prostitutes. Commonly known in the United States as "fairies," these individuals worked variously in all-fairy **brothels** and saloons, as solo offerings in brothels that were otherwise devoted to female workers, or on the streets in either semisegregated or "mixed sex" cruising zones. In some instances, the individuals may have tried to pass themselves off as biological women, although in most cases this seems not to have been true. Writing before the concept of "transsexuality" had arisen, early sexologists such as Magnus Hirschfeld and Havelock Ellis readily included this type of prostitution as an instance of "male prostitution" more generally. It is unclear how the subjects of these writings would have presented themselves, but most individuals who fit this description in the contemporary period identify as transsexual or simply as female, placing their work outside of the category of "male prostitution" per se (and indeed, most researchers today distinguish between "male prostitution" and "trans-prostitution"—or even between biological versus nonbiological forms of "female prostitution"—in a way that would be unfamiliar to 19th-century sexologists). These definitional uncertainties make it unclear whether what occurred in the late 1800s and early 1900s should be classified as "male prostitution," and, if so, when exactly it ceased to be "male prostitution" and became something else.

Similar difficulties arise when considering the precise limits of a word such as "prostitution." From the early 1700s well into the 20th century, a pattern of prostitution developed in which "normally identified" male soldiers engaged in paid sex for a queer-identified male clientele. Other "normally identified" working-class men also sold sex to "queer" men, but military men apparently had their own bars and "soldiers' promenades" in which they worked. This means of supplementing the military's meager wages gained such subcultural status that, within certain regiments, noncommissioned officers apparently began initiating new recruits into prostitution

immediately on enlistment. Although some of what became known as “barracks prostitution” was constituted by clear sex for cash transactions, there was apparently an oversupply of workers throughout much of the history of this institution, leading many of the soldiers to seek longer-term relations with individual clients. Relations between soldiers and clients therefore often involved a good deal more emotional intimacy than was typical between female prostitutes and their clientele, and at least a few of these relationships developed into domestic arrangements in which the queer-identified patron would cook, clean, and sew for his soldier partner during periods of leave. “[T]he financial dependence of the beloved on the loving person often makes it look like prostitution, although no one thinks twice when in a heterosexual relationship a wealthy man spends a lot of money on a young woman he greatly loves, regardless of whether he marries her or not” (Hirschfeld 2000, p. 805). Even in shorter-term arrangements, many material exchanges took the form of “gifts,” particularly with wealthier patrons, making it possible that the participants did not identify their activities as “prostitution” per se. Although most of these relationships ended at the end of a soldier’s tour of duty, the stigmatization of such relationships makes them more susceptible to the label of “prostitution” in the eyes of outsiders. More generally, the attempt to decide whether or not these exchanges were *truly* instances of prostitution diverts attention away from their actual contours. A more fruitful approach follows from examining the ways in which participants may have used the term “prostitution” to set social and emotional limits around certain interactions while leaving others deliberately vague. Rather than seeing “prostitution” as a transhistorical category, common to all periods, one might begin to see the way in which the very definition of the term allows for some ambiguity, enabling it to be used by both outsiders and participants as a political tool.

In the modern era (1680–present), the rise of “male prostitution” as a recognizable pattern of behavior has been associated with the rise of “homosexuality” as a sexual category and subject of study. Before the rise of homosexuality as a social-psychological category, even what would today be considered “obvious” examples of male prostitution were difficult to categorize. In one famous case from 1860, English police arrested two men—Ernest Boulton and Frederick William Park—because the men were dressed as women and the police were not sure what to make of the situation, despite the fact that the two carried letters that mentioned cash exchanges with various clients. By the turn of the 20th century, police had no such difficulty, having been familiarized through the writings of sexological specialists and through a series of scandals (e.g., the Cleveland Street Affair, the **Oscar Wilde** trial) that effectively publicized the “problems” associated with the new identities.

Male prostitutes came to the particular attention of the early sexologists because many of them seemed to lie on a borderline between “normal” sexuality and the new idea of “homosexuality” that they were formulating. By recoding sexual acts that had previously been considered deviant but malleable (much in the same way that one is not considered to have a gene for gambling today) into a category that was taken to be inherent and permanent, sexologists created a dilemma for themselves: what to make of all the men having sex with each other who did not seem to be “true homosexuals”? What exactly placed one within or outside of the category of homosexuality? If “innate sexual desire” was to be a key defining characteristic, were men who had sex for cash genuine “homosexuals” or merely “pseudohomosexuals” (another favorite term of the time)? Together with men who had sex only in the confines of all-male institutions (**prisons**, the military, maritime crews, boarding schools, etc.), male prostitutes became a hotly debated marker in the establishment of “homosexuality.” Although professional opinion tended toward

the notion that most male prostitutes were *not* in fact homosexual, the issue again came to the fore in the 1970s with another challenge to the boundaries of homosexual identity. Early gay activists pointed to male prostitutes because of their borderline status, generally claiming that they were using prostitution as a means of having sex with men while not coming to terms with their “true homosexuality” (and thus effectively expanding the term’s applicability to numerous such “closet cases”). The medical profession sometimes went to unusual lengths when engaging in these debates. In 1974, for example, the sexologist Kurt Freund measured the erections of male prostitutes while showing them gay and straight pornography, concluding that most of the workers were basically heterosexual. Again, however, it is perhaps less helpful to ask whether these claims are true, but to notice the ways in which the category of homosexuality is constituted and deployed to various political effect. Who benefits from such categorizations, and how do they impact social life?

Male prostitution has been closely associated with another of the central controversies surrounding gay life, although its presence has been little commented on. Portrayals of gay men as child molesters have become particularly prominent during three waves of antigay bigotry: from 1937 to 1940 (when FBI director **J. Edgar Hoover** called for a “War on the Sex Criminal”), from 1949 to 1955 (the McCarthy period), and in the early 1970s (when singer and former beauty queen Anita Bryant led a movement to “Save Our Children” from “the homosexual menace”). Although the earliest of these three campaigns was not exclusively waged against gay men (the “sexual psychopath” that Hoover targeted was thought to threaten both girls and boys), all three of these campaigns essentially equated male homosexuality with the sexual abuse of children. Notably, however, when antigay campaigners cited actual instances of abuse, they frequently referred to cases in which teens had turned to prostitution with older men as a means of survival or simply to make additional cash. Notably, leaders of the earlier campaigns did not mention that the youths had been working as prostitutes. Such information would have disqualified them from the sympathy due to “victims” and would have instead suggested that they themselves were morally depraved and perhaps even “homosexual.” By the time of Anita Bryant, however, the youths’ involvement in prostitution was not covered up (though it was not much emphasized either). By the 1970s, such involvement did not automatically disqualify a youth from being a “child victim” as it had previously. Such children were considered to be *susceptible* to “recruitment,” but, as long as they were underage, they were not identified as confirmed “homosexuals.”

Like the two other forms of male prostitution that were predominant at the turn of the 20th century (transgender prostitution and soldier prostitution), the prostitution of male youths has an extensive past. There is powerful evidence that in 15th-century Florence, a significant percentage of adolescent-aged male youth (12 to 20 years old) developed long-term sexual relations with wealthy benefactors (who were most commonly in their 20s, but who might be older as well). These liaisons sometimes met with the support of their youth’s parents, as they too benefited financially from the arrangements. Be that as it may, the social practices and meanings associated with such intergenerational contacts had changed significantly by the end of the 19th century, and they would change even more until the practice was completely transformed and then virtually eliminated during the 20th. By the end of the 19th century, for example, the age of those involved had gone up slightly, generally following a parallel increase in the age of consent for girls. Another difference was that while youths in Renaissance Florence came from all classes, the young men involved at the end of the 19th century were overwhelmingly limited to the working class. During the 1889 Cleveland Street Affair, for example, in which a small handful

of messenger boys (most aged 15 to 16) from the royal General Post Office were found to be moonlighting at a nearby gay brothel, the lead investigator wrote an internal memo stating that it was the duty of his office “to enforce the law and protect the children of *respectable* parents.” The inspector’s conditionality emphasizes the lack of attention more typically received by children of “unrespectable” (i.e., working-class) parents. By the final decades of the 19th century, this type of state scrutiny had effectively pushed even moderately esteemed youth out of the sex trade.

But, given the widespread poverty associated with the increasing industrialization of the era, this limitation left a tremendously large number of “normally identified” male youths and young men who might still be available. Darkened movie theaters, many with private rooms and public lavatories, were the most notorious pickup areas, but prostitution might also happen in any of the gay cruising zones throughout the city: public gardens, certain bars, riverwalks, etc. Indeed, pickups could happen practically anywhere, particularly as there was no particular “look” that identified who was and who was not willing to prostitute; many of the young poor and working class were willing to participate, and prostitution was in no way limited to an isolated subculture that might be deemed deviant. For example, one gay man sent telegrams to himself simply so as to contact random messenger boys, whom he then propositioned with general success. The practice of prostitution was extremely widespread and in fact constituted a primary means of sexual interaction for many gay men (particularly those in the middle class or above). Some gay men from privileged backgrounds eroticized the “genuine manliness” of working-class men. Anglo-Irish playwright Oscar Wilde, for example, said that he preferred to be with working-class youths (typically aged 16 to 20) because “their passion was all body and no soul”; “feasting with panthers,” he called it. Others, such as the early sexologist and gay rights activist Edward Carpenter, offered a less fetishized and more optimistic interpretation of such cross-class contact, arguing that “Eros is a great leveler.”

For their part, many working-class youths approached prostitution as a simple means to an end—for food, amusements, shelter, and more. Interested adolescents openly shared information with each other regarding who was a client and what exactly they wanted. Working-class parents did not necessarily approve of this behavior, and at times they took action against the adult *clients*, particularly if a relationship was ongoing and deemed to be exploitative. Yet parents sometimes knew about and condoned their sons’ activities, being in need of the additional income that their sons brought in. Working-class boys were generally expected to contribute to the household economy, often taking dangerous jobs in the process (indeed, children had a rate of workplace-related accidents that was three times that of adults), and these facts helped shift the moral calculus in favor of toleration.

With the ongoing rise and stigmatization of “homosexuality,” fewer and fewer “normally identified” men were willing to engage in sex with other men. This shift could be seen in the shifting vernacular of the day:

The term “trade” originally referred to the customer of a fairy prostitute, a meaning analogous to and derived from its usage in the slang of female prostitutes; by the 1910s, it referred to any “straight” man who responded to a gay man’s advances. As one fairy put it in 1919, a man was trade if he “would stand to have ‘queer’ persons fool around [with] him in any way, shape or manner.” “Trade” was also increasingly used in the middle third of the century to refer to straight-identified men who worked as prostitutes serving gay-identified men, reversing the dynamic of economic exchange and desire implied by the original meaning (Chauncey 1994, pp. 69–70).

Nevertheless, many working-class “straight” men remained willing to sell sex to “gay” men. During the Depression years, when many men were pushed into prostitution by economic want, straight-acting men effectively overwhelmed the old effeminate style of streetwalking, joining the soldier prostitute strolls and pushing the remaining fairy prostitutes to more marginalized locations. This transition, which has been identified as occurring in **New York City** in 1932, marks the final passing of widespread straight cruising of fairy men. Although fairy prostitutes continued to exist, and although some straight men even cruised the new generation of young but “normal” youth, gay men now dominated the client base for the first time.

Despite their willingness to have sex with men, for some men, ideas concerning gay identity made certain acts more acceptable than others. Most “normally identified” working-class men and adolescents would only take “insertive” roles lest they be seen (and start to see themselves) as “fairies.” Although some working-class youth were willing to submit to “feminizing” sexual acts (e.g., being sodomized) in the late Victorian period, as gay identity became more accepted, the sexual encounters involved nothing more than being orally or manually stimulated by the gay man, or perhaps mutual masturbation at the most. The new restrictions on sexual behavior were not always happily welcomed by clients, and one gay man who cruised both young, working-class men and soldiers during the 1920s complained that “those normal young men who request for themselves this form of amusement [oral sex] never offer it in return” (Ackerly 1968, p. 130). If the rise of gay culture put limits on what most straight men were willing to do, however, it also led queer-identified men to sell sex to each other for the first time. This pattern represented only a small minority, however, and the men selling sex within this new scene were discreetly normative in appearance, not effeminate.

Although the growing dominance of the homosexual ideology reduced the number of “normal” men who were willing to actively seek out fairies as clients, it eventually cut down on the number of working-class men who were willing to act as trade, even for a price. As the increasing use of the term “trade” to refer more directly to monied exchanges suggests, the pool of available straight men slowly became restricted to undisguised cash for sex transactions with specialists: “street hustlers.” If previously a wide cross-section of the straight male working class had been willing to trade sex for money, by mid-century, only the most marginalized were willing to deal with the **stigma** associated with gay identity. The literature concerning male prostitution in the 1950s, 1960s, and even into the early 1970s, is replete with stories of “deviants” or “hoodlum types” who engaged in prostitution as a means of obtaining spending money. Gone for the most part was the “barracks prostitution” and the widespread participation of many working-class youth: the messenger boys and newspaper sellers so common in Victorian-era scandals. In its place remained mostly those “delinquent” youths who, while they generally lived at home and had their survival needs taken care of, nevertheless were unable or unwilling to secure work in the formal labor market and used the cash they obtained to finance either their recreational activities, including, for a growing minority, to support drug habits. In the larger cities, these youths were supplemented by unemployed men who relied on prostitution for their survival, a limited population of straight-identified body-builders who posed in muscle magazines and occasionally sold sex to gay men on the side, and by a small but slowly increasing number of gay men who followed the 1920s pattern of selling sex to gay men while remaining somewhat discreet. An even smaller number of cross-dressing fairies also continued, but the field was now clearly dominated by the teenaged “delinquent.” Full-time professional hustlers existed only in the larger cities, but even moderate-sized towns such as Boise, Idaho, with a population of

approximately 50,000 in the 1950s, had a male street hustling scene then, made up mostly of “delinquent” youth.

The ascendancy of the sexological ideology of homosexuality dramatically accelerated with the rise of “gay liberation.” By the late 1960s and early 1970s, gay writers were forcefully questioning the “straightness” of any man who had sex of any sort with another man. “As for the hustler,” wrote one observer, “most gays look down upon him for maintaining that he’s really straight” (Hunt 1977, p. 136). The rise of gay liberation made it still more difficult for men to engage in same-sex sexual relations without being forced to take on the onus of the homosexual identification. The older paradigm in which working-class men experienced sexual pleasure with “fairy” men and maintained their normative status became virtually untenable with the increasing visibility of gay life. Most male street prostitutes came to occupy only very marginal spaces within the gay social world and did not generally participate in the gay political struggle. Quite the contrary, street hustlers often felt quite hostile to gay liberation, seeing in it a movement that excluded them and their concerns.

Yet if the ideology of homosexuality brought difficult personal challenges for some hustlers, for others the rise of gay liberation led toward an increasing acceptance of gay or bisexual self-identity. One of the first openly gay authors of this period was, in fact, a formerly straight-identified hustler who wrote more or less autobiographically of his life. **John Rechy**’s first book, *City of Night* (1963), remained on bestseller lists for months and is now considered a gay classic. It precisely documented the central character’s confrontation with his own inclinations toward homosexuality. Ironically, many of those who worked on the street were unable to claim their gay status openly as their gay clientele still frequently preferred straight “trade.” “I have on occasion made a definite statement [proclaiming myself gay],” wrote Rechy, “and the person has lost interest in me” (1978 [1974], p. 266).

Although a preference for straight (or semistraight) trade was manifest on the streets in the late 1960s, other sexual markets began to open up in which the clients displayed no such tendency. Gay men began selling sex to one another in much larger numbers, mostly working off the street through **escort agencies** and ads. Although some gay clients had sought gay workers before the 1970s, the gay liberation era marked the first time that most gay men began to buy sex from other gay men, rather than from straight outsiders who lived the bulk of their lives outside the gay world. The new relationship between client and prostitute produced new sexual practices. Clients in the late 19th century had only sought to act as “tops” with youths, but gay men could now pay to take a “dominant” role with adult men. Clients calling agencies often sought much more than to give oral satisfaction to the hustler, seeking “versatile” partners whom they could anally penetrate, workers willing to participate in three-ways with another worker, or others who would help create sexual fantasy scenes via costumes. The resulting possibilities transformed the work dynamics even for those on the street who sought to continue in the prior, “inserter-only” modality, as greater pressure was placed on them to perform a greater variety of sexual acts.

The shifts in male prostitution associated with gay liberation led to a significant reworking of the meanings associated with prostitution. Although the act represented a simple means of supplementing one’s income or allowance for a previous generation of “delinquents,” for the first time, it became a possible means of affirming one’s sexual identity. Indeed, for a brief time, the gay-identified prostitute came to represent the new spirit of gay liberation. Just as earlier writers used the figure of the prostitute male to illuminate aspects of “homosexuality” more generally, a new generation of gay writers took to the image of the hustler to rework the theme. For many in the newly emerging gay world, the gay prostitute symbolized a life option that embraced sexual

pleasure and avoided any necessity for hiding one's sexual identity. Pornographic collections of short stories, such as *\$tud* (1966), *My Brother the Hustler* (1970), and *San Francisco Hustler* (1970), all by Samuel Steward, stood at the forefront of a shift in gay writing, transforming it from what has been called "a literature of guilt and apology" into one of "political defiance and celebration of sexual difference" (Hall 1988).

See also Male Prostitution, Victorian Literature; Transgender Sex Workers.

Further Reading: Ackerly, J. R. *My Father and Myself*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1968; Aggleton, Peter, ed. *Men Who Sell Sex: International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and HIV/AIDS*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999; Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890–1940*. New York: HarperCollins, 1994; Friedman, Mack. *Strapped for Cash: A History of American Hustler Culture*. San Francisco: Alyson Publications, 2003; Gerassi, John. *The Boys of Boise: The True Story of a Homosexual Scandal Exploited for Political Purposes*. New York: MacMillan, 1966; Hall, Richard. "Gay Fiction Comes Home." *The New York Times*, 19 June 1988, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940DE3D91330F93AA25755C0A96E948260>; Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Translated by Michael Lombardi-Nash. 1913. Reprint, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000; Humphreys, Laud. "New Styles in Homosexual Manliness." In *The Homosexual Dialectic*, ed. Joseph McCaffrey. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972, pp. 65–83. Originally published in *Transaction* 8 (March–April 1971): 38ff.; Hunt, Morton. *Gay: What You Should Know about Homosexuality*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977; Kaye, Kerwin. "Male Prostitution in the Twentieth Century: Pseudohomosexuals, Hoodlum Homosexuals, and Exploited Teens." *Journal of Homosexuality* 46, no. 1/2 (2003): 1–77; Kaye, Kerwin. "Sex and the Unspoken in Male Street Prostitution." *Journal of Homosexuality* (in press); Leyland, Winston, ed. "Winston Leyland Interviews John Rechy." *Gay Sunshine Interviews*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1978. Originally published in *Gay Sunshine* (23 November/December 1974); Maynard, Steven. "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890–1935." *Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (June 1997): 191–235; McNamara, Robert. *The Times Square Hustler: Male Prostitution in New York City*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994; Pettway, Leon. *Honey, Honey, Miss Thang: Being Black, Gay, and on the Streets*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996; Rechy, John. *City of Night*. New York: Grove Press, 1963; Reiss, Albert, Jr. "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers." In *Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective*, 5th ed., ed. Earl Rubington and Martin Weinberg. New York: Macmillan, 1987, pp. 352–60. Reprinted in *The Problem of Homosexuality in Modern Society*, ed. Hendrik Ruitenbeek, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963, pp. 249–78, and in *Sexual Deviance*, ed. John Gagnon and William Simon. New York: Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 197–228. Originally published in *Social Problems* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1961): 102, 104, 106–9, 112–19; Rocke, Michael. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; Steward, Samuel (as Phil Andros). *\$tud*. Boston: Alyson Publications, 1966; Steward, Samuel (as Phil Andros). *My Brother, the Hustler*. San Francisco: Gay Parisian Press, 1970; Steward, Samuel (as Phil Andros). *San Francisco Hustler*. San Francisco: Gay Parisian Press, 1970; Visano, Livy. *This Idle Trade*. Concord, Ontario: VitaSana Books, 1987; Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*. London: Quartet Books, 1977; Weeks, Jeffrey. "Inverts, Perverts, and Mary-Annes: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *The Gay Past: A Collection of Historical Essays*, ed. Salvatore Licata and Robert Peterson. New York: Haworth Press, 1985, pp. 113–34. Also published in Duberman et al., eds., *Hidden from History*, New York: New American Library, 1989, pp. 195–211. Originally published in *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, no.1/2 (Fall/Winter 1980/1); West, Donald J., in association with Buz de Villiers. *Male Prostitution*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 1993.

Kerwin Kaye

MALE PROSTITUTION, VICTORIAN LITERATURE. Reference to **male prostitution** in mainstream Victorian literature is largely absent until the 1880s, and when it occurs it is coded. On the other hand, in underground literature it is more common and even overt, as in three famous works of erotica: *My Secret Life* (1870s–90s), *Sins of the Cities of the Plain; or Confessions of a Mary-Anne* (1881), and *Teleny: The Reverse of the Medal* (1893). These were anonymously published and privately printed. *My Secret Life* by “Walter” is a hardcore pornographic “sexual autobiography” as told by an upper-class gentleman with an insatiable desire for sex. It was printed in 11 volumes between 1888 and 1894 in **Amsterdam**. Walter’s physical relations are primarily with lower-class working men and women and prostitutes of both genders. Authentic or not, it is considered a reliable document of sexual social history and the economics of prostitution. *The Sins of the Cities of the Plain; or Confessions of a Mary-Anne* (1881) is purportedly the memoir of Jack Saul, one of several male prostitutes who later testified in London’s infamous Cleveland Street Affair (1889) case. For the price of 20 pounds, Saul wrote his “confession” at the request of one of his well-to-do patrons. The novel *Teleny: The Reverse of the Medal* (1893) is actually a group effort that recounts a love affair between two men, chronicles the title character’s explorations of forbidden pleasures, and relates encounters with male prostitutes during the fin de siècle Paris. Two hundred copies were printed of a book that supposedly was a collaboration of writers in **Oscar Wilde’s** circle, most notably Wilde himself, though only circumstantial evidence of this exists. For example, the prose style is often markedly similar to that of Wilde’s later mainstream novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and there are several similar passages in both works. Like J. K. Huysman’s 1884 French Aesthetic novel *À Rebours*, which influenced *Dorian Gray*, *Teleny* provides a clear picture of the decadent fin de siècle. Solicitation of male prostitutes is represented in all three novels: *Teleny* and *À Rebours* on the streets of Paris, and *Dorian Gray* on the streets and docks of London. Finally, in his mainstream Sherlock Holmes stories, Arthur Conan Doyle makes oblique references to two London scandals involving male prostitutes. Holmes—now resonant of the classic fin de siècle homosexual aesthete—asks his accomplice, Dr. Watson, to flee to the Continent with him after Holmes almost dies in Vere Street, London, the site of the notorious scandal involving a male brothel named the White Swan. Although the Vere Street Coterie was convicted in 1810, before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the scandal remained in the public consciousness throughout the 19th century. In another story, Holmes adopts a 14-year-old “telegraph boy” as his valet, a reference that Conan Doyle’s readers no doubt would have associated with the recent Cleveland Street Affair, when “telegraph boys” serviced aristocratic male patrons and subsequently gave incriminating testimony. Some suggest that Holmes is modeled after Oscar Wilde; Conan Doyle and Wilde met once over dinner, the result of which helped Wilde’s *Dorian Gray* become serialized in *Lippincott’s Magazine*.

Further Reading: Anonymous. *My Secret Life*. Edited by James Kincaid. 1888–94. Abridged reprint, New York: Signet Classics, 1996; Anonymous. *Sins of the Cities of the Plain; or Confessions of a Mary-Anne*. 1881. Reprint, New York: Masquerade Books, 1992; Anonymous. *Teleny: The Reverse of the Medal*. Edited by H. Montgomery Hyde. 1893. Reprint, London: Icon, 1966; “1889: Scandal in Cleveland Street.” <http://www.gayhistory.com/rev2/events/1889.htm>; Huysmans, Joris-Karl. *À Rebours*. 1884. Reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1998; Hyde, H. Montgomery. *The Cleveland Street Scandal*. New York: Coward, McGann and Geoghegan, 1976; Norton, Richard. “The Vere Street Coterie.” *Queer Culture* Web site <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/vere.htm>; Robb, Graham. *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2004; Weeks, Jeffrey. “Inverts, Perverts, and Mary Annes: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries.” In *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and*

Lesbian Past, eds. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncery, Jr. New York: New American Library, 1989.

Janet Tanke

MALE STRIPPING. **Stripping**, dancing or performing live, is a flourishing form of sexual entertainment in gay clubs across the United States. Like other forms of sexual entertainment, such as porn or phone sex, stripping projects a fantasy or idea of sex, but with a significant difference: it is physically present to the spectator and permits a degree of interaction. In the United States, a national circuit of clubs and theaters offer regular, scheduled strip shows for gay male audiences, but the number of clubs, their names, and the cities in which the clubs operate is constantly changing. However, a handful of clubs or theaters have operated for decades and serve as the circuit's anchors—Nob Hill Theater in San Francisco, Madrigal's in **Chicago**, and until recently, the Gaiety in **New York City** (it closed in 2005). The clubs and theaters on the strip circuit will often book gay porn stars as headliners (as sexual entertainers who have national appeal). Off the male strip circuit, other clubs offer such shows only occasionally and are more likely to hire local residents who dance for a little extra money to supplement other sources of income.

Strippers—whether they are male or female—typically earn their income in the form of tips from customers who drop dollars on the stage near a performer or tuck cash in the elastic band of a g-string, underwear, or a jock strap. Female strippers can earn large incomes, but male strippers, whether they work in gay clubs or before a straight female audience, earn considerably less. As a form of employment, stripping offers ready cash to performers, while providing an erotic spectacle to the audience. Local laws and enforcement policies determine the extent of nudity (which can range from underwear or jock straps to g-strings and total nudity), whether or not a live sex show can take place where **alcohol** is served, and the degree of touching that is permitted.

Although many strippers may not work as escorts, stripping can serve as a point of contact for escorting. Whether or not strippers are available as escorts, they are nonetheless frequently solicited. Thus “dancing” or stripping may also serve as a form of outreach and marketing to attract customers.

Porn stars are the most likely performers on the strip circuit to serve as headliners or featured entertainers. The national distribution of porn videos and the wide availability of adult sites on the **Internet** give porn stars reputations that reach beyond the local gay community. The porn star who works as a stripper thus comes with an advantage—his name recognition and his status as a performer in porn serve as an attraction for the club putting him on stage—he is a “featured entertainer,” in contrast to the local talent or relatively anonymous dancers who routinely perform.

Stripping frequently enhances a porn star's career and helps to make him better known and to broaden his fan base. For the porn star who strips and escorts, traveling around the country dancing in gay clubs and burlesque theaters allows him to demonstrate his sexual appeal in person and meet clients in the smaller markets away from gay centers such as **Los Angeles**, San Francisco, and New York City.

In addition, the porn star who works as a stripper earns considerably more than one who is not a porn star. The recently closed Gaiety Theater in New York City paid the travel expenses and a per-diem fee to cover the cost of a nearby hotel room for its porn-star headliners. At the Gaiety, most of the dancers earned their income, not through tips, by giving “private shows” in their hotel rooms (thus the value of the nearby hotel room).

Except for some of the burlesque theaters (the Nob Hill in San Francisco or the Gaiety in New York City), and in contrast to some of the large straight strip clubs, stripping in the gay clubs is usually a subsidiary aspect of the entertainment and social activity that take place in those settings. But stripping adds a dose of fantasy and sexual energy to the club's ambiance.

Further Reading: De Marco, J. "The World of Gay Strippers." *Gay and Lesbian Review* (March/April 2002): 12–14; Escoffier, Jeffrey. "Porn Star/Stripper/Escort: Economic and Sexual Dynamics in a Sex Work Career." In *Male Sex Workers*, ed. Todd Morrison. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, in press; Liepe-Levinson, Katherine. *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire*. New York: Routledge, 2002; Payton, Lewis. "Strip Tease." *Genre* (July 2003): 50–54.

Jeffrey Escoffier

MANDEVILLE, BERNARD (1670–1733). In his controversial masterpiece *The Fable of the Bees, or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714–29), Dutch author Bernard Mandeville argued that the benefits enjoyed in modern society resulted not from the love people have for others or for society in general, but from the self-love that motivates each individual. Savoring paradox, he argued that the greatness of advanced societies owed more to people's vices than to their virtues. He maintained that consumption of luxuries, a traditional vice, was a key factor in the growth of modern trade and of England's greatness among the world powers. Thriftiness or frugality, the opposite of luxury, he called "a mean, starving virtue." To illustrate the public benefit of luxury spending, he offered the example of a highwayman who steals money and gives his whore 10 pounds to buy new clothes. The money that she spends and puts into circulation, he argued, is much more advantageous to society than the money hoarded by a miser.

He seemed to approve of the state's toleration of brothels in **Amsterdam** (see "Remark H" of his *Fable*), but asserted that whoring remained a vice and that the path of virtue is always preferable. Though the Dutch authorities knew that prostitution was a threat to civil society, they chose to control rather than eliminate it because it was thought to be socially useful in protecting the modesty and honor of virtuous women. Thus prostitution, regarded as a necessary outlet for uncontrollable male lust that might otherwise resort to rapes and adultery, was thought to be the lesser of two evils.

When Mandeville's *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews* appeared anonymously in 1724, his contemporaries easily guessed that he had written it. In this work he satirized the **Societies for the Reformation of Manners** and recommended that the government institute a system of state-regulated **brothels** to remove the evils of private (i.e., unregulated) whoring. Among those evils, the chief one, apparently, was the spread of venereal diseases from whores to their customers and thereafter to innocent wives and children. Other evils in the existing system were the murder of unwanted bastard infants, the **rape** or seduction of unmarried women who were later abandoned and forced through poverty into prostitution, the seduction of married women who were tempted into adultery, theft of valuables from male customers, and the financial ruin of some wealthy males ensnared by **courtesans**. To these evils Mandeville added the hours lost from business or trade while a young man courted a young lady to satisfy his safely sexual urges. Another evil that regulated prostitution would remove was male masturbation, which recently had been depicted in *Onania* as a serious disorder leading to madness.

Mandeville proposed that the government deal with these evils by erecting and managing 100 new brothels in **London** (fewer for other towns), with one matron overseeing 20 courtesans in each house, and with a free allowance of drinks to be sold at a fair price to the gentlemen.

Each brothel would have access to an infirmary with at least two physicians and four surgeons. The whole would be supervised by three commissioners who would also “hear and redress Complaints.” The courtesans, divided into four ranks according to their desirability, would be paid according to their rank, and the entire operation would be self-funded through fair taxation of the incomes of these harlots. In this system the matron had absolute control over the inmates: no one was allowed to leave without her permission; giving birth on the premises was forbidden; neither young children nor drunken or rowdy males could enter; no loud music was permitted, and **violence** would not be tolerated. Women who found that they had been infected had to report that fact and receive treatment in the infirmary, and those who tried to hide their venereal disease would be “stripp’d and cashier’d.” Any courtesan who contracted **syphilis** more than once would be permanently excluded.

One mistake that most readers have made is to conclude from this work that Mandeville defended prostitution, when in fact he painted a grim picture of the loveless, forlorn lives of the whores in his society. The “publick stews” he defended in his title were quasiutopian, and they do not yet exist. He deplored the then-existing state of prostitution, which he described as “private whoring,” but for utilitarian reasons, he refused to join his enemies, the reformers, who wanted to quash all illicit sex. Using an argument that has been traced to **Saint Augustine** and to **Thomas Aquinas**, Mandeville thought that male lust was unstoppable and that prostitutes were necessary for society as a good drainage system is for a castle.

Most earlier interpretations have also overlooked the fact that Mandeville recommended **marriage** founded on mutual love as far more desirable for men and women than loveless casual encounters. Yet even while he praised **marriage**, he argued that young men who have learned about women and sex through early whoring would ultimately make better husbands than virginal young men who had unrealistic expectations of the joys to be had in marriage.

Mandeville’s pamphlet elicited a number of antagonistic responses and barely one of approval, but some decades later, a few writers began to take his suggestion seriously. Because Mandeville included passages of bawdy humor to bait the reformers, readers have sometimes admitted that it is hard to know when he is serious and when he is merely jesting. But there can be no doubt whatever that he was calling for measures to counter the growing plague of venereal disease.

Further Reading: Cook, Richard I. “‘The Great Leviathan of Leachery’: Mandeville’s *Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1724).” In *Mandeville Studies: New Explorations in the Art and Thought of Dr. Bernard Mandeville 1670–1733*, ed. I. Primer. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 22–23; Mandell, Laura. “Bawds and Merchants: Engendering Capitalist Desires.” *English Literary History* 59, no. 1 (1992): 107–23; Mandeville, Bernard (attributed author). *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*. London, 1724. Facsimile reprint, Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society (no. 162), 1973; Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. Edited by F. B. Kaye. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Reprint, Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988; Rogal, Samuel J. “The Selling of Sex: Mandeville’s *Modest Defence of Publick Stews*.” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 5 (1976): 141–50.

Irwin Primer

MANN ACT. The Mann Act, a federal law also known as the White Slave Traffic Act, outlawed the interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes. In the early 20th century in the United States, it was widely believed that large rings of “white slavers” were preying on young

A Madam on the Mann Act

Once I took a girlfriend down to Miami for convention work, but I made her buy her own ticket, and we left on separate planes. That way, nobody can say I'm transporting girls over state lines for immoral purposes, which is (the) Mann Act.

From Xaviera Hollander, with Robin Moore and Yvonne Dunleavy, *The Happy Hooker*, 30th Anniversary Edition—Xaviera Hollander with Robin Moore and Yvonne Dunleavy (New York: ReganBooks, 2002), p. 113.

women in the cities. These gangs were coercing women into prostitution through threats, intimidation, and force. Thereafter, these women were imagined to be kept in **brothels** under conditions of near slavery. The Mann Act, signed into law by President William Howard Taft on June 25, 1910, aimed to remedy this perceived problem. Most states soon adopted Little Mann Acts, prohibiting the transportation of women for prostitution within their territories. The Mann Act was passed to “protect” women, but the greatest number of

people prosecuted under the Mann Act were women.

Violation of the Mann Act was complete on the woman's crossing of the state line. If the defendant intended that the woman be prostituted, debauched, or engage in any other immoral sexual activity, then he was guilty of violating the Mann Act. It would not matter that the intended seduction never occurred. The first arrest for violation of the Mann Act occurred in **Chicago** on July 8, 1910, when a **madam** was caught while escorting five apparently willing prostitutes from Chicago to her brothel in Houghton, Michigan. By April 1914, there were 530 Mann Act convictions with about half of the convictions involving women who were already prostitutes.

In 1917, the Mann Act was extended to cover noncommercial, consensual travel by boyfriend-girlfriend couples. They were charged because the public believed that a woman lost so much social prestige by engaging in sexual relations outside of **marriage** that she was likely to become a professional prostitute. The Mann Act was also used to prosecute people involved in other criminal activity when evidence was not easily gathered to prosecute them for the crimes for which they were actually wanted. This included a case of two couples in which the men were involved in “**organized crime**.” After their release, one of the couples married.

There are historical grounds to believe that the Mann Act was selectively enforced with racist and other motives. African American celebrities who were prosecuted under the Mann Act include the boxer Jack Johnson and musician Chuck Berry. The Mann Act had been used politically to target supposed Communist sympathizers during the McCarthy era when **J. Edgar Hoover** ran the FBI.

In 1962, the Department of Justice began to require advance clearance for noncommercial prosecutions, virtually halting such prosecutions. The Mann Act was restricted to activities that were illegal in the jurisdiction in which they were committed by the Meese Commission in 1986.

See also Appendix document 16.

Further Reading: Grittner, Frederick K. *White Slavery Myth, Ideology, and American Law*. New York: Garland, 1990; Langum, David J. *Crossing Over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Caryn E. Neumann and Melissa Hope Ditmore

MARRIAGE. Historically, marriage has existed as the social antithesis to prostitution from several perspectives. Foremost, marriage offers a culturally and religiously sanctioned venue for sex acts

that sharply contrasts the illicit and often illegal sexual exchange of prostitution. Because women have had unequal access to wages and financial capital, heterosexual marriage also provides protection from or a way out of prostitution as an economic necessity. However, viewing marriage and prostitution as opposing elements within a sexual economy oversimplifies their relationship. Limitations on sex outside of marriage have contributed to the number of clients seeking sex with prostitutes. An active traffic in mail-order brides and economic disparities between men and women also blur the boundaries separating marriage from prostitution.

In Western culture, marriage has provided legitimacy for sexual activity through social custom and the biblical dictate to “be fruitful and multiply.” Hebraic law ensured that marriage placed more strictures regarding virginity, adultery, and monogamy on women than on men, and thus marriage served to regulate and control the sexual activities of women. Unmarried women who engaged in sexual behavior were deemed prostitutes regardless of whether there was payment for the sex act. The Hebrew word *zônâ* can be translated as “to fornicate” and “to be a harlot, a whore.”

For women in male-dominated societies, marriage legitimizes the sexual act and extends practical financial security. Surveys of prostitutes in the 19th century show that women without the support of a male wage, either from a husband or close relative, were far more likely to become prostitutes, and marriage has extended the possibility of not only maintaining but also improving one’s economic well-being. Marriage also addresses sentimental as well as pragmatic objectives. Because the idea of a prostitute’s marriage to a wealthy client simultaneously fulfills male and female fantasies, popular literature has portrayed marriage as the fairy-tale ending to a career in prostitution. For example, John Cleland’s 1748 novel *Fanny Hill* details the career of the prostitute Fanny, who after an extended career as a prostitute, happily weds her first client Charles. Even when not explicitly proposed, marriage appears as an understood afterthought to the stories of true love between prostitutes and clients, as in the 1990 Hollywood romance, *Pretty Woman*.

However, 18th-century records from London’s Magdalen Hospital indicate that only a small percent of prostitutes later married and formed families. Portraying the prostitute’s unrealized aspirations for marriage realistically, moralistically, or tragically, works such as the 1904 opera *Madame Butterfly* have also presented the story of the prostitute who has been loved and left. In this tale, the Japanese prostitute Cio-Cio-San commits suicide after her hopes of love and marriage crumble when her American client Pinkerton returns to Japan with his wife to take home the illegitimate son he has had with Cio-Cio-San. Transferring the setting to Vietnam instead of Japan, the 1989 musical *Miss Saigon* also romanticizes the failure of prostitutes to secure marriage. More factual contemporary information regarding prostitutes who marry or attempt to marry clients is scarce, as prostitutes who marry often chose not to discuss their former professions.

Many of the marriages that originate through paid sexual encounters involve men and women from different cultures. Foreign prostitutes have furnished sexual outlets for many young military men serving abroad, and a number of Western men have found that they can marry women who are prettier or younger, or perceived as more subservient, from other countries. The phenomenon of “mail-order brides” in the late 19th and 20th centuries also challenged clear divisions between prostitution and marriage for many feminists and intellectuals. As the practice continues to thrive through the **Internet**, pairing women in economically disadvantaged regions of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America with wealthier suitors, uncomfortable similarities continue to exist between marriage and prostitution regarding money and sex.

Consequently, marriage and prostitution do not exist as straightforward binaries. Strictures against sex outside of marriage for women ironically have contributed to prostitution. In the Victorian Era, when sexual decorum was notoriously rigid and many men waited until later in life to accumulate the necessary wealth for marriage, the numbers of prostitutes appear to have increased in response to the sexual needs of unmarried men. Moreover, because marriage has held such clear financial advantages for many women in patriarchal societies, it has often been criticized as a form of prostitution. George Bernard Shaw's 1894 play *Mrs. Warren's Profession* emphasizes a direct correlation between marriage and prostitution in a society in which women have few opportunities for financial independence.

In Great Britain and the United States, husbands held legal rights to their wives' bodies well into the 20th century, and literature and the arts attest to an element of prostitution within some marriages in which the husband serves as pimp for his wife, with or without her consent. Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886) notoriously opens with a farmer selling his wife to a sailor at a country fair. The Hollywood drama *Indecent Proposal* (1993) modernizes the concept of selling a wife's body by making it the couple's decision and pits the pragmatic advantages of ultra-high-class prostitution (\$1 million for one night) with moral dilemmas over trust and fidelity. Though marriage historically has offered financial protection from prostitution for many women, it does not end the commercial exchange of sex between men and women.

Other factors complicate the traditional gendering of prostitution and marriage. As women gain financial independence and wealth, gender divisions among prostitutes and clients become more complex, as male prostitutes or gigolos occasionally find economic security through marriage to female clients. In 19th-century French **brothels**, celebratory ceremonies were held when two of the brothel's prostitutes decided to "marry." Male homosexual and transvestite prostitutes also maintain aspirations of marriage, often idealizing the myth of marrying wealthy clients and leaving prostitution. Recent debates regarding gay marriage open the possibility that such hopes for legal marriages between homosexual prostitutes and their clients could be realized.

See also Bible; Male Prostitution; Patriarchy.

Further Reading: Bartley, Paula. *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914*. New York: Routledge, 2000; Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*. Trans. Richard Daly. New York: Grove Press, 2004; Shanley, Mary Lyndon. *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Esther Godfrey

MARY OF EGYPT (D. CA. 421–CA. 549). Though technically Saint Mary of Egypt was not a prostitute, because her hagiography (saint's life) makes it fairly clear that she did not accept payment for sex, she is still considered one of the **Desert Harlots**. However, as a woman who loosely distributed her sexual favors, she can be classified as a harlot. Numerous versions of her life exist, including ones in Latin, Greek, and Old English, as well as a variety of Continental languages, which attest to the popularity of her cult. The earliest surviving mention of this saint is in the *Life of Kyriakos* by Cyril of Scythopolis (ca. 560). The Old English version of her life is the only surviving story of a nonvirgin saint.

Mary's interesting life story provided a model of repentance for medieval Christians. As a 12-year-old girl in Alexandria, Mary chose to live a self-indulgent life, attempting to slake her

“passion for fornication” with a multitude of sexual partners. She lived in this manner for 17 years, until a passing party of pilgrims piqued her curiosity about the Holy Sepulcher. Trading her body for passage on a boat, she made the journey to Jerusalem, only to be denied entrance to the temple by a mysterious spiritual force. This is the first reported miracle of nonentry within the Christian tradition. Pleading with the Virgin Mary to allow her access to the relics, Mary swore chastity and penance in exchange for the privilege. After viewing the holy items, she was directed by an inner voice to abandon all, enter the desert, and seek solitude.

Naked and alone, Mary endured the hardships of the desert for many years until a monk named Zosimus stumbled across her. After begging his cloak to cover her nakedness, she reluctantly agreed to tell him her life story so that others might learn from her example. By arrangement, Zosimus returned a year later to give Mary communion. The following year, Zosimus found Mary’s dead body on the riverbank, which he reverently buried with the help of a lion that dug the grave. Mary’s story emphasizes not only repentance and the importance of confession, but also the endless human capacity to achieve salvation through personal dedication and sacrifice.

See also Mary Magdalene; Pelagia.

Further Reading: Dembrowski, P. F. *La Vie de Ste. Marie Egyptienne*. Geneva: Droz, 1977; “St. Mary of Egypt.” In *Women Saints’ Lives in Old English Prose*, ed. and trans. Leslie A. Donovan. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1999, pp. 97–120.

Michelle M. Sauer

MARY MAGDALENE. Three competing depictions of Mary Magdalene, the follower of Jesus, are at issue in current scholarship: Mary Magdalene of the New Testament; the legendary Mary Magdalene, repentant prostitute, from the Roman Catholic Church tradition; and Mary Magdalene of the Gnostic texts, which describe her as the first Apostle and leader of early Christianity.

The biblical texts have scant information about Mary Magdalene. “Magdalene” means woman from Magdala. She is mentioned as a follower of Jesus who provided for Jesus from the beginning of his ministry in Galilee (Lk 8:2, Mk 15:41). Most frequent is her depiction as witness to the crucifixion of Jesus (Mk 15:40, Jn 19:25, Lk 23:49, Mt 27:56) and as the first resurrection witness (Mk 16:1, Lk 24:10, Jn 20:11–18, Mt 28:1). Two New Testament texts claim that Jesus cured her of possession by seven demons (Lk 8:2, Mk 16:9). There is no biblical or extrabiblical historical evidence to indicate that Mary Magdalene was a prostitute.

The Mary Magdalene of legend, the repentant whore, was the creative result of conflating a number of New Testament texts about “sinning” women, anointing women, and several different Marys. The story of the unnamed sinner who anoints the feet of Jesus in Luke 7:36–50 was identified as Mary Magdalene, perhaps because of its close proximity to the text of Luke 8:2, which names Mary Magdalene as one of three Galilean women who supported the Jesus movement out of their own resources. The parallel text of John 12:1–8 identifies the anointing woman as a Mary, but Mary of Bethany, not of Magdala. That the various women who go to anoint Jesus’ dead body were also named Mary is another factor in the conflation (Mk 16:1, Lk 23:55, 24:10). Two other Johanne texts are frequently assimilated to the legend of Mary Magdalene, the unnamed woman caught in adultery in John 8:1–11 and the Samaritan woman at the well in John 4. This grand conflation of disparate texts was first made official by Pope Gregory



Mary Magdalene at the tomb of our Saviour. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the Great in the 6th century. In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, Mary Magdalene is not a prostitute. Feminist biblical scholars read the biblical witness against the later church legend to conclude that Mary was labeled a whore to marginalize her historical importance as an apostle and leader in early Christianity. This slander may have been a reaction in “orthodox” Christianity to the powerful role of Mary Magdalene in Gnostic (i.e., “heretical”) trajectories of Christianity.

Gnostic texts rediscovered in the 19th and 20th centuries portray a very different Mary Magdalene from these portraits. Texts such as the Gospel of Phillip, the Gospel of Mary, and the Pistis Sophia disclose a Mary who is Jesus’ successor rather than Peter. Some texts even hint at an erotic relationship between Jesus and Mary, who is described as Jesus’ constant companion whom he kissed often, the one he loved most of all, and to whom was given secret knowledge denied the other male disciples.

See also Bible; Religion.

Further Reading: Maisch, Ingrid. *Mary Magdalene: The Image of a Woman through the Centuries*, trans. Linda Malony. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998; Meyer, Marvin, with Esther A. de Boer. *The Gospels of Mary: The Secret Tradition of Mary Magdalene, the Companion of Jesus*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2004; Schaberg, Jane. *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene*. New York: Continuum, 2003.

Avaren Ipsen

MASOCH, LEOPOLD VON SACHER (1836–95). Born in Lemberg, Galicia (now Lviv, Ukraine), Masoch’s novels established the literary origins for the term “masochism.” His most popular work, *Venus in Furs* (*Venus im Pelz*, 1871), depicts a submissive man who derives sexual pleasure from suffering pain and humiliation at the hands of a beautiful, domineering woman swathed in furs. The tale explores the male sexual fantasy of Severin, a young European nobleman, who negotiates a contract with an older aristocratic woman, Wanda von Dunajew, to be her slave for an extended period. Displacing Victorian notions of masculinity and femininity, a passive male is whipped and humiliated by a dominant female in ritualized scenarios that rarely culminate in sexual intercourse. The story borrows from the real-life contract Masoch

entered into with the Baroness Bogdanoff (Fanny Pistor), whom he later married. The novel's popularity led the 19th-century Austrian sexologist, Richard von Krafft-Ebing to coin the term "masochism" after Masoch in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), a compendium of newly invented masculine sexual perversions.

In the 20th century, "masochism" (the sexual pleasure of having pain or suffering inflicted oneself) came to be regarded in connection with other concepts, for example, fetishism and sadism. Today prostitutes and professional dominatrices offer the practice as a form of highly stylized sexual role-playing and pleasure.

The novel now appears in music and film. The Velvet Underground (1969) released an eponymous song with lyrics based on the story. A 1994 film, *Venus in Furs*, places the novel in modern times. The film *Velvet Goldmine* (1998) features a band of the same name. Masochistic practices have found acceptance in popular culture, with handcuffs and whips being sold in mainstream sex shops and articles on sadomasochistic play featured in women's magazines.

In 1895, Masoch was admitted to an insane asylum in Mannheim, Germany. The public was told that he had died in Lindheim on March 3, 1895. His biographer, James Cleugh, however, claims that he actually died in the asylum in 1905.

See also Kink; Sadomasochism

Further Reading: Cleugh, James. *The Marquis and the Chevalier*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1952; Masoch, Leopold von Sacher. *Venus in Furs*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel. New York, 2000. *Project Gutenberg* <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/6852>.

Melissa Ellis Martin

MATA HARI (1876–1917). Mata Hari was born as Margarete Gertruda Zelle in Holland. At a young age, she married an officer by the name of Rudolph MacLeod with whom she had a son and a daughter. After a divorce, she moved to Paris and under the name of Mata Hari ("eye of day") posed as a daughter of Dutch royalty and a Javanese princess. She conquered Paris by the art of erotic dance that she allegedly learned in India's Hindu temples and rivaled such dancers as Isadora Duncan. Strip-tease, which was part of Mata Hari's dancing, explained her tremendous popularity, but she also received intelligent critical acclaim. From a middle-class Dutch divorcée, Mata Hari became the rage of Paris, counting among her wealthy lovers some influential members of European governments. When asked to spy for France in **World War I**, she accepted, but when it was discovered that she also received money from a German officer, the French decided she was a double agent in the service of the Germans. Although the French never had any proof that Mata Hari transmitted any valuable information to the Germans, the court built a circumstantial case against her. After a 45-minute deliberation, the jury sentenced her to death. None of her influential lovers came to her rescue during the trial, and on October 15, 1917, Mata Hari was executed by firing squad. According to rumors, to escape her charms, the squad members were blindfolded during the execution. Another rumor says she was offered a blindfold but rejected it. None of the former lovers was willing to pay for the burial and the body ended up in the dissecting room of a Paris municipal hospital.

Further Reading: Granatstein, J. L., and David Stafford. *Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1990; Waagenaar, Sam. *Mata Hari*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1965.

Maria Mikolchak



Mata Hari. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

MAYHEW, HENRY (1812–87).

English writer Henry Mayhew is best known for his pioneering investigation of urban workers and inhabitants of the street—including prostitutes—published in four volumes as *London Labour and the London Poor* in 1861/1862. The work was widely popular and influential in its day and remains an important source for any study of Victorian prostitution.

Mayhew began his literary career as a journalist and playwright. He was instrumental in founding several satirical magazines, including *Figaro of London* (1835–39) and *Punch* (1841–2002). In 1849, as a response to an outbreak of cholera, Mayhew initiated an investigation of English poverty for the *Morning Chronicle*. The “Labour and the Poor” series, published in 1849–50, created a great sensation, especially in its investigation of prostitution among needlewomen. A number of proposals to deal with the problem arose, including deportation of the women to Australia, but Mayhew vehemently opposed such ideas, insisting the problem lay in existing market conditions, not “over-

population.” Mayhew broke with the *Chronicle* in 1851 but later published his contributions, along with more research, in his monumental study, *London Labour and the London Poor*.

Mayhew’s interviews gave prostitutes, crossing sweeps, and costermongers (sellers of produce) the opportunity to address middle-class individuals who would likely ignore them on the street. For example, a 16-year-old prostitute narrates the details of the deaths of her parents and her abuse from her employer that drove her to live in a lodging house, where at age 10 she was introduced to crowded living conditions, often shared a bed with a dozen “bad” boys and girls, and had numerous sexual encounters. She describes how at age 12 she began “walking the streets,” and her interview also details the lives of other young prostitutes and their physical abuse from and payments to their **pimps** or “favorite boys.”

The fourth volume of *London Labour*, subtitled *Those That Will Not Work*, contains a lengthy discussion of prostitution, cowritten by Mayhew and Bracebridge Hemyng (1841–1901). Like most social commentary of the day, it manifests the Victorian obsession with classification, enumerating the varieties of prostitutes from “Sailor’s Women” to “Clandestine Prostitutes” and “Cohabitant Prostitutes.” The section is prefaced by a study of prostitution in ancient societies and in various “barbarous” and “civilised” states. Interestingly, even though Mayhew character-

ized prostitution as a category of theft, many of his fascinating interviews with prostitutes affirm their very “business-like” attitude.

Mayhew continued his social interest in prostitutes in *The Criminal Prisons of London*, in which he theorized that lower-class women turn to prostitution because of a lack of shame that results from a lack of moral education. Despite publishing several popular novels and works of nonfiction, Mayhew never again achieved the notoriety he had in the 1850s and 1860s and died in 1887, relatively unknown. In the mid-20th century, Mayhew’s writings drew scholarly attention as unique documents of the urban poor.

See also Stead, William, and “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon”; Appendix A, document 1.

Further Reading: Mayhew, Henry. *London Labour and the London Poor*. Vol. 4, *Those That Will Not Work*. New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967; Mayhew, Henry. *Selections from London Labour and the London Poor, chosen and with an introduction by John L. Bradley*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965; Thompson, E. P., and Elaine Yeo. *The Unknown Mayhew*. London: Pantheon Books, 1971.

Nathaniel D. Wood and Esther Godfrey

MCDOWALL, REVEREND JOHN R. (1801–36). The Reverend John R. McDowall was one of the most important and controversial public figures in the early moral reform movement in **New York City**. He has been credited as the first to bring prostitution to the forefront of public debate.

Born in Canada in 1801, John McDowall studied theology in the United States. During the summer of 1830, he moved to New York City to do missionary work among the city’s poor, focusing primarily on the **Five Points** (the city’s most notorious slum). McDowall visited **brothels** and city jails, distributing **Bibles** and converting “wayward” souls to Christianity.

With support from businessmen, merchants, and high-society women, McDowall, as chaplain, missionary, and agent, helped found the New York Magdalen Society as well as an asylum for penitent prostitutes. This marked the beginning of the antiprostitution crusade in New York City.

At the end of its first year of operation, the New York Magdalen Society published its annual report, *The Magdalen Report*. The report claimed that New York City was home to some 10,000 prostitutes and that many of the city’s most “respectable” gentlemen were their **clients**. Citizen’s groups protested the report, calling it an “obscene book” with “gross distortions.” After several months of harassment, including anonymous threats on members’ homes, the New York Magdalen Society disbanded.

McDowall, now working on his own, began to publish *McDowall’s Journal*. In it, he threatened to expose the names of men who frequented the city’s brothels. Local newspapers called the journal a “public nuisance.”

Shortly before his death at age 35, McDowall was suspended from his ministry because of his unconventional tactics. A year later, he was reinstated but within a few months contracted tuberculosis. He succumbed to the infection in 1836, a pauper.

Further Reading: Hill, Marilyn Wood. *Their Sisters’ Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Whiteaker, Larry. *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830–1860*. New York: Garland, 1997.

Emily van der Meulen

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE. Medieval literature consists of artistic and rhetorical writings produced in Europe between the fall of Rome and the fall of Constantinople (ca. 455–1453 c.e.). Many medieval writings deal with prostitutes as characters or symbols. **Renaissance** writers referred to this time span between the Roman Empire and the Renaissance as the Middle Ages because they thought of it as a period of time “in between” or “in the middle” of two periods of learning, reason, and human dignity. As time went by, many historians devalued the medieval period as a dark age of barbarism, degeneration, and ignorance, although most modern scholars now see it as a vibrant period of social and technological change.

In English studies, the period of medieval literature is commonly split into two linguistic halves: the Old English or Anglo-Saxon period (ca. 455–1066 c.e.) and the Middle English period (ca. 1066–1450 c.e.). The dividing line between the two is William the Conqueror’s invasion of England in 1066. However, in both the Old English and Middle English periods, most poets and church officials wrote in Latin, which they considered more prestigious than the vernacular language spoken by the general populace.

Prostitutes appear in a number of medieval genres, including sermons, scriptural commentaries, hagiographies (accounts of saints’ lives and miracles), “*fabliaux*” (short, humorous and ribald tales about sex and trickery), church correspondence, theological treatises, and satirical poems. The literary depiction of prostitution in the medieval period grew first and primarily out of religious and Classical sources. This treatment expanded later to include humorous writings and social satire by the late medieval period.

Religious Influences on Medieval Literature

Medieval readers knew of many references to prostitution in the Hebrew **Bible** through Saint Jerome (ca. 340–420 c.e.). Jerome translated the ancient texts into the Latin language of his own day. Here, the Levitical and Deuteronomical laws called for harsh punishments for adulterers and prostitutes—including stoning to death. However, for the original Hebrew readers of these texts, prostitutes had foreign and religious connotations rather than purely economic or sexual ones. Israel had been surrounded by larger polytheistic cultures. In these nearby cultures, the worship of deities like Ashtoroth or Ishtar had been thought to involve ritualized sex with temple prostitutes. The Hebrew prophets were perhaps concerned as much about the cultural contamination (especially idolatry) they witnessed in the surrounding Hebrew community as they were concerned about the perceived sexual immorality of their neighbors. In their criticism of Jewish behavior, the prophets commonly used a didactic analogy in which they compared the people of Israel either with prostitutes or unfaithful women lusting after foreigners rather than their rightful husband, the deity Yahweh.

This Hebrew context was not necessarily well known among medieval readers in Europe. They probably imagined the mercantile prostitutes of their own day when they read biblical verses, and they fashioned their interpretations and sermons accordingly. The harsh Old Testament admonitions thus served as fodder for Saint Clement and other theologians who argued that the only permissible form of intercourse took place in marriage for the purpose of procreation and not pleasure. Such scriptures were often a focus for later medieval commentators who wrote exegetical glossation (verse-by-verse analysis and discussion) of the Scriptures. In Genesis 38 is found the character of Tamar, a girl who dressed herself as a temple prostitute to sleep with her father-in-law, Judah. She became a frequent figure in the medieval genre called Saint Cyprian’s Feasts (Latin *Cena Cypriani*). A Saint Cyprian’s Feast is a humorous narrative in which characters from the Bible appear jumbled together anachronistically for an imaginary celebration.

From the New Testament tradition, medieval readers also inherited didactic writings in Titus and Hebrew. These texts warn of the spiritual dangers of prostitution. Also, apocalyptic writing describes the Great Whore of Babylon (Revelations 17), and she played a prominent part in medieval sermons and eschatology (the branch of theology dealing with the end times). Here, prostitution was linked with martyrdom since the Great Whore drank from a golden cup flowing over with the blood of the saints.

Mary Magdalene and Hagiography

The most positive depiction of a prostitute in medieval writings, however, was the character of **Mary Magdalene** inherited from the New Testament. These early accounts served as sources for later medieval narratives about her. The Gospel of Luke depicted Mary Magdalene as a demon-possessed woman whom Jesus heals. In the three synoptic Gospels, Mary Magdalene is one of the women remaining behind to watch the crucifixion when most of the male disciples had fled. In all four Gospels, after Jesus' resurrection, she is one of the first two women who see him risen.

Medieval writers expanded on these accounts of Mary Magdalene in a variety of ways. First, medieval tradition believed Mary Magdalene to have been a prostitute. Second, they equated Mary Magdalene with the unknown woman who washed Jesus' feet with her hair and poured expensive nard (perfume) on his head. Thus, her symbol in medieval art was an alabaster box of nard. They thought her to be a sister to Lazarus and Martha, and they equated Mary with the adulterous woman who was nearly stoned to death in the gospels but who was rescued when Jesus admonished her persecutors to let the one without sin cast the first stone.

Finally, the Magdalene became a central figure in medieval hagiographies. Probably the best-known example is the hagiography written by the Dominican monk, Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230–98 c.e.). He collected a number of saints' lives in *The Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*). Here, the reformed prostitute is swept across the sea to Marseilles, where she converts the pagan Romans to Christianity in spite of the local governor's interference. She performs a miracle by resurrecting a woman, and she lives as a hermit for 30 years before her death. After her death, her body becomes incorruptible. Conventional miracles occur near her corpse—including resurrection of the dead and restoration of sight to the blind. Voragine finishes his account with short tales of how her spirit appears to release supplicants from shackles or provide signs of grace to the despairing. For medieval readers, Mary Magdalene sharply contrasted with the chaste Virgin Mary, yet the Magdalene's life proved that no soul was beyond reformation and redemption. Medieval homilies often made this point by using her story as an "*exemplum*" (a rhetorical example in a sermon).

Many other surviving medieval hagiographies describe lesser saints who either were prostitutes or were closely linked with them, including Saint **Mary of Egypt** and Saint Lucy of Syracuse. Mary of Egypt appears briefly in Cyril of Scythopolis's *Life of Saint Cyriacus*, and later writers greatly expanded on the legend. This Saint Mary was thought to have been a harlot in Alexandria, where she sexually serviced sailors from all countries visiting the port. After a conversion experience, she traveled to North Africa under the guidance of the Virgin Mary. There, she lived as a hermit in the wilderness, where in her elder years, she met the future Pope Zosimus and related her story to him. After Mary's death, as Zosimus began his burial rites for her, a lion miraculously appeared. The beast dug Mary's grave with its own paws and then gently buried her.

Ironically, Saint Lucy of Syracuse, the official patron saint of reformed prostitutes in the hagiographies, was not a prostitute herself. Her chastity was such that she refused to have sex

with her pagan husband, who denounced her as a Christian in court in 304 c.e. This was in the days of the great Roman persecutions under Emperor Diocletian. As punishment, the legends recount how the judge condemned her to serve as a prostitute in a brothel. However, a miraculous force rooted her to the spot. It was impossible to relocate her physically; even a yoke of oxen chained to her body could not drag her to the brothel. Next, the judge ordered a fire to be built around her, but she proved supernaturally nonflammable. In frustration, the executioner stabbed her through the throat to kill her. Saint Lucy thus became a martyr.

The hagiographical accounts of prostitutes-turned-saints served as propaganda for the burgeoning Christian faith and its doctrine of chastity. Such saints' lives became especially popular among monastic readers whose vows of celibacy no doubt proved challenging, and these role models provided them with examples to imitate, since these characters rose above the desires of the flesh.

Classical Influences

Apart from religious texts, the Classical tradition of Greco-Roman writings also influenced medieval literature—or at least fragmentary sections did after the fall of the Roman Empire. Many of the erotic writings modern readers know best from Classical **poetry** and rhetoric remained largely unavailable to medieval Western Europe. These included Catullus's poetic descriptions of his mistress Lesbia, Cicero's fiery condemnation of Clodia, Ovid's depiction of Corinna in the *Ars Amatoria*, and Martial's epigrams about courtesans. Europe did not recover some of these texts until the **Renaissance**. Other Classical works survived only in greatly altered medieval versions, such as the *Ovid moralisé*, a medieval retelling of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that interprets Classical myths as Christian allegories.

However, one influential literary motif about prostitution carried over from Classical sources to the medieval period. This was the common personification of Fortune in late Roman literature as a blindfolded female prostitute or adulterous woman spinning a wheel. She represented random chance. Individuals at the top of the wheel were at the height of success, while those at the bottom were down on their luck. The symbol suggested the fickle nature of luck and chance. It indicated that Fortune was a whore whose affections would be ephemeral.

In one early medieval text, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (ca. 524 c.e.), Boethius expands on and alters this earlier imagery. Boethius's work is a mixture of prose and verse. In the narrative, Lady Philosophy, a personification of educated reason, appears to the poem's semiautobiographical speaker. This speaker (like the author) has been imprisoned unjustly and awaits his execution in despair. Lady Philosophy mocks his use of poetry instead of logic, deriding the muses who inspire his poetry as strumpet whores whose fickle seductions have turned his attention away from philosophical truth. She then instructs the speaker in logic to help him understand predestination, and she dismantles Fortune as an impossibility in a preordained world. The English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1340–1400) later retained this ironic equation between the mythic spirits of literary inspiration and prostitutes in his translation of the work, *Boece*, in which Philosophy refers to the Muses as "*commune strompettis*" (common strumpets) in Prose Section One.

The image of Fortune as a wheel-spinning prostitute did not die. However, later works modified the whorish image by making her a queen. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun have her appear as such in Reason's discourse in *Le Roman de La Rose* (completed ca. 1275). The image continued to be popular in medieval artwork and allegory, and manuscripts of *Le Roman de La Rose* would occasionally contain marginal illumination showing Fortune in this manner, wearing a crown as she spins her wheel.

Church Correspondence and Theological Treatises

The question of what to do about prostitution lingered in church correspondence and theological writings. In a letter dated 747 c.e. to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury, Saint Boniface despaired at the number of English women who went on pilgrimage to Rome but ended their journeys in Lombardy or Gaul as prostitutes—far short of their geographic and spiritual goals. In general, Christian writings condemned prostitution, especially during the first half of the medieval period and during times when priests openly kept concubines, but many writers gradually grew more tolerant of prostitution in the last half of the medieval period, seeing it as a venial sin preferable to worse sexual practices, for example, adultery, homosexuality, or bestiality. In the *Summa Theologica*, Saint **Thomas Aquinas** (ca. 1225–74 c.e.) used the analogy of a sewage system to describe prostitution. He declared that if a sewer were removed beneath a palace, the whole building would soon be filled with sewage. He thus implied that prostitution—though sinful—was a necessary evil.

Italian Sources

Not all medieval writers, however, were so tolerant. In medieval Italian literature, poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321 c.e.) reserved an entire section of hell for **pimps**, panderers, and seducers. Circle Eight of *The Inferno* was the prison for fraudulent sinners, and Dante reserved the first *bolgia* or ditch in Circle Eight for those who engaged in sexual fraud by seducing others for financial or personal gain. This punishment contrasts with Circle Two, where those guilty of lust are punished by eternally buffeting winds. In Circle Eight, the punishment involves scourging by demons, which Dante described in frightening detail.

French Ballads

In French literature, Master François de Montcorbier (1431–? c.e.), commonly known as François Villon, wrote a number of short, octosyllabic ballads describing the seamier side of Parisian life. During his rowdy student days, Villon associated with a street gang called the Coquillards who consorted with the medieval underworld, giving Villon firsthand knowledge of the bordello and its practices. In his ballads and writings, he included sexual descriptions of “fat Margot,” a pregnant prostitute riding astride her lover, and he described the advertising techniques of French prostitutes. For instance, he recounted how they would reveal their breasts to passersby in hope of attracting clientele. Villon disappeared after his banishment from Paris abruptly ended his literary career.

Fabliaux

Prostitutes truly come into their own in anonymous French “*fabliaux*” (singular, “*fabliau*”). *Fabliaux* are short, humorous, and ribald tales of sex and trickery. Because the plotlines in these tales often involve financial deception, adultery, mistaken identity, and sexual practical jokes, prostitutes easily fit in the genre. Typically, the protagonist is a male trickster who seeks to take advantage of a female character (sometimes an attractive prostitute, but in other cases, a young married wife). Usually, he tricks the woman into sleeping with him—cheating her out of a promised payment by sheer verbal chicanery. Anonymous examples include *Boivin de Provins*, in which the male protagonist tricks a brothel’s staff into providing him with free food and sexual gratification with each prostitute. Similarly, *Le Bouchier d’Abeville* involves a male protagonist who purchases sex with a whore by offering her a stolen sheepskin. The fragmentary *Le Chevalier qui fist sa dame confesse* sets up a narrative involving a whore (*putta*) and an unusually well-endowed male protagonist, but medieval censors destroyed the ending to the tale.

The *fabliaux* eventually spread beyond the boundaries of France. In England, the tale *Dame Sirith* (ca. 1275) involves a clerk, Wilekin, who seeks to seduce Margery, the merchant's wife. He seeks the aid of Dame Sirith to help frighten Margery into having sex with him by using a hoax. Dame Sirith tricks Margery into thinking the clerk has the magical power to transform those who spurn him into animals. Wilekin sweetens his proposal by offering money, **clothing**, and shoes to Margery as additional financial incentives.

In similar tone, Chaucer wrote several English *fabliaux* in *The Canterbury Tales* that involve sex in exchange for financial compensation. In "The Shipman's Tale," a male trickster named Don John tricks a merchant's wife into sleeping with him in exchange for a hundred francs, but he pays her with money he borrowed from her husband. He arranges the "payment" in such a way that he can tell the merchant that the debt is paid, and he leaves the merchant to collect the loaned money from the wife. In the fragmentary work, "The Cook's Tale," Chaucer begins an account of Perkin Reveler, a former apprentice turned to a life of debauchery. Perkin sets up residence with a man married to a prostitute. In other Chaucerian tales, prostitution provides part of the background rather than being a central part of the plot. For instance, the three rioters in "The Pardoner's Tale" spend their days drinking, gambling, and whoring.

In terms of literary characterization in satirical literature, consorting with prostitutes is often literary shorthand for indicating that a specific character is morally questionable. In "The General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer presents the Summoner who would "suffer for a quart of wyn / A good felawe to have his concubyn / A twelf month, and excuse hym ate fulle" as lines 649–51 indicate in the poem. The ambiguity here lies in the pronoun *his*, which might refer to the "good fellow" seeking easy treatment from the Summoner or to the Summoner himself, implying that he is a panderer. In either case, prostitution serves as a component of literary satire, allowing Chaucer to better point out faults in 14th-century society and hypocrisy in church officials of his day.

Fabliaux also spread to other parts of Europe. One French *fabliau*, *Le Foteor*, has a parallel in the Dutch tale, *Van den cnape van Dordrecht*. Both of these *fabliaux* involve a professional male prostitute who readily identifies his trade to potential female clientele. In a separate German tale, *Von zwein koufmannen*, a character named Bertram boasts of his wife Irmengart's character. Her loyalty stands in contrast to the behavior of Bertram's companions' wives. One man places a bet with Bertram; he claims he can seduce Bertram's supposedly chaste wife. Irmengart escapes his advances with her parents' cooperation. The family obtains a prostitute to substitute for her in bed. In a scene that would strike modern readers as misogynistic, the would-be-seducer cuts off one of the prostitute's fingers to show Bertram as proof of his sexual conquest. The tale ends with Bertram winning the bet, and the prostitute, Amelin, winds up marrying the man who mutilated her.

Overall, medieval literature depicts and uses prostitution in a variety of ways. The literary image of the prostitute grows out of biblical and Classical sources. There, prostitutes could serve as eschatological images, positive examples of redeemed souls in hagiographies, or symbols of the whims of fortune. As time passed, they developed into a basis for both humorous satire and serious contemporary social commentary.

See also Bible; Medieval Prostitution.

Further Reading: Cooke, Thomas Darlington. *The Old French and Chaucerian Fabliaux: A Study of Their Comic Climax*. Columbia: University of Georgia Press, 1978; Hines, John. *The Fabliau in*

English. London: Longman, 1993; Rossiaud, Jacques. *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988; Severs, J. B., and A. E. Hartung. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1400*. 8 Vols. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–2004; Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Kip Wheeler

MIEVEAL PROSTITUTION. Prostitution certainly existed at the beginning of the Middle Ages, but early medieval penitential manuals and legal ordinances are silent on the subject. Prostitution was a central preoccupation, however, from the 11th through the 14th centuries. Women, as well as men, flocked to the growing cities of Europe, seeking better economic opportunities or fleeing abusive homes. Although some women (and most prostitutes in the Middle Ages were women) may have fallen into prostitution by choice, the vast majority were the poorest of the poor. Four out of five of the prostitutes in Dijon were destitute, the average prostitute began working at 17 years of age, although about one-third began before they were 15, and half of the prostitutes in Dijon were forced into prostitution. Some 27 percent of them were victims of public rapes. A mere 15 percent of the women seemed to have chosen the profession for themselves (Rossiaud 1988, pp. 32–33).

It is difficult to determine precisely how many prostitutes existed in medieval Europe. Many prostitutes probably had other jobs, selling sex only occasionally. However, a Parisian from the 15th century observed that there were some 5,000 to 6,000 prostitutes in a city of roughly 200,000. The Council of Church, held in Constance from 1414–18, attracted a large number of visitors, including some 1,400 prostitutes. Prostitutes supposedly were so plentiful in the papal city of Avignon that a local proverb claimed that one could not cross the bridge of Avignon “without encountering two monks, two donkeys and two whores.”

The Catholic Church’s attitude toward prostitution was surprising sanguine. Prostitution was believed to be a necessary evil, which protected “honest” women from sexual assault. **Saint Augustine** suggested that if prostitution were suppressed, “capricious lusts” would “overthrow society.” There were even religious people who advocated for prostitutes’ rights as laborers. Thomas of Chobham, for example, dedicated four chapters of his early 13th-century manual to prostitutes and argued, among other things, that they deserved to be paid for their labor just like any other worker. Nonetheless, the Church’s attitude toward prostitutes was still decidedly negative. **Thomas Aquinas** compared prostitution in the towns “to the cesspool in the palace: take away the cesspool and the place will become an unclean and evil-smelling place.” Thomas of Chobham believed that if prostitutes enjoyed their labor they should forfeit their fee.

Efforts to control prostitution took various forms in the Middle Ages. Some rulers, such as Louis IX (1270–85) of France, tried to banish prostitution outright. However, Louis was compelled to repeal the ban within two years when citizens complained that the laws against prostitution put their wives and daughters at risk. Others, such as English King **Henry II** (1154–89), attempted to regulate prostitution by passing a number of restrictions on the **brothels**, including the closure of houses of prostitution on holy days and religious holidays, banning pregnant and married women from the profession (as well as nuns), and prohibiting gaming and the sale of food and drink at brothels. There were also attempts to restrict prostitution to certain streets or outside the city walls. In **London**, Rose Street became so associated with prostitution that “to pluck a rose” became a euphemism for sex with a prostitute. In the “hot street” established

in Montpellier in the suburb of Villanova, prostitution was not only allowed to occur, but the women who resided there were under the direct protection of the King of Majorica, who guaranteed they would remain unmolested by bailiffs or city residents. Despite the efforts to contain prostitution in red light districts, it often spread. In 1265, Edward I ordered all prostitutes out of London or face 40 days of imprisonment. The order was repeated in 1307, 1383, and 1483, suggesting the ineffectiveness of this approach.

Government officials also tried to control prostitutes by requiring them to wear certain items of **clothing** that clearly identified their trade. In London, prostitutes were to wear a striped and unlined hood; in Vienna, a yellow kerchief around their shoulders; and in Augsburg, a green sash. In Parma, prostitutes wore white cloaks, while in Milan, black. In addition, prostitutes were often barred from wearing fur, silk, gold cloths or gold or silver ornaments, lest (the logic went) a display of wealth would encourage other women to pursue the trade.

In having to wear special clothing that identified them, prostitutes shared a similar social status with Jews and lepers, who also were required to do the same. Indeed, laws often dealt simultaneously with prostitutes, lepers, and Jews. All three groups were sequestered into neighborhoods away from the rest of the city's population. They were also supposed to refrain from touching meat or bread in the marketplace, and if they did so, they had to purchase the item.

On the Continent in the late 14th and 15th centuries, municipal brothels were another way that government officials tried to control prostitution. Municipal brothels also appeared in England, but in a more limited way. Most of these brothels were run by state officials or their representatives who were supposed to follow very specific rules of conduct. In the parish of San Matteo di Rialto, for example, officials were fired, fined, or imprisoned if they slept with the women who worked there. Money made by a brothel was placed in a chest and at the end of the month state officials would collect it and distribute a portion to the prostitutes and the brothel's staff. Many of these brothels were located on ecclesiastical property. Such a location was particularly advantageous for the brothel owner, who would be protected from the probings of religious inquisitors. For example, prostitutes came to be known in 12th-century Southwark (a notorious red light district south of the Thames River in London) as "Winchester Geese" because the Bishop of Winchester owned so much of the property in the area. Avignon, France, had a famous house of prostitution called the Abbey, a term that came to be used more generally for brothels in the city. Prostitutes were often called abbesses or nuns. In 1309, Bishop Johann of Strasbourg even had a brothel built at his expense as a lucrative investment. Despite the Church's involvement in prostitution, it also tried to create alternatives for women who wished to leave the profession. In 1198, Pope Innocent III offered a pardon to men who married prostitutes. In 1227, Pope Gregory IX approved a new order, the Order of St. **Mary Magdalene**, whose purpose was to run homes for reformed prostitutes. Many men, and a few women, bequeathed gifts to these houses, and some became quite wealthy. In the 14th century, one Viennese "Magdalen Home," as they were called, owned more than 30 properties in surrounding parishes. These **Magdalen Homes** did not always produce the intended results, however. One such home, popularly known in Vienna as the "Soul House," was established by Emperor Frederick III in 1480. He granted the residents the right to sell the wine they produced in their vineyards. But when it became clear that they were solidifying their sales by returning to their previous occupation, the Soul House closed.

The brothels, too, closed by the beginning of the 16th century. It is unclear exactly why. Some scholars speculate that the spread of **syphilis** was responsible. Others have argued that

the **Protestant Reformation**, with its emphasis on chastity before **marriage**, was the cause. The reason simply might be one of economics; the brothels seemed to have become less profitable by the 16th century. In one Rotschilt brothel in Aletenburg, for example, there was a steady decline in profits from 1505–25, with virtually no profit in its final year of existence.

See also Medieval Literature.

Further Reading: Brundage, James A. "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (1975): 825–45. Reprinted in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage. Buffalo: Prometheus, 1982, pp. 149–60. Also reprinted in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennett et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 79–99; Goldberg, P.J.P. "Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective." In *Young Medieval Women*, ed. Katherine J. Lewis, James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999, pp.172–93; Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; Kettle, Ann J. "Ruined Maids: Prostitutes and Servant Girls in Later Medieval England." In *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Robert R. Edwards and Vickie Ziegler. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995, pp. 19–31; Otis, Leah Lydia. *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985; Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ: The Avignonese *Repenties* in the Late Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 109–44; Rossiaud, Jacques. *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. New York: Basil Blackwell 1988.

Diane Cady

MELAS. In India, festivals ("melas") are characterized by color, gaiety, enthusiasm, prayers, and rituals. Every day of the year there is a festival celebrated in some part of the country. Sex workers celebrate all the festivals, but their access to mainstream events is restricted in some places. However, some festivals are organized by organizations working with sex workers and the sex workers organizations themselves.

Sonagachi Festivals

The Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee of Kolkata (DMSC), also called the **Sonagachi Project**, is an organization of 60,000 sex workers and their children. The DMSC organized the first national conference of sex workers in India in 1997 in Kolkota and later organized the Millennium Mela in 2001 and *Shanti Utsav* 2002. They also celebrated the 12th year of DMSC's existence with a festival. Each of these festivals featured cultural carnivals by and for sex workers. Artists from all over India performed. The typical Bengali *baule* singers were great attractions at all of these festivals. DMSC also includes *kumarghadahrve*, a group for cultural development of sex workers and their children.

Millennium Mela

The DMSC had organized many conferences to talk about sex workers' rights but in 2001's Millennium Mela, they inscribed their identity on the public arena in their own inimitable style. There were no preimposed formats, centralized control, or faceless formalities; this festival was proposed as a celebration of life and of love through debate, discussion, and dancing. It was a platform for meeting with other sex workers from across the country and beyond and to think through their lives and beyond everyday struggles toward building a collective future unfettered

by deprivation, **stigma**, and **violence**. The *mela* was intended to be a bridge that would close the gaps between reality and misconception, darkness and light, information and misinformation. They also celebrated March 3 as the International Sex Workers' Rights Day. The result of the *mela* suggested that sex workers gained acceptance and visibility.

Shanti Utsav

The *Shanti Utsav* was celebrated on March 3–9, 2002, in Kolkata. The theme was peace in view of global hostility, especially after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States. It was described as a transformative space for all those who were present. The seven days were filled with a variety of cultural events such as folk dances and the soul-stirring music of the *baule* singers. On the eve of International Women's Day, March 8, thousands of women, sex workers, and their associates came together for a torchlight march, while the *baules* sang about life, body, mind, and soul. A DMSC publication stated, "Some of the key themes that were discussed at the *mela* were on the status and rights of sex workers, on the role of the state towards the community, issues of sexual minorities, and the role of sex workers in the health sector as well as on the much debated anti-trafficking initiatives. The *mela* provided the space for lively discussions concerning the much craved for freedom and liberty of human beings all over the world, and towards the marginalization of minority communities."

Festival of Pleasure

The Festival of Pleasure was a national meeting of sex workers held in March 2003, in Kerala, India. This conference aimed to recapture traditions of arts and sex work in ancient India. The references to esteemed **courtesans** and their role as entertainers in the epics of *Ramayana* and



A sex worker dances during a rally to mark International Sex Workers Day in Bangalore, India, 2006. Courtesy of AP /Wide World Photos.

Mahabharata illustrate their high status and great dignity. The festival was inaugurated by the lighting of lamps by sex workers and social activists working for the rights of sex workers across the country. Drama, a Hindustani classical vocal recital, folk songs, and folk dances from all over India were performed. Some 550 delegates and 2,000 local people from 106 organizations participated in the conference.

Guriya Festival

The Guriya Festival (“*Mahotsav*”) has taken place one to three times a year at the national level in large Indian cities since 1995. The main objectives of this festival are to eliminate second-generation prostitution, to prevent **child prostitution**, to prevent **trafficking** of women and children for prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation, to campaign against sex **tourism**, to campaign against discrimination in the name of HIV/AIDS as well as increase awareness about related health risks, to create awareness among sex workers of their civil and **human rights**, and to end their dependence on the criminal nexus in the red light areas. Apart from raising awareness among the mainstream, these festivals of sex workers are organized also as an important means of rehabilitation of these women through their indigenous traditional (semiclassical and folk) song and dance traditions. Providing a respectable stage for women struggling to preserve their traditional forms of music and dance, the Guriya Festival has been widely covered by the media since its inception.

Sex Workers and Religious Festivals

Historical literature in Pali and Sanskrit describe high levels of sexual artistry with a wealth of knowledge (“*kamasasthra*”) in ancient India. The *Kama Sutra* is the most known example of this, dating between 500 B.C.E. and 600 C.E. Women who had acquired expertise in sex enjoyed great esteem. Prostitution had a recognized social function, while polygamy and the company of beautiful women were considered features of sophisticated urban life in India’s patriarchal past. Prostitutes and *ganikas*, unlike wives, were free.

The classical dance form *bharatnayam* flourishes today among the *devadasis* or temple dancers of Tamil Nadu. As society changed, patrons of *devadasi* changed and their service also shifted. The association of *devadasi* with prostitution has led to the criminalization of this institution. Women historically offered themselves to temples and so became *devadasis* during specific festivals. The temples of Madurai and Sucheendram in Tamil Nadu and Sri Padmanabha Swami temple in Kerala share this tradition. The dedication of a girl or woman to temple is still practiced, illegally, in some parts of modern India. A ritual is performed when a girl is dedicated to or married not to a mortal man but to an idol, deity, or object of worship or to a temple. Initiation rites are now performed secretly and without much fanfare at smaller temples or local priests’ residences, rather than in the large temples of Yellamma such as at Savadatti or Kokatnur, to avoid the expenses and also to escape the law. After initiation, the ceremony of “the first night” (*uditumbuvadu*) is celebrated. Previously, deflowering would have been done by a priest, but now it is done by businessmen and rich landlords.

Koothalaches are women who perform *Kooth*, a traditional dance form, and also sex work. This is prevalent in Tamil Nadu and in the religious tradition of *Marthamma*, in which women become temple prostitutes, like *devadasis*. During the different festivals, these sex workers dance and offer *poojas* (offerings) in the form of prayers, offerings, and sacrifices to female deities such as Durga.

The *odissi* dance is among the various classical dances of India. It was once considered taboo to perform in public because it was deemed too sacred. This particular type of classical dance

was practiced by only the *devadasis* and performed within the four walls of the temple. Over time, *odissi* was taken up by the government and promoted as an official program.

Kurail

Hundreds of sex workers dance at a temple fair in the village of Kurail in Madhya Pradesh, offering prayer to Janaki or Sita, the consort of Lord Ram. It is the only temple in the country where sex workers, otherwise ostracized by society, are allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum of a shrine. In Hindu mythology, Sita is seen as a symbol of purity and perfect womanhood. Traditionally, locals here believe that Sita bestowed respectability to the sex workers and made it mandatory for devotees to invite them to the temple to pray and dance once their wishes were fulfilled. Thousands of people come to the temple during the first week of April, mostly to seek blessings to have children or for marital bliss. The prostitutes, wearing colorful, flowing dresses, heavy jewelry, and heavy makeup, mingle freely with the people who show them respect and offer them gifts. Thousands of people congregate over the course of eight hours. The sex workers dance to please the goddess.

Festivals for Sex Workers of Alternative Sexualities

A few festivals are organized in India where the male and **transgender sex workers** and other alternative sexualities, ("*hijras*") can dance and sing. These male-to-female transgender or intersex individuals were and may still be considered powerful and even holy. The historic role of *hijras* was to dance at celebrations and weddings. Thousands of *hijras* attend the annual festival at the Koothandavar temple in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. Though the temple itself is centuries old, *hijras* discovered its historical significance only around 30 years ago. It is said that Aravanan, who was to be sacrificed to help win the Mahabharata war, did not want to die a virgin, and so, on the night before he was to die, he married Lord Krishna who took on the form of Mohini, the female incarnation of Vishnu; Mohini is a male deity in female form. *Hijras* identify with Mohini, and, at the Koovagam festival on the eve of spring ("*Chaitra Masa*"), tie a chain or a thread around the neck ("*thali*") to symbolize their marriage to Aravanan. The next day, the *thali* is pulled off to signify their widowhood. Gay people from all over India come to Chennai to celebrate this festival.

The Hijra Habba, a festival of sports and cultural events, has been covered extensively and positively by the media. Two collectives, Vividha and Sangama, of sexual minorities (*hijras*, *kothis*, "double-deckers," bisexuals, gay people, transgenders, cross-dressers, and others who are oppressed because of their gender identity, sexual orientation, or gender expression) and sex workers organized Hijra Habba and music festival in Bangalore. Hijra Habba 2002 was organized as a celebration to demand fair treatment and equal rights and in response to police activities targeting sexual minorities.

Further Reading and Viewing: Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee. *Namaskar* (December 2002) 5: 2; *Festival of Pleasure*. [Documentary]. Produced by Sex Workers Forum Kerala, 2003; "Odissi Dance Form." I Love India Web site www.dances.iloveindia.com/classical-dances/odissi.html; Panicker, K. Ayyappa, ed. *Kamasuthra of Vatsyayana*. (Malayalam) Kottayam, India: DC Books, 1998; People's Union for Civil Liberties. "Human Rights Violations against the Transgender Community." <http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Gender/2003/transgender.htm>; Thapar, Romila, ed. "State and Economy: South India circa a.d. 400–1300." In *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*. Bombay, India: Popular Prakashan, 1995.

MEMOIRS. Among autobiographies and memoirs of prostitution, certain texts immediately come to mind, such as *The Happy Hooker* by **Xaviera Hollander** (with Robin Moore and Yvonne Dunleavy), which first appeared in 1972 and was reprinted in 2002. Candid in its portrayal of life as a prostitute and brothel manager, especially for the time, the book sold 15 million copies worldwide in its original printing. Other popular examples of autobiographical writing include Dolores French's *Working: My Life as a Prostitute* (1988). French details why, in her late 20s, she first chose to engage in prostitution, working both in the United States and Puerto Rico. After gaining attention for what many thought of as a salacious tale, she has subsequently advocated for the rights of prostitutes and consulted with organizations such as the Centers for Disease Control and the National Task Force on Prostitution. When Rick Whitaker published *Assuming the Position: A Memoir of Hustling* in 1999, he appeared on National Public Radio and other wide-reaching media sites.

Earlier writings about personal experiences of prostitution include *Come into My Parlor* (1934) by Charles Washburn, *Sister of the Road: The Autobiography of Boxcar Bertha* (1937) by Ben Reitman, and Marjorie Smith's presentation of the stories of one woman, known as O. W., in texts such as *No Bed of Roses* (1930) and *God Have Mercy on Me* (1931). In recent years, the rise of the Internet has created a new forum for autobiographical expression through personal Web sites and blogs. Often, those centered on sex work appear with titillating, attention-grabbing names such as *Confessions of a Call Girl* or *Life as a Male Hustler*, and many often disappear or end with an old posting.

There are many reasons why authors create such texts. Sometimes, the narratives are meant to be cautionary, alerting readers to the dangers of sex work. Some writers create their narratives to feed audience cravings for stories about sex and pleasure; even if people claim they would never want to be or hire a hustler or prostitute, they might pay money to read about it. Other texts function more simply as documentary evidence of acts that remain hidden in the larger culture. Still, anytime readers encounter a memoir of prostitution in any digital or textual form, the authenticity of the work is unknown.

Further Reading: Delacoste, Frederique, and Priscilla Alexander, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998; Sterry, David Henry. *Chicken: Self-Portrait of a Young Man for Rent*. New York: Regan Books, 2003; Sycamore, Matt Bernstein, ed. *Tricks and Treats: Sex Workers Write about Their Clients*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 2000.

Nels P. Highberg

MICROBICIDES. Microbicides, formerly also known as virucides, are topical chemical agents capable of killing disease on contact or preventing its ability to infect a body. Microbicides are being developed to address **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) in the vagina or the anus. Researchers hope that microbicides will provide a means of reducing the rates of new STIs, particularly human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

Microbicides would be of particular benefit to those who have difficulty regularly using condoms. The availability of microbicides would mean that women would be able to use them without needing the cooperation of their sex partners. Research into microbicides started in the late 1980s and continues today. The earliest microbicide research was deeply problematic because of the methods used in human trials. Studies were repeatedly conducted in developing areas, such as Thailand and East Africa, with women who were economically or socially disadvantaged, many of them sex workers. Researchers looked to sex workers for the trials of micro-

bicides because their multiple partners and frequency of sexual activity gave them a high rate of exposure to disease. The sex workers were convenient subjects for researchers, but they were often not treated as worthy human beings. Liz Cameron of Empower Chaing Mai, a group of sex workers in Thailand, explained the dilemma at a 1994 forum on prevention and women's health: "Thai sex workers are distressed by the influx of reproductive health researchers from around the world. Social researchers intrude into their lives, and sex workers wonder whether the researchers are coming with the aim to address the needs and concerns of sex workers or to satisfy the agenda they came with" (p. 24). Many participants volunteered for the trials because it was their only means of accessing health care, but that care was often abruptly discontinued as soon as the trial was over. Without access to medical care, many study participants found themselves in more difficult situations than they were before the trial, especially if they had acquired an STI, including HIV, during the process and could no longer receive treatment. Even more troubling than the withdrawal of care were the risks taken with participants' health during the trials. In some cases, microbicides were the only means of disease prevention participants were given, with little or no secondary means of protection, such as condoms, offered, because the researchers wanted clear evidence of whether the microbicide was effective. The protocols for the trials were based on those used in studies of treatments for disease, that is, testing a means of curing or treating a disease someone already has, where some participants are given the treatment and some a placebo. However, with a preventative treatment such as microbicides, having a placebo group meant knowingly exposing women to disease. In addition, most of the early trials were done with the spermicide **Nonoxynol-9**, which was then found to cause irritations with frequent use that increased the instances of disease transmission. The result was exposure to HIV and other STIs and, ultimately, death for many if not all of the participants.

In response to these trials, extensive guidelines for ethical research on humans were developed in the 1990s by the **World Health Organization** (WHO) and the World Medical Association (WMA). The basic guidelines for ethical research on humans, set out in the *Declaration of Helsinki* by the WMA, now require ongoing health care for participants after the trial has ended and a principle of the well-being of the research subject taking precedence over collecting data. In other words, study leaders must do as much as possible to prevent the acquisition of disease. There are currently more than 50 possible microbicides being investigated by scientists around the world. Some of these include Carraguard, BufferGel, Acidform, C31G, and PRO 2000.

See also HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement; Research Ethics.

Further Reading: Cameron, Liz. "Research: Empowering or Exploitative?" In *Partnership for Prevention: A Report of a Meeting between Women's Health Advocates, Program Planners, and Scientists*. Washington, DC: Program Council for Women's Health and the International Women's Health Coalition, 1994. www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/ebert/partprev.pdf; Family Health International. "Microbicide Products Enter Human Trials." http://www.FHI.org/en/RH/Pubs/Network/v20_2/Nwvol20-2microbicides.htm; Global Campaign for Microbicides. <http://www.global-campaign.org>; Lamphear, Trisha L. "Milestones in Microbicide Research and Development." *Microbicide Quarterly* (December 2004): 6–8; MacQueen, Kathleen M., and Jeremy Sugarman. "Back to the Rough Ground: Working in International HIV Prevention as Ethical Debates Continue." *IRB: Ethics and Human Research* (March-April 2003): 11–13.

MIDDLE EAST. *See Arab Mediterranean*

MIDNIGHT COWBOY. *Midnight Cowboy* (1969) was an Academy Award–winning American film (Best Picture, Best Director, Best Adapted Screenplay), directed by John Schlesinger, starring Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight, adapted from the 1965 novel by James Leo Herlihy. It was the first and only “X-rated” film to win an Oscar for Best Picture (the movie’s rating was later changed to “R”). The film’s title refers to a colloquial term for male prostitutes. The story concerns a young Texan named Joe Buck, played by Voight, who journeys to **New York City** in search of easy money as a gigolo catering to lonely but wealthy women. Dressed in a cowboy outfit, Joe struggles as a hustler in the big city and even gets hustled himself by an ageing female prostitute. Joe meets a sickly con man, Enrico Salvatore “Ratso” Rizzo, played by Hoffman. The pair have limited success subsisting off the earnings of Joe’s sporadic engagements with women but form a deep friendship while living together in a condemned building. Desperate for money, Joe at one point accepts a homosexual assignation with a student he meets while soliciting on 42nd Street. Flashbacks to Joe’s early life reveal an emotionally impoverished childhood marked by an absent father and a mother and grandmother who, though extravagant in their praise of his physical beauty, often neglected him.



Jon Voight (as Joe Buck) and Sylvia Miles (as Cass) in John Schlesinger’s 1969 film *Midnight Cowboy*. Courtesy of Photofest.

See also Films; Male Prostitution.

Further Reading: Herlihy, James Leo. *Midnight Cowboy: A Novel*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965; Mann, William J. *Edge of Midnight: The Life of John Schlesinger*. London: Hutchinson, 2004.

Geoff Hamilton

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY. The concepts of migration and mobility cover a wide range of human experience. An overview of migration theory in general and as it relates to people selling sex, including two ideas often evoked—the feminization of migration and labor migration—is provided here. Given the great interest that has arisen regarding the ways people leave their countries and arrive in others, it is helpful to think about the different ways people travel and work. Citizenship issues are key to understanding much of the social conflict surrounding migration, and these issues are often left out of the equation when migrants sell sex. Travel that results in doing sexual labor is often conceived as inherently different from all other travel and work, because of confusions and misunderstandings about the migratory processes.

The Meaning of the Term Migrant

It is not at all clear who a “migrant” actually is, since the term is used differently in different national contexts, and meanings are in the process of change worldwide. Nowadays the word is often used to refer to working-class and poor people who travel and work outside their hometown or country, but this is an arbitrary (and, increasingly, stigmatizing) usage. There are groups around the world whose traditionally mobile way of life includes working while on the move. Theories of migration have tended to believe until recently that “migrants”—including those who sell sex—can be identified separately because they have the intention to move definitively from their own country and settle in another, where they want to work. Thus these theories have tended to concentrate on the question of *why* people move, some focusing on international structural conditions such as recomposition of capital (for example, in export trading zones) or globalization of markets, without considering the microlevel where individuals decide to migrate. Others look at the national-policy level or at household units, and still others consider wage differentials between countries, the focus being on individual decisions. Causes are given as attempts to make better or more secure money than possible at home, loss of land, recruitment by employers abroad, family reunification projects, flight from **violence**, persecution and war and the “feminization of poverty.” None of these excludes the others; individuals may experience multiple such causes at the same time and no single condition guarantees that someone will migrate. Nevertheless, considerations of specific migrations, including those connected with the sex industry, are often characterized by discussion of so-called push-pull factors.

These are conceived as conditions on both sides of the migration, the point of origin and the point of arrival. Thus armed conflict and loss of farming land may push people away from home, while labor shortage and personal networks may pull them to another place. The basic concept is unarguable, but envisions human beings as being acted upon, leaving little room for more subtle issues of desire or aspiration.

In governmental accounts, migrants are distinguished from refugees, who are imagined to have no desire to leave but to be forced to by natural disaster, armed conflict or violent persecution. Refugees are expected to go wherever they are offered asylum or temporary shelter. Refugees may begin to exchange sex for money, goods or services in camps, and some camps set up programs to deter them. Official refugee status is granted by the UN High Commission on

Refugees to people fleeing from selected situations, but many similar situations are not officially recognized. Individual countries may also make their own distinctions relevant to whether they grant refugee and other statuses to particular mobile groups. In all of this a person's passport, and the status of the nation where it is issued, determines how people are referred to: as refugees, asylum-seekers, guest workers, tourists, students, business travellers, or migrants, and, according to which label is assigned, the traveller has access to more or fewer rights and obligations. In general, those whose problems are not recognised as meriting political asylum and who enter without official work contracts—including migrants who sell sex—have come to be characterised as “economic migrants.” In the rich countries of the world, much public discourse reflects the fear that avalanches of opportunists—including people who sell sex—from the global south are set to overwhelm them, but migration research does not bear out this paranoia. If it were true that poor people simply moved to any richer country, then numbers of migrants would be enormously greater than they now are, given the poverty of much of the world. On the contrary, most people do not migrate from even the most difficult conditions, and when they do they choose their routes for particular reasons.

The Concept of Feminization of Migration

It has become conventional since the 1990s to talk about the feminization of the world's migration. This assumption holds that men desiring to get ahead were until some recent point the protagonists of migration stories, and that women followed behind. For this to make sense, one has to believe that, previous to recent history, women did not migrate in great numbers, but this is not confirmed by various kinds of empirical research. In a study of European migration, 7,000 English life-histories covering the years from 1660 to 1730 showed that more than three-quarters of country women left their villages, in greater numbers than did men, in both inter-parish and long-distance migrations, from inter-parish to long-distance (Moch 1992). A completely different kind of study, to determine the geographic range of sex-related DNA in Africa, revealed that male chromosomes tend to be more localized, pointing to a rate of female migration eight times higher than the male, owing to traditional practices of patrilocality, under which brides move to their husbands' houses (a practice common to many cultures) (Stoneking 1998). Western suggestions that women have not been mobile until recently may therefore refer to particular middle-class groups since the 19th century, with its ideas about respectable women's place being the home. Statistics estimate that women constitute more than half and up to two-thirds of migrants in the past few decades, but it must be noted that statistics in the field of migration are always questionable, since many people migrate outside formal channels. Moreover, statistics are not kept for “migrants” as such but rather are culled from numerous bureaucratic categories such as visa status, residence status, municipal registration, or permission to work. Official countings of “migrant workers” inevitably include only people with legal status, so that although in 1994 the ILO gave their total number worldwide as 30 million, the actual number of illegal workers has been estimated at 80 million. And, of course, before a fairly recent period no such statistics were kept at all, and still are not in many parts of the world.

Currently, changes in national economies are promoting the labor migration of women in particular situations. Structural changes at the global level, particularly the industrialised countries' shift to a service economy while manufacturing is moved to developing countries, lead to informalization of work and create a demand for mobile women. Multinational corporations also increasingly depend on subcontracting, often to homebased workers, who tend to be women. And the International Monetary Fund has for decades been imposing policies of “structural adjustment”

on third-world countries who seek or need to refinance loans; these policies mandate severe cuts in government spending, with social programs the first to be cut. Those who predominate in the social sector and who therefore lose jobs—as teachers, hospital workers, social workers and psychologists, among others—are largely women. These policies are also usually blamed for the disintegration of families under stress from lack of income, with the result that women look for alternatives away from home, migration becomes a more conventional solution and doing whatever jobs are available becomes the norm. Women predominate overwhelmingly in poorly paid or unprotected labor. Employers widely consider them to be the least demanding work force, which means they are paid worse and offered fewer labor protections and benefits than men are, including in sex businesses. Societies appear to accept this unjust treatment, perhaps with the idea that their paid employment is not their primary role, which is thought to be housewife and/or mother.

The Concept of Labor Migrations

Much of contemporary social conflicts about the presence of migrants from the change to a post-Fordist economy. Semiofficial migrations have occurred all over the world, wherever one nation temporarily needed labor to do particular tasks, including sexual labour. Many well-known earlier labor migrations to the West were facilitated, formalized and conceived of as temporary: Poles to work in mines of the Ruhr in later 19th-century Germany, Algerians to pre-World War II French industry, and Mexicans to work on U.S. farms between 1942–1964. Formal migration programs may also be sponsored by the governments of countries of origin, rather than countries of destination. Most well known is the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, which has been sending Filipina women abroad as maids for more than 20 years, but Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Thailand also have such programs (and sexual labour is expected as part of a maid's duties in some cultures).

Nowadays, many people being called migrants arrive without documents that prove they have a job offer, and in a vast number of cases work in jobs outside what is known as the formal economic sector. For work to be considered legal, it must belong to this formal sector, which means it is regulated and included in government accounting (businesses with permission to operate, whose income is taxed and so on). Legal migrant workers possess a work permit and the correct visa for a formal-sector job. The situation is more complex than legal versus illegal, however. Migrants *without* a work permit may be working in the formal sector, an illegal activity for both employer and employee. Or they may be working in a job for which no work permit exists, in the enormously wide range of economic activities that exist outside the formal sector (which many legal citizens also engage in): handyman jobs, selling merchandise without a license, guarding parking spaces, providing bed-and-breakfast, selling home-grown produce, unlicensed car services, loan, pawn and check-cashing services, cleaning windshields at stoplights, dog walking, childcare, street or party entertainment, car repair, home computer help, messenger services, language teaching, and homework tutoring. Some of these occupations closely resemble formal-sector activities but do not fulfil **occupational safety and health** regulations or do not operate in locations zoned for them and some are primarily forms of tax evasion, but others can be seen as mutual aid, community projects, voluntary work, or self-help.

Women are disproportionately represented in the informal sector, through their dominance in domestic service, sweatshop labor, home piecework, “caring” labor, and the sex industry, a trend many describe in terms of the displacement of wealthier women's domestic chores onto poorer women's shoulders. Of the informalized occupations widely available to women (and also to many men and transgender people), commercial sex pays the best. Since all indicators point

to there being a boom in this industry, it stands to reason that increasing numbers of migrant women should be found working there.

The question may be asked why migrants, and especially migrants working in the sex industry, do not try to work in formal-sector jobs? This is what the majority would choose, as they would choose legal status, but most countries make this very difficult. It may be that migrants' professional qualifications are not recognized across country borders, so that a trained dentist or beautician has to work as a taxi driver or babysitter, or there may be national quotas on professional licenses, so that they cannot operate away from home. Or they may simply find that there are plenty of natives to fill posts they are themselves capable of carrying out in their new country; in most countries, immigration policy seeks to conserve these jobs for its own citizens, who continually voice the fear that jobs will be stolen by migrants.

Traveling to Work

For people who want to travel, there two official choices: to enter as a tourist or temporary business traveller with the appropriate visa, or to enter with a job offer and formal working papers in hand. Some countries will not issue visas to people with a record of prostitution. Obtaining tourist visas may be extremely difficult for citizens of many countries, or may require years of waiting because of country quotas in their desired destination. The potential tourist/migrant may be able to get a visa but not have the money to buy tickets and survive while looking for work. Many who want to travel actively search for work-and-travel offers at home, while others search for them, to sell them trips and jobs. These vendors in the informal economy are known by a variety of names, from businessmen and travel agents to "coyotes" on the Mexican border and "snakeheads" in China. These agents may be relatives, friends or tourist acquaintances met during vacations who temporarily enter the field in order to bring friends over to visit or work. **Marriage** may be part of the deal. Such entrepreneurs may play a minimal part in the migration project or offer a "package" which links them closely to the migrant at every step of the way.

Without access to a charge account or formal bank loan, the potential traveller probably contracts a debt at the beginning of the journey. Services offered for money may include the provision of passports, visas, changes of identity, work permits and other documents, as well as advice on how to look and act in interviews with immigration officials (at the border, in airports, on trains and buses, in the street), the loan of money to show upon entrance with a tourist visa, pick-up service at the airport, car transportation to another country or to prearranged lodging and contact information for potential employers. These services are not difficult to find in countries where out-travel has become normalized over time, and in certain countries, formal-sector travel agents offer them. In either case, the debt is a typical element of migration, no matter what job the migrant later takes.

Travelers' necessities continue once they have arrived, as in order to get a safe job with decent pay and without egregious labor abuses, they need people to provide advice, addresses of safe and inexpensive places to stay, information on whom to trust and whom not and so on. Such contacts, or intermediaries, may provide transport, translations, information on labor and cultural norms, medical references and other, conventional travel advice. Migrant workers in any sector need this kind of help, as do tourists and business travellers. A lucrative niche is thus created for those interested in making a profit from people's movements. Such networks have always existed, but only with heightened attention to the sex industry has the entrepreneurial side been attacked as morally corrupt and cruel, leading to abundant proposals for its criminalization. Travel which results in selling sex is positioned, according to this view, as different from all others.

Traveling and Selling Sex

Mobility has been associated with selling sex throughout history all over the world; no region is exempt. All kinds of vendors of goods and services, including domestic and sexual, accompany pilgrims and soldiers on campaigns and travel to places of seasonal and occasional labor, such as **mines**, ports and farms. Selling sex may make travel possible, providing the money to buy tickets. It may be the way people from the countryside or small towns can begin to make a living in cities while they look for other jobs. Or it may be the most lucrative informal-sector job available once people have made it to another country.

The sex industry, largely unregulated and outside official government accounting, by definition operates through informal networks. Migrants who want to know about employment opportunities must gain access to at least one insider, who may charge money for information and services. Empirical studies with migrants show that most who work in the sex industry knew that their labor would be sexual, but they may not have understood what working conditions would be like, and they may have been overtly deceived in a variety of ways, including being made to sign a contract without understanding what it meant, because of the legalistic language, because it was written in a language not their own or because they did not understand the value of foreign money mentioned. Moreover, people eager to travel appear to do little research to test what they are told by people offering to help them and connive in numerous illegal operations involved, such as allowing false documents to be prepared for them (which will render them vulnerable abroad).

The key to the vulnerability of migrant workers is the necessity to operate outside formal, regulated networks. Millions of trips are taken without tragedy, though the financial or emotional price may be high. Severe exploitation does occur, however, and has prompted public outcry against **trafficking**, a concept that tends to lump all migrant women who sell sex together, and even all migrant women together, failing to distinguish between many levels and kinds of force, obligation and coercion that may have formed part of their migration project. People who object to all commercial sex insist that migrant women selling it have been deceived and/or forced to do it. The difficulty is that the fundamental terms of the argument attempt to pin down enigmatic issues of will, consent and choice—the extent to which people travelling with false papers understood the possible consequences of using them, whether they felt love for someone facilitating their journey, whether they knew what a contract meant, how their parents' participation in a deal affected their judgement or if they understood how being in debt would ultimately determine many of their actions. Such epistemological questions are often unfathomable when involving people secure in their homes, but they become even more so when those involved have left their homes behind to face cultural disorientation on a grand scale through migration. Numerous authors have attempted to distinguish between the concept of “trafficking” and migrations of people who sell sex, without much success in public forums. The focus on criminal abuse of migrants continues, and other problems often ignored, such as their persecution by the police, their lack of labor protections and other conditions related to the uncontrolled character of the sex industry.

Migrating involves a series of risky judgements and decisions. Each step of the way, they must weigh the stories they are being told against what they have heard from returned migrants, friends abroad and news reports. Whether migrants buy a “full package” from a single entrepreneur or make a succession of smaller decisions, only one link in the chain needs to be weak in order for things to go badly wrong. But it needs to be understood that those doing the facilitating of migrants are in many cases migrants, too, and many of these projects are collaborative. Many

institutions also understand that people are migrating in quasi-legal conditions: embassies and consulates granting visas; home societies rely on money sent back by migrants and employers in destination countries employ them. Therefore migrants rarely view themselves as really “illegal,” much less criminal.

Research shows that, even when migrants say they feel deceived, they often complain of the working conditions they are forced to accept, and not about the work being sexual per se; they prefer to remain in the industry, but in less exploitative conditions. Paying off debts in the shortest amount of time is nearly every migrant’s primary goal, so the focus is on the future, not on past abuses. While the most tragic situations so often cited by the media and nongovernmental organizations come to light precisely because the police have become involved, migrants who have not sought help are often invisible to reporters and activists seeking victims.

Granting the capacity to make decisions to migrating individuals does not mean denying the vast structural changes that push and pull them. On the other hand, it does not mean making them over-responsible for situations largely not of their own making, as global, national and local conditions, as well as luck, intervene in individuals’ decisions.

Other Theories to Explain Migration

Mobility is the term that refers to the ability to move in general, while migration is only one kind of movement. Mobility is associated with sex work because of the **stigma** attached to it; for people who sell sex, mobility may mean the decision to do it in a neighborhood distant from home and the movement be taking a bus across town. Mobility is a kind of flexibility, the attitude that says a person can move to find work and can move around while working. Flexibility is the most important characteristic migrants can have, as they change cultural contexts and launch themselves into much that is unknown. In this state of mind, many other conditions of life may be more important than the job of the moment, and this is true for those washing dishes in restaurant kitchens as well as those selling sex. Both jobs are generally viewed by migrants, as well as their parents and friends, as a temporary means to an end that justifies suspending the usual expectations and moralities. This disposition to change jobs according to opportunities can be thought of as “flexible labor,” an element key to **globalization** processes.

There are various other ideas that attempt to describe the widespread phenomenon of mobility thought to be an integral part of globalization. Transnational migration theory suggests that many migrants come to live in two places equally, in a series of trips that last indefinitely, involve extended and multiple families and may branch into yet more countries. The traditional idea that migrants settle in a new country is thus disproved in many cases, either because they never relinquish a house, city or culture they are accustomed to, or because they set themselves up to do business between the old and new country or because they find it unavoidable or impossible *not* to go back. Flow theory positions human movements alongside the movement of information, goods, culture. Here, the migration-project consists of a vast complex of juxtapositions, from the national and global to the most local, personal and serendipitous (whom one happens to meet in a café, whether a false visa is detected or not). How people move, how necessary knowledge moves toward them, how they move their money and how its value moves them, as well as how they encourage other migrants to make similar moves: all form part of these flows. Diaspora theory oddly often seems to be referring to communities in the abstract, not current migrants, but there is no good reason for this, as diasporas after all begin with ordinary migrants.

The most important issue for migrants of all kinds concerns the extent to which they have lost basic rights by migrating. Even in poor countries, where few state-run social services are offered, citizens can seek the help of a police officer, go to a hospital and loiter in public places

without fear that they will be picked up as “illegal.” They can apply for jobs and object to working conditions or unfair treatment. In other words, they enjoy a range of civil and labor rights, because they are, ultimately, in their own country.

To the contrary, people who are living and working without the correct visa, work contract and work permit are not granted these basic rights once outside their countries. Whether they are employed in agriculture, domestic service, street vending or selling sex, if the jobs they do are not recognized in the formal economy the workers do not enjoy the right to social protection. They are thus vulnerable to abuse from employers, officials and police, from opportunists trying to make money out of their situation, some of them outright criminals, and from racist attacks. There is a market for migrants’ services, which helps explain why they are there, but societies are not willing to recognize that the jobs they do form part of an interdependency between themselves and these workers. This is the crux of the social problem associated with migration, and the reason that **human rights** are often invoked on their behalf, since human rights are the only ones migrants can definitely be said to have.

Further Reading: Agustín, Laura. “The Disappearing of a Migration Category: Migrants Who Sell Sex.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32, no. 1 (2006); Agustín, Laura. “A Migrant World of Services.” *Social Politics*, 10, no. 3, (2003): 377–96. Held, David et al. *Global Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999; Massey, Doreen. “Imagining Globalization: Power-Geometries of Time-Space.” In A. Brah, M. Hickman and M. Macan Ghaill, eds. *Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization*, London: Macmillan, 1999, 27–43; Massey, Douglas et al. “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal.” *Population and Development Review*, 19, no. 3, (1993): 431–66; Moch, Leslie Page. *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992; Morokvasic, Mirjana. “Birds of Passage are also Women.” *International Migration Research*, 18, no. 4, (1984): 886–907; Pedraza, Silvia. “Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17 (1991): 303–25; Portes, Alejandro, Luís Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt. “The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, no. 2, (1999): 27–37; Pyle, Jean L. “Sex, Maids, and Export Processing: Risks and Reasons for Gendered Global Production Networks.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 15, no. 1, (2001): 55–76; Sassen, Saskia. *Guests and Aliens*. New York: The New Press, 1999; Singleton, Ann and Paolo Barbesino. “The Production and Reproduction of Knowledge on International Migration in Europe: The Social Embeddedness of Social Knowledge.” In F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis, eds. *Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe*, Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 1999, 13–33; Stoneking, Mark. “Women on the Move.” *Nature Genetics*, 20 (1998): 219–20; Truong, Thanh-Dam. “Gender, International Migration and Social Reproduction: Implications for Theory, Policy, Research and Networking.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 5, no. 1, (1996): 27–52.

Laura Agustín

MILITARY. See *Comfort Women*; R&R.

MILLER, HENRY (1891–1980). Born in **New York City**, Miller is largely remembered as a chronicler of Left Bank sensuality in the post-Hemingway Paris of the 1930s. Prostitution in various guises can be found in the semiautobiographical works that recall his formative years in France and troublesome times in New York. “Mademoiselle Claude,” Miller’s first significant published story, is a paean to a French prostitute, who reappears in reference to another named Germaine in the novel *Tropic of Cancer* (1934). Loosely based on his initial months in

Paris, *Tropic of Cancer* portrays sundry prostitutes among its sprawling cast of charlatans, misanthropes, and other questionable characters. Although of little literary merit, *Quiet Days in Clichy* and the posthumously published *Opus Pistorum* (also collected as *Under the Roofs of Paris*) (1938) offer supplementary pornographic reflections on this era.

In the books that portray his early years in New York City, a married Miller occasionally visited dance halls, in which “taxi dancers” roam. In *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939) and *Sexus* (1949), he related his initial meetings with his bride-to-be Mona (sometimes named Mara) via this muted form of prostitution. In *Plexus* (1953) and *Nexus* (1960), the final two volumes of *The Rosy Crucifixion* trilogy, it appears that Mona practiced more traditional forms of prostitution to support Miller’s budding writing career. The narrative is constructed in such a way that the reader is unable to draw definitive conclusions about Mona’s actions and whereabouts, a technique that puts us into Miller’s shoes. Although prostitution is often considered a fixture in Miller’s work, more than half of his opus is actually unconcerned with sex. All of Miller’s writings, however, intimately reveal his lifelong project of liberating himself from ignorance and convention.

Further Reading: Martin, Jay. *Always Merry and Bright: The Life of Henry Miller*. Santa Barbara, CA: Capra, 1978.

Thomas Nesbit

MINES. Prostitution has been one of the most prominent social interactions in mining settlements. There are social, cultural, political, economic, and other factors that allow prostitution to thrive in mining settlements. The nature of government or institutional responses to prostitution in mining settlements, and the extent to which prostitutes are integrated into the vortex of the economy and society of mining camps vary considerably.

Mining operations have always readily recruited men. The methods employed varied from place to place and time to time. Labor in mining settlements the world over is associated primarily with male and female migrancy. Traditionally, men have been the first to move into the mines and later are followed by mobile females, some of whom went principally to work as prostitutes or provided services such as in restaurants. Some were also involved in “light” mining activities such as gold panning. However, prostitutes, for one reason or another, negotiated between provision of sexual services and other mining settlement–related jobs. Time and circumstances determined the ability of prostitutes to work in other jobs besides prostitution.

Mine workers were traditionally recruited from places far from their homes. Of equal importance, mine laborers were normally prevented from migrating into the camps with their wives because of the distraction families caused. Also, because mining operations sometimes involved moving from one location to another, married men were naturally not disposed to move with their households. Mine operators preferred a situation in which men could move freely from one mining settlement to another with little family-related restrictions. Apart from the physical energy required for the job, the conditions in virtually all types of mines the world over were poor. The severity of the conditions associated with working mines coupled with the fact that laborers were usually without “legal” partners placed prostitution at a very significant position in mining settlements. Prostitution provided alternative, quick, and accessible opportunities for men and women to have sexual relations.

Mine workers were usually paid on a weekly or daily basis, so they had cash at their disposal to pay prostitutes for sexual services. The availability of cash provided a good impetus for female fortune seekers to migrate to mining settlements for the purpose of earning a living through

prostitution. With young, single male adventurers dominating the camps, mining settlements exemplified places of raucous lifestyle. Gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution were the major sources of recreation. Significantly, the cultural heterogeneity of mining camps with loose moral and social networking allowed prostitution to thrive.

Mine-based prostitutes sometimes provided more than sexual services. They also provided shelter for miners. In this connection, they provided some comforts of home, including food and water for bathing. Miners had a home away from home because of the facilities, which they enjoyed by virtue of patronizing prostitutes.

Several factors determined the extent to which prostitution thrived in mining settlements. They can broadly be divided into type of minerals extracted, time or period, size, and nature or form of institutional responses. "Type" means the kind of minerals extracted from the earth (gold, silver, precious stone, etc). Mines where precious solid minerals such as gold and diamonds were extracted were better able to promote prostitution-related activities than the ones where the minerals extracted were not very profitable. The significance of time as a factor cannot be overemphasized. Solid minerals do not guarantee a permanent monetary value. During the gold rush period in California and other parts of the world, the value of gold was such that the best work was readily available to those who were interested in making quick money in the mines. A deplorable economy and other indices of trade might affect the value of solid minerals. This situation automatically adversely affected the miners' resources, and consequently, would invariably affect prostitutes' earnings. The size of mining settlements is also significant. The bigger the areas where mining operations take place, the greater the influx of people and the faster the rate at which the place is transformed into a large community. In fact, some cities hold their ascendancy to the discovery of solid minerals: four classic examples are Johannesburg, South Africa; Kalgoorlie, Australia; Antofagasta, Chile; and Sudbury, Canada. Large mining settlements combined the characteristics of prostitution in mines with the ones known in urban centers, and prostitution has thrived in large mining settlements.

Last, institutional response to prostitution-related activities in the mines was largely informed by the need to prevent mine workers from contacting venereal diseases, which were presumed to be spread predominantly by prostitutes. Contacting venereal diseases took laborers out of the mines for a time, a situation that automatically affected the mines' productivity. Therefore, economic exigencies largely determined the nature of the response of government or mining authorities to prostitution-related activities. Some of the facilities provided in the camps supported prostitution. Restaurants, clubhouses, and other social places were established by national or local governments or grew in response to the social conditions obtainable within the mining space. The availability of restaurants, clubhouses, and other places of social interaction provided prostitutes with the opportunity of soliciting. To legislate against prostitution was to condemn the running of social places where miners could ease the tension of their jobs.

None of these factors can be understood in isolation. The best way of appreciating the impact of all the contributing factors is to understand that they complement one another.

One of the most astonishing aspects of social interaction in the mines is that they provide a sort of social and economic mobility at every point in time. Prostitutes combined other jobs with prostitution based on time and circumstances. Beer brewing, gold panning, and provision of other mine-support services provided prostitutes the opportunity of circumventing the institutional prohibition of their activities. These extra-prostitution-related jobs also provided resources, which were used to harness additional resources. Of greater importance is that some

of these jobs provided the required resources to augment low incomes made from prostitution whenever the mines experienced economic recession.

Further Reading: Amutabi, Maurice, and Mary Lutta-Mukhebi. "Gender and Mining in Kenya: The Case of Mukibira Mines in Vihiga District." *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* 1, no. 2 (2001), http://www.jendajournal.com/vol1.2/amutabi_lutta-mukhebi.html; Holliday, J. S. *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981; Lapp, Rudolph, M. *Blacks in Gold Rush California*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977; Parpart, J. L. *Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: Women in Northern Rhodesian Copper Mining Areas, 1926–1964*. Working Paper No. 77. Boston: African Studies Center, 1983; Rohrbough, M. J. *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Saheed Aderinto

MISOGYNY. Misogyny is an extreme, pathological hatred of women, often associated with a fear of female sexuality and cited as a cause for sexual **violence** against women. Female prostitutes are disproportionately targets for misogynistic violence, arguably because they are seen to represent the sexually provocative female body most despised by misogynists. Feminists and sex workers' advocates argue that female prostitutes often receive less sympathetic treatment than other victims of sexual violence because of the misogynistic belief that women who exchange sex for money deserve to be punished. Some feminists argue that prostitution itself is misogynistic, but this theory has been criticized for ignoring the difference between free and **forced prostitution** and shifting the responsibility for sexual violence from the attacker to the victim. In places where prostitution is accompanied by misogyny and a strong social demarcation between "good" and "bad" women or "madonnas" and "whores," prostitutes suffer extreme stigmatization and marginalization.

Within feminist theory, misogyny is understood as an ideology that exists to legitimize and reproduce male dominance and female subordination. It is thought to have roots in historical conditions in which women had no independent civil existence and men had legal rights to violence against women, invasion of the female body, and coercive reproduction. Feminists argue that misogyny has existed, in various forms, in most cultures and religions and that it is normalized and largely uncontested in patriarchal society. It is generally associated with a fear or abhorrence of the female body and sexuality: misogynists view women as sinful temptresses, deserving of violent punishment. Misogyny is therefore often manifested in sexual violence against women. Because female prostitutes are seen to represent the kind of provocative sexuality most threatening to misogynists, they are disproportionately targets for sexual violence. Well-known **serial killers**, such as **Jack the Ripper** and the Green River Killer, have primarily targeted prostitutes in what are viewed as misogynistic attacks.

In some feminist analyses, prostitution itself is viewed as misogynistic. In patriarchal society, male supremacy and control of the female body are understood to be upheld through institutions such as law, **marriage**, organized **religion**, systemized violence against women, and the sex industry. By exchanging sex for money, female prostitutes are seen to be reinforcing the misogynistic ideology that the use of the female body for sexual purposes is a male right and perpetuating male violence against women. However, other feminists and sex workers' advocates have criticized this theory for ignoring the difference between free and forced prostitution. They argue that infantilization of prostitutes as passive victims to be used by men, as opposed to adults

Moll Flanders

First, I was apparently handsomer than any of them; secondly, I was better shaped; and, thirdly, I sang better, by which I mean I had a better voice; in all which you will, I hope, allow me to say, I do not speak my own conceit, but the opinion of all that knew the family.

I had with all these the common vanity of my sex, viz., that being really taken for very handsome, or, if you please, for a great beauty, I very well knew it, and had as good an opinion of myself as anybody else could have of me, and particularly I loved to hear anybody speak of it, which happened often, and was a great satisfaction to me.

From Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, introduction by Samuel K. Workman (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 33.

capable of making their own decisions, obstructs efforts to empower sex workers as legitimate citizens and workers. Similarly, the suggestion that prostitution is a cause of violence against women can be seen as blaming the victim, rather than holding attackers accountable for their actions. These issues became particularly contentious for feminists during the “sex wars” of the 1980s, causing a rift between “anti-pornography” feminists, who understand prostitution as a function of misogynistic culture, and “pro-pornography” feminists, who understand it as a legitimate choice and want to empower prostitutes.

See also Dworkin, Andrea; Femi-

nism; MacKinnon, Catherine.

Further Reading: Dworkin, Andrea. *Woman Hating*. New York: Dutton, 1974; Vance, Carole, ed. *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984; Williams, Mary, and Tamara Roleff, eds. *Sexual Violence: Opposing Viewpoints*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1997.

Rachel Aimeé

MOLL FLANDERS. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* is a novel by English author Daniel Defoe (1660–1731). The 1722 novel tells the story of an orphaned girl, Moll, who is born in Newgate Prison. Throughout her adult life, Moll lives as a prostitute, an adulterer, and a thief. During her incarceration in Newgate, Moll experiences a religious awakening, leading to her redemption. Defoe selected the character of a prostitute in his moralistic tale to show that even the most sinful soul could be saved through repentance.

Moll Flanders is told in an autobiographical style, with Moll as the first-person narrator. In the text, the reader is informed that “Moll Flanders” is not the narrator’s real name, but merely a nickname. “Moll” was the nickname of an infamous female thief, “Moll Cut-Purse,” and the name is also slang for a woman of low repute. From the Middle Ages to the 19th century, Flemish women were considered by the English to be the best prostitutes, hence the surname “Flanders.” Throughout the text, Defoe not only writes of Moll’s shortcomings but also alludes to them to reinforce her faults.

Although at various stages of the novel, Moll goes for the 18th-century ideal of respectability by marrying (five times in total), Defoe sees this as immoral—“Matrimonial Whoredom,” where the union is entered for fiscal reasons.

Some have seen Moll as a victim of circumstance, but Defoe created the character not as a victim but as a villain, therefore making her repentance during her time in prison more powerful.

Moll Flanders followed Defoe's critically and popularly successful *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and was his most famous work after *Robinson Crusoe*. It is thought by many that the style of these two books signaled the beginning of the modern-day novel in the English language.

See also Marriage.

Further Reading: Elliot, Robert C., ed. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Moll Flanders: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hill, 1970; Olson, Thomas Grant. "Reading and Righting Moll Flanders." *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 41 (2001): 467–81.

Shannon Schedlich-Day

MONTEZ, LOLA (1818–61). It is unclear whether the notorious personality, Lola Montez, born Marie Dolores Rosanna Gilbert in Limerick, Ireland, ever accepted money in exchange for sex, but many of her contemporaries questioned her morals, some even calling her a prostitute. Montez spent much of her childhood on the move. Some years were spent in India, where her father was a British soldier, before a move to Scotland. In Britain, she eloped with Thomas James: the scandalous **marriage** was brief, childless, and unhappy. When still married to James, Montez shocked society with her affair with another soldier, George Lennox. In the early 1840s, deprived of family support, Eliza struggled in London. She was involved with many men, who are said to have paid her bills, either directly or indirectly through sex: certainly, her reputation was that of a higher-class **courtesan**. She also took dancing lessons, and took up the name Lola Montez while faking a Spanish background. Her dancing tours gained global infamy: invariably, it was Montez's striking, often-photographed looks, reputation for immorality, and raunchy dancing style that attracted audiences.

Between 1846 and 1848, Montez became the mistress of Ludwig I of Bavaria. Critics, including the influential Austrian statesman, Prince Klemens Metternich, alleged that the sensual woman exerted an excessive, malign influence on the old ruler. Her privileged position caused popular unrest, and led to her flight from Munich in 1848. A disgruntled suitor of Montez, Auguste Papon, published a book in 1849, *Lola Montès Mèmoires*, which accused Montez of many vices, including prostitution. An English marriage to George Trafford Heald in 1850



Lola Montez. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

failed quickly, as did an 1853 marriage to Patrick Purdy Hall, a San Francisco editor. By this time, Montez was famous in the United States for dancing and for sexual promiscuity, whether real or exaggerated. A creative faker, liar, and self-publicist, she starred in C.P.T. Ware's play about herself, *Lola Montez in Bavaria*. After her acting and dancing careers petered out, Montez gave lecture tours about her eventful, peripatetic life. Having never been cautious with money, Montez was poverty-stricken when she died in New York in January 1861. A controversial celebrity before and after her death, Montez has inspired many fictional and nonfictional biographies, and a 1955 film, *Lola Montès*.

Further Reading: Emeljanow, Victor. "Lola Montez." In *American National Biography*. 20 Vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, vol. XV, pp. 696–97; Ross, Ishbel. *The Uncrowned Queen: Life of Lola Montez*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972; Seymour, Bruce. *Lola Montez: A Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Kevin De Ornellas

MUNSINGER, GERDA (1926–98). Gerda Munsinger was a German prostitute and a Soviet spy in the center of a political scandal in Canada. Between 1958 and 1961, Pierre Sevigny, Associate Minister of National Defense, had an affair with Munsinger, who immigrated to Canada after divorcing her American husband Michael Munsinger. Apparently, Sevigny was warned that Munsinger was a prostitute and a security risk. Munsinger returned to Germany and Sevigny stayed in the Cabinet. The incident remained unknown until Lucien Carden, Liberal Justice Minister, irritated by Conservative taunts about security leaks, raised Munsinger's name in the Commons in 1966. The press picked up on the first major sex scandal in Canadian parliament. However, no security breach was found, and the affair remained mainly grist for the media.

Further Reading: Granatstein, J. L., and David Stafford. *Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1990.

Maria Mikolchak

MURDER. Prostitutes may be victims of beatings, **rape**, and torture. The life of a street prostitute is often harsh, unsettled, and dangerous, and, as a result, prostitutes may more often be the victims of violent crime than other people. Most **violence** against prostitutes remains unreported, as prostitutes are reluctant to talk to police, who rarely take complaints from prostitutes seriously. Authorities do not expend much energy to investigate the death of a prostitute, likely because most prostitute murders lack sufficient evidence and usually no eyewitnesses. It is often hard for police to find evidence in the death of a prostitute because of the transient lifestyle of most street sex workers and the fact that street transients are not willing to talk to police. Unless the prostitute's body displays the signature markings of a **serial killer**, police rarely work to solve the crime.

The murder of a prostitute seldom gets newspaper mention, let alone media coverage. The death of a prostitute is most often reported in the news media when the body is found and thought to be the victim of a serial killer, such as Seattle's Green River Killer. But when the media does report the killing of a prostitute, the accompanying photos of the victim are most often police mug shots, which works to reinforce the idea that the victim somehow deserved the crime. Rarely do the news media portray the prostitute victim as anything other than a social and moral outcast. The media portrayal of prostitute murder victims as deserving of violence works

to seemingly vindicate and reaffirm social class structures that hold sex as socially acceptable only in legitimate moral circumstances: moral as defined by predominantly nonsecular social groups. The fact that prostitutes are first deemed less valuable as human beings because of their occupation in the sex trade and judged somehow deserving of the violence that they encounter functions to reaffirm a climate of disinterest in crimes against prostitutes, including murder.

In some major metropolitan areas, authorities do try to combat violent crimes against prostitutes but the methods they use, usually sting operations or sweeps, instead tend to target prostitutes for arrest, rather than assuaging their fear of reporting crimes to authorities. In numerous cities, murdered prostitutes become a concern only within the street sex worker community, rather than being approached by authorities as a serious safety issue for the entire population. Prostitutes and sex worker advocacy groups in some cities work together to create profiles of people suspected of killing prostitutes, which are then distributed as flyers throughout the sex worker community to try and provide some measure of awareness.

Further Reading: Carmen, Arlene, and Howard Moody. *Working Women: The Subterranean World of Street Prostitution*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985; Holmes, Ronald M., and Stephen T. Holmes, eds. *Current Perspectives on Sex Crimes*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002; MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005; Ratner, Mitchell S., ed. *Crack Pipe as Pimp: An Eight-City Ethnographic Study of Sex-for-Crack Exchanges*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1992.

Debbie Clare Olson

MUSIC. See **Blues; Hip-Hop; Opera; Rock Music.**

MUSTANG RANCH. Nevada is the only state in the United States that allows **brothels** to operate legally. Their operation is considered a legacy of the frontier mining communities where prostitution has been tolerated for more than a century. Before it closed in 1999, Mustang Ranch, located 15 miles from Reno, was the largest, best-known, and most profitable brothel operating in Nevada. It consisted of two compounds with 54 bedrooms in No. 1 and 38 in No. 2. The ranch employed up to 80 women at a time, with approximately 200,000 men visiting annually and an estimated revenue of more \$20 million a year.

Mustang Ranch was the also the state's first legal brothel. It was established by Joe Conforte and his wife Sally. Conforte had moved to Nevada in the 1950s in order to take advantage of Nevada's *laissez-faire* tradition of prostitution, although at the time it was not legal to operate a brothel.

Conforte set up his first brothel, Triangle Rover Ranch, in Storey County, just outside the border of Washoe County in which Reno is situated. Local authorities sought to put Conforte out of business and closed his brothel as a public nuisance and destroyed it. Afterward, Conforte rebuilt his business in a trailer at the juncture of Washoe, Storey, and Lyon Counties. Whenever authorities in one county sought to close the brothel, Conforte moved the trailer into an adjoining county.

In 1961, after spending some time in jail for trying to extort the county DA who had closed his earlier brothel, Conforte purchased Mustang Ranch and urged the county to pass legislation to license brothels. He proposed that the license be expensive so as to earn the support of county officials for the law's fiscal benefits. In 1971, Conforte won a court case that paved the way for legalization of prostitution in the state, which assigned the right to license brothels to county governments.

In the early 1980s, Conforte was convicted of tax evasion and fled to Brazil to avoid imprisonment. The IRS seized Mustang Ranch and sold it for \$1.49 million to the brother of Conforte's lawyer. Eventually, the brothel's manager and parent company were convicted of fraud and racketeering and the IRS seized it again and closed it.

See also Legal Approaches; Licensed Prostitution, Nevada.

Further Reading: Albert, Alexa, *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women*. New York: Random House, 2001; Hausbeck, Kathryn, and Barbara G. Brents. "Inside Nevada's Brothel Industry." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald Weitz. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Jeffrey Escoffier

MY SECRET LIFE. *My Secret Life*, whether fact or fiction, is probably the most vivid and detailed account of working-class prostitution known apart from the relevant sections of Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. Frequently confused with *My Life and Loves*, Frank Harris's four-volume erotic autobiography, *My Secret Life*, purportedly an autobiographical account of a Victorian gentleman's sexual life with prostitutes and working-class women, was published between about 1888 and 1894. It is one of the strangest and most obsessive erotic works ever published, and at 11 volumes, is certainly the longest. Very little about it can be stated with certainty.

My Secret Life is generally thought to have been published in **Amsterdam** by Auguste Brancart, a major producer of erotic literature in both Holland and Belgium during the late 19th century, although the typography is not entirely consistent with other clandestine publications of the period with the sole exception of *La Comtesse de Lesbos* (1889). A persistent tradition that the book was printed in an edition of just six copies frequently surfaces, but an inventory of the extant copies in private collections and national and other libraries makes this seem unlikely, and the possibility exists that either Brancart struck off more copies than he contracted to print or else the plates were acquired by another publisher—perhaps Charles Carrington in Paris—who in turn issued further copies.

The authorship is even more uncertain. The late G. Legman made an ingenious case for the book being written by H. S. Ashbee, a late Victorian erotica collector and bibliophile, but other researchers have pointed out disparities between the known events of Ashbee's life and those of whoever wrote *My Secret Life*. The possibility of Ashbee's involvement in the book's publication has also been suggested, in part because he was acquainted with Brancart, but more important, because the 11th volume is taken up with a highly detailed index similar in its thoroughness to those compiled by Ashbee for his bibliographical writings.

The most curious controversy, however, and the most recent, concerns the possibility that *My Secret Life* is a work of fiction rather than an autobiography. If true, this long, obsessive, and single-minded account might conceivably have been written by Ashbee after all.

See also Memoirs.

Further Reading: Gibson, Ian. *The Erotomaniac. The Secret Life of Henry Spencer Ashbee*. London: Faber and Faber, 2001; Kearney, Patrick J. *A History of Erotic Literature*. London: Macmillan, 1983; Marcus, Steven. *The Other Victorians*. New York: Basic Books, 1966; Mendes, Peter. *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993.

N

N-9. See *Nonoxynol-9*.

NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION (NVA). Following the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 in Great Britain, which successfully concluded Josephine Butler's campaign to repeal the British **Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869**, a body called the National Vigilance Association (NVA) was formed in England with the aim of enforcing the provisions of the Act. William Alexander Coote became the Secretary and leading light of this organization. Unlike Butler's Ladies National Association, the NVA was essentially moralistic and attempted to suppress "vice" by acting as police informants and bringing private prosecutions against brothel keepers. The consequence was the closure of many small lodging houses run by landladies for the benefit of poor women. However, the police and magistrates were not wholly in sympathy with the social **purity movement** and by 1889, Coote had become disillusioned with the NVA's progress, in particular, its modest impact upon the "White Slave Trade."

Fortunately for Coote, inspiration came to him in the form of a "vision from God," during which he was commanded to embark on a missionary tour of the capitals of Europe to familiarize heads of state and government officials with the horrors of **trafficking**. Consequently, he embarked on a crusade, armed with fanatical zeal and a well-formed plan. Initially, Coote intended to establish national committees in the different countries that would provide the volunteers needed to collate information and help implement the anticipated penal policies. This was to be reinforced by a series of international conferences concentrating on the need for intergovernmental cooperation.

The first of many international congresses was held in **London** in 1899 and marked a turning point in NVA fortunes as a significant proportion of the general public began lobbying for government action. During this congress, the essential definition of the offense of trafficking was formulated, along with recommendations for the international legislation that would be needed to pursue and extradite offenders. The NVA also marked the occasion with the launch of the

National Vigilance

THE VIGILANCE RECORD FEBRUARY 15TH 1876

A case in point has just occurred —

Carl Schreiber (30), a native of Germany, described as a restaurant keeper, was brought up on remand, before Mr Slade, charged under section 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, with inducing a young woman to come from Amsterdam to London for an unlawful purpose.

Mr Poland appeared for the prosecution, and Mr Edwin, solicitor, for the prisoner.

Mr Poland, in stating the facts of the case, said that the prisoner had induced the young woman to come to London on representation that he would find her employment. On her arrival here the prisoner sent her on the streets to get money to pay him for her board and lodging; but having regard to the fact that the woman was 27 years of age, and had led an immoral life abroad, the Treasury solicitor had come to the conclusion that the charge could not be sustained. The act was clearly intended for the protection of chaste and moral young persons who might be led into evil ways by those having influence over them. Since his apprehension the prisoner has restored the woman's clothes, and as she has now escaped from his influence the charge against the prisoner would be withdrawn.

Mr Slade thereupon discharged the accused.

International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (IB), which was an extension into the international arena of its own administration. Links were also established with the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, an organization with similar objectives and headquarters in London. By the turn of the century, the international work of the NVA had become highly organized and it had established a formidable propaganda machine extending as far as the United States. "**Trafficking**" had become widely accepted as the abduction, defilement, and transportation of virgin white women to replenish the worn-out stock in foreign **brothels**.

Surprisingly, despite its regulatory stance, Coote also forged links with the French government, which conveniently paved the way for the first official intergovernmental conference, which took place in Paris in 1902. It was at this point, and with the help of the press, that the French public became as inflamed over **white slavery** as the English. Indeed, it marked a point of no return when the trafficking of women and girls became the subject of international law and political maneuvering, and the resolutions passed in 1899 were trans-

formed into the articles of an International Agreement, signed at another conference in 1904.

The movement continued to progress and an international congress was held in Paris in 1910, when the first International Convention became a reality. It included within its articles a legal definition of the crime of trafficking, placing it among those offenses that qualified for extradition. The Convention also required contracting parties to enact the necessary domestic legislation, to punish offenders and to communicate details to other countries, using the French government as intermediary. The most significant article was to be found in the Final Protocol: "The case of detention, against her will, of a woman or girl in a brothel could not, in spite of its gravity, be dealt with in the present Convention, seeing that it is governed exclusively by internal legislation." This greatly limited its effectiveness, as it left contracting parties free to continue with their individual systems for regulating prostitution and suggested that signing the Convention was a matter of political expediency. However, it also meant, that while placating their populations, any individual state was empowered to enforce harsher rules against immigrants. In the British case, a series of Aliens Acts and orders were passed between 1905 and 1920, aimed at preventing "undesirable" people from entering the country. Directed, in particular, at Jews fleeing from the pogroms, it also included women suspected of being prostitutes who (along with other

passengers) could be medically examined before disembarking from a boat, while their companions were suspected of trafficking.

Although these activities were interrupted by **World War I**, the issue was kept alive by the IB. Following hostilities, the fight against trafficking was adopted by the **League of Nations**, which, in 1919, made a commitment to honor the terms of previous international agreements and give priority to the needs of women and children.

It would be easy to dismiss William Coote as a religious fanatic, but he was also an astute and skilled diplomat. He not only carved out for himself an interesting career, traveling the world and mingling with royalty and heads of state, but he established a remarkable influence over the Foreign Office. It was a measure of his success that he persuaded it to distribute his published work, the *Transections of the International Congress on the White Slave Trade* (1898) and *A Vision and Its Fulfilment* (1916), to all the kings and queens and heads of state of Europe and the President of United States. Coote died in 1919, after 30 years of devotion to the cause of social purity. His obituary in the NVA journal, *The Vigilance Record*, described him as “having a fire about him: a quiet flame but always burning.”

His legacy remains, as following World War II, the United Nations adopted the cause and carried it forward, most notably with the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others in 1949.

Further Reading: Bristow, Edward J. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery 1870–1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; Corbin, Alain. *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990; Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003; Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Helen J. Self

NAZI GERMANY. Following the reform of prostitution laws during the **Weimar Republic**, Nazi Germany experienced a right-wing backlash against Social Democratic progressivism, leading eventually to the reintroduction of state-regulated **brothels** as a key institution of Nazi sexual policy. The establishment of brothels in concentration camps from 1942, where commands of female prisoners were forced into prostitution, stands as the most inhuman enforcement of this policy.

After a decade of progressive sexual politics during the Weimar Republic in the 1920s, the appointment of Adolf Hitler as chancellor in 1933 signaled dramatic change in the German political climate. Hitler had risen to the leadership of the National Socialists in part by promoting an image of Nazis as the purifiers of public morality, playing on the commonly perceived cultural disintegration and moral decay of the Weimar Republic years. The Weimar welfare experiment was denounced as a source of fiscal waste, sexual immorality, and eugenic irresponsibility, which disproportionately benefited the unfit and asocial at the expense of worthy citizens. The National Socialists' pledge to reestablish law and order as well as to restore the dignity of **marriage** and family life played a decisive role in winning the support of conservatives and religious conservatives. Feeding into conservative moralists' anxiety with the gloomy image of the “Golden Twenties,” Nazi moral agenda throughout the 1930s was characterized by heightened homophobia, a brutal “racialization” of sex, as well as attempts to reorganize and politicize sexual

life. Accordingly, social and welfare policies of the Nazi regime were aimed at repealing many of the pioneering Weimar achievements, for example, birth control counseling as well as child and youth welfare. The goals of these policies shifted from regulation and treatment of the ill and needy to racial and political purification of the nation.

Similarly, Nazi attacks on Weimar's prostitution reform combined populist anti-Semitism with arguments about increasing vice and cultural contamination, thus fueling conservatives' moral panic. In his work *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had accused prostitution of being one of the major causes of the German nation's deterioration, by claiming that the increasing "prostitution of love" not only led to the spread of venereal diseases (VD) but also signaled moral decadence and cultural decline in general, which he blamed on the "Jewification" of German spiritual life. Thus, the reason for the perceived failure of Weimar's prostitution policies was its shortfall in addressing the roots, not just the symptoms, of Germany's moral and racial decay. For example, Nazi racist propaganda determined **syphilis** to be a "typical Jewish attribute," and in this way made the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) a liability of Jewry in general. Furthermore, populist Nazi publications pointed to Jews and Marxists as the main beneficiaries of prostitution, who supposedly controlled the "white slave trade" in Christian women, and eventually to Social Democracy and the Weimar state as accomplices in these so-called Jewish sex crimes. As part of an effort to mobilize citizens against Weimar reforms and to strengthen support for National Socialism among religious conservatives, Weimar prostitution policies were pictured as attempting to strip prostitution of its dishonorable character, thus undermining the moral and racial foundations of the family and jeopardizing the health of the German people.

As a result, penal regulations for prostitution were tightened under National Socialism. In May 1933, the revision of the 1927 anti-VD law criminalized all public behavior "that violates morals and decency or harasses others," in effect outlawing any form of street solicitation. The adjustment led to numerous raids followed by mass arrests of streetwalkers throughout Germany, which were legally based on the Emergency Decree for the Protection of People and State of February 28, 1933—legislation often used by the police to justify serious violations of civil liberties in subsequent years. In addition, the revision of the anti-VD law included tightened punishments for all breaches: prostitutes found guilty of street soliciting or having contracted **sexually transmitted infections** faced severe penalties such as extended prison and workhouse sentences where hard labor and rigid control were theorized to promote a licit lifestyle.

As its major goal, the revised anti-VD law intended to ensure an image of public space "tolerable from the standpoint of general morality," that is, the ban of any apparently indecent behavior such as street soliciting from public areas. The implementation and enforcement of the revised legislation did not only affect streetwalkers; under the new law, any unaccompanied woman who acted in an ostensibly flamboyant way could be arrested and forced to be tested for STIs. Nazi efforts to clean public streets from "vice" were welcomed and politically supported by religious conservatives as a means to save Germany from moral decay and also by the police as a means to better control prostitution and related "vice trades." The demise of an independent women's movement and the suppression of Nazi women fighting for equal rights for Aryan women were other preconditions for a resurgence in police-controlled prostitution after 1933.

Following the revision in 1933, conservatives increased their efforts to revive "regulationism" in direct opposition to paragraph 17 of the anti-VD law, which prohibited the confinement of prostitutes to special streets or blocks. Yet, an official memorandum in fall 1933 proposing the legalization of regulated brothels was met with protests from different parties. Petitions by religious welfare organizations reasoned that only complete criminalization could provide the desired

protection of public morality; mere confinement would damage the reputation of the state since it would continue to signify a state sanctioning of extramarital sex. The German Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (*Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*), on the other hand, attacked proregulationist efforts by publicly doubting the effectiveness of confinement in achieving its professed aims, that is, the protection of public health from STIs, because in reality, only a small minority of prostitutes were subjected to regular controls.

Nevertheless, the numbers of state-regulated brothels grew significantly throughout the 1930s as a result of declining power of churches and concurrent rise of Heinrich Himmler as chief of police and the SS. Himmler was one of the main proponents of regulated prostitution. With the growing autonomy of the police in Germany, the freedom and civil liberties of prostitutes became ever more restricted. Gradually, former interest in eradicating vice was superseded by concerns about the necessity to provide “safe” sexual opportunities for (male) extramarital sex, which was also believed to help fight the “spread” of male homosexuality. The military used similar arguments: the Wehrmacht insisted on regulated prostitution to reinforce military morale and to control the spread of STIs among its men.

Immediately after the beginning of World War II, the government issued several decrees that heralded the radicalization of Nazi prostitution policies. In September 1939, licensed brothels were reestablished as the only legitimate form of prostitution, facilitating the strict supervision of prostitutes through the police. Authorities could impose curfews and other restrictions on streetwalkers; violations led to punishments from “preventive detention” (*Vorbeugehaft*) to internment in concentration camps. Women engaged in “frequent promiscuity” (*häufig wechselnder Geschlechtsverkehr*—hwG—a term that referred primarily to prostitutes) were subject to regular inspections by special “social welfare patrols” (*Fürsorgestreifen*), and all hwG persons infected with STIs were forced to have medical treatment and hospitalization.

Despite the revisions in the 1930s and 1940s, the general **decriminalization** of prostitution provided for under Weimar laws was never completely abolished by the Nazi state. Instead, the regime had great interest in the continued legal existence of the institution of prostitution, last but not least for military reasons. Thus, the aims of VD control of the 1927 law shifted from education and treatment to control, and, if required, elimination of the “sources of infection,” that is, to surveillance and punishment of prostitutes. The apparent antagonism between continued decriminalization and tightened regulation, control, and moral condemnation of prostitution can be traced back to the notorious discrepancy between the content of criminal law and the actual exertion of penal power by the police, a symptom of the increasing power and autonomy of executive authorities in Nazi Germany.

Regulated prostitution also played a vital role in maintaining racist hierarchies in Nazi Germany. The massive deployment of forced foreign workers and prisoners of war to help Germany’s labor shortage involved increasing concerns about miscegenation (crimes of intercourse, *Geschlechtsverkehr-Verbrechen*). In compliance with Nazi racial politics, Jewish prostitutes were entirely banned, and, after a special order by Himmler in 1940, brothels employing non-German prostitutes for foreign laborers were established throughout Germany to protect “racial purity.”

Brothels in concentration camps, for either the SS or male prisoners, constituted another component of Nazi state-controlled prostitution. After his visit to the Mauthausen camp, Himmler issued instructions in 1942 to have brothel visits be part of the special bonus system for industrious prisoners. By the summer of 1944, brothels had been set up in eight major concentration camps (including Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau),

where sex was used as a key incentive to stimulate productivity among male laborers. Selected female prisoners were either forced to work in these brothels or convinced to volunteer by false promises of early release. Most of these women, if they had not contracted STIs before, after a few months were replaced by other prisoners and sent back to the camps or to die in the gas chambers.

See also Eugenics; Forced Prostitution.

Further Reading: Bleuel, Hans Peter. *Sex and Society in Nazi Germany*. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1973; Bock, Gisela. "Keine Arbeitskräfte in diesem Sinne: Prostituierte im Nazi-Staat." In *Wir sind Frauen wie andere auch!?: Prostituierte und ihre Kämpfe*, ed. Pieke Biermann. Hamburg: Reinbek, 1980, pp. 70–106; Gleß, Sabine. *Die Reglementierung von Prostitution in Deutschland*. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1999; Grossmann, Atina. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Herzog, Dagmar. "Hubris and Hypocrisy, Incitement and Disavowal: Sexuality and German Fascism." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1/2 (January/April 2002): 3–21; Paul, Christa. *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich errichtete Bordelle im Nationalsozialismus*. Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994; Roos, Julia. "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1/2 (January/April 2002): 67–94; Schikorra, Christa. "Prostitution weiblicher KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeit." *Dachauer Hefte*, no. 16 (November 2000): 112–24; Zürn, Gaby. "Von der Herbertstraße nach Auschwitz." In *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus. Nördlingen: Greno-Verlag, 1987, pp. 91–101.

Antonia Levy

NEW ORLEANS. In 1721 the French government, because of its concern about the growing number of colonists entering into concubinage relationships with Native American women, sent a ship whose cargo included an estimated 80 women. The intent was for these women to become **marriage** partners for the settlers, who numbered less than 700, not counting slaves. These women were transported from prison in France where many had been jailed for prostitution. Jean Baptiste le Moune, Sieur de Bienville, the governor of Louisiana at that time, stated that they had not been "well selected." These women proved difficult to control and soon realized that by turning to prostitution they could provide both an income and a level of independence unobtainable in marriage to colonists they did not know. Having realized that this attempt at providing wives for men was a failure, a second attempt to introduce women was made in 1727 when women of "good character" were brought to Louisiana. These women were the so-called **casket girls**, named after the boxes ("cassettes") in which they brought their belongings. These women were accompanied by Ursuline nuns and lived in their convent until such time as they were married to an eligible male. Although this second effort may have more closely achieved the goal, prostitution had been introduced into Louisiana.

As Louisiana, especially the city of New Orleans, grew in population, so did the sex trade. Initially, settling into an area of saloons and cheap rooming houses called "the Swamp," prostitution flourished as New Orleans became a major port. Businesses catering to sailors and travelers included **brothels**. This trade, although illegal, was tolerated by the authorities who realized the government itself could profit from prostitution. In 1857, the city of New Orleans attempted to regulate prostitution by requiring license fees to be paid by prostitutes to the city. Although the courts overturned this, the concept of regulation remained.

New Orleans was home to a system (later named “*placage*”) in which a white male of financial means would enter into an agreement with a free woman of color who would essentially become his mistress. Traditionally, these relationships began at the famous Quadroon Balls attended by white males who paid an admission fee and women of color who, according to many travel writers of the time, possessed unique beauty. This relationship often involved the purchase of a home for the female and regular payments for living expenses. This was a somewhat formalized relationship in which the female was expected to remain monogamous. If the man died, according to the laws of Louisiana, the woman was entitled to 10 percent of the value of his estate if she could obtain legal recognition as his concubine. With the liberal social attitudes in New Orleans, these relationships were often publicly acknowledged, as were children born from these unions.

By the late 19th century, the problem of prostitution had become a significant and growing issue facing the City Council. The government understood that attempts to obliterate prostitution would be unsuccessful, but concerns of public health and property values led to a public clamor to address the problem, forcing the government to deal with the widespread nature of prostitution. At this time, brothels were located throughout the city, many in residential districts. Under the leadership of Alderman Sidney Story, the council passed an ordinance limiting prostitution to a defined geographic area. When this ordinance took effect in 1897, the defined district became dubbed by the press as “**Storyville**,” apparently much to the disgust of Alderman Story. Generally, the area was known by the public as “the District.”

This section was adjacent to the Vieux Carre, or French Quarter. Prostitutes were allowed to ply their trade within this area with no interference from the police. Women were required to obtain a license. The intention was that the women would be required to receive regular health checkups to ensure they did not spread sexually transmitted diseases. Their male customers, however, were not required to be examined, which limited any public health benefits of regulation. However, because prostitution was limited to this approximate 24-square-block area, citizens outside that area no longer worried about their property values and impact on their families and neighborhoods.

As had been the case in 1857 when the city government attempted to regulate prostitution, there was a legal challenge. However, this time the courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, upheld the constitutionality of the ordinance. The ordinance did not technically legalize prostitution, but by licensing prostitution within a specified zone, it had that effect. At the beginning of this era, there were about 2,200 registered prostitutes of both races. Brothels were strictly regulated according to race. Women of color and white women could not live or work in the same house. Only white male customers were allowed in the initially defined Storyville district. Later, a second, smaller district nearby was created for black male customers.

Printed **directories**, collectively called **Bluebooks**, were made available to visitors, often being handed out to men arriving at the train depot. This provided listings of prostitutes and brothels in Storyville, as well as descriptions of what services were offered. Some of these women worked in luxurious facilities, such as Mahogany Hall with 15 bedrooms, and the Arlington, with at least 16, catering to an exclusive clientele. Others worked from cheap single rooms, known as “cribs,” located in streetfront buildings. Additionally, Storyville housed numerous saloons and music clubs.

Over time the number of prostitutes dramatically declined. By 1915, there were only about 700 registered prostitutes. In 1917, Storyville was closed by the order of the federal government. During **World War I**, the Secretaries of the Army and Navy ordered that all

forms of prostitution within five miles of a military base be banned. The City Council of New Orleans appealed for an exemption to this federal order, but to no avail. The council passed an ordinance that effectively rescinded the original ordinance establishing Storyville. Although it passed the ordinance, the council stated its objection to doing so.

As a major tourist and convention center, until Hurricane Katrina struck in 2005, New Orleans drew millions of visitors each year. Like other metropolitan centers, prostitution has continued to exist, in spite of attempts by groups opposing it for moral, gender, or religious reasons, to serve those in search of sexual experiences. With its reputation for licentiousness, the “Big Easy” has continued to draw those seeking sex.

See also Ports.

Further Reading: Long, Alecia P. *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004; Rose, Al. *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red Light District*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1974.

T. J. Vaughan

NEW YORK CITY. In 1667, the Dutch settlement of Nieuw Amsterdam was ceded to the British under the Treaty of Breda and subsequently renamed New York. For the first few decades of its existence, New York remained relatively small, with a population still numbering fewer than 20,000 in the 1760s. Prostitution in the first part of the 18th century was mostly limited to areas adjoining the docks at the southern tip of Manhattan. Prostitutes do not seem to have been much more numerous than in any other seaport of comparable size.

In the 1770s, the growth of the city led to the development of specific areas associated with prostitution. The most important of these was the “Holy Ground,” where expensive **brothels** flourished on land owned by the Episcopal Church. By the early 19th century, a number of additional locations had begun to be associated with the sex trade. These included **Five Points**, notorious for poverty and crime, Corlears Hook, and Water and Cherry Streets. On the West Side, brothels sprang up alongside the elegant homes of the city’s wealthy elite.

The association between wealthy New Yorkers and brothels was not merely geographical. In New York’s emerging real-estate market, landlords could maximize their profits by renting to prostitutes, and many New York brothels were located in houses rented from some of New York’s leading citizens. One of the best known was John R. Livingston, whose properties at one point included more than 30 brothels, among them the Thomas Street brothel, in which prostitute **Helen Jewett** was murdered in 1836.

The Jewett **murder** attracted considerable attention at a time when homicides were relatively rare. **Violence** against prostitutes, however, was not. Brothel riots, in which bands of men destroyed property and abused women, were a fairly regular occurrence. Those involved were not always simple thugs; some were men of standing in the community, and the riots may have been a form of vigilantism aimed at closing brothels.

At the time, no statute law in New York prohibited prostitution specifically. A law against keeping a “house of ill fame” was seldom applied, so prostitutes and brothel keepers who fell afoul of the law were most likely to be charged with “disorderly conduct,” or, in the case of prostitutes, “vagrancy.” The former charge required a sworn complaint from a neighbor, while the latter could be made simply at the discretion of a police or watch officer. Prostitution per se was

not illegal, as demonstrated by the number of prostitutes who were not afraid to bring their own actions in the law courts against their assailants.

Legal proceedings were not, however, an option that was open to most New York prostitutes of the period. High-class prostitutes such as Helen Jewett or Julia Brown, who worked in “private houses” and could afford the luxury of a lawsuit, were a minority. Many prostitutes were driven to the trade by poverty. The low wages paid to women and the seasonal nature of traditionally female occupations such as sewing created a large pool of women who might be forced to support themselves or to supplement their earnings through prostitution. Estimates of the number of New York women who worked as prostitutes vary, but it seems likely that between 5 and 10 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 30 had worked as prostitutes at some point in their lives. Many of these may have been occasional rather than full-time prostitutes.

Prostitutes at the time were typically young. Available figures suggest that most were under 23 years of age and many were in their teens. By the 1830s, there were reports of large numbers of child prostitutes—the age of consent was 10 years—and prostitutes in their early teens or even younger seem to have been quite common. Some catered to adult clients, others to clients of their own age. Some young prostitutes worked in brothels alongside older women, while others carried on a trade such as selling matches or hot corn that provided opportunities for prostitution.

A number of venues existed for prostitution in 19th-century New York. Streetwalkers might work out of a tenement apartment or take clients to a nearby hotel, the backroom of a saloon, or a brothel. The cheapest brothels, known as “public” or “bawdy” houses, were open to anyone with the money to pay. The “private” or “parlor” houses were more discriminating and more discrete, attracting a wealthier clientele and charging much higher prices. Parlor houses were often lavishly furnished, and the prostitutes who worked there would typically cultivate a small number of regular clients.

Another important location for prostitution was the theater. Most New York theaters served as a meeting place for prostitutes and their clients. The more elegant theaters might be frequented chiefly by workers from “parlor houses,” while prostitutes lower on the social scale could be found in saloons and subtheaters—small establishments that made no pretence of respectability, and where solicitation was not confined to the “third tier.” Both kinds of theater were often in close proximity to brothels.

The theater district continued to be an important center for prostitution in the second half of the 19th century. The years following the Civil War saw the growth of the Tenderloin as one of the city’s most important sex areas. Starting north of 23rd Street and centered on Sixth Avenue, the area was synonymous with all forms of nighttime entertainment, and the lavish new theaters and music halls nestled side by side with expensive brothels.

At the same time, however, the theaters were losing ground to new types of establishments. The concert hall or concert saloon offered food and drink as well as entertainment, and prostitution flourished openly. Waitresses and performers often doubled as prostitutes, and private upstairs rooms were available on site. Among the best known were halls such as Harry Hill’s and American Mabile, while the attractions of McGlory’s Armory Hall included male as well as female prostitutes.

The increasing brazenness of the New York sex trade coincided with renewed attempts on the part of abolitionists to stamp it out. Reform groups with varying agendas had long been a feature of New York life. The latter part of the 19th century saw some of these groups organized into

preventive societies, granted official authority to enforce laws that the mayor and the police were often too indifferent or too corrupt to apply. Among the most famous were Anthony Comstock's Society for the Suppression of Vice and the Society for the Prevention of Crime, headed by the Reverend Charles Parkhurst. The SPC targeted brothels, gambling dens, and other establishments, using tactics that ranged from simple undercover police work to **entrapment** and even armed raids. A successor to the SPC, the Committee of Fourteen, was funded by wealthy New Yorkers who included Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The abolitionists were probably correct in believing that the authorities were unlikely to take action against prostitution. The police were less interested in enforcing the law than in using it as a tool for shaking down prostitutes and **madams**. Corruption was routine, and most brothels paid protection fees to the police. Antiprostitution campaigns by civil authorities merely raised the amount that brothel owners were expected to pay. Madams also paid bribes to local politicians, including members of Tammany Hall, the Democratic Party political machine that dominated New York politics through much of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th.

Under pressure from reformers and preventive societies, legislators began to introduce laws aimed at curbing vice. The Raines Law (1896), introduced by State Senator John Raines, restricted the sale of alcohol to hotels with 10 or more beds. The intention was to eliminate a key milieu for prostitution by dismantling the saloon trade. Perhaps predictably, the effect was the opposite of what was intended. Any separation that had previously existed between the hotel trade and the sex trade practically disappeared as saloons converted to hotels en masse, while larger hotels increasingly sponsored or tolerated prostitution as a way of increasing revenue. Raines Law hotels quickly became one of the primary locations for commercial sex in New York.

Other legislative efforts proved more successful. Although Senator Clarence Lexow's investigation of political and police corruption in 1894 did little to immediately reduce ties between politicians, policemen, and prostitutes, it did set the pattern for a series of similar investigations that followed at approximately 20-year intervals and may have helped to gradually eliminate the worst corruption in the police and the party machines. The Prentice Law (1906) reduced the number of Raines Law hotels, and abolitionist organizations such as the Committee of Fourteen presided over the reorganization of courts and the passage of additional laws targeting prostitution and the sale of **alcohol**. In 1915, the New York state legislature passed laws rendering all forms of prostitution illegal.

By the early years of the 20th century, the situation had changed very significantly. With U.S. involvement in **World War I**, aggressive government campaigns targeted prostitution as part of measures aimed at reducing the incidence of venereal disease among troops. In 1919, the Volstead Act banned the sale of alcohol nationwide and closed many of the traditional venues where prostitutes had practiced their trade. At the same time, other changes in society also affected commercial sex. Better wages and working conditions for women reduced the supply of prostitutes. Changing attitudes to sex and increased availability of contraceptives affected patterns of sexual behavior both inside and outside marriage, reducing the demand for commercial sex. The conditions that had created such an extensive and pervasive sex industry in 19th-century New York no longer existed.

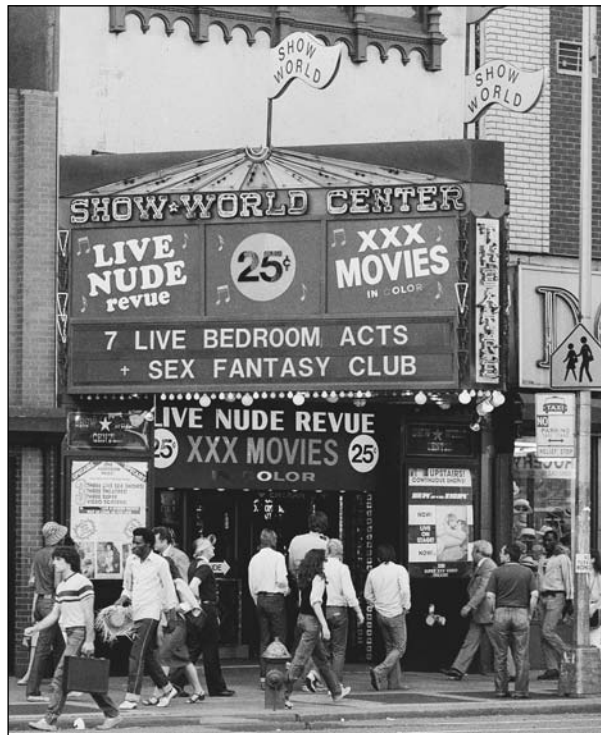
Nevertheless, commercial sex and its **venues** in New York have not disappeared. New York in the late 20th century and early 21st century has been home to commercial sex in many forms, advertised on the **Internet**, in print, and by word of mouth, provided by women, transgenders,

and men. Sadomasochism, gentlemen's clubs, and stripping have become overt rather than covert pursuits, while prostitution itself remains criminalized, and, with the exception of street prostitution, hidden. The clandestine nature of prostitution makes sex workers subject to abuses: sex workers in two surveys (Thukral and Ditmore 2003; Thukral, Ditmore, and Murphy, 2005) reported experiencing levels of violence and police harassment that would be unacceptable for almost any other population, with **transgender sex workers** and street-based prostitutes faring worst. As in the past, economic motivations are the most frequent reason for people to work in the sex industry, whether to supplement income from a more mainstream occupation or as a sole source of support.

See also Abolitionism; Child Prostitution; Paresis Hall; Street-Based Prostitution; Tenderloin Districts.

Further Reading: Asbury, Herbert. *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2001; Cohen, Patricia Cline. *The Murder of Helen Jewett*. New York: Random House, 1998; Gilfoyle, Timothy. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Quan, Tracy. *Diary of a Manhattan Call Girl*. New York: Crown, 2001; Sante, Luc. *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York*. New York: Vintage, 1992; Thukral, Juhu, and Melissa Ditmore. *Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-Based Prostitution in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html> .

Angus McIntyre



People walk past Show World Center on 42nd Street in New York, 1979. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

NONOXYNOL-9. Nonoxynol-9, also called n-9, is an industrial detergent that was unsuccessfully tested on sex workers for use as a preventative for HIV. The history of n-9 trials began with a study in Nairobi, Kenya, which reported in 1989 that women who used n-9 were significantly more likely to become infected with HIV than women who used an inert lubricant. However, researchers affiliated with GPA/UNAIDS believed it was legitimate to conduct additional trials, despite clear evidence from studies of the toxicity of n-9 conducted by Family Health International, which reported that there was a dose-related incidence of abrasions on the mucosal lining of the vagina. Despite this evidence, and pressure from sex

workers' rights activists around the world not to engage in trials of n-9, UNAIDS proceeded to underwrite several studies, which reported at the International Conference on AIDS, in Durban, South Africa, in 2000, that women using n-9 were 50 percent more likely to become infected with HIV than were women using a lubricant that was identical to the n-9 product except for the n-9. This study violated the principle that the people most affected by the epidemic should have a strong say in the campaign against it.

See also Microbicides; Research Ethics.

Further Reading: Nzioka, Charles. "AIDS Policies in Kenya: A Critical Perspective on Prevention." In *AIDS: Foundations for the Future*, ed. Peter Aggleton, Peter Davies, and Graham Hart. London: Taylor and Francis, 1994, pp. 168–70.

Priscilla Alexander



OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH. Occupational safety and health refers to the standards that ensure that the well-being and safety of all workers are protected within the work environment. Many countries have occupational safety and health policies in place for those individuals who perform legal work; very few apply those standards to people who are involved in the sex industry. Two of the exceptions are **Australia and New Zealand**, which have created occupational safety and health guidelines for sex workers.

When applied to individuals involved in the sex industry, the existence of occupational safety and health standards recognizes the claim made by the sex workers' rights movement that all forms of sex work are legitimate occupations and should be viewed and treated as such. To view all sex work as an occupation draws attention to the need for the same standards of safety that are granted to workers in other industries. Policies for occupational safety and health are applicable to those who are doing legal or illegal work, as well as those who are employed by a business or who are self-employed. Also included in these policies are the managers, employers, and clients of sex workers, as well as individuals who own the businesses where sex work occurs. It is the responsibility of all who are involved in the sex industry to ensure that the work takes place in an environment where safety is guaranteed. The existence of occupational safety and health standards for sex workers recognizes the need to grant all individuals the basic **human right** of being safe and well while working (See Article 23 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

Occupational safety and health standards can be applied to sex work in a variety of areas, such as health, the physical workplace environment, psychosocial factors, job performance in other venues (for example, those people who work independently), and employment rights. To address these aspects of the job, training would be developed, outreach would take place, partnerships would be established, and a commitment would be made to continually improve the levels of safety and the health of those in the sex industry. All of this would involve the participation of the sex workers because sex workers are the best sources to include when attempting to determine ways to improve their working experiences and environments.

To address sex worker health in an occupational safety and health framework, it is seen that information must be shared with all people involved. Therefore, information about safer sex would be given not only to the sex worker, but also to the client. Operational policies need to be in place for pregnant women so that the issue of reproductive health is acknowledged. Comprehensive training would be provided on the ways to safely use all equipment used during sex work (this includes items used for professional consensual sadomasochism) and advice about how to avoid repetitive strain injury. The beds provided in any facility must be in good repair and provide the proper support; massage oils and lubrication used should be nonallergenic; and the outfits worn by the workers are to be appropriate and conducive to good posture.

The workplace is also a focus of the occupational safety and health standard. The workplace facility must be clean. Included in this model of cleanliness is the provision of clean linens, sanitary facilities, and pools and spas that are routinely disinfected. At least one first aid kit must be readily available, fire safety regulations must be in place, external and internal areas must be adequately lit, and the temperature must be maintained at a comfortable level for the workers.

Among the psychosocial aspects factoring in occupational safety and health standards, **violence** is first and foremost. It must be a standard in all working situations that violence is neither accepted nor tolerated. Communication skills training would be provided, and employees, managers, and owners need to work together on developing documents and procedures to follow during potentially dangerous situations. All places are to have a strict policy that demands removing and not readmitting those people who violate the safety regulations. Furthermore, sex workers must have the ability to refuse service to anyone at any point in the transaction. If violent incidents do occur, the workers are to be supported and encouraged to do what they think best (this can include reporting the incident to the police and to fellow workers), and the management and owners need to ensure that employees receive the medical, legal, and counseling services that may be needed.

Many individuals in the sex industry work out of more than one location. For example, there are those who do outcall work. For outcall workers, specific things can be done to guarantee them safe and healthy working situations. When **clients** are booked, the name, address, and phone number of the client are to be recorded. Whoever is taking the call should then verify that the information given is correct and check the information against a “bad clients” list. When approaching the place where the transaction is to take place, the sex worker is to assess whether it is adequately lit and if the client is alone. It is in the best interest of sex workers to telephone someone to let that person know where they are. Upon meeting the client, the sex worker needs to evaluate the client for any potential dangers, such as intoxication. If everything is determined to be safe, the sex worker is to receive the money before any services are delivered, and then check the client for any visible signs of a **sexually transmitted infection**. The sex worker is to bring a kit that contains **condoms**, lubricant, dental dams, gloves, and any other tools of the trade. Additionally, a sex worker is to have in place a policy that addresses what is to be done in case of a condom slip or break.

As with other types of employment, occupational safety and health standards require the minimum level of employee rights. These rights include annual and public holidays, sick leave, bereavement leave, parental leave, minimum wage, and union membership rights. All workers are to be properly trained and supervised and granted adequate breaks between clients and shifts. In cases of employment disputes, workers are to have access to resolution processes.

Further Reading: “A Guide to Best Practice: Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry. 2000.” Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations Web site http://www.afao.org.au/view_articles.asp?pxa = ve&pxs = 100&pxsc = &pxsgc = &id = 204; “A Guide to Occupational Health and Safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry. 2004.” Department of Occupational Safety and Health of New Zealand Web site <http://www.osh.dol.govt.nz/order/catalogue/235.shtml>; “United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” United Nations Web site <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.

Alexandra Lutnick

Opera

“If Berg had wanted Lulu to go down on Dr. Schön at the close of Act One, he would have said so, and written specific music for it—not left it to Thomas Adès, in *Powder Her Face*, to compose the music of opera’s first fellation.”

From Andrew Porter, “Lulu’s Back in Town,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 May 2002, p. 24.

OPERA. Opera has been the perfect medium for telling sentimental stories about prostitutes. Giuseppe Verdi’s *La Traviata*, the best-known opera based on a prostitute’s life, has become a classic, but its first performance in 1853 provoked outrage and controversy. *La Traviata* was to religious authorities in many cities what the film *Pretty Woman* was to secular American feminists in the 1990s. The opera was condemned because a prostitute, Violetta Valery, was sympathetically portrayed and central to the story—and audiences liked her.

Violetta has become the iconic prostitute in opera. Her character is an Italian adaptation/version of another fictional **courtesan** with a “heart of gold”: Marguerite Gautier, heroine of the Alexandre Dumas novel (and popular play) *La Dame aux Camélias*. Marguerite, in turn, was based on the well-known Paris courtesan, **Marie Duplessis**, who began working as a prostitute at the age of 12. Born in 1824, Duplessis left Normandy for Paris at 15 and died in 1847, at 23, after contracting tuberculosis. A few years before her death, she had a short love affair with Dumas.

Attacks on *La Traviata* were partly inspired by Violetta’s perceived origins—her connection to a woman who had worked her way up from registered prostitute to celebrated courtesan. During negotiations with the Venetian censor, the central character’s name was changed from Marguerita to Violetta. Verdi, who admired the Dumas play, reluctantly accepted the displacement of the action from current times to 1700 but complained bitterly about the further alterations imposed on later productions of the opera, which obfuscated the remaining links to Dumas’s characters.

In 1937, when Alban Berg’s opera **Lulu** debuted in Zurich, the opera world had grown accustomed to prostitutes as central characters, and Berg’s music was more controversial than Lulu herself. A charismatic modern prostitute who marries three men in the first two acts and assumes multiple names, Lulu is the anti-Violetta. She is tried for the **murder** of her second husband but escapes imprisonment with the help of a lesbian companion, Countess Geschwitz.

Based on two plays by Frank Wedekind (*Earth Spirit* and *Pandora’s Box*), the opera was incomplete when Berg died in 1935. The third act—in which Lulu becomes a streetwalker so as to elude a blackmailing sex trafficker—existed only in draft form and was suppressed by Berg’s widow until 1976, when a complete version was performed at the Paris Opera.

In this thoroughly modern finale, Lulu does not die of romantic grief or consumption, and it would be unthinkable that a victim of societal hypocrisy could be saved by romantic happiness. Desperate and disoriented, Lulu picks up a **serial killer, Jack the Ripper**. Lulu, fatally wounded, expires, on a dramatic offstage scream of “No!”

Manon Lescaut, Abbé Prévost’s celebrated novel (published in France in 1733) has inspired three significant operas. The beautiful, confused central character is a prostitute who tempts a besotted priest away from his vows. In 1856, Daniel Auber’s opera was coy about Manon’s sexual identity. Verdi’s *La Traviata* was not yet established or influential. Post-*Traviata* versions of *Manon Lescaut* were more frank. In Jules Massenet’s *Manon* (1884) and in Giacomo Puccini’s *Manon Lescaut* (1893), the leading lady is imprisoned, then deported with a group of defiant prostitutes to New France (French colonial territory in the New World), where she dies of exposure in the arms of her devoted but hapless lover. Puccini, in a scene much admired for its daring realism, actually shows the embarkment of the deportees on stage.

In Jacques Offenbach’s *The Tales of Hoffman* (1881), Giulietta, the courtesan, is not central but she is a memorable archetype: a temptress who ruins her customers by extracting an unbearable (and surreal) price. In exchange for intimacy, a man pays with his reflection (or his shadow). Hoffman, the central figure, kills a rival customer in a duel and loses his reflection, hoping to spend a night with Giulietta. Giulietta, who absconds with Hoffman’s reflection, is both trickster and pawn. Enslaved by a diabolical procurer (Dapertutto), she is (like the other female characters in this opera) a victim of somebody else’s game. She is, however, the most culpable and active of these female victims, perhaps because she is the only prostitute.

In *Peter Grimes* (1945), Benjamin Britten’s first critically successful opera, two prostitutes are known as “the nieces” of Auntie, an innkeeper and madam. When the prostitute-nieces sing about the challenges of the male-female relationship, they are neither tragic nor surreal; they are joined by Auntie and a local schoolmistress. Peter Grimes himself is the tragic figure while the prostitutes, in this opera, are normal, upstanding (if saucy) citizens of the community who provide a sense of place.

La Rondine (1917) was Puccini’s modern response to *La Traviata*. Magda, like Violetta, falls in love and is willing to give up her courtesan’s life for romantic happiness. However, she follows a more practical path than her predecessor. When faced with social and financial difficulties, Magda renounces her only true love and returns to more profitable relationships. Violetta’s 19th-century death scene is replaced with Magda’s early 20th-century regret. Although this opera has been criticized for being merely sad (rather than tragic), a realistic approach to romantic loss and prostitution can also be seen as its strength. As attitudes toward prostitution continue to evolve, *La Rondine* seems more relevant and clear-eyed than *La Traviata*, yet prettier and more accessible than *Lulu*.

See also French Literature; Peking Opera.

Further Reading: Blier, Steven. “Portraits de Manon.” *Opera News* 65, no. 9 (March 2001): 14; John, Nicholas, ed. *Violetta and Her Sisters: Female Responses to the “Lady of the Camellias.”* New York: Faber and Faber, 1994; Perle, George. *The Operas of Alban Berg, Volume II: Lulu.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985; Phillips-Matz, Mary Jane. *Verdi: A Biography.* London: Oxford University Press, 1993, 1996; Porter, Andrew. “Lulu’s Back in Town.” *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 May 2002, p. 24; Prévost, Abbé. *Manon Lescaut.* Translated with introduction and notes by Angela Scholar. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

ORGANIZED CRIME. Organized crime owes much of its success and endurance to its co-optation of **brothel** prostitution in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Along with gambling, boxing, and bootlegging, prostitution served as one of the mainstay vice industries, and thus sources of revenue, for organized crime in the United States. In the 19th century, brothel prostitution was widespread throughout the United States, in both major cities and on the frontier. Brothels at this time were largely owned and operated by women and were one of the few means by which women could attain wealth independently of men. In the latter half of the 19th century, control began to shift away from female brothel owners to male vice entrepreneurs, particularly ones who had strong connections to law enforcement, politicians, and other vice industries (such as gambling, rum-running, and narcotics).

There were several causes for this shift: the intensification of the Abolitionist movement and the emergence of **purity movements** such as the Women's Christian Temperance Movement and the American Purity Alliance in the major cities; a new wave of migration to the American frontier, one that also included wives and "respectable" women who were coming to create "civilization" in the now permanently settled mining towns; the invention of the telephone, and thus "call girls," which allowed prostitutes to establish an independent clientele; the passage of the **Mann Act** in 1910, which significantly increased the penalties for transporting women across state lines for sexual purposes and led to heavier police surveillance; and, in the post-Civil War South, the rise of Jim Crow segregation laws that required strict enforcement of racial segregation.

The destabilization of women-owned and -operated brothels translated into greater numbers of women working on the streets, out of private apartments, or in businesses owned by men. Whereas before men had largely been involved in prostitution only as clients, they were now in a position to profit from it. Neighborhood gangs with preestablished protection rackets easily extended their operations to "protect" (i.e., extort from) neighborhood prostitutes. Owners of saloons, theaters, and flophouses also quickly caught on to the economic potential of organized prostitution. As a result, prostitution became increasingly embedded in a larger, underground economy. This underground economy mirrored legitimate business in many ways in that it too was run by elites and was subject to mergers and acquisitions, hostile takeovers, and ambitious expansionism, albeit with considerably more **violence** involved. When **alcohol** was prohibited with the passage of the 18th Amendment in 1917, an all-out war emerged for control of bootlegging. Prostitution by that point was already deeply implicated and inextricably linked to this new underground industry.

La Cosa Nostra and the Syndicate are the earliest instances of truly "organized" organized crime and what is now often referred to as "the Mafia." These criminal organizations became significant players in gambling, prostitution, protection rackets, and other vice industries in the 1910s and early 1920s as a result of economic prosperity and the libertine "flapper" culture associated with it, a shift in the demographic make-up of immigrants, and ultimately the imposition of Prohibition in 1917. After a number of bloody turf wars and some strategic assassinations, Charles "Lucky" Luciano consolidated his power as the leader of the Syndicate in **New York City**. Johnnie Torrio, originally from Brooklyn, moved to **Chicago** and occupied an equivalent position there around the same time. Bootleggers from New York, Chicago, Detroit, Ohio, and elsewhere formed nationwide networks that carved up territories and parceled out industries so that everyone had his own particular piece of the pie. Control of prostitution became a central business venture in the underworld, as it was profitable and came to support the Syndicate's expansion into the heroin trade.

Luciano was the driving force behind the Mafia's widespread involvement with both prostitution and heroin. This decision was determined more by financial considerations than anything else. The predominance of the Mafia over its ethnic and regional rivals was attributable to its success in its bootlegging and bookmaking operations. With the end of Prohibition, Luciano looked to these new rackets to maintain the superiority of the Italian Mafia. Heroin and prostitution complemented one another. Luciano forced many small-time **pimps** out of business by actively introducing heroin to his prostitution labor force; heroin kept them quiescent and compliant, with a habit to support and only one way of doing so. By 1935, Luciano and his associates controlled 200 New York City brothels with 1,200 prostitutes, bringing in an estimated \$10 million per year.

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, along with the feminist movement, helped to change societal gender and sex norms. As a result, prostitution became less profitable for organized crime, at least within the U.S. domestic context. It was in the 1970s that organized crime began to redirect its operations toward the manufacture and distribution of pornography and away from prostitution. The adult film industry was dominated by organized crime until well into the 1980s, when videotape began to replace film as the primary medium.

In the 21st century, organized crime in the United States is still heavily involved in prostitution. Prostitution, pornography, sex **tourism**, and **trafficking** (whether voluntary or involuntary) remain important business activities for organized crime groups around the world, notably in Russia and other former Soviet countries, China, and many **Southeast Asian** countries.

See also Abolitionism; Appendix D, document 16; Crime.

Further Reading: Denisova, Tatyana A. "Trafficking in Women and Children for Purposes of Sexual Exploitation: The Criminological Aspect." *Trends in Organized Crime* 6 (2001): 30–36; Feder, Sid. *The Luciano Story*. New York: D. McKay, 1954; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Hill, Marilyn Wood. *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Hobson, Barbara Meil. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. New York: Basic Books, 1987; Reppetto, Thomas A. *American Mafia: A History of Its Rise to Power*. New York: Henry Holt, 2004; Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982; Schloenhardt, Andreas. "Organized Crime and the Business of Migrant Trafficking." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 32, no. 3 (1999): 203–33.

Alexandra Gerber

P

PALERMO PROTOCOL. *See United Nations Trafficking Protocol.*

PALLAKE. The ancient Greek term “*pallake*” (or “*pallakis*”) refers to a concubine. Such a woman was not necessarily a prostitute, that is, a woman who offered sex for pay. A prostitute, however, whether *betaera* or *porne*, could become a concubine. The determining factor appears to have been the expected permanence and exclusivity of the relationship. The *pallake* resided within the household, although only in the absence of a wife; her ongoing presence in a man’s house distinguished her from other types of prostitutes. It could be argued that the *pallake* was not in fact a prostitute, but a common-law wife without citizen status, as she was typically of servile or foreign origins. Indeed, Plutarch referred to Aspasia, the mistress of Pericles, as a *pallake* and not a *betaera*, probably for just this reason. Most concubines mentioned in Classical Greek literature are represented as the captives of war: they accompanied the Persian Army on its expedition into Greece and, after its defeat, were divided among the Greek soldiers. Not only were concubines typically of foreign birth, but the practice of concubinage in the mind of the Greeks conjured up the exotic and polygamous practices of foreigners. For example, all of the concubines mentioned by Xenophon were in the possession of foreign kings and leaders. Such women, however, could be Greek, as a passage from Herodotus shows, in which the concubine of a Persian man supplicates a Spartan king:

Save me, your suppliant, O King of Sparta, from captive slavery!.... By birth I am Coan, the daughter of Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian captured me, taking me by force!

Although concubinage had foreign associations for the Greeks, its incorporation into the social fabric of Classical Athens is well attested in oratory. Such women could be slave or free, foreign or Attic. According to one oration, the law against adultery applied equally to the lawful wife and to the *pallake*.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998; Henry, Madeleine M. *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Kurke, Leslie. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999; McClure, Laura. *Courtesans at the Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Laura McClure

PARAPHILIAS. Paraphilias, as defined by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR (DSM-IV-TR)*, are a group of sexual activities that fall outside of the cultural norm, may cause harm if acted on, and cause the paraphiliac to experience emotional distress. The *DSM-IV-TR* has a strict set of guidelines for diagnosis of paraphilias. These guidelines include a durational component of at least six months of "recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors." Another component of diagnosis is that the person experiencing the paraphilia must have acted on those urges, or that "the fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning." One way to categorize the paraphilias is to class each into one of two categories: victimless and coercive. The coercive paraphilias assume a victim and a perpetrator, while the victimless paraphilias do not. Victimless paraphilias may still cause problems in the paraphiliac's social or occupational functioning, but no one else is being harmed by the paraphiliac's actions.

Although prostitutes may encounter clients who have paraphiliac orientations or tendencies, and may have clients who actively seek out satisfaction of paraphiliac urges, many people who indulge in alternative forms of sexual expression are not clinically considered paraphiliacs. Also, certain paraphilias currently listed may not be considered disorders in the future. For instance, homosexuality was listed in the *DSM-III*, but by 1980 it was removed. In May 2004 at the American Psychiatrist's Association's annual meeting, the idea of removing the category of paraphilias in the next revision of the *DSM* was presented.

In the case of prostitution, most paraphiliac clients who seek out a provider will be those who experience noncoercive, or victimless, paraphilias. Most of the coercive paraphilias have a component of predation that is a necessary element of the excitement of the act, therefore, planning out an encounter will not have the requisite elements for satisfaction of the coercive paraphilic urges. A planned-out scene that a client sets up with a prostitute that includes elements of consensual sadism is not likely to satisfy someone who experiences clinically defined paraphilic sadism.

Prostitutes may encounter a wide variety of unusual requests in the workplace. Most of these requests do not fall into the category of the paraphilias. For a victimless, unusual sexual desire to be diagnosed as a paraphilia, the individual must experience the desire or urge on a recurrent, ongoing basis, and this must be causing the individual distress.

See also Kink.

Further Reading: Herek, Gregory M. "Facts about Homosexuality and Mental Health." Sexual Orientation, Science, Education and Policy Web site http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/rainbow/html/facts_mental_health.html; Hucker, Stephen. "Paraphilias." PsychDirect Web site <http://www.psychdirect.com/forensic/Criminology/para/paraphilia.htm>; Moser, Charles, and Peggy J. Klein-

platz. "DSM-IV-TR and the Paraphilias: An Argument for Removal." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, San Francisco, CA, May 2004; .

LaSara Firefox

PARENT-DUCHÂTELET, ALEXANDRE-JEAN-BAPTISTE. Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet (1790–1836) was a French social commentator and researcher who made a particular study of prostitution in 19th-century France. His most influential work was *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris considérée sous le rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration* ("On prostitution in the city of Paris from the point of view of public hygiene, morality and administration"), published in 1836.

In addition to documenting the regulations governing prostitution in Paris and describing the outward circumstances of the women concerned, Parent-Duchâtelet devoted some space in his work to the moral and physical characteristics of prostitutes and assembling and codifying a number of stereotypes that had already obtained wide currency in society, thereby ensuring that they continued to be influential for some time to come. One such generally accepted stereotype concerned the so-called mental and emotional immaturity of the prostitute; she was seen as something of a child, who had not yet learned how to assimilate the values of society as a whole. Parent-Duchâtelet mentioned two physical stereotypes, which were to be repeated endlessly: plumpness of figure, ascribed to greed, laziness, and the taking of many warm baths, as well as to the clients' preferences, and a raucous voice, which he believed to be caused by social origin, abuse of **alcohol**, and exposure to cold.

He did not, however, agree with everything that was popularly said about prostitutes and listed some of the common beliefs so as to contradict them. He believed that the primary causes of women turning to prostitution were poverty, and, in many cases, a first incident of "seduction" (or **rape**). He considered that one of the reasons for the poverty of women was that men had been usurping jobs more suitable for women, such as waiting in restaurants and serving in shops.

Parent-Duchâtelet is most famous for having written that "Prostitutes are as inevitable in a great urban centre as are sewers, roads and rubbish dumps. The attitude of the authorities should be the same in regard to the former as to the latter."

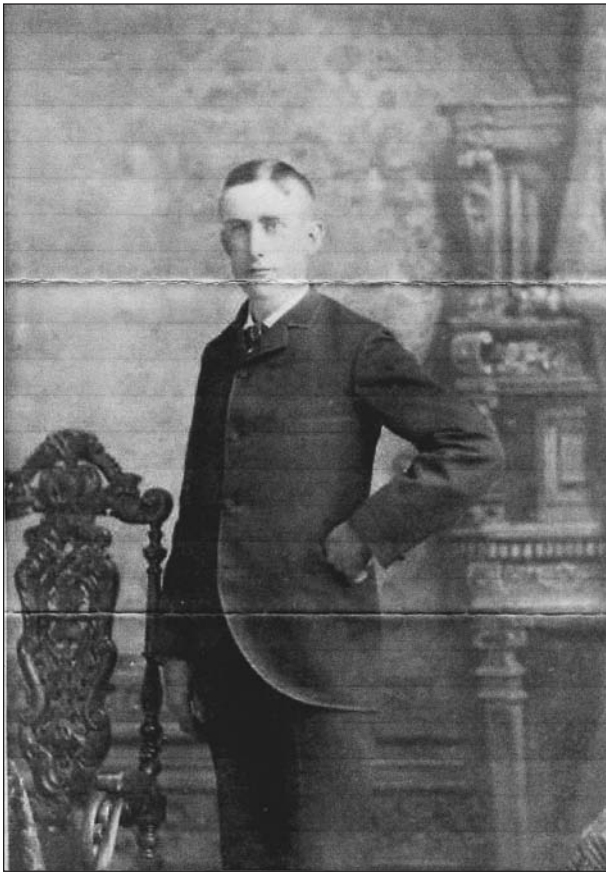
See also France, Second Empire; Zola, Émile.

Further Reading: Parent-Duchâtelet, A.J.B. *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris, considérée sous le rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration*. Paris: J. B. Baillière, 1836; Ryan, M. *Prostitution in London, with a Comparative View of That of Paris and New York*. London: H. Baillière, 1839.

Virginia Rounding

PAREISIS HALL. A boy **brothel** and gay bar in **New York City** during the 1890s, Paresis Hall was located on the Bowery at 5th Street near Cooper Union. Through its own flagrancy, pulpit orations, and the crusades of various antvice groups, it was well known to the public as "a resort for male prostitutes," as one 1899 vice report phrased it.

Officially named Columbia Hall, the establishment was better known as Paresis Hall, a name taken from either a medical term for insanity or derived from the name of a patent medicine that advertised in saloons. This boy brothel was one of at least six other such resorts on the Bowery, including Little Bucks and Manilla Hall. Evidence suggests that Paresis Hall was in business from 1890–99 and beyond.



Charley Ford, age 18, a prostitute in a souvenir photo sold to his clients at Paresis Hall, a boy brothel on NYC's Bowery in the 1890s. Collection of Joe E. Jeffreys.

Functioning in a fashion similar to female brothels of the period, at Paresis Hall males as young as 14 sat for company at tables while openly offering their sexual services. Ten or more rooms or cubicles above the bar were available for private encounters. Biff Ellison, one of the principal lieutenants of the Five Pointers gang, managed the brothel. Prices reportedly started at \$5 and went up from there depending on requirements, and this was split 70 percent to the house and 30 percent to the boy.

The space also functioned as a community gathering place for gay men primarily from the local immigrant and working-class populations but also hosted more affluent guests. Ralph Werther, a.k.a. Jennie June, wrote extensively of his involvement with a social group there calling themselves the Cercle Hermaphroditis. The group rented a room where they met and stored their drag items.

Paresis Hall also features in Caleb Carr's *New York Times* best-selling novel *The Alienist* (1994), most notably Chapter 11. In 2004, a series of inscribed photos of young men came up for auction that were claimed to be

souvenirs that working boys in Paresis Hall sold their clients.

See also Male Prostitution.

Further Reading: Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890–1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994; Friedman, Mack. *Strapped for Cash: A History of American Hustler Culture*. Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2003; Werther, Ralph, a.k.a. Jennie June. *The Female Impersonators*. New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1922.

Joe E. Jeffreys

PATHOLOGY. Pathology in prostitutes has been a popular focus of investigation in social scientific research, usually as a potential causative or motivational factor in entering prostitution, or as an effect of involvement in prostitution. Although the “pathology as motivation” hypothesis has abated among researchers in recent years, research on pathology as an outcome of employment in prostitution continues. For some social scientists, involvement in prostitution has been assumed to be sufficient evidence of pathology, a priori of any psychiatric assessment of the

prostitute. An example of this assumption may be seen in the title of one article: "Prostitution: Profession and Pathology" (Sagarin and Jolly 1997). The stereotype of the pathological prostitute often reaches outside the realm of academia into popular media; for example, books written by "experts" such as medical doctors, which portray prostitutes as desperate, deviant, and sick.

The assumption of pathology as a causative or motivational factor in entering prostitution can be seen in one investigation of "deviant" male "hustlers" (Caukins and Coombs 1975). This study constructed a personality profile of the hustler as self-destructive, low in self-esteem, immature, antisocial, and lacking in personal boundaries. A similar argument arises in a study performed a decade later (Luckenbill 1986). The men sampled for these studies were assumed to be deviant a priori of any hypothesis testing. Deviancy in this sense can be assumed of male prostitutes, as evidenced by their involvement in prostitution.

For women who enter prostitution, prior traumatic life experiences are frequently investigated as factors that molded the psychology of the victim, in effect creating a "potential prostitute." Examples of this can be seen in psychodynamic literature that retrospectively investigates the prevalence of childhood sexual abuse (CSA) in prostitutes, theorizing that prostitution may be viewed as possible negative sequelae of such abuse. One commonly cited theory, termed "repetition compulsion," has been posited as an explanation for involvement in prostitution by persons with a history of CSA. According to this theory, persons working in prostitution are "re-experiencing" their original trauma through their work in prostitution, while at the same time, attempting to psychically "take control" over the situation and thus remove themselves from the position of the victim. Repetition-compulsion behaviors are frequently thought to be symptomatic of pathologies such as borderline personality disorder and **posttraumatic stress disorder** (PTSD), both of which some researchers argue act simultaneously as a cause *and* an effect of involvement in prostitution.

In the 1990s, violent experiences and PTSD in a sample of mainly street-working prostitutes in South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, the United States, and Zambia were assessed (Farley, Baral, Kiremire, and Sezgin 1998). This study found that most women (and the few men and transgendered prostitutes sampled) had experienced sexual **violence** in their work, and 67 percent met criteria for PTSD. However, there are several major limitations to this study, including the recruitment of a highly specific sample of persons who were mainly homeless and working on the street. Although the limits of generalizability of these findings are clear, the authors stated that "almost all those in prostitution are poor." Thus, poverty is seen as a finding of the research, and not an artifact of the sampling strategy (the authors argued that sampling non-street-based prostitutes proved too difficult to implement, and thus, with the exception of a small group of brothel-based prostitutes, non-street-based women were not included in the sample).

It has been theorized that when pathology does emerge in a male or female prostitute, it is the result of "the degradation involved," "the exploitation by customers," and the "struggle to maintain rationalizations" (for being a prostitute). Psychopathology has been measured in a sample of street-based, drug-using adult male prostitutes (Simon et al. 1992). Their sample was higher in symptomology than were "normal (non-prostitute) controls," but there were fewer symptoms when compared with psychiatric outpatients. These symptoms were seen to be as much attributable to the conditions of prostitution as they were to a psychological disorder that predated entry into prostitution. Regardless, these findings have been based on samples of men recruited almost entirely from the streets, then generalized to prostitutes working across all **venues**.

A more recent sample of street-based female prostitutes who use drugs assessed mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (Surratt et al. 2005). The authors found that more than one-third of the sample suffered from moderate to severe anxiety, and more than one-half were moderately to severely depressed. Approximately one-third of the sample also reported violence at the hands of a client within the previous year.

Clearly, work venue plays an important role in the emotional health of prostitutes. A groundbreaking study (Vanwesenbeeck 1994) that sampled female prostitutes in the Netherlands across all levels of the business, from the street to the highly paid independent escort, found a diversity of experiences among women working in prostitution. Approximately one-fourth of the sample were experiencing mental health problems such as anxiety, depression, and substance abuse, and another 25 percent scored higher on measures of emotional well-being than nonprostitute controls. The remaining 50 percent of women sampled scored somewhere in between.

Although the data from the Vanwesenbeeck sample clearly showed higher rates of mental disorders among samples of prostitutes than appear to exist in the general population, that venue was found to be associated with well-being in this study. Specifically, women who were working on the street were found to suffer from depression, anxiety, and substance abuse problems at higher rates than those working indoors. The findings of this study call into question the notion that prostitution is inherently traumatizing, and certainly that all prostitutes develop pathology as a result of their work. Other studies show that street-based sex workers suffer higher levels of violence than other sex workers. Following Vanwesenbeeck, many researchers call for further in-depth research that attends to contextual factors such as work venue, legal context, socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, and other considerations that shape individual experience within sex work.

Outside of academic publications, some popular books written by “experts” such as medical doctors have reinforced stereotypes of the pathological prostitute by offering descriptions of prostitutes that are so exaggerated as to be almost cartoon-like. For example, in the classic (first published in 1969; updated and rereleased in 1999) sex manual, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)*, psychiatrist David Reuben stated:

All prostitutes have one thing in common. They hate men ... deep underlying emotional problems drove them into the game. Basically, prostitution is an ironic form of revenge against all men.... Once a hooker, always a hooker. Sadly, unless some dramatic change like psychiatric treatment intervenes, that's usually the way it is.

Thirty years later, Reuben's opinions on the mental health of prostitutes showed little change:

Obviously some women who choose to rent their vagina to dozens of men a week have emotional problems.... Some prostitutes have another characteristic in common—they hate men.... The full answer [to why they hate men] is a complicated one related to the underlying emotional situation that drove them into the game. Basically, prostitution is an ironic form of revenge against all men, acted out on the johns.

Reuben cited no research on prostitution to support his claim.

The stereotype of the pathological prostitute appears again more recently, this time in another sex manual authored by physicians, *The Joy of Gay Sex* (Silverstein and Picano 2003): “Think twice before hiring a hustler. While most of them are ordinary guys who may be oversexed and looking to make a few dollars, a few are angry, desperate, and even psychotic; every year gays are

robbed, beaten...or killed by hustlers" (p. 133). Again, no research evidence was presented to validate the "psychosis" presumed of male prostitutes, much less any evidence of the crimes they commit. Ironically, a great deal of research has shown that it is usually the prostitute who is more vulnerable to being harmed during an encounter with a client.

In spite of the biased samples and unexamined a-priori assumptions, the findings resulting from the cited studies have been inappropriately generalized to other groups of sex workers, contributing to the labeling and marginalization of this group. The social and political consequences of this include increased **stigma**, discrimination, harassment, and violence against prostitutes.

In contrast to the theory of pathology as motivating or causative factor in entering prostitution, a consensus has emerged among most sex work researchers that economic need is usually a primary motive in entering sex work and that women, men, and transgendered individuals make the choice to enter prostitution for a variety of reasons. This view stresses the agency of the sex worker, even as it is acknowledged that most sex workers operate within a social structure that may offer limited options.

A large body of research has challenged notions of sex work as *inherently* forced and traumatizing. In a study of British indoor sex workers, it was written that

theory that locates power and influence only with male customers or the wider structures that determine economic relations leaves female sex workers theoretically devoid of agency, responsibility and rationality (Sanders 2005, p. 336).

Following this rationale, some researchers have approached sex work as a rational choice of occupation. In a few studies, sex work has even been framed by individuals as potentially prosocial behavior. The Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center of New York has approached sex work as legitimate work that is complicated by its criminalized status and marginalizing social context, a perspective that echoes that of Dutch researcher Ine Vanwesenbeeck.

For prostitutes of all genders and gender identities, recognizing that one's social status is stigmatized may lead to a reevaluation of one's personal worth. For those whose reevaluation leads to internalization of the stigma, personal well-being may be negatively impacted. The connection between social stigma attached to prostitution, internalization of such stigma, and resulting mental health problems remains a topic for future research among prostitutes.

See also Male Prostitution; Street-Based Prostitution.

Further Reading: Abramovich, E. "Childhood Sexual Abuse as a Risk Factor for Subsequent Involvement in Sex Work: A Review of Empirical Findings." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 131–46; Browne, Jan, and Victor Minichiello. "The Social and Work Context of Commercial Sex between Men: A Research Note." *Australian and New England Journal of Sociology* 32 (1996): 86–92; Caukins, S., and N. Coombs. "The Psychodynamics of Male Prostitution." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 30 (1975): 441–52; Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Farley, Melissa, Isin Baral, Merab Kiremire, and Ufuk Sezgin. "Prostitution in Five Countries: Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." *Feminism and Psychology* 8, no. 4 (1998): 405–26; Farley, M., and H. Barkan. "Prostitution, Violence against Women, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." *Women and Health* 27 (1998): 37–49; Farley, M., A. Cotton, J. Lynne et al. "Prostitution and Trafficking in Nine Countries: An Update on Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." In *Prostitution, Trafficking and Traumatic Stress*, ed. Melissa Farley Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2003, pp. 33–74; Koken, Juline A., David S. Bimbi, Jeffrey T. Parsons, and Perry N. Halkitis. "The Experience of Stigma in the Lives of Male Internet Escorts." *Journal of Psychology*

and *Human Sexuality* 16 (2004): 13–32; Lewis, J., and E. Maticka-Tyndale. "Methodological Challenges Conducting Research Related to Sex Work." In *Escort Services in a Border Town: Transmission Dynamics of STDs within and between Communities*. Report issued by Division of STD Prevention and Control, Laboratory Centres for Disease Control, Health Canada, Ottawa, 2000; Lewis, J., E. Maticka-Tyndale, F. Shaver, and H. Schramm. "Managing Risk and Safety on the Job: The Experiences of Canadian Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 147–67; Luckenbill, D. "Deviant Career Mobility: The Case of Male Prostitutes." *Social Problems* 33 (1986): 283–96; Morrison, T. G., and B. W. Whitehead. "Strategies of Stigma Resistance among Canadian Gay-Identified Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 169–79; Morse, E. V., P. M. Simon, H. J. Osofsky, P. M. Balson, and H. R. Gaumer. "The Male Street Prostitute: A Vector for Transmission of HIV Infection into the Heterosexual World." *Social Science and Medicine* 32 (1991): 535–39; Perkins, R., and G. Bennett. *Being a Prostitute: Prostitute Women and Prostitute Men*. 2nd ed. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1997; Pheterson, Gail. "The Category 'Prostitute' in Social Scientific Inquiry." *Journal of Sex Research* 27 (August 1990): 397–407; Reuben, David. *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)*. New York: Harper-Collins, 1969, 1999; Sagarin, E., and R. J. Jolly. "Prostitution: Profession and Pathology." In *Sexual Dynamics of Anti-Social Behavior*, 2nd ed., ed. L. B. Schlesinger and E. R. Revitch. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1997, pp. 9–30; Sanders, Teela. "It's Just Acting: Sex Workers' Strategies for Capitalizing on Sexuality." *Gender, Work and Organization* 12 (2005): 319–42; Shaver, Frances M. "Sex Work Research: Methodological and Ethical Challenges." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 296–319; Silverstein, Charles and Felice Picano. *The Joy of Gay Sex*. New York: Harper-Collins, 2003; Simon, Patricia M., Edward V. Morse, Howard J. Osofsky, Paul M. Balson, and H. Richard Gaumier. "Psychological Characteristics of Male Street Prostitutes." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 21, no. 1, (1992): 33–44; Simons, R. L., and L. B. Whitbeck. "Sexual Abuse as a Precursor to Prostitution and Victimization among Adolescent and Adult Homeless Women." *Journal of Family Issues* 12 (1991): 361–79; Surratt, H. L., S. P. Kurtz, J. C. Weaver, and J. A. Inciardi. "The Connections of Mental Health Problems, Violent Life Experiences, and the Social Milieu of the 'Stroll' with the HIV Risk Behaviors of Female Street Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 23–44; Thukral, Juhu, and Melissa Ditmore. *Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-Based Prostitution in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2003. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>; Vanwesenbeeck, Ine. "Another Decade of Social Scientific Work on Sex Work: A Review of Research, 1990–2000." *Annual Review of Sex Research* 12 (2001): 242–89; Vanwesenbeeck, Ine. *Prostitutes' Well-Being and Risk*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.

Juline A. Koken

PATRIARCHY. Patriarchy is a theoretical social system in which men are dominant and women subordinate. The concept is used as a foundation for the feminist investigation of sexual relations. Within some feminist analyses, prostitution is seen as a product of a patriarchal society wherein women's primary purpose is to serve the needs and desires of men. This theory has been criticized by feminists, sex workers' advocates, and others for its one-dimensional analysis of power and failure to account for female agency.

The term "patriarchy" was first formulated by 19th-century social evolutionary theorists to describe the literal possession of family members by the male head of the household, in what many believed was the fundamental and universal structure of human society. The theory of patriarchy has since been used primarily by feminists during the late 20th and early 21st

centuries to provide a historical explanation and analysis of male dominance and female subordination. In a patriarchal society, the formation of human personality is based on the interests of men, so that social and political structures serve to uphold male supremacy through techniques of control. One such technique is the male colonization of the female body through institutions such as law, **marriage**, organized **religion**, systemized **violence** against women, and the sex industry. Within this analysis, prostitution is seen as a product of a patriarchal system that defines women in terms of male desire as sexual objects to be used by men. Women who engage in prostitution are therefore understood either to have been forced into the industry or else to have internalized patriarchal values that deprive them of the human right to dignity. The conceptualization of prostitution as a product of patriarchy is particularly associated with the work of “anti-pornography” feminists **Andrea Dworkin** and **Catharine MacKinnon**.

The theory of patriarchy has been criticized by other feminists for its one-dimensional definition of power as a monolithic force, stemming from a specific source and possessed by men, and for its construction of women as powerless victims of the system. The idea that prostitutes are victims of patriarchy has also been widely criticized for ignoring the difference between free and **forced prostitution** and failing to recognize prostitutes as human beings with agency. This became a particularly contentious issue for the feminist movement during the “sex wars” of the 1980s and caused a rift between antipornography feminists and “pro-pornography” feminists, who acknowledge prostitution as a legitimate choice. Sex workers’ advocates have also argued that the description of prostitution as a product of patriarchy depicts prostitutes as passive victims in need of rescuing, as opposed to adult workers capable of making their own decisions, and that such infantilization obstructs efforts to empower prostitutes.

See also Feminism.

Further Reading: Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Duggan, Lisa, and Nan Hunter. *Sex Wars: Sexual Dissent and Political Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Dworkin, Andrea. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Perigee, 1981; MacKinnon, Catharine. *Only Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Rachel Aimeé

PEARL, CORA. Cora Pearl (1835–86), a **courtesan** in France, was born in Plymouth, England, as Emma Elizabeth Crouch, daughter of a musician. Seduced early in life by a stranger, she began as a common prostitute but was aiming at men who would be willing to pay her bills as part of a more permanent arrangement. She made a successful career and her name came to be associated with such prominent figures as Duke de Morny and Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, cousin of the Emperor Napoléon. It seems that during her liaison with the Prince, Pearl had been granted access to Palais Royal so that she could visit him in his official residence. Pearl was famous for her English-style attractiveness—she was a sportswoman and loved horse-riding. In France, Pearl remained a foreigner. When in 1872 a young man, desperately in love with the courtesan, shot himself in front of Pearl, the Prefect of Police suggested that she leave the country. She did but two years later returned to France. Her popularity had diminished, and she could not afford the high style of living to which she was accustomed. In 1877, she sold her silver at an auction, but the proceeds were soon used up. In the last years of her life, she survived by collecting small sums of money from her former admirers. She died in 1886 of cancer of the intestines and was buried under her original name of Emma Elizabeth Crouch.

See also *Grandes Horizontales*.

Further Readings: Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*. Trans. Richard Daly. New York: Grove Press, 2004; Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-Century Courtesans*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Maria Mikolchak

PEER EDUCATION. Peer education describes the sharing by one or more sex workers of information, skills, techniques, and negotiation strategies with another sex worker(s). Peer education is a proven effective strategy used by sex worker organizations to engage their communities to develop responses to address issues of HIV/AIDS, **occupational safety and health, stigma** and marginalization, lobbying, law reform, and political representation.

However, this strategy is the replication, and formalization, of the traditional sharing of skills and information between older and younger sex workers, or between a more experienced and a new sex worker. This feature of sex work culture is acknowledged as early as the 16th century in Pietro Aretino's 1536 novel *The School of Whoredom*. Nanna explains the techniques of the *courtesan* to the much younger Pippa by comparing her talents to a haberdashery shop. "So, in her shop, a whore has sweet talk, smiles, kisses, glances—but this is nothing: in her hands and in her pussy she has rubies, pearls, diamonds, emeralds and the very melody of the world" (2003, p. 12).

Early Australian examples of peer education include self-funded provision and distribution of **condoms** in 1984 by sex workers to nearby Sydney brothels and street-based sex workers, followed by publication of a sex worker magazine in 1985. Local meetings were held at a community center to gain involvement by other sex workers. A Christmas pack, including Christmas cake and condoms, distributed to street sex-working peers on Christmas Eve was another early initiative. This was followed in 1986 by the funding of the Australian Prostitutes Collective (APC), the first-funded, peer-based sex worker organization.

Street-based sex workers in Australia were known to use condoms largely to avoid pregnancy and **sexually transmitted infections (STIs)** before the emergence of HIV, but brothel-based sex workers were slower to adopt condoms in part because of the illegality of their workplaces. Most brothels were operating under the pretense of being massage parlors and so were reluctant to have condoms on the premises in case condoms were seen as proof of prostitution.

Some brothel employees were discouraged from using condoms by brothel management for fear condom use would discourage clients. Brothel-based sex workers concealed condoms in their clothing to avoid detection and being fired. These circumstances contributed to the practice of applying condoms by mouth during oral sex—still a feature in many peer-education sessions to this day. This covert application method avoided the need for negotiation with clients and the condom was rarely noticed until after the client had ejaculated.

The successful HIV/AIDS and STI prevention work of sex worker organizations and projects in Australia can be attributed to the transformation of the historic practice of skill-sharing or imparting knowledge between sex workers into the invaluable work of current and past sex workers as peer educators. This would not have been effective without sex workers taking up the use of condoms in their workplaces. Peer education is recognized as a major contributing factor to the low rates of HIV and STIs among sex workers in Australia (National HIV/AIDS Strategy, 2005).

Peer education is supported by a community development framework using empowerment, sex-positive attitudes, and a shared interest in systemic advocacy and representation. The success of these frameworks in providing sex workers with a nonthreatening and nonjudgmental environment is illustrated by the number of sex workers who engage in peer education via their sex worker organization. A new worker entering the Australian sex industry is likely to be informed about the benefits of visiting the sex worker organization or may experience new worker training directly delivered by a sex worker organization. Sex worker organizations have a presence in sex industry workplaces via magazines, outreach visits, brochures, media activities, political representation, and public profiles. Some sex workers volunteer for their local sex worker organization. Many more become advocates for sex worker peer education and occupational safety and health rights within their workplace, ensuring that new workers are mentored and that workplace conditions are improved. These peer educators draw on information from their sex worker organization that may have been developed and added to by their peers over many years. In this way, knowledge spreads through the industry, either directly from or as a result of strong peer education strategies delivered by sex worker organizations.

Sex worker peer education is undermined when the strategy is isolated from a sex workers' rights framework or when sex worker peer educators are not housed within a sex worker community organization. Peer education cannot exist separately from a supportive sex worker community organization. Peer education that is not genuinely community-based is not only ineffective but results in a loss of support from sex workers. A community development framework requires continued participation by the sex worker community for the long term. Models that simply add a few low-paid sex workers to the bottom rungs of an organization that is otherwise driven and directed by non-sex workers do not effectively engage sex workers. Unless sex workers feel some ownership over the organization and can participate over the long term, an organization will become irrelevant.

Community development in this context involves skills building, mentoring, and/or resourcing members of a community to facilitate involvement, sharing and increasing of skills, knowledge, and capacity, and community involvement and relationships with other sex workers. Sex worker organizations around the world have deployed community development activities, including sex worker community publications, organization and participation in community events such as gay pride day, working groups and political forums addressing issues that affect sex workers, informational workshops on everything from taxation to **sadomasochism**, language classes, and performance groups (such as **Debby Doesn't Do It for Free**). All of these activities complement the usual array of safe sex, occupational safety and health, and workplace negotiation skills that are delivered through peer education by sex worker organizations.

The skills and knowledge of peer educators are captured to a high degree by modules from the **Scarlet Alliance** National Training Project *Working with Sex Workers & Community Development*. Sex worker peer educators are assessed against the identified essential skills, knowledge, and attributes of sex worker peer educators, gaining a Diploma in Community Education.

Tensions between sex worker communities and funders have often centered on the lack of acknowledgment that peer education owes its success to the fact that it is a strategy built into community development in which sex workers are engaged on a variety of levels around their workplace/space issues, and not solely on condom use.

Peer education has been challenged by sex workers who question the validity of the shared experience central to peer education when used in the context of HIV/AIDS and STI

prevention education because sex workers are extremely diverse. Others believe persons who have worked as sex workers share an understanding and awareness of the stigma associated with sex work and the misconceptions of sex work and sex workers as portrayed by the mainstream media. Although the strategy that peer education describes is alive and well, even the term “peer education” can be problematic. The term has for many years been adopted by large AIDS development organizations and peer education has been divorced from community strategies in some organizations. There is also criticism of the patronizing nature of the word “education,” which some believe does not reflect the emphasis on the two-way sharing of skills and techniques from which the strategy developed.

See also Appendix document 13.

Further Reading: Aretino, Pietro. *The School of Whoredom*. London: Hesperus Press, 2003; Australian Government. “National HIV/AIDS Strategy 2005–2008: Revitalising Australia’s Response, 2005.” http://www.health.gov.au/internet/wcms/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-strateg-hiv_hepc-hiv-index.htm; Mawulisa S. “Principles of Peer Education with Sex Workers.” Canberra, Australia: Scarlet Alliance, 2001; Murray, Alison. *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University Press.

Janelle Fawkes

PEKING OPERA. Peking Opera is regarded by many as the national **opera** of China. It integrates music, singing, speech, gesture, dance, acrobatics, makeup, costume, and stagecraft in a comprehensive art. The history of Peking Opera is also associated with sex and prostitution, especially during the early stages of its development.

The evolution of Peking Opera was influenced by *Clapper Opera*, *Kunqu*, *Xipi*, and *Erhuang*, and its origin could be traced back to the reign of Qianlong (1735–96) in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), when the Emperor’s 80th birthday was celebrated and regional theaters were invited to the capital for performances. Following the Confucian social ethics of gender segregation, the Qing rulers at that time prohibited female performance on stage. Two actors who impersonated female roles, Wei Changsheng and Chen Yinguan, were quickly known for lewdness on stage and their love affairs with prominent men of the city, as their performances “captivated the minds” of both ordinary people and the aristocracy. Concerned with the moral corruption, the Imperial Court banned men from performing in Beijing.

Major themes of Peking Opera have dealt with love, **marriage**, **religion**, and injustice. The *Story of Sue San (Yu Tang Chun)* is a typical example of traditional Chinese drama. It recounted the tale of a poor girl named Su San who was sold as a prostitute because of family hardship. At the brothel, she fell in love with a young scholar named Wang Jinlong. Wang did not have sufficient funds to free Su San, so he decided to work hard at the civil service examination so that he could secure a high-ranking position in the Imperial Court and eventually marry her. At the same time, Su San was sold as a concubine by the brothel to a rich merchant named Shen Yanlin. Shen’s wife was so jealous of Su San’s beauty that she plotted to poison her. However, Shen accidentally drank the fatal drug, and Su San was subsequently accused of poisoning him and sentenced to death. Unwilling to give up, Su appealed to a higher court where her case eventually arrived before the presiding judge who turned out to be the scholar Wang Jinlong. He had lost contact with his first love in the intervening years. Wang examined the case carefully to reveal the truth, and the couple finally reunited.



Wang Fang, a veteran Kun Opera actress, second left, performs in her role as Yang Yuhuan, a concubine to a Qing dynasty emperor for the opera “The Palace of Eternal Youth” at a theater in Beijing, China, 2004. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

In spite of various genres and a fan base from all classes and ages, a main premise of the early Peking Operas was to entertain male audiences, and the role of women on stage was to serve men. For instance a classical play, *Longing for Worldly Pleasure* (*Si Fan*), told the story of a novice in a nunnery who escaped down the mountain in search of love. Another showpiece, *Intoxicated Concubine* (“*Drunken Beauty*,” *Gui Fei Zui Jiu*), portrayed the life of Lady Yang Yuhuan (719–756), who was favored by Emperor Li Longji (685–762) of the Tang Dynasty (618–906). One day, Lady Yang prepared a banquet in the Imperial garden and waited for the Emperor to favor her with a visit. However, the Emperor unexpectedly went to the palace of Lady Mei, another concubine. Lady Yang was so disappointed that she indulged in drinking to drown her sorrow.

Although female performance was officially banned, the order was repeatedly violated in cheap amusement centers such as Tianqiao in Beijing, where the hoi polloi viewed the presence of women as intimate and enjoyable entertainment. Tailoring to the taste of the urban audiences, actresses commonly staged seductive performances with exaggerated love scenes, flirty glances, and enticing gestures. Women’s theaters were therefore regarded by social conservatives as even more dangerous than **brothels**. They claimed that prostitutes could not easily seduce decent citizens. Despite the fact that such public performances were condemned by the defenders of traditional values, some of the male fans among the elite became ardent supporters of Peking Opera; they would write glowing reviews in the press and shower their adored artists with money and gifts. In return for male patronage, actresses usually had to pay in the form of

companionship or sexual favors. Some of the performers became concubines of rich customers. The prevalent custom of *xiadan* (dallying with actresses or female impersonators) implied the improper intimate relationships between performers and their powerful patrons.

In ancient China, acting was considered a despicable trade, and actors and actresses were generally regarded as immoral people, in the same rank of beggars and prostitutes. Because of their lowly social status, various decrees were issued forbidding actors or members of their families from participating in the civil service examinations. In fact, some Chinese theaters in the early days were associated with brothels, and performers were inevitably linked with prostitutes. For instance, Lin Fenxian was a prostitute before shifting to a stage career. Even after she became a Peking Opera star in the early 20th century, she was still involved in her previous profession for extra income and protection. In her novel *Farewell to My Concubine*, (1992) Lillian Lee vividly depicted a prostitute who sold her son to an opera school. As he grew up, he had to bear the sexual harassment of Mandarin nobles and suffer his on-stage partner falling in love with another prostitute. The story was made by Chen Kaige into a feature film, starring Gong Li and Leslie Cheung; it instantly became an international sensation during the Cannes Film Festival in 1993.

Further Reading: Cheng, Weikun. "The Challenge of the Actresses: Female Performers and Cultural Alternatives in Early Twentieth Century Beijing and Tianjin." *Modern China* 22, no. 2 (April 1996): 197–233; Cheng, Weikun. "The Use of 'Public' Women: Commercialized Performance, Nation-Building, and Actresses' Strategies in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing." *Working Papers on Women and International Development* 275. June 2002. <http://www.isp.msu.edu/wid/papers/pdf/WP275.pdf>; Mackerras, Colin. "Peking Opera before the Twentieth Century." *Comparative Drama* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 19–42; Tian, Min. "Male Dan: The Paradox of Sex, Acting, and Perception of Female Impersonation in Traditional Chinese Theatre." *Asian Theatre Journal* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 78–97.

Wenxian Zhang

PELAGIA. Saint Pelagia, one of the **Desert Harlots**, was an actress in the city of Antioch. Although she may not have technically been a prostitute, she was, nevertheless, part of a group considered to be immoral and promiscuous. She was both beautiful and wealthy. In fact, the people of Antioch renamed her Margaret (which means "pearl") because of the gems that she had acquired through her sins.

One day, the young woman and her retinue happened by a group of Christian bishops. Fearful of their own lust, all the bishops but one, Nonnus, hid their faces at the sight of the scantily clad beauty. Nonnus, however, admired Pelagia as a beautiful creature of God. From his experience, he formulated a sermon comparing the prostitute who cultivates her beauty for her clients with the halfhearted Christian who fails to beautify his or her soul for God. Then he proceeded to pray fervently for the source of his inspiration, Pelagia. Pelagia, on hearing his sermon, was so moved that she begged Nonnus to baptize her. At first, he refused, but Pelagia persisted so doggedly that he eventually relented.

After her baptism, Pelagia donned male clothing and fled into the desert. Several years later, Nonnus sent his deacon, James, into the desert to visit the hermit Pelagius. James, finding the hermit almost completely enclosed in his cell, mentioned that he had been sent by Nonnus. The hermit requested that the bishop pray for him, and he closed up his cell and James left. However, before James returned to Antioch, he made one more attempt to visit the holy hermit. On his

arrival, James found the cell quiet and the occupant deceased. It was at this point that he learned that the hermit Pelagius was really Pelagia, the former actress.

This hagiography has sometimes been described as a “love story” between Nonnus and Pelagia, despite the fact that they never acted on it. More important, Pelagia’s story served as a rebuke for weak Church officials, who prostituted themselves to the world and did not repent. Finally, her story marked the beginning of the “transvestite saint” legend, which became somewhat common in the early desert tradition.

See also Actresses; Mary Magdalene; Mary of Egypt; Religion.

Further Reading: Cloke, Gillian. “*This Female Man of God*”: *Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, A.D. 350–450*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Pavlovskis, Zoja. “The Life of St. Pelagia the Harlot: Hagiographic Adaptation of Pagan Romance.” *Classical Folio* 30 (1976): 138–49.

Michelle M. Sauer

PENAL COLONIES. Prostitution has been closely associated with the transportation of women convicts to British penal colonies. Convict labor was used to found a number of British colonies including Barbados, Jamaica, Maryland, Virginia, Singapore, New South Wales, Tasmania, and Western Australia. Between 1607 and 1939, Britain transported approximately 400,000 convicts, 162,000 of whom came to Australia and about 50,000 to North America. Significant numbers of women were among those transported to the Australian and North American colonies, although their numbers were relatively small in comparison to male convicts. Transportation was typically reserved for the most recalcitrant of female offenders. Most women transported came from working-class populations, resided in metropolitan centers, and were single at the time of their offense. Although few of these women were actually sentenced for activities associated with prostitution, large numbers had a history of involvement with prostitution. Transportation was considered to offer prostitutes a chance at redemption, with colonial commentators drawing contrasts between the Old World and its vice-ridden sensuality and the colonies, which offered opportunities for redemption through religious devotion and hard work.

Many women transported to the Australian colonies were described by officials as being “on the town” at their time of apprehension and were collectively considered to be “damned whores, possessed of neither virtue nor honesty.” Recently, historians have argued that these assessments were emblematic of middle-class prejudices toward the open and aggressive sexuality of working-class women. The number of convict women involved in prostitution may have been higher than recorded crimes, typically involving “larceny,” suggest. A number of women were charged with theft from men who had paid them (or, in some instances, refused to pay them) for sex. Historians have estimated that one in five convict women were part-time or full-time prostitutes before transportation. Many continued in prostitution after transportation, with prostitution becoming an important element in the social and economic life of the Australian colonies, where, between 1788–1830, men outnumbered women six to one. Officially, prostitution was tolerated to dissuade men from vice. For women, prostitution presented a means of securing physical protection and accommodation at a time when general amenities and employment opportunities were restricted.

The possibilities of redemption for “abandoned women” in the colonies were fictionalized in Daniel Defoe’s popular novel *Moll Flanders* (1722). This book, which has been likened to a

conversion narrative, tells the story of a country girl who travels to London and descends into a life of **crime**. Moll becomes a prostitute following the deaths of her four husbands, with whom she had previously traded sex for economic entitlements. In the 1800s, English law did not allow women to inherit anything when their husbands died, and Moll chooses prostitution to survive. Moll views sex as an economic ends and children as a byproduct of having sex, who are to be given away or sold upon birth. At the age of 48, when she can no longer profit from prostitution, Moll turns to other criminal activity, is caught, and imprisoned. While imprisoned, she is convinced by a priest to repent for her life of sin and the priest arranges for her to be transported to Virginia. Here, she is joined by her husband, with whom she establishes a happy and prosperous middle-class life. Defoe, a Puritan and advocate of transportation, contrasts the pains associated with a life of sensual pleasures with the rewards offered by industry.

See also Religion.

Further Reading: Robinson, Portia. *The Women of Botany Bay: A Reinterpretation of the Role of Women in the Origins of Australian Society*. Sydney: Macquarie Library, 1988.

John Scott

PENNY DREADFULS. Also called penny novels, bloods, and (in the United States) dime novels, penny dreadfuls circulated melodramatic tales of **crime** and adventure to a large audience during much of the 19th century. Because many of the stories shared an urban setting and an interest in crime, prostitutes and prostitution were commonly depicted in penny dreadfuls. Some publications, such as Renton Nicholson's *The Town* (1837–40), pushed the boundaries between melodrama and pornography through stories of **brothels** and public houses. Other issues described the sexual exploits of the aristocracy and reprinted erotic 18th-century narratives. Deemed “dreadful” because of their disregard for Victorian sexual and moral etiquette, penny dreadfuls were nonetheless extremely popular among working-class individuals, who for a penny, enjoyed the thrilling tales of romance, gore, and intrigue.

The Young Ladies of London; or, The Mysteries of Midnight (1867–68) captured both the melodrama and the raciness that distinguished many dreadfuls of the 1850s and 1860s aimed at an adult audience. Inspired by the rise of sensation fiction, newspaper accounts of crime and scandal, and a widespread interest in prostitution, *The Young Ladies* told the story of the wicked Count Lewiski who used his “Ghastly Gaskill” to drug innocent women and sexually exploit them in his Haymarket (**London**) brothel, which was vividly depicted on the frontispiece of the serial. *The Work Girls of London* (1865) also played on formulaic stories of victimized women, often from the middle class, who through misfortune found they must do needlework, and sometimes turn to prostitution, to survive. Many other dreadfuls such as G.W.M. Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London* (1844–46), which boasted sales of almost 40,000 a week, depicted London “low” life and frequently capitalized on stereotypes of prostitutes and their work. Depictions of prostitutes in penny dreadfuls often played with Victorian categorizations of women as either angels or whores, and while responding to male fantasies that envisioned sexual playmates who were intrinsically “pure,” succeeded to some extent in collapsing the boundaries dividing good and bad women.

The penny dreadfuls, however, are difficult to categorize, because the term refers to several types of cheaply printed stories that evolved over the course of the century. In the 1830s, penny dreadfuls often followed the gothic theme of the late 18th century, and by the 1880s, penny

dreadfuls were marketed toward young, primarily male, readers. With inferior-quality paper, illustrations, and writing, penny dreadfuls responded to a growing urban working class who was increasingly literate but unable to afford more expensive sources of literary entertainment. Published serially, initially in weekly numbers of eight pages that could later be bound together, the dreadfuls thrived among the urban poor, who found in them cheap, plagiarized versions of novelist **Charles Dickens's** more expensive serial novels, as well as lurid tales that would have offended middle-class mores.

See also Stead, William, and "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"; *Victorian Literature*.

Further Reading: "Dime Novels and Penny Dreadfuls" <http://www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/dp/pennies/home.html>; Dunae, Patrick. "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime." *Victorian Studies* 22 (1979):133–50; James, Louis. *Fiction for the Working Man 1830–50*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963; Springhall, John. "A Life Story for the People? Edwin J. Brett and the London 'Low-Life' Penny Dreadfuls of the 1860s." *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 2 (1990): 223–46.

Esther Godfrey

PERVERSION. See **Kink**; **Paraphilias**.

PHRYNE (CA. 371 B.C.E.–330 B.C.E.). Phryne ("toad") is the nickname of one of the most frequently mentioned Greek **courtesans** in Classical literature. Her trial, as well as her love affair with the 4th-century Greek sculptor Praxiteles, contributed to her notoriety, which is said to have extended from Athens to all of Greece. The nickname "Phryne" referred to the paleness of the courtesan's complexion. She was also known by the name Saperdion ("little fish"). Phryne was probably born around 371 B.C.E., in Boeotian Thespia, and was the daughter of Epicles. Her real name was apparently Mnesarete. Phryne escaped her early poverty—the comic poets represent her as picking capers for her keep—to become one of the wealthiest women in the Hellenic world. She is best known for her impiety trial around 350 B.C.E., in which the orator Hyperides, possibly also one of her lovers, defended her. Moreover, she is said to have served as the model for Praxiteles' sculpture *Cnidian Aphrodite*, as well as for Apelles' painting *Aphrodite Rising from the Sea*, during the 340s B.C.E. She outlived the reconstruction of Thebes after 316 B.C.E. and even offered to finance the rebuilding of its city walls.

Phryne's legendary beauty explains her pervasive association with art works, rhetoric, and stories of **voyeurism** and display. At one religious festival, Phryne is said to have taken off her cloak in sight of all the Greeks, and, after letting down her hair, to have stepped into the sea. A central trope contrasts her genuine beauty with the spurious attractions of other courtesans. One anecdote recounts a party game in which Phryne required the women at the table, presumably all courtesans, to wash the makeup—alkanet, white lead, and red paint—off their faces. Full of blemishes, they looked like monsters, while Phryne appeared even more beautiful.

Phryne was also considered skillful at witticisms, as evidenced by some of her surviving jokes. In one, she responds to a client's complaint about her high price by stating that she will accept a lower amount when she, not he, wants to have sex. Others involve a man who smelled like a goat, the stinting amount of wine sent by an admirer, sympotic wreaths (used at drinking parties or banquets), and the mockery and flattery of her lovers. A popular story about her unsuccessful attempt to seduce a celibate philosopher gives the *betaera* the last laugh. Although he had offered to share his only couch with her when she sought refuge inside his house, he refused to have intercourse with her. On her departure, she joked that she had left not a man but a statue.

Phryne is perhaps most famous for her public display of nudity in the law court. Charged with engaging in illicit activities under the pretext of **religion**, the courtesan hired the orator Hyperides to defend her. Desperate to win the case, the orator paraded Phryne into the courtroom and pulled off her clothes. Hyperides “delivered an epilogue made piteous at the sight of her and caused the jurors to fear as a deity this prophetic and servant of Aphrodite, and indulging in pity, they did not put her to death.” The remarkable afterlife of this story is largely owing to its popularity among the late rhetorical writers and commentators, for whom it served as the supreme example of the pity schema, in addition to being a fine example of oratory.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998; Kurke, Laura. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999; McClure, Laura. *Courtesans at Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Laura McClure

PIMPMOBILES. Pimps in the United States have been stereotyped as wearing flashy clothing and jewelry and for driving souped-up cars, such as Cadillacs, sometimes called “pimpmobiles,” in the inner city. This stereotype was most visible in 1970s exploitation **films** and more people saw them on the big screen than on the streets. However, in at least one instance, a pimpmobile was lent to filmmakers by a pimp.

The pimpmobile’s aesthetic heritage predates the motor car and the moving picture. In his well-researched historical novel, *I, Stagolee* (2004), Cecil Brown establishes his narrator’s credentials by describing his flourishing livery station and his “bay of horses trimmed in yellow to match the dress of the coachman” (p. 9). Stagolee, a 19th-century pimp, boasts about a St. Louis **madam** who hires “five surreys to drive her sporting women for a ride in Forest Park” every Thursday afternoon, while “hundreds of men watch from the street cheering,” and points out that “Miss Larkin’s Young Ladies Academy hires the same surreys” to transport its “puritan girls” to and from their prosperous homes (p. 9). A 1927 ballad about this mythic figure recalls: “The horses and carriages/Stretched out for about a mile./Everybody whore and pimp had gone in hock/To put Old Stackerlee away in style” (Brown 2003, 57).

Ostentatious displays of high style were also a defining feature of the Paris demimonde, before the **World War I**, and have sometimes been described more evocatively in fictional accounts of the era. In *Gigi* (1952), “fashionable automobiles were being built with a slightly higher body and a rather wider top, to accommodate the exaggerated hats” being worn by the most conspicuous courtesans of 1899, one of whom “gaddled about” in a “coupé upholstered in mauve satin” (Colette 1987, 15, 16).

Stereotypical pimps and pimpmobiles are passé outside **hip-hop** representations while custom cars have become a mainstream interest, most visible in the television show “Pimp My Ride.” Despite the eye-catching title, this show is about cars and not pimps.

See Also Films, Exploitation.

Further Reading: Adelman, Bob and Susan Hall. *Gentleman of Leisure: A Year in the Life of a Pimp*. 1972. Reprint, New York: Powerhouse Books, 2006; Brown, Cecil. *Stagolee Shot Billy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003; Brown, Cecil. *I, Stagolee*. Xlibris Corporation,

2004; Colette. *Gigi, Julie de Carneilhan, Chance Acquaintances*. 1952. Reprint, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1987.

PIMPS. Stereotypically, “pimps” are associated with street prostitution, where those who participate in the exchange of sex for money or drugs are more vulnerable to arrest and assault. The pimp is usually identified as a man who forces, to various degrees, a worker who is male, female, or transgender to exchange sex for money and then requires that the worker bring a portion of the money back to him. In exchange for this money, the pimp offers some protection for the worker from police and potential assaults and may provide security, housing, foods, and drugs. And yet the relationships between pimps and those who participate in these exchanges are often far more complicated. The power relationships between pimps and workers vary dramatically.

Because prostitution is illegal in many countries and therefore leaves those who exchange sex for drugs or money vulnerable to arrest and **violence** from potential clients, many people who participate in these exchanges do have what is commonly referred to as a pimp. Many women have a husband or boyfriend who works as a lookout against police and/or violence. The illegality of the profession often requires that a worker surrender some control over the working conditions. In addition to legal harassment by the police, the illegal status of the work undermines workers’ abilities to protect themselves from dangerous clients and then dissuades them from filing charges if such violence does occur. The illegality of the work also requires that negotiations and transactions are speedy and occur in vulnerable locations such as cars, parks, or alleys. This so-called lookout “pimp” status can also be more organized. In many countries, people referred to as “pimps” organize and run bars, **brothels**, or houses where people can come to have sex with gay or straight workers. This situation often places the organizers at risk and serves to protect the workers from arrest, as they are not responsible for directly contacting their clients.

The social **stigma** and criminal status of exchanging sex for drugs or money causes many people who participate in these exchanges to be afraid to reach out for help or information. Pimps/protectors/organizers/managers often further isolate some workers because they do not allow them to talk with other workers. Although many workers do not identify as members of a profession and view their involvement in the sex trade as a temporary activity, the business is often more organized and structured than outsiders realize. This organization is further complicated by the existence of pimps in myriad capacities that can serve to protect and further isolate the workers.

See also Films, Exploitation; Hip-Hop; Venues.

Further Reading: Weitzer, Ronald John, ed. *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Jill McCracken

PINZER, MAIMIE (1885–1940). May “Maimie” Pinzer, born in Philadelphia to Russian Jewish immigrants, turned to prostitution after her father was brutally murdered, and her mother and an uncle who had molested her as a child had her arrested for waywardness. She established

her clientele through men she met while working at a department store and continued as a prostitute until she lost an eye, possibly because of a syphilitic infection. While ill, she met Herbert Welsh, a Philadelphia social worker, who encouraged her to go straight, often providing financial support, and who introduced her to Fanny Quincy Howe, an upper-class Boston woman, with whom she corresponded from 1910–22. Pinzer's extant letters to Howe reveal the details of her life: her unhappy **marriage** to Albert Jones and their separation, her friendship with and eventual marriage to Ira Benjamin, her conflicts with her family who treated her as an outcast, and her efforts at achieving respectability. After leaving Philadelphia, Pinzer worked as a stenographer in New York, later moving to the firm's Montreal office where Benjamin joined her. In Montreal, she successfully ran a letter-writing and duplication service until the wartime economy forced her to close her business. Pinzer's genuine interest in helping others led her to found a halfway house to assist young prostitutes by providing a comfortable place where these girls could find companionship, encouragement, and a cup of tea, as well as a cheerful place to spend holidays. When the mission closed because of financial problems, Pinzer returned with Benjamin to Philadelphia, where she adopted her brother James's son and daughter after their mother died of influenza. Pinzer then relocated to **Chicago**, later to **Los Angeles**, and finally to Germantown, Pennsylvania. The details of these final years of her life are unknown.

Further Reading: Pinzer, Maimie. *The Maimie Papers: Letters from an Ex-Prostitute*. Edited by Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson. New York: Feminist Press, 1977.

Deborah Israel

POETRY. The status of prostitutes in society has always been mirrored in the poetic utterances of the age. The early matriarchal societies in the Middle East worshipped the fertility goddess Ishtar and sacred prostitution was a focal point of the holy ritual in the temples of Mesopotamia. One of the world's first recorded poems, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (written down around 2000 B.C.), shows the crucial role of prostitutes in the process of civilization. A form of religious prostitution survived well into the Classical Greek era, with temples dedicated to Aphrodite and staffed with sacred prostitutes. Famous *heteraerae* (**courtesans**) such as **Phryne** and Aspasia set an example for the educated, "emancipated," and self-subsistent prostitute, and **Sappho's** erotic poetry celebrated heterosexual and lesbian love. Sappho was to become the first victim of the prejudice that deemed that writing women are whores, and only 5 percent of her poems have survived destruction by those who stigmatized her as a nymphomaniac. In **ancient Rome**, prostitution was an accepted profession with no shame attached to it, and prostitutes were often well-educated professional **actresses** and dancers. The poet Horace eulogized the virtues of prostitution in contrast to the disadvantages of adultery. Ovid in his *Ars amatoria* advised men to look for whores at the theater. Many of Rome's most famous poets—Horace, Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus—frequented courtesans and celebrated them in their verses.

Negation of the body and idealization of chastity in the dark Middle Ages did not eradicate the **brothels** in the cities and the immorality of kings and bishops. The French poet François Villon, student of theology, vagabond, and criminal, exemplified the sexual excesses that extended from the student to the upper reaches of the clergy. In his "Ballad of Fat Margot," he celebrated his life as a student and a pimp. Although the **Renaissance** brought prostitutes more freedom, the Reformation instigated a new wave of persecution. Under Queen Elizabeth I, prostitutes were flogged, shaved, and imprisoned at Bridewell; the brothels, beer-gardens, and theaters in London were removed to the fringe of the city at Southwark, where playwright

William Shakespeare might have met the mysterious “Dark Lady” of his sonnets going about her profession. The English Restoration ended the Puritan Commonwealth and its moral austerity under Oliver Cromwell, and the English aristocracy set the tone for sexual indulgence as a compensation for their loss of real power. King Charles II and his court became notorious for licentiousness and debauchery, and sexual affairs took up more time than the affairs of state: “And love he loves, for he loves fucking much,” as John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, characterized the king. Rochester (1647–80), rake, wit, and poet, belonged to the king’s circle, and his poetry about the “aristocratic” way of life was quite outspoken: “I send for my whore, when for fear of a clap, / I spend in her hand, and I spew in her lap.” The obscene realism included such details as that the prostitute might be diseased, that she stole his purse, and that in her absence he molested his servant: “And missing my whore, I bugger my page.” Rochester represents the contradictions of his age: having been a debauched rake in the city, he was a caring husband and father in the country. In his poem “A Letter Fancied from Artemisia in the Town to Chloe in the Country,” he adopted a female voice to express the dangers for female writers, since “whore is scarce a more reproachful name than poetess.”

That women authors were prostitutes was a prejudice from which Aphra Behn (1640–89), the first professional English woman writer, who wrote about a woman’s illicit sexual desires (“The Willing Mistress”), also suffered. She was denigrated by Robert Gould’s well-known couplet: “For Punk and Poesie agree so pat, / You cannot well be this and not be that,” an equation that poets such as Mary Robinson or Elizabeth Barrett Browning also had to grapple with.

The Romantics developed an increasing social conscience, and William Blake (1757–1827) in his poem “London” expressed concern about the suffering wretches of the city, such as under-age chimney sweeps, pressed soldiers, and prostitutes. Being a prostitute is not a moral state, but a social condition created by the repressive forces of marriage: the “marriage hearse,” a deathbed of love and desire, has to be compensated for by prostitution. The curse of the harlot can be read as the beginning of social change through the rebellious voice of the suppressed.

The Victorians were obsessed with the theme of the “fallen woman,” her stigmatization under the Contagious Diseases Act (passed in 1864) and her humanity. Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) satirized in his poem “The Ruined Maid,” written in 1866, the Victorian view of prostitutes as doomed and “ruined” women and suggested that they may in fact be happy, educated, and much freer than chaste housewives. The commonplace expression of the ruined woman was turned upside down in her transformation from a beggarly country girl into a prosperous and refined prostitute: “And now you’ve gay bracelets and bright feathers three! — / ‘Yes: that’s how we dress when we’re ruined,’ said she.”

Robert Browning (1812–89) used the dramatic monologue to delve into the male (or female) mind, and in his poem “Porphyria’s Lover” (1836), he showed the male objectification of a female (whore) and its fatal result for the woman. The aggressive, pathological male speaker is afraid of his mistress’ power, she clearly is socially superior to her lover, and he kills her to possess her absolutely in death.

Christina Rossetti (1830–94), who worked with the prostitutes who were confined to the Highgate Penitentiary, warned against seductive males in her poem “Goblin Market” (1859). Her female character Laura is tempted by the forbidden fruits the goblin men offer her: “She never tasted such before ... / She sucked until her lips were sore.” Laura is seized by an immense craving for the forbidden fruit and can only be saved through her sister Lizzie’s sacrifice, when Lizzie undergoes the torments of the Goblin men. A world of sisterly (lesbian) and motherly

love is given as an alternative to male seduction, and yet the moralistic message clashes with the sensuality of the poem itself: “Hug me, kiss me, suck my juices” is the remedy for Laura’s obsession with male fruit. Other women writers dealing with fallen women and the plight of prostitutes in their poems are Mathilde Blind in “The Russian Student’s Tale,” Augusta Webster in “A Castaway,” Amy Levy in “Magdalen,” and May Probyn in “The Model.”

Rossetti’s brother, the Pre-Raphaelite poet and painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82), used the dramatic monologue in his poem “Jenny,” to expose the thoughts and prejudices of a male (the scholar John) confronted with the humanity of his whore Jenny, who has fallen asleep on his knee instead of pleasing him sexually. The student watches her voyeuristically and comes to doubt the clear-cut differentiation between the Madonna (his innocent fiancée) and the Magdalene (the sinful whore Jenny), yet his middle-class narrowmindedness does not allow him really to grasp Jenny as a human being, but merely as a mythical character such as Eve: “A cipher of man’s changeless sum of lust, past, present, and to come.” An even more realistic view of prostitution is given in his poem “Found” and the accompanying painting, depicting a farmer who is trying to raise a woman (with conspicuously red, “sinful” hair) from the street where she has sunk in shame, while a calf on his cart is struggling to break free from the net. His former girlfriend who has become a prostitute does not want to be “saved”; she cries in the poem: “Leave me—I do not know you—go away!,” leaving it open to interpretation, where a woman’s real freedom lies.

In the United States, poetry about prostitution has been written by Walt Whitman (“To a Common Prostitute,” 1900) and Damon Runyon (“The Funeral of Madame Chase”). In France, it was Charles Baudelaire (1821–67), the *poète maudit*, who not only compared poetry to prostitution, but also depicted prostitutes frequently in his poems about the Parisian underworld. In his 1857 poem “*Le Crépuscule du Soir*” (“Evening Twilight”), he compared prostitution in Paris to the worm in an apple, but also saw the many possibilities for prostitution as an invitation to the imagination: “Prostitution kindles in the streets;/ Like an anthill, opens up her gates/ And everywhere she makes her secret way/ Like an enemy who tries his master stroke;/ Like an enemy who tries his master stroke.”

The 20th century has brought a breaking of almost all taboos, and prostitution has become a common theme in poetry. The modernist poetess Mina Loy wrote poems on prostitution, George Orwell, in his “Ironic Poem about Prostitution,” wrote about the exoticism and sentimentality of sex with young girls in Burma. The poetic jargon “her skin was gold, her hair was jet / Her teeth were ivory” clashes with the realism of the financial transaction: “And in her lisp, virgin voice, stood out for twenty-five.”

See also Romantic Literature; Appendix documents 5–8.

Further Reading: Auerbach, Nina. *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982; Lipking, Lawrence. *Abandoned Women and Poetic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988; Roberts, Nickie. *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society*. New York: Harper Collins, 1992; Trudgill, Eric. *Madonnas and Magdalenes*. London: Heineman, 1975.

Heike Grundmann

PORNE. The term “*porne*,” from the ancient Greek verb *pernēmi* (“to sell”), denoted a brothel slave. The male equivalent is the *pornos*, a man who sold his body to others for sexual use. The

porne was often distinguished from the *hetaera* by the number and anonymity of her partners, as well as by the fact that she could not choose them; she was said to sell herself to “anyone who wished her.” As with the term “*hetaera*,” however, the word “*porne*” admits of considerable semantic ambiguity. In a 4th-century contractual dispute, for instance, a *porne* is described by the opposing parties both as a freed woman and as co-owned property put to torture for legal evidence, like a slave. Conversely, the idea of the acceptance of all customers applies to *hetaeras* in two other court speeches.

In contrast to the *hetaera* or concubine, the *porne* inhabits a public place that men patronized. She sat in a brothel or openly offered herself for hire on city streets, pacing the dark alleys near the marketplace or by the city walls. The example of a slave girl in one Attic court speech confirms this distinction: a concubine (*pallake*) while resident in her master’s house, she was to be placed in a brothel as a *porne* unless she regained his affections. Fragments from Greek comedy represent brothel prostitutes as readily available and easy to spot in ancient Athens; they stood before the brothel either fully naked or scantily clad in transparent draperies. Some are depicted as aggressively grabbing potential clients and pulling them inside; others seduced men with their voices. The *porne* was also known for her ability to perform a variety of sexual positions. She received cash for her services and expected no ongoing commitment from her partner, as one fragment from a comic play explains:

One obol. Hop in. There is no coyness,
no idle talk, nor does she snatch herself away.
But straight away, as you wish, in whatever way you wish.
You come out. Tell her to go to hell. She is a stranger to you.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998; Kurke, Leslie. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999; McClure, Laura K. *Courtesans at Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Laura McClure

PORTS. Traditionally, the presence of large numbers of merchant marines, dock workers, tourists, and military in port cities has ensured the existence of robust red light districts near the docking areas of ships. Yet busy ports have not always developed adjacent red light districts. In **New York City** in the 19th century, the urban geography of commercial sex passed through various stages—from the segregation of commercial sex in specific streets and taverns near the seaport, to its dispersion to residential areas from 1820 to 1830, then concentrated into what is today the Soho area of lower Manhattan. Today, moral geographies of seaports are in a process of dispersion because of the high value of seaside real estate associated with traditional dockside red light locations. For example, in San Diego, California, where a naval base and fishing and tourist industries have created a market for prostitution, old waterfront establishments, such as topless bars and massage parlors, are being demolished and replaced with sleek office towers and new condominiums. Street-based prostitutes in San Diego may work in several communities throughout the city, depending on the police enforcement patterns or the time of day.

This pattern is allowing prostitutes in many U.S. cities to resist police harassment and go more unnoticed, even though prostitution is legally prohibited in most parts of the country.

In other parts of the world, the geopolitical climate of the post–Cold War era, as well as vast economic changes associated with **globalization**, have combined to create a situation where new port cities have materialized seemingly overnight and engendered paid sex economies sometimes run by **organized crime** and often involved in the human **trafficking** in a situation not unlike the purported white slave trade of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, the port of Shenzhen, China, now the hub of the vast Pearl River Delta across the Shenzhen River from **Hong Kong** (the busiest seaport of the world, where most prostitution is illegal), in two decades has been transformed into the sixth busiest port city of the world, where prostitution is open and attracts much of the business prohibited in Hong Kong. Before 1990, picturesque fishing villages and Chinese junks dominated the region. Local officials are apparently lax in monitoring the trafficking of women and children from China's interior, as well as neighboring Asian countries, to centers of commercial sex such as Shenzhen. Designated by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s as a "special economic zone," Shenzhen is described by Westerners as a Wild West. In the downtown area, Las Vegas–like hotels promote prostitution alongside a gritty red light district catering to the business created by the maze of dockyards that dominate its shores, a steel and concrete testament to the velocity of China's emergence as a free-trade titan. The case of Shenzhen shows how prostitution in China has been transformed from a condemned economic activity to an exploited one.

Santos, Brazil, the largest port city of South America, offers another example of how problems associated with prostitution—in this case **child prostitution**—have been amplified by local poverty combined with the greater market for sexual services made possible by globalization. Estimates of numbers of children in prostitution in Brazil by 1990 were half a million with a good percentage of this number in Santos. In the past, the great seaport of Rio de Janeiro was often romanticized by merchant marines as the site for exotic encounters with beautiful prostitutes. Today, no one dares to characterize commercial sex in the port of Santos as anything but sad and typical of prostitution in ports throughout the world of the 21st century.

Further Reading: Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Riccio, Rita. "Strolling the Strip: Prostitution in a North American City." In *Geographical Snapshots of North America*, ed. Donald G. Janelle. New York: Guilford Press, 1992, pp. 114–16.

Anne Hayes

POSTTRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER (PTSD). Individuals who have been victimized in the sex industry may experience biologically based reactions such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or other trauma-related symptoms. "Posttraumatic stress disorder" refers to a group of symptoms that some individuals experience after overwhelming, frightening, or horrifying life experiences. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV (DSM-IV)* describes three symptom clusters occurring in PTSD, including: Reexperiencing the trauma through intrusive memories, dreams, and flashbacks; physical and mental distress in response to reminders of the event; avoidance of thoughts, feelings, and reminders of the trauma; loss of interest in activities; a general numbing of feeling; feelings of estrangement from others, and persistent symptoms of increased bodily arousal manifested in sleep problems, irritability, and anger, concentration problems, hypervigilance, and exaggerated startle responses.

Exposure to Violence and Trauma within the Sex Industry

Individuals working in prostitution who develop PTSD have been exposed to one or more extreme traumatic stressors, including threats of harm, physical assaults, sexual assaults, witnessing harm to someone else, or hearing about serious harm to someone close to them. Physical abuse and sexual abuse are common occurrences in the sex industry, as is psychological abuse. Individuals working in the sex industry report experiencing brutality from a range of sources, including customers, organizers of prostitution such as “pimps” and “madams,” gang members, and the police. Because prostitution is an illegal activity in the United States, individuals involved in the sex industry may think that they have no recourse for the **violence** perpetrated against them. This perceived lack of control is a risk factor for the later development of disorders such as PTSD and depression.

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

“Victims of trafficking often endure brutal conditions that result in physical, sexual and psychological trauma. Sexually transmitted infections, pelvic inflammatory disease, and HIV/AIDS are often the result of forced prostitution. Anxiety, insomnia, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder are common psychological manifestations among trafficked victims. Unsanitary and crowded living conditions, coupled with poor nutrition, foster a host of adverse health conditions such as scabies, tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases. Children suffer growth and development problems and develop complex psychological and neurological consequences from deprivation and trauma.”

From U.S. Department of State, *Assessment of U.S. Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, June 2004).

Traumatic Stress in Sex Trafficking

In situations of human sex **trafficking**, individuals are forced to work in the sex industry through **violence**, fraud, or coercion. These individuals are essentially victims of modern-day slavery and may be physically assaulted and raped repeatedly over the course of months or even years. Traffickers often physically and psychologically brutalize their victims to gain total control over them. Victims of human trafficking are typically exposed to multiple traumatic experiences, including verbal and psychological abuse, enforced physical and emotional isolation, lack of basic human necessities, threats, forced abortions, physical assaults and violence, and sexual violence. Women are often forced to continue prostituting even when they are menstruating, pregnant, or sick. They may witness others being assaulted, and their family members may be threatened or hurt as a way of pressuring them into continuing to prostitute.

The Cadena Case

In a landmark case of sex trafficking in the late 1990s, members of the Cadena family lured Mexican women and girls as young as 14 years old to Florida and the Carolinas with promises of employment as waitresses and domestic workers. In the United States, the traffickers repeatedly raped their victims to “initiate” them into the sex industry; they then forced the women to work as prostitutes servicing migrant workers in remote farm locations. Many of the customers had weapons and regularly threatened and beat the women. Several of the women became pregnant and were forced to have abortions. In one instance, one of the traffickers kicked a pregnant woman in the stomach, leading to a miscarriage. The women were beaten if they attempted to escape; in one case, a young woman was locked in a closet for 15 days after attempting to escape. Forced **prostitution**, sexual abuse, and physical abuse were daily occurrences for these young women.

The Biological Basis of PTSD

Exposure to this sort of severe violence triggers an innate survival response that allows a rapid, instinctive response to danger. During a physical or sexual assault, physiological changes in the body prepare the victim to deal with the threat by fighting, fleeing, or freezing. The autonomic nervous system triggers a neurohormonal release of chemicals, activating survival responses. All of the body's resources are directed toward dealing with the threat, while functions less important for survival are shut down. For many individuals, when the danger passes, the survival mode eventually turns off and the body settles back into its normal or steady-state level, called "homeostasis"; however, for some people, the survival response remains activated. With ongoing exposure to trauma, such as often occurs in situations of human trafficking and sexual exploitation, the same physiological responses that are initially protective become maladaptive and may lead to illness such as PTSD.

Complex Posttraumatic Stress Reactions

Individuals working in prostitution who have been exposed to chronic interpersonal victimization may experience more extensive reactions than are explained by PTSD alone. Their ability to self-regulate may be impacted, with resulting emotional mood swings and problems with impulse control. Some individuals develop substance abuse problems as a coping mechanism, to avoid intrusive memories or to regulate their emotional states. For instance, in the Cadena case, a number of the victims used drugs and alcohol as a way of coping with what was happening to them. Victims may dissociate or "space out" as a way of coping with overwhelming stress. They may experience physical manifestations of stress, including compromised immune system functioning and somatic symptoms such as gastrointestinal discomfort, headaches, and muscular tension. Because trafficking victims are treated as commodities to be sold over and over, they may lack a positive sense of self and view themselves as property. Shame is a widespread emotional reaction in victims of sex trafficking; in many cases, shame about being seen as a prostitute or a criminal prevents victims from reconnecting with their families or from seeking help. In addition, the chronic interpersonal victimization that often occurs within the sex industry causes many of these individuals to have difficulties with interpersonal relationships, including issues with trust and boundaries.

Trauma-Related Symptoms in Individuals Working in the Sex Industry.

There is a paucity of information regarding trauma-related symptoms in individuals who have been trafficked or victimized in the sex industry. Despite this fact, initial investigations indicate that individuals who have been victimized in the sex industry report a range of emotional, behavioral, and psychological difficulties. Preliminary studies have found that the most trafficked and sexually exploited women have reported symptoms such as depression or sadness, guilt and self-blame, anger and rage, and sleep disturbances. Clinical experience indicates that depression and PTSD are primary problems for victims of sex trafficking. There is clearly a link between exposure to violence within the sex industry, biologically based survival responses, and trauma-related symptoms in individuals who have been victimized within the sex industry.

See also Pathology; Rape.

Further Reading: Free the Slaves and Human Rights Law Center. *Hidden Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States*. Washington, DC: Free the Slaves and Human Rights Law Center, 2004. <http://www.freetheslaves.net/resources/whitepapers/>; Herman, J. L. *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books, 1997; *United States v. Cadena*. 1998. Case number 98-14015-CR-RYSKAMP, U.S.

District Court, Southern District of Florida; van der kolk, B. A., A.C. McFarlan, and L. Weisaeth, eds. *Traumatic Stress: The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body, and Society*. New York: Guilford Press, 1996; Yehuda, R., ed. *Psychological Trauma*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1998.

Elizabeth K. Hopper and Jose A. Hidalgo

PRETTY WOMAN. *Pretty Woman*, a film about a streetwalker and a corporate raider who fall in love, was one of the highest-grossing Hollywood releases of 1990. Critics have panned it as a fairy tale with the hooker as Cinderella; others have been pleased to see a sexy, capable, health-conscious prostitute featured in a popular romantic comedy. The film has endured as a cultural reference point and marks a change in Hollywood's portrayal of sex workers.

Vivian Ward, a drug-free “hooker with a heart of gold,” is luckier than her roommate, who is depicted as dysfunctional, drug-addicted, and incorrigible. In earlier iconic Hollywood movies about prostitutes, such as *BUtterfield 8* (1960), *Klute* (1971), and *Taxi Driver* (1976), a prostitute was typically rescued by the male lead or “killed off” by the screenwriter. In *Pretty Woman*, the male lead is rehabilitated by a streetwalker. Attractive and malleable, Vivian is rescued from the streets, but her evolution is a prelude to her savior's transformation, for she helps him to see that his business practices are morally bankrupt. Her roommate continues to work as a streetwalker—and lives.

See also Films, Opera.

Tracy Quan and Melissa Hope Ditmore

PRISON. Under the present system of criminalization in the United States, spending time in jail or prison is a common occurrence for many prostitutes. Prostitution, both soliciting and procuring, is a misdemeanor offense in most states, with certain parts of Nevada being a notable exception. Many states have provisions to bring felony prostitution charges against “repeat offenders” or those who are HIV-positive and continue to engage in prostitution. Felony conviction typically results in a prison, as opposed to a jail, sentence. Forty-eight of the fifty states do not permit incarcerated felons to vote, and in fourteen states, there are laws that prevent even those who have completed their sentences from voting.

In prison, however, most of those engaged in prostitution had no previous experience with it on the outside. Despite the prevalence of prostitution in prison, there is very little written on the topic; the push and pull factors of prostitution in prison differ in crucial ways from those in society at large. Among male prisoners, prostitution within the institution is primarily between inmates and is an important component of both the internal black-market economy and the ongoing power struggle among inmates. In women's prisons, prostitution is more likely to occur between guards and prisoners, where the latter will exchange sex for contraband items or additional privileges from the former.

Prostitution in prison is often a result of limited access to conventional expressions of sexuality, or the need or want to participate in the prison black-market economy. Frequently, prison prostitution is far from voluntary and is linked to the prevalent phenomena of prison **rape** and **gang violence**. Prisoners perceived as weak or vulnerable—often young, nonviolent, homosexual or transsexual, first-time offenders—are “claimed” by an older or stronger prisoner or a guard. In

exchange for protection, or through coercion, the dominant prisoner, sometimes called a “daddy” or “bandit,” will force his dependent “punk” into prison prostitution. Transgender prisoners, for example, engage in prostitution both as a mechanism of self-protection and as a means of coming by hard-to-get items such as makeup, jewelry, drugs, and cigarettes. Making themselves available as sex partners, rather than objects to be taken, is often the only means of escaping the brutality of prison rape.

Further Reading: Donaldson, Stephen “Donny.” *A Million Jockers, Punks, and Queens: Sex among American Male Prisoners and Its Implications for Concepts of Sexual Orientation*. New York: Stop Prisoner Rape, 1993. Stop Prisoner Rape Web site <http://www.spr.org>; Fellner, Jamie, and Marc Mauer. *Losing the Vote: The Impact of Felony Disenfranchisement Laws in the United States*. New York: Human Rights Watch, the Sentencing Project, 1998; May, Glenn. “Jail Assaults Described.” *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, 25 March 2004; Posner, Richard, and Katharine Silbaugh. *A Guide to America’s Sex Laws*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996; Wasserman, Joanne. “Prison Rapes ‘Routine.’” *New York Daily News*, 28 January 2003; Wistrom, Brent. “Elusive Evidence in Rape Cases; Allred Investigation Not Accurate, ACLU Says.” *Times Record News*, 27 February 2004.

Alexandra Gerber

PROFUMO AFFAIR. The Profumo Affair was one of the biggest scandals ever to hit British politics. It incorporated all the essential ingredients of a “Cold War” thriller, including a Government War Minister, a Russian spy, aristocratic sexual frolics with high-class prostitutes, and a gangland shooting. It culminated with the Minister’s resignation, a high-profile court case, suicide, and an alleged “cover up.”

John Profumo (1915–2006) was a talented “middle-ranking” member of the 1959 Conservative Government, who served as a War Minister under Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. In July 1961, he went to a party held by Lord Astor, where he met **Christine Keeler**, a beautiful young woman with whom he had a short affair. He ended it abruptly after he was warned of a security risk. Unfortunately for Profumo, Keeler shared an apartment with the osteopath Steven Ward (who attended many well-known personalities, including Winston Churchill). Ward amused himself by grooming young women for high society and dabbling in security matters for danger and excitement.

The connection that brought ruin and disgrace to the hapless Minister was through Yevgeny Ivanov, a Russian naval attaché at the Soviet Embassy, who also had a brief liaison with Keeler. He was suspected of spying and consequently was being monitored by MI5, the British intelligence agency. The details of these connections were leaked to the press, and Profumo was forced to resign, not so much because of his “immoral” behavior, or any security risk that it might have posed, but because he lied to Parliament about the nature of his affair. In the meantime, one of Keeler’s gangland boyfriends tried to shoot Ward. During the subsequent trial, Keeler disappeared from the country, it was believed, to prevent her from making embarrassing revelations in the anonymity of the court.

After a Parliamentary debate into the affair, the Government set up an enquiry headed by Lord Denning, which was later condemned as a “cover-up.” The drama concluded with the high-profile trial of Ward for “living off the earnings of prostitution.” Ward committed suicide while the jury was considering its verdict.

Keeler herself was interesting because she mixed easily with both high and low society. Significantly, this included the raffish black nightlife of Notting Hill, with its music, drinking, drugs, and

dubious collection of resident convicts, **pimps**, and prostitutes. However, it heralded the dawn of a new liberal British society during which many of the old social barriers were broken down.

Perhaps the most memorable phrase to come out of the affair was uttered during the Ward trial by Keeler friend, Mandy Rice-Davies, “He would, wouldn’t he,” meaning that in some circumstances, any man was likely to lie.

Further Reading: Baston, Lewis. *Sleaze: The State of Britain*. London: Macmillan, 2000; Denning, Lord Alfred. *John Profumo and Christine Keeler 1963*. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1963; Keeler, Christine, with Douglas Thompson. *The Truth at Last: My Story*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 2001; Kennedy, Ludovic. *The Trial of Stephen Ward*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1964.

Helen J. Self

PROHIBITION. All countries have legal systems that regulate prostitution. These approaches may be addressed at the federal, state/province, or local level. Prohibition, related to criminalization, is the system in which prostitution itself and all activities that surround it are criminalized and prohibited by law. Most states in the United States, excluding some counties in Nevada, use this system. Other countries that use this system include China and Saudi Arabia.

Where prostitution is prohibited, every aspect of the business of prostitution is criminalized. This includes prostitution itself, management or promotion of prostitution, and soliciting sexual services in exchange for money as a client or a prostitute. The legal impact extends beyond the criminal justice system. For example, in the United States, evidence of involvement in prostitution can cause “immigrants” to be removed from the country. This system leaves low-income prostitutes and those from minority ethnic communities more susceptible to arrest, because of increased police presence in these neighborhoods. Prostitutes who are working on the street are more visible and therefore are more likely to be arrested. The most vulnerable prostitutes are usually working on the street because they cannot coordinate working indoors, which might shield them from visibility.

Prohibition also exacerbates the potential for sex workers to experience **violence**, and, at the same time, makes them less likely to approach the police for assistance, because of their unlawful behavior. Because criminalization dehumanizes those who work in prostitution and stigmatizes them, police and others are more readily able to abuse prostitutes with impunity. Furthermore, this **stigma** makes the provision of services and assistance for prostitutes a low priority in the public arena.

Proponents of prohibition argue that by criminalizing prostitution, society is combating the deterioration of neighborhoods, supporting moral behaviors, and closing off opportunities to sexually exploit people who might be trafficked into prostitution.

See also Abolitionism; Appendix documents 16, 17 and 19; Criminalization of Clients; Decriminalization; Legal Approaches.

Further Reading: Thukral, Juhu and Melissa Ditmore. *Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-Based Prostitution in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2003 <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>.

Juhu Thukral

PROSTITUTES' RIGHTS. See **HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement.**

PROTESTANT REFORMATION. In 1517, a German Catholic monk named Martin Luther posted a series of reforms on the church door in Wittenberg, Germany. In what became known as the Protestant Reformation (1517–1700), the Catholic Church, as well as European society, underwent a substantial change. Luther's Reformation was a far-reaching social movement that sought to return to the original foundations of Christianity. It challenged the Catholic idea that divine authority should be mediated through institutions or hierarchies, and it denied the value of tradition. Instead, it offered radical new notions of the supremacy of written texts (that is, the books of the **Bible**), interpreted by individual consciences. Moreover, it offered a reinterpretation of social and gender relations within patriarchal Europe. Women and their place in European society also underwent a serious transformation after the Reformation, as did the role of prostitution.

The major thinkers of the Reformation continued to view women as subordinate to males. The social order bordered on the patriarchal. Thus an assertive and aggressive woman was a woman who did not understand her social role as mother and wife. French theologian John Calvin noted that motherhood was a sign, even a precondition, of a woman's moral and physical health. A woman could be a good Christian solely through **marriage** and motherhood. Essentially, marriage was a microcosm of a larger social order.

Luther was a leading defender of the rights of women and the foundational importance of marriage. Luther placed the home "at the centre of the universe." In a radical reinterpretation of the household economy, Luther assigns more independence to the women in the Lutheran home. His teachings on the institution of marriage and the family were indeed considered radical. Before the Reformation, under the Catholic Church, it was a generally accepted idea that sex was a procreative act, not meant for pleasure. This argument was based on biblical scripture as well as the Church writings of **Saint Augustine**. Luther and the first generation of Protestant Reformers rejected this tradition—in both their beliefs and their daily lives. They rejected the celibate ideal of the Middle Ages. Luther vigorously urged fathers to remove their daughters from convents. Many Protestant towns closed the Catholic cloisters and nunneries, thus freeing many women from sexual repression, cultural depravity, dominance by male clergy, and Catholic practices. Moreover, where the Reformation had succeeded, Catholic monks and nuns who wished to marry received automatic permission to do so.

Despite his claim that women were independent in the household economy, Luther also taught that women were physiologically inferior to men and were created to be ruled by men. As proof, he cited the shape of a woman's hips; their broad base indicated that God meant for them to sit at home. He further believed that women had stronger sexual urges than men, and that if a man was impotent (or could not satisfy his partner), he should actively supply a sex partner for his wife.

Luther's ideas on divorce also changed the social environment. The Reformers endorsed, for the first time in Western Christendom, legitimate divorce and remarriage. Protestants, in contrast to Catholics, generally allowed for divorce and remarriage on five grounds: adultery, willful abandonment, chronic impotence, willful deceit, and life-threatening hostility. In other aspects as well, the Reformation opened the door for a more liberalized acceptance of what were previously "misbehaviors." Throughout the Middle Ages, prostitution was generally confined to "streetwalkers" and **brothels**. Essentially, municipal governments regulated these municipal areas. It was acknowledged that young men would seek out sexual relations regardless of their

options, and thus prostitution served to protect “respectable” townswomen from seduction and even **rape**. Moreover, prostitution allowed men to seek recreational sex outside of the confines of marriage. To a certain degree, the Reformation altered this behavior. As the fathers of the Reformation accepted the tenet of a liberalized marriage and social system, Europeans became more accepting of prostitutes.

During Luther’s time, official brothels existed in many German towns, sometimes even owned by the municipality, and the brothel keeper was frequently a salaried public official. Civic brothels were a civic possession, an amenity: thus in the 15th century, when the Emperor Sigismund and his retinue visited several towns of the Empire, they were feasted and entertained in the brothels as part of their civic welcome. In Ulm, there were reports of boys aged 12 spending time in the brothel, and though the city council thought this a little too young, it considered boys of 15 quite old enough to visit prostitutes. Brothels evolved into centers of amusement, not just of the sexual trade, where dice, cards, and other games were played. City authorities sometimes set the fees prostitutes could charge, deliberately restricting the women’s earnings so that journeymen could afford to pay their prices. For the parties of young men who went there, visits to the brothel were part of the progress to male adulthood. Essentially, society sanctioned and legitimated the male sexual drive as energy, which could and should be allowed expression: sexual experience was part of growing up.

In the aftermath of the Reformation, the Catholic Church responded by holding a series of councils to address the calls for reform. The result of these meetings was a direct pressure on Catholics to suppress any sexual urges, especially outside of marriage. A more direct result of the Reformation on sexual attitudes was an increase in the role of women in political affairs. Despite Luther’s, Calvin’s, and other reformists’ claims to a minimal amount of gender equality, women at a political level prospered. Over the course of the 17th century, women acquired more political legitimacy in the reigns of Elizabeth I, Mary I, and other women rulers who dominated the political scene. The Reformation would transform not just the political and household arenas, it also changed the traditional social aspects of European society, including prostitution.

See also Rites of Passage.

Further Reading: McClendon, Muriel C., Joseph P. Ward, and Michael Macdonald. *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999; Weisner-Hanks, Mary. *Convents Confront the Reformation: Catholic and Protestant Nuns in Germany*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1996.

Jaime Ramon Olivares

PROTOCOL TO PREVENT, SUPPRESS AND PUNISH TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS, ESPECIALLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN. See **United Nations Trafficking Protocol**.

PURITY CAMPAIGNS. Purity campaigns (also often called *social purity campaigns* or *purity crusades*) refer to collective attempts to eliminate activities that are perceived to be sinful, detrimental to human betterment, or likely to promote destructive behavior. Groups and individuals involved in such campaigns typically push for greater public awareness of, and increased social control over, prostitution, extramarital or premarital sexual relations, pornography, and the use of **alcohol** and illicit drugs. Reformers and activists attempt to influence important decision makers, especially legislators, in implementing specific policies and practices that are aimed at

disrupting, punishing, or suppressing such activities. The main opposition that such campaigners face in the political arena are “regulationists” or those who believe that such activities cannot be eradicated and are better “controlled” by government agencies and health providers. Those who either engage in such activities or profit from them form another kind of resistance to the ambitions of reformers. Prostitutes have often found themselves resisting the power of both reformers and regulationists.

Social Purity Reform in the United States and England

Social historians have extensively studied the period 1860–1915 in the United States and England. This era’s purity campaigns begin with an almost exclusive focus on prostitution and the desire to eliminate what they termed “the Social Evil.” Purity campaigners also launched a parallel campaign to strengthen chastity among youth.

Many of them saw prostitution as a form of slavery and did not believe that any girl or woman would choose to engage in it. Along with early feminists and religious activists, these reformers claimed that they were against prostitution, but not the prostitute, whom they saw as a victim. Her pathway into the sex trade was attributed to either economic desperation, previous seduction by men down a path of moral deregulation, or physical abduction by procurers.

The latter claim would come to be called “**white slavery**,” a term later applied to prostitution in general. Although historians of prostitution differ on how common coercive practices were, all agree that it represented a small minority of cases. Crusaders represented instances of coercion, and of **child prostitution**, as representative of the industry as a whole. Social purity campaigners were, however, largely responsible for scandalizing the public on these matters.

In the United States, “white slavery” invoked the specter of sex between white women and nonwhite, usually immigrant men, whom reformers claimed were **trafficking** in young girls. As the idea of “white slave traffic” gained ground, it represented the whole of prostitution as a coercive conspiracy.

Political Advancement of the Reformers

Purity campaigners defeated nearly every “regulationist” alternative that appeared in major cities, such as red light districts. (These were districts, mostly in cities, where prostitution, pandering, and brothel keeping were decriminalized.) By the turn of the 20th century, their political clout was formidable, even causing medical associations (previously strong supporters of regulation) to abandon such proposals.

Regulationism offended reformers in several ways. First, it was seen as too complacent about the inevitable existence of prostitution, which reformers did not accept. Many believed instead that modern men should learn to be as chaste as they believed most women “naturally” were. Regulationism facilitated a sexual outlet for men that enabled two negative outcomes, according to reformers: it would cause them to have no incentive to become more chaste, and, as the famed reformer **Josephine Butler** suggested, it maintained a “double standard” of morality for men and women that perpetuated inequality. Additionally, regulationist practices, particularly in England, implied forced gynecological examinations, which purity campaigners thought was itself a kind of **rape**.

Reformers operated with a different understanding of prostitution’s causes than did prostitutes themselves. Many women who worked in prostitution in fact had economic motives. However, even this conclusion, where sometimes recognized by reformers, was oversimplified: she had no choice, lest she starve. Although some women and girls engaged in prostitution to

meet bare survival needs, others selected prostitution as a course that they thought was the least problematic among a number of other poorly paid, exploitative, drudging, even boring income options. Many working-class women pursued this line of work for its comparative advantage over other employment available to them, such as industrial, retail, or domestic work. Still others maintained “legitimate” jobs while supplementing their income with prostitution. Many simply desired a means to live with some amount of leisure, comfort, independence, and small luxuries.

This complexity underscored the reformers’ social distance from those they wished to save. Reformers attempted to develop programs to steer prostitutes into alternative, albeit unskilled, employment. The reformers saw this as offering honest work to a “lost” girl, but the girls themselves often saw it otherwise: as a return to low-wage exploitation without the nicer clothes and entertainments that went along with their previous lives in the sex trade.

Prostitution continued to grow despite the many tangible political victories won by the movement. Yet the aims of the purity campaigns were broader. Reformers identified prostitution as “the social evil” for reasons beyond sexual propriety. For the middle class, prostitution came to symbolize a thorough commercialization of all aspects of intimate life, which was widely sentimentalized in the Victorian period. Nonmarital sex also implied the loss of virginity, which middle-class commentators associated with a loss of social status and marriageability. This view of virginity does not appear to have been widely shared by working-class girls.

The Decline of the Social Purity Movements

By the turn of the 20th century, reformers in the United States refocused their energies toward **abstinence** from alcohol. Also, a number of city governments by the 1910s had convened vice commissions to do research, publish reports, and develop recommendations on prostitution. The social science–trained fieldworkers hired to examine the problem developed the consensus opinion that, while present, coercion into the sex trade was largely anecdotal. Concluding that entry into prostitution was mainly voluntary, municipal leaders returned to an older tone of moral condemnation of the prostitute. The previous elimination of licensed **brothels** and red light districts put “the social evil” more out of sight, and continued attempts to suppress prostitution focused on the arrest, incarceration, and “rehabilitation” of prostitutes. The era of “rescue” was over.

See also Abolitionism; Marriage; Purity Movements.

Further Reading: Butler, Josephine. “The Double-Standard of Morality.” *Philanthropist*, October 1886; Grittner, Frederick K. *White Slavery: Myth, Ideology, and American Law*. New York: Garland, 1990; Pivar, David J. *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973; Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982; Vice Commission of Chicago. *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions*. Chicago: Gunthorp-Warren Printing Company, 1911; Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Pamela Donovan

PURITY MOVEMENTS. Social **purity campaigns** in the United States and Britain addressed prostitution and other issues of sexuality (such as age of consent, **white slavery**, and birth control), usually taking the position that unregulated sexuality caused widespread social

damage. Although many organizations worked alongside the police, they had no legal authority and were generally independent “vigilante” movements. People who founded and joined social purity movements often did so for religious reasons, although medical, political, and economic reasons for regulating or abolishing prostitution were commonly invoked. One of the most striking elements of these organizations was that prostitutes themselves were rarely consulted about policies that affected their lives and livelihoods. Instead, prostitutes appear to have been invoked as examples of martyred womanhood, social disease, or other ideological symbolism; even organizations that worked to rescue prostitutes, rather than punish them, had little interest in addressing prostitutes as individuals or exploring the reasons why prostitution may have been a practical or desired choice of profession.

Between the 1690s and 1730s, London **societies for the reformation of manners** brought about the closure of brothels and “Molly Houses” (homosexual **brothels**). The prostitutes risked being flogged, sentenced to beating with hemp, or even—for convictions of sodomy—executed. The next major wave of organized social purity campaigns came in the late 18th century and led to the formation of the Society for the Suppression of Vice (known simply as the Vice Society) in 1802. An evangelical movement, this society campaigned against a variety of social ills, including brothels, before coming to focus almost exclusively on obscenity. The mid-19th century saw the rise of organizations dedicated to rescue work; as a result, many prostitutes entered **Magdalen Homes**, where they were required to demonstrate penitence and rehabilitation, although the efficacy of such methods was doubtful.

The most significant British social purity campaign resulted from activism dedicated to repealing the **Contagious Diseases Acts**. **Josephine Butler**, who learned of the Acts during her rescue work with prostitutes in Liverpool, founded the Ladies’ National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (LNA). By 1877, there were more than 800 regional and local chapters throughout Britain. Drawing on her religious beliefs, as well as lessons learned from her abolitionist father, Butler emphasized that repeal of the Acts was an issue that affected all women, regardless of class. She directly opposed the belief that prostitutes (who were mostly of the working class) should be exploited by middle-class men so as to protect their wives from male sexuality. The irony was that, in many cases, “innocent” wives became infected with their husbands’ venereal disease. It was unfair, claimed Butler, that women should be not only the victims of male vice, but punished for it. The women of the LNA were not the only ones working for repeal—Quakers, working men, and physicians were among those who formed organizations and took active roles—but this marked the first time that women had spoken publicly about venereal disease, and it was a significant turning point in the perception of prostitution as an issue that was relevant to all women.

Ellice Hopkins, an influential but now largely forgotten campaigner, played a large role in encouraging the active participation of women in rescue movements, in spite of her personal revulsion of such work. She also worked to establish the White Cross League, a society within the Church of England that urged men to vow personal chastity. Such an approach highlights one of the fundamental beliefs of purity movements, that both genders must strive for sexual purity. A more dramatic attempt at gaining the support of the public came from the reformer **William T. Stead**, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who decided to use his newspaper as a mouthpiece to promote purity and the dangers of the prostitution industry. In 1885, Stead arranged for a madam to buy an underage virgin from her parents, with the proclaimed intent of selling the girl to a continental brothel. “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” earned Stead three months

in prison, but the outrage it stirred in both Britain and the United States led to a far greater public awareness and abhorrence of the issue of the white slave trade and **forced prostitution**.

American social purity movements shared much of the ideological foundations of their British counterparts, such as a religious impetus that emphasized the redemption of fallen women and a rejection of the sexual double standard. However, although American feminists had worked both politically and personally with prostitutes since the 1830s, through groups such as the Female Moral Reform Society, there was no American counterpart to the LNA. Legislation similar to the Contagious Diseases Acts was proposed only on very limited and local scales in the United States, most notably in St. Louis between 1870 and 1874, so there was no overarching issue that required activism.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, U.S. groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which created a Social Purity Department in 1885, argued against prostitution on the grounds that it reduced women to second-class citizens. This tied into contemporary debates about women's suffrage: not only should women be equal to men in possessing the right to vote, but once women were able to vote, they might use their political clout to protect other women from being exploited by men.

See also Abolition; Fallen Woman Trope; Marriage; Religion.

Further Reading: Bolt, Christine. *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993; Bristow, Edward J. *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977; Hobson, Barbara Meil. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. New York: Basic Books, 1987; Pivar, David J. *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Tracey S. Rosenberg

R

R&R. R&R is an abbreviation for “rest and relaxation,” a phrase promoted first by the military. English sailors in the 18th and 19th centuries under captains Benjamin Wallis, William Bligh, and James Cook in Polynesia and elsewhere, along with scientists and writers such as Scottish writer and poet Robert Louis Stevenson, enjoyed exotic and seemingly easily erotic stays among “other people” in lands of good climates. During World War II, in Hawaii, naïve young servicemen paid \$3 for three minutes of R&R, of morale uplift in the face of tedium and lengthy sea voyages. The Spanish had built two military installations in the Philippines that were later ceded to invading Americans and that eventually became Subic Bay naval base and Clark Air Force base. Tens of thousands of American servicemen enjoyed their first exotic port of call, too, this time at Olongapo City. The 20 or so R&R sites in the late 1950s had swelled to 1,567 in Olongapo and another 615 in Angeles city by the late 1980s.

Hawaii and the Philippines were only two of the many places where military sexism found its logical expression. Soldiers viewed the girls and women there through lenses of compliant Asian femininity but referred to them derogatorily as “slant eyes.” The “little brown sex machines” referred to on T-shirts in Okinawa, Japan, morphed quickly into “little brown fucking machines powered by rice” in displays of militarized **misogyny**. Following six months of service, soldiers tired of drinking and playing billiards and video games could fly cheaply to Thailand, Hong Kong, Okinawa, or South Korea for more of the same, where structurally similar R&R venues had been set up for them. The 500,000 American soldiers in and near Saigon during the Vietnam War were matched in number by women and girls in prostitution, many in a kind of licensing system approved by the U.S. military.

At least four historical developments enabled the growth of R&R. By name and institution, it originated in the Mutual Defense Treaty signed in the late 1950s by U.S. and Korean authorities that granted American servicemen sexual access to Korean females at a 3-to-1 ratio. Second, the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, Korea, and Okinawa included the sexual enslavement, to the Japanese Imperial Army, of 200,000 women and girls (**comfort women**) in state-sponsored

brothels known as Comfort Stations. Third, near the end of World War II, the Battle of Okinawa occurred, during which far more civilians died than soldiers. Surviving Okinawan women were given by retreating or surrendering Japanese soldiers to the American occupation forces. Fourth, sex tourism got a huge boost in **Bangkok** and Pattaya, Thailand, during the 1960s and 1970s because of the Vietnam War, when American participants were flown to R&R sites not formally attached to military bases. In 1966, the Thai government passed the Entertainment Places Act, which codified the practice of police tolerance of military prostitution. The following year, an agreement allowing American soldiers to travel to Pattaya for R&R was signed, and spending in Pattaya grew from US\$5 million in 1967 to US\$20 million in 1970. **Venues** created to cater to American GIs expanded and today accommodate international tourists.

As in Hawaii, Okinawa, and Olongapo, Bangkok's central role in military prostitution promoted severe abuse of women, distortion of local economies, flaunting of traditional values, abandonment of biracial children, and penicillin-resistant strains of gonorrhea. At the end of the first Persian Gulf War in Iraq, the U.S. military once again sent troops on sex vacations to Thailand.

Further Reading: Bailey, Beth, and David Farber. *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War Two Hawaii*. New York: Free Press, 1992; Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989; Jeffrey, Leslie Ann. *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003; Moon, Katherine. *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; Sturdevant, Sandra, and Brenda Stoltzfus, eds. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. New York: New Press, 1992.

Lawrence Hammar

RACE AND ETHNICITY. Race and ethnicity are aspects of identity by which people categorize others, and different races and ethnicities predominate in various places and communities. These categories play out in the sex industry as well as in general culture. For example, race and ethnicity are key components in how women are structurally positioned within the sex industry, especially in prostitution. The categories used to classify race and gender are reflected and reinforced with hierarchies within the sex industry, which are reflected in working conditions and earnings. The sex industry is an extension of various niche markets in the service sector that also reflect racial and ethnic social construction and stereotypes. Racial categories shift according to historical era, individual and group definition, and geography. This is true within the sex industry across geographic spaces and cultural epochs.

Race is a key variable in stratification among sex workers (mainly women, though men are also workers as well as consumers in the sex industry). The history of prostitution and race within the United States offers insight to the racial positioning of ethnic minorities. Cultural and economic production of sexual images throughout the sex industry reproduces racial categories of the society in which they are situated. Racialized desire is a form of desire influenced by racial and ethnic ideologies regarding sexuality and degrees of attractiveness as grounds for racial and ethnic status.

Origins of Racial Sexual Stereotypes in the United States

Sex slavery is part of America's history. In spite of white men's sexual and economic domination of slave women, some slave women engaged in sexual relationships with elite white

Categories in the New York listings of “female escorts.”

vip escorts
 all escorts
 blonde
 brunette
 redhead
 gfe
 independent
 agency
 xxx stars
 centerfolds
 super busty
 mature ladies
 full figured
 European
 verified photo listings
 visiting
 incall
 outcall
 Asian
 ebony
 latina
 women for women
 women for couples
 manhattan
 long island
 new jersey
 staten island

From <http://www.eros.com> (2005).

men to avoid field work or obtain special treatment. In rare cases among free slave women, **marriage** occurred. Slave women may have prostituted their bodies in exchange for amenities or special treatment, but they were owned rather than employed, and many were raped. Thus, there is a distinction between free and paid sexual labor, which underscores the current situation in which many minorities find themselves positioned in the sex industry vis-à-vis the dominant ethnic group.

Sex and the Reproduction of Race

In Louisiana the positioning of mulattos stemmed from Catholic French culture. Similar to the situation in South Carolina, in Louisiana mulattos enjoyed a certain level of privilege vis-à-vis unmixed blacks. Some mulattos “rose to elite status in the Louisiana sugar economy and then with cotton ... became wealthy, cultivated the arts of education, bought freedom from slavery ... and owned slaves. The mulatto elites avoided identification and marriage with both blacks and whites ... carefully arranging marriages with other mulattos” (Davis 2001, 36).

Louisiana, unlike other southern states, had a three-tiered racial classification. The Louisiana Civil Code of 1808 outlawed free people of color from marrying unmixed blacks or whites. The term “Creole” in Louisiana refers to U.S-born whites with French or Spanish origin. The term “Creole of color” means mixed black persons with French or Spanish origin. The sexual economy of prostitutes evolved around elite white men having mulatta concubines for sexual pleasure, during and post-slavery. Concubines and prostitutes were “sold as ‘fancy girls’ in the internal slave market, and **New Orleans** and Frankfort, Kentucky, became the largest market for pretty quadroons and octoroons” (Davis 2001, 37). In New Orleans mulattas were brought in from plantations, and mulattas became lighter with each generation.

Miscegenation was tolerated because the “one-drop” rule, which held that any trace of black blood classified a person as “black,” was rejected in this part of the South. Miscegenation was central to the slave system on Southern plantations. The ownership of black women slaves by white men was an extension of their economic power over slaves, especially women slaves. The closing of the slave trade in the early 19th century “did not weaken the institution of slavery ... it had a reverse effect. It increased the financial commitment of slavery ... in addition to the increased financial commitment of slavery, the slave-trade ban increase the reliance of natural

reproduction for replenishing the slave population” (Wilson 1978, 31). F. James Davis avers that control of black women under the institution of slavery meant control of her sex life as well. This was common in places with slavery, and Kempadoo (2004) describes similar control of slaves’ sexuality used for profit in the **Caribbean**.

Thus, miscegenation was tolerated as long as sexual contact took place between white men and black women, but not vice versa. Davis (2001, 39) states that the reasoning was that “a mixed child in a white household violated and threatened the whole slave system. A mixed child in the slave quarters was not only no threat to the system, but ... a valuable economic asset, another slave.”

Social opprobrium directed at interracial carnality was not limited to the South. Gilfoyle (1992) describes clustering that led to **brothels** featuring particular racial and ethnic groups in specific areas of **New York City**. “Most black-run establishments operated with little fanfare or opposition, except for the interracial ‘black and tans.’ By ignoring many of the conventions of racial segregation, these establishments drew criticism from many who normally tolerated commercial sex” (Gilfoyle 1992, 209). **Five Points** was known for its ethnic variety, including in prostitution. The most reviled prostitutes were white women who sold sex to men of color, especially Chinese men (Gilfoyle 1992, 232).

Native Populations in the United States

Native women also have been sexually commodified historically and were often forced into prostitution during the years of European conquest and the extraction of Native land in the United States. According to sociologist Joanne Nagel (2003), Native women were often coerced into prostitution with European men as the latter’s way to assert control and dominance over a land and people. Similar to the example of racial sexual boundaries being crossed by black and white, racial boundaries were crossed between Native women and white men, but often as a result of **rape**.

Upon first contact, European men were fascinated by what they perceived in the behavior of Native people as an uninhibited sexuality wherein the women were scantily dressed and participated in sexual promiscuous sexual behavior (Nagel 2003). Like the ideology of African slave women in the United States as lustful and sexually seducing white men, ideology that white men used to justify the systematic raping of black women within the institution of slavery, Native women were viewed as prostituting their bodies to white men, whereas white settler men were seen as indulging in desires with these women.

However, the sexual exchange between Native women and white men was also a consequence of increasing poverty as a result of the relocation of Native people. As Nagel points out, “many white sexual advances were not welcomed by Native people, but were accepted in acts of desperation. The poverty resulting from forced Indian removals from homelands and the destruction of indigenous economics left many Native communities destitute” (70). Hence, the relocation of Native peoples to remote, impoverished reservations also rendered prostitution an act of economic desperation among Native women and men. In an interview conducted by Brooks in 1998, an HIV-positive Native man, Chata, described the social circumstances and his life on a reservation as a prostitute.

I was born on the Indian reservation outside of El Paso, Texas. I have been HIV positive for fifteen years. Sex work for me was a situation that just kind of happened... it was a survival issue. There’s very little running water and electricity on the rez; there’s a lot of bars and liquor. Being born on the rez and being oppressed as people, as well as having lack of facilities—I

used to spend a lot of time on the strip in hotels and bars, while selling corn, tamales. I did sex work for survival. The guys used to play guard for the girls inside the hotels. When you're out on the streets, cleaning houses, picking cotton, and selling food—again, it was about survival. I've been doing AIDS work for the last twelve years, and I do HIV prevention policy... when it comes to equal access to information and drugs there's not equality while our communities of color continue to be affected with HIV and AIDS. (Brooks 2000)

Ethnic Marketing

The sex industry offers examples in support of the argument put forth by various race scholars that race is socially and biologically constructed and has real-life consequences. Sex workers who are members of a dominant racial or ethnic group generally earn more than those who are members of ethnic and racial minorities. It has been noted that “women of color are disproportionately clustered in the least well-paid and most stigmatized sectors of the sex industry such as street prostitution” (Chapkis 2000, 187).

There is a clientele for racial and ethnic minorities in the sex industry, but their working conditions often reflect their racially stratified position and their typically lower wages in all fields. Sex workers from racial and ethnic minorities frequently are seen as worth less than white colleagues. This corresponds to their clients: venues that cater to an ethnically mixed clientele are more likely to feature a wider variety of ethnicities among dancers, prostitutes, and other sex workers. In the United States these venues typically cater to working-class clientele, whereas more upscale venues cater to white-collar workers and may employ a token African American or Latina, as well as Asians and whites. In East Asia, some brothels post signs listing prices and services offered: In a **Hong Kong** brothel, the girls who work there are priced by ethnic group, with Malaysian and Philippine sex workers listed lowest” (Louie 2003, 8). **COYOTE** member Gloria Lockett, a black former prostitute stated,

Race played a very big part in how much money you made. Fortunately or unfortunately, I hung around a bunch of sisters who were white. We all helped each other out. If one of the girls would catch a date, we had an apartment or checked out the pad that we were working out of. The two or three Black women would wait until they got to the apartment and we would double date. So, if you were standing out on the corner, they would definitely pick up the white girl first. No matter how big, ugly, or old she looked—it didn't matter: The white girl went first, then the black girls. (Brooks 2000)

However, the eroticization of ethnicity also creates a “niche market” in the sex industry based on race. Ethnic enclaves in prostitution both cater to minority communities and provide “exotic” sex workers in niche markets in the United States and elsewhere. For example, in India, Nepalis are stereotyped as sexy and sexual, in ways similar to how African Americans are eroticized. “In India's red-light districts, the demand for Nepali girls, especially virgins with fair skin and Mongolian features, continues to increase” (Human Rights Watch 1995). Ethnic enclaves within the practice of prostitution may also feature **trafficking**.

In an ethnic niche, prostitution often becomes another example of a job in the expanding service sector and a way many people contribute to supporting their families. Many people do sex work to supplement their income from other types of jobs in the service sector.

Ethnic markets include sex **tourism** with sex workers of all genders. In the Caribbean, stereotypes of the hypersexual Caribbean man and the hot Latina who enjoys sex combine with

the Caribbean stereotypes of white women as sexually greedy and the reality that foreigners of a certain age generally have financial and other resources to offer to create an unequal sexual economy. In **Bangkok**, the sex industry entertainers who are successful with Western, usually white tourists have dark skin, a feature of the peasants and ethnic minorities, whereas those deemed most desirable by local standards of beauty have fair skin.

Race and Performance

The consequences of racial preference are evident in the racial stratification of sex workers. Racial performances in the sex industry are often performed via stereotypes of what each group is supposed to be like sexually. It has been argued that black and Latina women are stereotypically viewed not only as hypersexual, but also as hyper-heterosexual as a way to equate them with animals.

Depicting people of African descent as symbols of embodied, natural sexuality that “fucked” like animals and produced babies installed Black people as the essence of nature. Moreover, the concern with Black fertility linked perceptions of promiscuity to assumptions of heterosexuality. Within this logic, homosexuality was assumed to be impossible among Black people because same-sex sexual practices did not result in reproduction. (Hill-Collins 2004, 105)

Stereotypes of black and Latina women, including women from the Caribbean, are that they are “hot” and sexually aggressive, vis-à-vis white women, who are viewed as pure “real” women, and Asian women are often portrayed as being submissive. This is evident in **Internet** advertisements for phone sex and online sex sites where these adjectives are used to describe the sexuality of various women of color.

Categories from the New York listings of “female escorts” at the Web site <http://www.eros.com> refer to characteristics such as body shape, hair color, or age. Four categories refer to race or ethnicity: “Asian,” “Latina,” “Ebony,” and “European.” Some may assume that the categories of “blonde, brunette, and redhead” could also refer to women of European descent; however, a quick perusal of these pages shows that women of a diverse variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds list their profiles here. Most of the women do not list their fees on this site, so it is difficult to know if there are significant differences in the amount women of color are able to command as opposed to white women.

Some advertisement text seems to play on racial stereotypes of “exotic” beauty and the hypersexuality of such women. For example, one ad in the “ebony” category reads in part, “Almost Nothing is Taboo, but it is Sweet! Hey guys my name is Sade, and I am an exotic and passionate escort.” Another listing in the ebony section plays with racial stereotypes but also incorporates symbols of the upper middle class: “How about a little death by chocolate? Guaranteed to satisfy your sweet tooth. I stand 5’3”, 123 lbs., solid, short n’ sweet and good enough to eat! With the hottest backside this side and that side of the Mississippi, and baby soft skin to boot! I am a college educated, articulate, and cultured young lady.” However, it should be stated that many of the ad texts do not play on such stereotypes and are not overly racialized. For example, emphasizing such personal qualities as “caring,” “fun,” and “intelligent” were common across ads of all racial and ethnic categories.

Race and Trafficking

The “**comfort women**”—sexual slaves of the Japanese military during World War II—represent the most notorious case of sex **trafficking**. That Japanese women were not conscripted and mostly Korean women were highlights the ethnic aspect of trafficking. However, most

trafficking cases involve people known to and trusted by the people who are trafficked. The element of **migration** brings in concepts of race and ethnicity in another way—given that trafficking often involves movement from one cultural and linguistic area to another and may be complicated by ethnic ties.

Race is also played out in efforts to “rescue” people in the sex industry, in what has been labeled “White women saving Brown women from Brown men” (Spivak 1994, 93) Rescuing women from prostitution in the 19th century initially focused on class and was used to professionalize social work as a career for women. Now rescues and raids are conducted in Asia by international organizations that intend to save women and children from prostitution. Problems begin when organizations conducting these raids do not find out if women want to be rescued or what would be helpful for them to change careers. Organizations that seek to rescue children have forcibly removed adult women, particularly those who look young to their would-be rescuers, from their workplaces. Some women have no other source of support and do not want to be rescued, especially if rescue organizations have not provided for livable wages in another line of work. Many women removed from **brothels** in raids return to brothels with greater debts than before they were rescued.

See also Stigma.

Further Reading: Agustín, Laura. “Helping Women Who Sell Sex: The Construction of Benevolent Identities.” *Rhizomes* 10 (Spring 2005), <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue10/agustin.htm>; Brooks, Siobhan. “Working the Streets: Gloria Lockett’s Story.” *Spectator.net interviews* (2000), http://www.spectator.net/1155/pages/1155_lockett.html; Bulmer, Martin, and Solomos, John. *Racism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; Chapkis, Wendy. “Power and Control in the Commercial Sex Trade.” In *Sex for Sale*, ed. R. Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 181–201; Davis, Angela. *Women, Race, and Class*. New York: Vintage, 1983; Davis, F. James. *Who Is Black?: One Nation’s Definition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001; Dominguez, Virginia R. *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1992; Hill-Collins, Patricia. *Black Sexual Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2004; Human Rights Watch. *Rape For Profit: Trafficking of Nepali Girls and Women to India’s Brothels*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2005. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/India.htm>; Kempadoo, Kamala, and Jo Doezema. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge, 1998; Kempadoo, Kamala. *Sexing the Caribbean*. New York: Routledge, 2004; Lerner, Gerda. *Black Women in White America*. New York: Vintage, 1973; Louie, Reagan. *Orientalia: Sex in Asia*. New York: Powerhouse Books, 2003; McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995; Model, Suzanne. “The Ethnic Niche and the Structure of Opportunity: Immigrants and Minorities in New York City.” In *The Underclass Debate: Views from History*, ed. Michael B. Katz. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993; Nagel, Joanne. *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body*. New York: Vintage 1997; Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In *Colonial Discourse and Post Colonial Theory*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 66–111; Thukral, Juhu, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>; Wilson, William Julius. *The Declining Significance of Race: Black and Changing American Institutions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978.

Siobhan Brooks, Melissa Hope Ditmore, and Juline A. Koken

RAHAB. Rahab the prostitute (Hebrew *zônâ*) appears in the biblical account of the conquest of Jericho (Joshua 2 and 6). She shows herself to be resourceful and shrewd. Judging the invaders the stronger, she hides the two spies sent to assess her city's strength, lies to thwart the king who asks her for them, and, using a crimson cord, aids their escape over the town wall. The cord also marks her house for safety during the invasion. She and her family settle with the people of Israel.

Later Jewish sources are divided on whether to stress her unsavory origin. Based on an Aramaic translation, Rashi and other early rabbis rendered *zônâ* as "innkeeper" rather than "prostitute." This saves the spies' reputation and makes plausible legends of her marriage to Joshua and presence in a line of prophets, including Jeremiah and Huldah. Other rabbis called Rahab a prostitute and began to idealize her as one of the world's most beautiful women. It was claimed she was a harlot from age 10 through the 40-year Israelite sojourn in the desert and that repeating "Rahab, Rahab" caused a seminal discharge.

Like the Hebrew **Bible**, the New Testament only begins to develop an idealized portrait. One text names her as a prostitute saved by faith (Hebrews 11:31); another declares her a prostitute justified by works (James 2:25). Matthew simply listed her in the genealogy of Jesus (1:5).

Medieval and modern artists have represented Rahab in poses based on the Bible. Writers did not often tell her story until the 18th century, and then they were able to conceive her freely, as in Frank G. Slaughter's *The Scarlet Cord* (1956). Or they idealized her, as in sermons and retellings for children.

Further Reading: Kramer, Phyllis Silverman. "Rahab from Peshat to Pedagogy, or: The Many Faces of a Heroine." In *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible*, ed. George Aichele. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series 309. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 2000; Nelson, Richard D. *Joshua: A Commentary*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1997; Sölle, Dorothy. *Great Women of the Bible in Art and Literature*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994, pp. 104–13.

Robert P. Dunn

RAPE. As a result of the **stigma** and often-unlawful nature of prostitution, prostitutes and sex workers are frequent victims of **crime**, including rape. Police, customers, and others who commit **violence** against, threaten, or rob prostitutes know that police and society do not take these crimes seriously and that they, rather than addressing the violent crimes committed against sex workers, often blame the prostitute/crime victim for engaging in unlawful or immoral behavior. In fact, in addition to fearing violence from customers, prostitutes all over the world also legitimately fear police violence, and they complain about police indifference to violence committed against them, including rape. This indifference is often compounded by the myth that sex workers or prostitutes cannot be raped, a view that is especially pernicious when held by the medical community. Prostitutes who have been victims of rape deserve the same attention and care as any other victim of crime. Rape is often considered a crime against women—most women are taught to fear rape and anticipate situations in which it might occur, even though there may be little one can do to prevent it in some situations. However, any person can be raped. Transgender persons are vulnerable to rape, as are men, particularly those in vulnerable situations or those who do not conform to societal stereotypes of masculinity.

Many prostitutes have been raped or have experienced other sexual assault by customers. A 2004 study conducted by sex workers in Cambodia, who interviewed approximately 1,000

sex workers, found that 97 percent reported being raped by someone in the past year (Jenkins 2005). Of 50 sex workers interviewed in one U.S. city in 1997 and 1998, 32 percent had a customer attempt to rape them, and 26 percent had been actually raped (Norton-Hawk 2001). Although most prostitutes fear the prospect of being raped, most relate this concern to the lack of attention paid by police and society to this problem and the particular neglect of rape and other violence committed against sex workers. Therefore, it is not that men who are customers of prostitutes are predisposed to rape, but that anyone who might want to engage in this violence knows that he is likely to act with impunity against sex workers or other sexually marginalized people.

In addition to being subjected to officials' indifference to prostitutes' being raped by customers, many prostitutes have been raped by police. Prostitutes are also victimized by police who extract sex acts from them in exchange for not arresting them, and such a situation is unambiguously coercive. Although a prostitute may at that point make a decision as to which is the lesser of two evils—the sex act or the arrest—many people would also construe this coercion as rape.

During times of war or military occupation, societies often see an increase in rape and prostitution. The most notorious examples of the confluence of rape and prostitution are the **comfort women** forced into prostitution by the Japanese military during World War II. Conflict areas and war zones may not offer many income-generating opportunities for most women, and with many young men in the area, an environment develops in which rape in general, including rape of sex workers, may generally increase. This is particularly so when rape is systematically used as a weapon of war.

Human Rights Watch (2003) documented abuse of sex workers by army personnel in Dhaka, Bangladesh, when the city was occupied by the military. A sex worker interviewed by Human Rights Watch in Dhaka said, "I have been beaten by the army twice. Once the day before yesterday [December 15, 2002] and once the day before that [December 14, 2002].... When they beat me, the soldiers asked me, 'Why are you doing this kind of work. Why aren't you doing a good job?' But at the same time they also want sex. Twice, soldiers on duty raped me. [One of these times] [t]here were five or six soldiers altogether. Two raped me and the others raped other sex workers nearby."

Rape can lead to **posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)**, which has been noted as an effect of involvement in the sex industry. However, it is more accurate to view PTSD as a side effect of violence, further compounded by the difficulty for sex workers in most locations to address violence committed against them. Furthermore, sex workers in conflict areas, like everyone in war zones, may have higher rates of PTSD as opposed to general members of civil society, including prostitutes, outside war zones.

Substance abuse is another factor to consider. Some women with a personal history of rape or other sexual abuse may use drugs to deal with the pain of past violence, which can lead to prostitution when she needs to make quick money to feed an **addiction**. Additionally, some women with a history of sexual abuse enter into new sexual encounters with a desire to control their sexual experiences, thus possibly leading to prostitution, which allows them to control the activity. These links between prostitution and history of violence are difficult to ascertain with any kind of specificity because many studies of sex workers and history of sexual abuse or rape occur in settings where rape victims are more likely to be found, such as rape treatment centers or conflict zones.

Finally, rape is often used as a tool against women who are trafficked, forced, or coerced into prostitution. Rape has been used in these settings to control and “prepare” women for prostitution and to break their will to ensure a fear of escaping or otherwise crossing the traffickers. This, of course, is another area in which the correlation between prostitution and PTSD is high.

See also Forced Prostitution; Trafficking.

Further Reading: Human Rights Watch. “*Making Their Own Rules*”: Police Beatings, Rape, and Torture of Children in Papua New Guinea. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004. <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/png0905/>; Human Rights Watch. *Policy Paralysis: A Call for Action on HIV/AIDS-Related Human Rights Abuses Against Women and Girls in Africa*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/africa1203/>; Human Rights Watch. *Ravaging the Vulnerable: Abuses Against Persons at High Risk of HIV in Bangladesh*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/bangladesh0803/>; Jenkins, Carol. “Cambodian Sex Workers Conduct Their Own Research.” *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005), <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Norton-Hawk, Maureen. “The Counterproductivity of Incarcerating Female Street Prostitutes.” *Deviant Behavior* 22, no. 5 (Sept–Oct 2001): 403–417; NSW Rape Crisis Center. “I Am a Sex Worker.” <http://www.nswrapecrisis.com.au/Information%20Sheets/I-am-a-sex-worker.htm>; Weitzer, Ronald. “Flawed Theory and Method in Studies of Prostitution.” *Violence Against Women* 11, no. 7 (July 2005).

Juhu Thukral

RAPE, STATUTORY. The legal concept of statutory rape is related to age-gap distinctions. If an adult is having sex with a person below the age of majority and charges are pressed against him or her, then this act is penalized either as a misdemeanor or as a felony. Statutory rape charges have been leveled in instances of prostitution involving children and adolescents. The legal definition, if namely this sexual act will be punished as a misdemeanor or as a felony, depends on the age of the involved persons and the age-gap between them. The laws on statutory rape are not homogenous, but they differ from state to state and from country to country. Persons at the age of 13 to 16 years are usually regarded as minors and persons at the age of 16 to 18 years are usually considered to be at the age of consent. If the person having sex with a minor is 2 to 5 years older than the minor, charges can be pressed against him or her. If two minors are the same age, however, having sex is not necessarily considered statutory rape. The sentence can be increased if the adult is more than 5 years older than the minor. These age definitions, however, vary from state to state.

Statutory rape laws are meant to have several functions. Basically, they tend to protect vulnerable ages groups from being coerced to having sex with adults and guard them from sexual exploitation. Statutory rape laws raise moral issues about seduction of minors and they criminalize sexual **violence** against them. At the same time, statutory rape laws aim to prevent problems caused by adolescent pregnancy. In cases of pregnancy by adults at a minor age, mediation measures are hard to implement if fathers refuse to provide the needed financial support. These costs then have to be undertaken by the state. In this sense, the latent function of statutory rape laws is the reduction of public expenditures for the provision of welfare and health care benefits. Social issues are also very important in cases of adolescent pregnancy. Victims of statutory rape, who were forced to become mothers at a minor age, do not only face a number of serious emotional and psychological consequences, but they are also socially

excluded from the education and labor system. The possibility of being able to work, of finding a regular job, and raising the child is in the case of the minor very limited. Failing financial support through family and state networks has often driven young mothers to prostitution, especially those from unprivileged families and those with low social and economical status. The minor violently passes from adolescence to adulthood and is expected to fulfill the new role of mother. The rapid change of life style caused by the increased duties and the new responsibilities, the social stigmatization of the abused young mother, and the marginalization and the isolation from the teenager's community are some of the problems that the victim of statutory rape has to deal with.

Maria Makantonatou

RECHY, JOHN (1934–). John Rechy is an American writer best known for his novels based on his experiences as a gay hustler. Born in El Paso, Texas, to Mexican parents, Rechy began drifting and hustling his way around the United States after a stint in the U.S. Army. In his autobiographical first novel, *City of Night* (1963), a nameless narrator recounts his adventures, the street life, and people and johns he encounters as he wanders and hustles himself from **New Orleans** to **New York City**, **Chicago**, San Francisco, and **Los Angeles**. The novel also recounts a childhood in El Paso. *City of Night* was an international literary sensation, creating such a strong demand for copies that the book landed on several best-seller lists before it was even published. It is considered a classic of modern American literature for its subject matter, style, and structure.

Rechy eventually settled in Los Angeles where he hustled until he was 55 years old. He claims he stopped counting after 7,000 sexual partners. A landscape of rough-trade gay hustling provides the backdrop for most of his novels. *Numbers* (1967), *This Day's Death* (1969), *Rushes* (1979), and *The Coming of the Night* (1999) all deal with some aspect of hustling or the changing gay scene. *The Sexual Outlaw: A Documentary* (1977) is his nonfiction take on the subjects.

The author of more than a dozen novels to date, he has also written several that include a gay character but do not feature hustling at their core. These include *Marilyn's Daughter* (1988) and *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez* (1991) and reveal his interest in Hollywood's mystique and his Chicano roots. Rechy disparages the label "gay writer."

Rechy has taught writing at UCLA and USC and is the recipient of two Lifetime Achievement awards: one from PEN USA West and another from the Publishing Triangle. Rechy lives in Hollywood with his partner of many years, film producer Michael Snyder.

Further Reading: Casillo, Charles. *Outlaw: The Lives and Careers of John Rechy*. Los Angeles: Advocate Books, 2002; Reys, Jeff. "LA Outlaw." *Blue* 46 (September 2003): 40–43.

Joe E. Jeffreys

RED THREAD. See *Rode Draad*.

REFORM. Efforts to reform prostitutes, especially female prostitutes, seem to be nearly as ubiquitous as sex work itself. The **Renaissance** and the **Protestant Reformation** marked a turn from the widespread tolerance of prostitution during the Middle Ages. In modern history European women suspected of loose morals have been institutionalized in **Magdalen homes** and asylums

or lock hospitals, reform schools, and **prisons**. Contemporary reform efforts in Cuba, China, and Vietnam include internment and “reeducation” of prostitutes.

Reform efforts have never been free of sexism or classism. Female sex workers have been the targets of reformers far more frequently than male or **transgender sex workers** have been. Attempts to prevent or regulate prostitution have punished some women, usually working-class and poor women, for behavior that would be entirely innocent when engaged in by others. Prostitute advocacy was one way wealthy women professionalized social work and made a career out of the reform of “wayward” women. This phenomenon generally took the form of upper-class and middle-class women attempting to change the way poor people lived.

Historically, the two “occupations” of respectable women were domestic work and **marriage**, and most women in prisons and Magdalen homes for prostitution had been domestic servants. Domestic service meant labor with low wages and often sexual harassment, seduction, and **rape**. Drudgery could well motivate a person to accept money for what may not have actually been more distasteful service. Considering available options, it becomes easier to see why some women would engage in sexual transactions on a professional and overt level or an “amateur” and unspoken level, as with “charity girls,” and so become the object of reform efforts.

Moral panics promote greater attention to prostitution and have often been accompanied by reform efforts. These efforts to reform women have often been resisted by prostitutes. Reform efforts have been used to restrict female autonomy, as illustrated in Victorian **London**, with the mob response to both William Stead’s “**Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon**” and **Jack the Ripper’s** violence against women. In both cases, women and girls were expected to stay close to home rather than society being expected to respond to **violence** against women.

Women who reject or disobey reform efforts have been deemed fair game for exposure, punishment, and imprisonment. Reformers and social workers can be great allies against violence, but can also create difficulties for sex workers who, for example, are viewed as unfit parents solely because of their occupation. Despite this, a “whore **stigma**” extends from prostitutes and other sex workers even to social workers and other advocates for the **human rights** of sex workers. Advocates for the human rights of sex workers, including the Nobel Peace Prize recipient Doctors Without Borders, have been misconstrued as being “pro-prostitution,” a term like “pro-abortion.”

Industry- and law-reform efforts include attempts to promote better working conditions in the sex industry, with the introduction of **occupational safety and health** standards, attempts to prevent **trafficking** of persons into the sex industry, and different efforts to change **legal approaches** to sex work, from **decriminalization** to legalization to criminalization and **abolition**.

Further Reading: Agustín, Laura. “Helping Women Who Sell Sex: The Construction of Benevolent Identities.” *Rhizomes* 10 (2005), <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue10/agustin.htm>; Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. “CATW Debates Pro-Prostitution NGOS.” *Coalition Report* 5–6 (1998–2000): 8–9; Hughes, Donna. “The 2002 Trafficking In Persons Report: Lost Opportunity For Progress: Foreign Government Complicity in Human Trafficking: A Review of the State Department’s 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report.” Oral presentation to the House Committee on International Relations, June 19, 2002; Pheterson, Gail. *The Prostitution Prism*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996; Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

REGULATION. See **Legal Approaches.**

RELIGION. The relationship between religion and prostitution has varied immensely through history. Prostitution has been an integral part of some religions, tolerated by others, and opposed by still others, though with varying degrees of vigor.

Sacred Prostitution

Sacred prostitution, also known by the Greek term *hierodouleia*, may have occurred among pagan peoples of the ancient Middle East, and still persists today. A number of its ancient versions sought to ensure agricultural fertility because of associations generally believed to exist between human sexual activity and the general fecundity of nature.

Apffel-Marglin has shown that contemporary Indian sacred prostitution and religious prostitution in the ancient Middle East share important characteristics. In both, sacred prostitutes are often identified as the living embodiment of a goddess or are considered married to a deity. Both also feature a strict separation between secular and religious prostitution. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, a prostitute teaches the wild Enkidu how to be human before Enkidu himself tames the tyrannical ruler Gilgamesh. In an analogous story in Indian mythology, Rsyasringa, a deer-human hybrid, is able to save a kingdom from drought after being civilized by a **courtesan**.

In pre-Columbian northwestern Mexico, transvestite and female prostitutes played important religious roles. In Borneo both priests and priestesses served as prostitutes. Fertility-oriented temple prostitution has existed in recent times in West Africa, among the Ewe, the Ibo, and the coastal tribes of Ghana. Upon reaching puberty, women of the North African Awlad Na'il tribe have traditionally engaged in temporary prostitution to raise funds for their dowries. French colonial efforts to discourage the practice were resisted by the populace, which associated the practice with good harvests.

Today, religious prostitution is rare outside of India but plays a role in some new religions, such as the California-based Children of God. Neo-pagans and goddess-worship advocates have promoted the practice in recently published volumes.

Hinduism

According to a Vedic tale, prostitution originated when a holy blind man introduced the concept of selling sex. References to secular prostitution abound in the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures, such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. In the centuries before the beginning of the Common Era, Sanskrit contained more than 300 words for prostitutes, referring to sacred prostitutes, high-class courtesans, and many other varieties.

Hindu temples have long hosted sacred prostitutes. Since the 19th century, some Indians have campaigned against the institution; Gandhi denounced it in the strongest possible terms. Sacred prostitution has been completely abolished in some areas, but still flourishes in several regions, particularly in the South, where its prevalence has historically been higher. These prostitutes, who frequently serve as dancers and servants as well, can be born into their trade, sold by their parents, or simply donated by the parents as an alternative to infanticide and to encourage the gods to bless the parents with a male child. Although most sacred prostitutes are women (*devadasis*), some are men (*devadasas*), and others are *hijras*, transvestite eunuchs understood as a third gender.

Christianity

Jesus is described in the Christian scriptures as associating with prostitutes and other marginalized characters. In one scene, he declared to a crowd that tax collectors and prostitutes would go to heaven before the members of the crowd would because these other groups were the first to accept his teachings.

According to the canonical gospels, **Mary Magdalene** was a disciple of Jesus and the first to witness his resurrection. Early church fathers discussed her favorably, and several noncanonical gospels and related writings (including the Gospel of Mary, which survives in fragments) describe her as a spiritual leader and the most important apostle. However, by the 4th century, church leaders in the Latin West had begun to depict her as inferior to the other disciples, and Gregory the Great (who became pope in 590) sealed her identity as a repentant prostitute. He also thought it necessary to declare that she was never sexually involved with Jesus (which was a prevalent rumor, then as now). The Eastern Orthodox Church has never associated her with prostitution, revering her simply as the first disciple to witness the resurrection. Modern scholars uniformly reject her depiction as a prostitute, which is not biblical in origin.

Early Christianity featured numerous tales of repentant prostitutes. Several of the Church's early female saints, including **Thaïs**, were former prostitutes. After repenting, Thaïs, it is said, spent three years imprisoned by a monk, praying for forgiveness in a pool of her bodily waste. She subsequently died, having been purified of sin.

Roman Catholicism

Saint Augustine, a church father from the 4th and 5th centuries, argued that prostitution was a necessary evil, without which sexual immorality would destroy society. Saint **Thomas Aquinas** repeated this view in the 13th century, holding that prostitution prevented the far more serious sin of adultery with married women and that prostitution could prevent a rise in homosexuality (considered a worse sin than heterosexual premarital sex.)

The Catholic Church from 904 to 963 has been described as a "pornocracy" (rule by prostitutes) because of the influence that Theodora and her daughter Marozia, the mistresses and biological progenitors of several popes during this period, held over the papacy. Theodora and Marozia, who are properly understood as concubines, not prostitutes, wielded enormous power over Rome's secular and papal affairs.

In the 14th and especially 15th centuries, city governments in Western Europe commonly owned **brothels**. Prostitutes belonged to guilds, were forced to cease work on Easter and Christmas, and in some places were required to wear a scarlet cord or red armband or other specific **clothing**, recalling the biblical harlot **Rahab**. Prostitutes were among the only literate women; for this reason, Mary Magdalene is frequently depicted with a book in medieval artwork. On Mary Magdalene's feast day in the 15th century, municipalities sponsored races and other sporting events between teams of prostitutes. In this era, the Bishop of Strasbourg opened his own brothel, which clergy attended openly. An English bishop, Saint Swithin of Winchester, built an entire district for brothels in Southwark, the proceeds of which went to the bishopric, per **Henry II's** decree in 1161. This practice lasted nearly 500 years and financed the construction of numerous churches.

Though tolerant of prostitution as an institution, the Church encouraged individual prostitutes to repent. Pope Innocent III, in an 1198 decree, declared marrying an ex-prostitute a morally commendable act. Pope Gregory IX, in 1227, founded an order of nuns for repentant prostitutes and named the order for Mary Magdalene.

Even if its existence was accepted, prostitution was sometimes regarded as a threat. In late medieval Italy, gangs of young men calling themselves “monastic brotherhoods” perpetrated group **rape** against women found walking alone, ostensibly to protect society from prostitutes. These groups were completely accepted and sometimes included members of governing councils. Also in the late medieval period, the plague was often interpreted as divine punishment for fornication, leading to the repression of prostitution.

Magdalen homes, begun by the **Sisters of the Good Shepherd** in 19th-century Ireland, originally served as a home for ex-prostitutes and other “fallen” women but eventually began to include women accused of minor sexual improprieties. Until very recent times, these institutions imprisoned women for life without trial, forcing them to work in the infamous Magdalen Laundries.

Catholics in the late 20th century have sometimes analyzed prostitution in terms of social justice. *Pastoral da Mulher Marginalizada*, a Brazilian ecclesiastical movement, has existed for two decades. Influenced by liberation theology, the group understands prostitutes as victims of sexism, racism, and police brutality and corruption, and it stresses education and community awareness. Sister Mary Soledad Perpignan, a Philipina nun in the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, founded the Campaign Against Military Prostitution in the early 1980s. An international activist and expert on prostitution, she coordinates the Third World Network Against the Exploitation of Women. Pope John Paul II depicted prostitution as a symptom of the mentality that considers human beings only as things to be traded and used for selfish interests, the same mindset that led to slavery. South Korea’s Minjung theology, a mainly Protestant movement that also incorporates traditional shamanistic practices, has also addressed prostitution as a social justice issue.

Protestantism

German theologian Martin Luther argued against both the celibacy of clergy and the toleration of fornication among laity, establishing a universal norm of moderate sexuality within the confines of marriage in the 1500s. Jean Calvin’s views on fornication were even more severe, leading to the prosecution of sexually active fiancées. He attempted to force all prostitutes to either repent or leave Geneva.

Protestants succeeded in closing numerous brothels. The Catholic Counter-Reformation, particularly through the Jesuits, also fought against officially sanctioned prostitution. During an episode in the Wars of Religion, Protestant soldiers beat prostitutes and severed their ears.

Nineteenth-century moral-reform societies, originally begun by male Protestant ministers, were later dominated by lay Protestant women. These groups appear largely responsible for the turn against state-regulated prostitution in English-speaking countries. In Britain, feminist campaigns against the 1864 law mandating medical treatment for prostitutes addressed for the first time the sexual double standard of Victorian society, in which male promiscuity was expected and tolerated as instinctual, whereas prostitutes were derided as fallen temptresses to blame for betraying their inherently chaste nature. These campaigners sought a single standard of purity for both sexes, endeavoring both to save prostitutes’ souls and to protect all women from the evils caused by male lustfulness. The resultant radicalization of many women contributed to the mobilization for female suffrage in Britain.

Mormonism

Early Mormons were widely reviled for their polygamy, which they claimed eliminated prostitution. Antipolygamy campaigners responded by calling polygamy itself a form of prostitution.

Once the federal government had come to the aid of antipolygamy forces, some Mormons attempted to entrap federal officials in a prostitution scandal, in order to prove that the officials, not the Mormons, were the ones guilty of sexual immorality. After Mormons decided to end polygamy in the late 19th century, Mormons and non-Mormons campaigned together against prostitution, in the fashion of the age.

Judaism

The Jewish Bible contains numerous references to prostitutes and prostitution, many of them relating to the religious prostitution of neighboring peoples. Such prostitution was sometimes incorporated into Hebrew religious practices, including during Solomon's reign. The Bible expressly forbids temple prostitution, a prohibition that was later interpreted by the Talmud as referring to all prostitution (though Talmudic views differ). The prophets employ prostitution as a metaphor of spiritual decline or apostasy.

Although prostitution is generally treated negatively, two Biblical women engaged in prostitution, Tamar and **Rahab**, are regarded as heroines in rabbinic literature. In Genesis, Tamar, an ancestor of King David, was impregnated by her father-in-law Judah after posing as a prostitute; she had been left childless because of the death of two husbands. One Midrashic tale explains this action by the well-regarded Judah as caused by an angel, who knew that the encounter was necessary because Tamar's offspring would become the progenitors of kings (including David). Another traditional commentary has said that because the Torah had not yet been given, prostitution was not yet forbidden.

In the book of Joshua, the gentile prostitute Rahab housed Hebrew spies before the siege of Jericho, saving their lives. Both this act and her eventual conversion were prompted by tales of Jewish military victories, which she saw as divinely ordained. She is regarded as an especially pious, ideal convert in the Talmud, according to which she married Joshua and became the ancestor of several prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel among them.

Romans forced Jewish women and sometimes men into prostitution. Some escaped, even to become respected rabbis, and some committed suicide. According to the Talmud, the famous Rabbi Meir rescued his sister-in-law from a Roman brothel, where she had been imprisoned after her parents were executed by the Roman authorities for their religious activities. In Talmudic times, commercial prostitution was understood as a greater threat than religious prostitution, and it was the subject of many warnings and anecdotes. The Talmud tells of a rabbinical student whose tzitzit (ritual fringes) slapped him in the face and pulled him back from the brink of sin with a well-known prostitute. She was so impressed by his piety that she converted to Judaism and married him. Another passage describes a rabbi who spent large sums on prostitutes but eventually repented in response to one prostitute's wise remark.

From Talmudic times onward, all sex outside marriage has been considered to fall under the category of prostitution. Jewish prostitution was occasionally tolerated by medieval Jewish authorities because it was thought to prevent adultery with married women and because Jews found to have visited Christian prostitutes were often executed or mutilated by Christian governments. More generally, however, Jewish communities vigorously opposed prostitution whenever it appeared, and it seems to have been rare.

In 19th-century Eastern Europe, traditional religious and social structures in Jewish life began to erode in some areas as a consequence of forced urbanization, pogroms, and the emergence of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. Commercial prostitution thrived in this environment. Jewish involvement in an international trade in prostitutes, some of whom were coerced

or misled, encouraged anti-Semitism, which was often expressed in the movement against this “**white slavery**.” A young Adolf Hitler was especially influenced by the accusation that Jewish pimps were trading in Christian women, as he described in *Mein Kampf*. In reality, Jewish pimps dealt nearly exclusively with Jewish prostitutes. In both Eastern Europe and Argentina, pimps and prostitutes constructed separate synagogues and cemeteries after being rejected by the larger Jewish community. In May 1905, Russian Jews rioted against Jewish pimps and prostitutes, whom most Jews resented for their collaboration with the tsarist secret police and for their use of **violence** and blackmail.

Jewish women participated in late 19th and early 20th-century antiprostitution campaigns in the United States, Britain, and Germany. Bertha Pappenheim, a leader of the Jewish women’s movement in Germany, was the most well-known of these activists. Like her Christian contemporaries, she campaigned against “white slavery” and built institutions for former prostitutes and unwed mothers.

Israel, like many other countries, hosts large numbers of prostitutes procured by Eastern European criminal gangs, which secular and religious authorities have done relatively little to abate. As in Islam, sex with prostitutes outside the faith appears to be considered a less serious sin. All religious authorities in both religions, however, vigorously condemn prostitution.

Islam

The Koran instructs believers not to sell their slaves into prostitution against their will and states that Allah is forgiving to those who are forced into prostitution. Although the Koran does not specifically condemn paying for sex with a willing woman, Islam has generally discouraged prostitution. However, both male prostitution and female prostitution have existed throughout most of Islamic history.

The Koranic institution of **temporary marriage**—which allows men to take wives for any allotted amount of time, at the end of which time the **marriage** automatically ends—existed among Arab tribes before the rise of Islam and was originally thought to counteract prostitution. Temporary wives would often provide companionship for traders and soldiers away from their families, lessening the demand for prostitutes. Temporary marriage survives among the Shi’ite Muslim community. Its abolition among the Sunnis is attributed to Umar, who reportedly viewed it as fornication. Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini publicly praised the practice, and some Muslims have exalted it as something holy that all Muslim men should experience. Today, it is generally understood as a cover for prostitution, which is otherwise punished harshly, including by stoning.

Despite official disapproval, prostitution exists in all Muslim countries. After Saudi Arabia outlawed slavery in 1962, many former slaves turned to prostitution. In Pakistan, a shari’a law in 1991 diminished the position of women and enforced strict sexual morality, but left intact the widespread system of dancing-girl prostitutes, apparently adapted from the Hindu custom of the temple prostitute and dancer. Most of these girls are born into the profession or sold into it at a young age. With extremely high rates of HIV and other diseases and little medical treatment, many die in early adulthood. Political and religious authorities appear to tolerate the industry. Under the Taliban in Afghanistan, the traffic in women for prostitution thrived. In the wake of the Iranian Revolution in 1979, some prostitutes were publicly stoned, and Iranian women known to have engaged in premarital sex are sometimes forced into prostitution by their families. Prostitutes have recently been sentenced to death under shari’a law in Sudan, and Muslim authorities in Northern Nigeria have banned prostitution and paid prostitutes to abandon their trade.

Buddhism

Gautama Buddha welcomed prostitutes as disciples, and Buddhist legends tell of prostitutes whose enlightened compassion shamed monks and other high-status men. Partly because Buddhism has no explicit sexual code, Buddhist countries have been comparatively tolerant toward prostitution.

Traditional Japanese folk religions emphasized sexuality, and there are numerous tales about sexually active Buddhist monks. It was once common for monks to visit prostitutes and be prostitutes, whose clients also included Samurai. Prostitution is ubiquitous in contemporary Japan.

Thailand, whose dominant religion is Theravada Buddhism, has hosted prostitution at least since the 1400s and is today home to one of the world's largest prostitution industries. Some attribute the high rates of prostitution of women and girls in Thailand to the lack of a convent system with the same prestige and resources as monasteries, which provide education for many boys. Some young female prostitutes interviewed by researchers have expressed a hope that they would eventually escape prostitution by becoming a traditional healer or spirit medium, within the animistic beliefs still held by many Thais.

Buddhists in Thailand have occasionally expressed the opinion that engaging in prostitution purely for helping others can be a source of karmic merit. The desire to help their families, in accord with the belief that one gains merit through gratitude to one's parents, indeed motivates many prostitutes. Some Thai Buddhist monks recommend that the negative karma resulting from prostitution be atoned for through offerings and gifts to Buddhist temples, resulting in lavishly decorated temples in some parts of the country. The Thai Buddhist hierarchy is silent on prostitution.

See also Ancient World; Protestant Reformation; Reform; Renaissance; Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World; Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary.

Further Reading: Apfel-Marglin, Frederique. *Wives of the God-King*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; Bristow, Edward J. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery, 1870–1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; Brock, Rita N., and Susan B. Thistlewaite. *Casting Stones: Prostitution and Liberation in Asia and the United States*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996; Montgomery, Heather. *Modern Babylon: Prostituting Children in Thailand*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001; Nichols, Jeffrey. *Prostitution, Polygamy and Power: Salt Lake City, 1947–1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002; Otis, Leah Lydia. *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; Phillips, Melanie. *The Ascent of Women: A History of the Suffragette Movement and the Ideas Behind It*. London: Abacus, 2004; Ringdal, Nils J. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*. New York: Grove Press, 1997, 2004; Rossiaud, Jacques. *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988; Singh, Nagendra. *Divine Prostitution*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 1997.

Jesse Norris

RENAISSANCE. The European Renaissance (1450–1600) ushered in a period of harsh and repressive measures against prostitutes. Between 1450 and 1600, attitudes toward prostitution changed from toleration and regulation to **prohibition** and criminalization. The most visible sign of this new order was the closing of the official **brothels**. These publicly owned, municipally



Courtesan and old man, panel painting by Lucas the elder Cranach: 1472–1553. The Art Archive / Musée des Beaux Arts Besançon / Dagli Orti.

regulated houses had provided venal sex for more than 300 years. But beginning around 1520, cities closed them. East of the Rhine, Augsburg (1523), Basel (1534), Nordlingen (1536), Ulm (1537), and Regensburg (1553) eliminated their official brothels. In southern France, Toulouse, Arles, and Beaucaire shut the doors of their houses between 1520 and 1540. In England, Southampton expelled prostitutes in 1540, and the authorities in London's Southwark issued ordinances limiting the operation of the area's notorious bathhouses or "stewes." Similarly in Florence and Venice, existing red light districts were never entirely closed but were more closely monitored. In Rome, Pope Pius VI banished prostitutes from the holy city several times during his pontificate (1566–1572). Spain too adopted a harsher attitude toward venal sex: in the late 16th century, most Spanish cities closed their houses. Seville shut the doors of its official brothel in 1620. The Renaissance monarchies followed suit. In France, the ordinance of Orleans in

1560 made owning and operating a bordello illegal in Paris. In 1623, Philip IV of Spain officially banned brothels throughout his domains.

What caused this sea change in attitudes? An obvious explanation would be the appearance of syphilis in Europe in 1494. The brothel closings seem to have coincided with the advent of this horrific disease. But a closer look reveals that the closings occurred several decades after the first and most lethal attacks of the disease. The most deadly phase of the syphilis epidemic—1492 to 1510—did not coincide with brothel closings or the appearance of a more punitive attitude toward prostitution. In fact, ordinances stigmatizing and punishing prostitutes began to appear in the early 15th century, long before syphilis arrived in Europe.

As early as the 1480s, officials began to punish prostitutes—in particular, clandestine or unofficial prostitutes. These women flouted the regulations: they serviced clients on religious holidays, consorted with priests and Jews, and (worst of all) maintained close, lasting relationships with some men. In the 1480s, the cities of southeastern France issued dozens of edicts condemning such women to banishment and fines. Similarly in Venice, courtesans who solicited outside the red light district were subject to incarceration or expulsion from the city.

The threat of the unlicensed prostitute was not just a figment of the authorities' imagination. Signs abounded that clients preferred the unregulated side streets to the official brothel. As early as 1501, Augsburg was unable to find a manager for its municipal brothel: the institution was no longer profitable. The official brothels closed not because of syphilis but because of a shift in client taste.

Because few men of letters admitted to frequenting prostitutes, there are no written records of these new tastes for clandestine sexual relations. The advent of syphilis probably did play some role, as did the growth of armies. The Renaissance witnessed an increase in the powers of the state and the frequency of warfare. The new monarchies of the Renaissance put much larger armies into the field, which swelled the ranks of **camp followers**, that is, prostitutes who serviced soldiers. Officials in Strasbourg, Frankfurt, and Nuremberg complained of the hordes of prostitutes who accompanied Imperial armies and camped out in the forests near the city. When the Spanish army moved in the 16th century, it dragged behind it a rag-tag assembly of prostitutes, soldiers' "wives," and female peddlers almost half as large as the army itself. Soldiers probably invaded the official brothels and made them places of danger, sites of **violence** and robbery. Theft in a brothel incurred unusually high penalties, indicating that it was both common and greatly feared. Similarly, municipal ordinances repeatedly banned weapons in brothels, suggesting that assault was common. With the growth of armies, brothels became dangerous, and many clients took their business elsewhere.

New social distinctions and a desire for intimacy also caused men to seek sexual satisfaction in the side streets. The Renaissance saw the multiplication of social distinctions, and many men may have felt uneasy sharing a woman with a common soldier. They preferred more refined company, equal to their status or self-image, and they found such company among higher-paid, unregulated prostitutes, that is, courtesans. The Renaissance witnessed the birth of the European courtesan, the highly paid, high-toned prostitute. She flattered the client's sense of his own superiority and promised a more exclusive, intimate relationship. Of course, exclusivity brought with it some protection from syphilis. But it also entailed a more intimate sexual relationship and (most important of all) secrecy.

In the Middle Ages, men went to the brothel publicly. From the Renaissance forward, they went secretly and in shame. Prostitution was no longer an approved activity for unmarried men. In the 1480s, priests in Italy, southeastern France, and Seville railed against prostitutes and condemned all forms—including official forms—of mercenary sex. They rejected medieval notions of the "good life" in favor of a more rigorous morality that prohibited consorting with prostitutes. Eventually this religious ferment took the form of the **Protestant Reformation**, but Catholics too condemned prostitutes. In Rome itself, the papacy sought to drive prostitutes out of the holy city by banishing them. Throughout Europe, the religious revival, be it Protestant or Catholic, condemned mercenary sex and made it a crime. The Renaissance brought to an end 300 years of medieval toleration and ushered in an equally long period of criminalization, prosecution, and even persecution of prostitutes.

See also Medieval Prostitution.

Further Reading: Roper, Lyndal. *Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Rossiaud, Jacques. *Medieval Prostitution*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 1988.

Kathryn Norberg

RESEARCH ETHICS. A great deal of research has been carried out using the bodies of sex workers, but very little of this research has been responsive to issues that are a priority to sex workers. Consequently, the research has been of negligible benefit to them. Indeed, much of the research has had foreseeable adverse consequences.

Behavioral research on sex workers tends to focus on individual relationships, in particular those between sex worker and client, as well as those between sex worker and private partners.

Such research commonly includes an examination of the frequency of condom use and factors determining it. At the present time epidemiological studies generally address HIV-infection rates and the rates of other sexually transmitted diseases. HIV/AIDS-related clinical trials using sex-worker cohorts test **microbicides**, vaccines, and treatments. Researchers often seek out sex-worker populations, attempting to take advantage of their vulnerability to disease in order to produce reliable results in the shortest amount of time.

In addition, in an environment in which significant interest has arisen in transnational **crime** and terrorism, there has been an upsurge of interest in research on **trafficking** of women and children. Much trafficking research has confused issues pertinent to **migration** and employment with the imagery of the 19th-century white slave trade.

One of the earliest systematic responses to research misconduct arose as a direct outcome of research conducted on sex workers. Albert Neisser is known today for his pioneering work in the area of sexually transmitted diseases, and *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* and *Neisseria meningitidis* are named after him. However, less well-taught in medical schools is the content of the scandal that exploded in Prussia during 1898. Neisser had injected serum from patients with **syphilis** into other patients, mostly prostitutes, some of whom were minors. This was done without the prostitutes' knowledge, and a number of the them contracted syphilis. Although his research drew support from the medical community, no similar support was forthcoming from the public. Neisser was tried and convicted of the crime of inflicting unlawful physical injury. He was ordered to pay a significant fine. In addition, an inquiry resulted in legislation in 1900 prohibiting the conduct of nontherapeutic research without informed consent. This is particularly significant given the behavior of many German medical professionals during World War II.

More recently, other studies worthy of examination have demonstrated different facets of failures and successes in the application of research ethics to sex-worker research. Three prominent examples are cited here. The first example relates to a microbicide trial, the results of which were published in 2002. It was a randomized, placebo-controlled trial of a vaginal gel containing a chemical known as **nonoxynol-9**. The trial involved 892 female sex workers in Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa and Thailand. A total of 449 women were provided with nonoxynol-9 gel, and 443 other women received a placebo gel. The study found that those sex workers using nonoxynol-9 were *more* likely to become HIV-positive and were also at an increased risk for gonococcal and chlamydial infections.

Particularly significant was the finding that the risk of infection was especially high in women who used the gel more than 3.5 times per day. At low-frequency use, nonoxynol-9 had no effect, either positive or negative, on HIV infection. The research team ignored that sex workers had earlier reported independently that they found nonoxynol-9 to be an irritant to skin lining of the anus and vagina. Sex workers themselves had discouraged its use. Nonetheless, sex workers included in the trial used the gel before each instance of sexual intercourse. The gel's use would thus have been more frequent among sex workers than among other groups in the community who might otherwise have been targeted for the trial. Had the researchers chosen to pay attention to what sex workers were saying, HIV infections attributable to the trial might have been avoided.

Another example is that of a proposed trial among 960 sex workers in Cambodia to test **tenofovir**, a drug developed to prevent infection with HIV. This was another instance of researcher-established priorities and a failure to understand and work with the trial population or with those who have the ability to influence their welfare. Sex workers were asked to take

tenofovir for one year and were offered free medical services, counseling, and \$3 per month. Although tenofovir had been used as a treatment for those already infected with HIV, sex workers were concerned that it would have adverse effects in healthy human beings. They were also unsatisfied with the commitment of the researchers to provide treatment for only the duration of the trial. Authentic negotiation between trial sponsors, researchers, and potential participants did not take place. Sex workers saw themselves as being asked to take risks not in their own long-term interests but for those in the industrialized world who would ultimately have access to medical services and be able to afford treatment.

Ultimately, in a unique and historic turn of events, sex workers refused to agree to participate. Trials were scheduled to begin in Botswana, Cameroon, Malawi, Nigeria, and Thailand, but the trial in Cameroon was put on hold, and the trial in Nigeria was canceled because researchers determined the trial site was not adequate. As a result of these unprecedented events, trial sponsors met with community members and advocates to discuss what would give these populations enough confidence to participate in the trials.

In contrast, another case is illustrative of a sound ethical approach to research among sex workers. Once again Cambodian sex workers were approached. However, instead of being presented with a *fait accompli*, they were advised by the principal researcher that funds were available for research and advocacy. Sex workers were informed that they could prioritize an area for study, and they would then be trained so that they could carry out the research. They would also be assisted in disseminating results. Sex workers identified the issue of **violence**, including sexual violence. Three trusted ex-policemen were also identified by the sex workers and recruited to assist with the study.

In 2004, 1,000 sex workers were interviewed as well as 58 police and 2 gangsters over a period of two months. Refusal rates were about 5 percent, which is quite low. Most sex workers were frank about their experiences. This is in contrast to many other studies in which sex workers, who do not trust the researchers, say what they believe the researchers expect to hear. Again, unlike most other studies dealing with violence, studies in which the incidence of violence is notoriously underreported, in this study 97 percent of sex workers reported being raped by someone in the past year, somewhat more often by **clients** and gangsters than by police. Independent data from police corroborated information provided by sex workers.

In research that is driven by sex workers and rigorously conducted, it is far more likely that the outcome will benefit sex workers. This benefit to the research's subjects is a fundamental ethical requirement of research and in the instance of sex workers tends to remain unfulfilled. A benefit may be the formation of a basis for advocacy with respect to a better working environment or provision of services where none or poor services exist. A benefit may also be strengthening the support networks among sex workers.

A further basic ethical requirement is that the participants should not be placed at risk. Participants must not be sacrificed for the benefit of the research or the greater good. When the knowledge and views of sex workers are not taken into account, it is likely that avoidable risks will occur as amply demonstrated by the nonoxynol-9 trials.

In relation to HIV infection and sex workers, a body of research literature has been amassed that creates a discourse that is often moralizing, categorizing, unifying, and stigmatizing. Underlying much of the research and many interventions is the concern that sex workers are a potential hazard for society and a vector of the disease. Concern is not for the health of the sex worker but rather for the risks the sex worker might pose for the community (the community, therefore, excluding sex workers as citizens for whom attention

and care should be demonstrated). As such, sex workers are the first group in many nations to be targeted as vectors of HIV and sexually transmitted disease rather than as people whose employment conditions and lack of **human rights** placed them in a highly vulnerable situation for acquiring HIV.

Sex-worker research is often misdirected. Because sex workers are commonly seen as the vectors of disease, other potential avenues for fruitful health research are often ignored. For example, it has been observed that in places where **condoms** are used consistently, there have been effective health-promotion campaigns that are not addressed solely or even mainly to sex workers, and these campaigns have created client demand for condom use. In addition, discriminatory paths of research may be adopted. Once sex workers are in their homes engaging in intimate relations with their partners in an environment of “trust,” where they may wish to have children, it is difficult and indeed improper to demand that they use condoms. Nonetheless, research is undertaken to explore the behavior of sex workers in the private sphere for reasons that are often unclear.

The problems with sex work are often attributed to the nature of the work itself instead of to the **stigma** attached to it or to specific negative circumstances, for example violence and lack of protection and exploitation by authorities. Sex workers are often represented as a homogeneous population, even though stark differences may be seen in gender, race, and class as well as in labor conditions. Also left unaddressed is the stance adopted by most governments to this most economically significant population. Unsurprisingly this creates significant difficulties when attempting to produce research that is both a reflection of reality and of any use.

Concepts such as informed consent and confidentiality are often understood as underpinning themes of ethical research. However, debates confined to how an individual researcher might deal with an individual participant fail to constitute an adequate ethical framework for research. Sex-worker advocates believe that ethical research must address issues of value to the participant community, that the research must be sound scientifically, and that it must respect and promote the standards and norms of human rights. Most research focused on sex workers has failed to meet these standards.

See also HIV/AIDS and the Prostitution Rights Movement; Rape; Sexually Transmitted Infections; White Slavery.

Further Reading: Jenkins, Carol. “Cambodian Sex Workers Conduct Their Own Research.” *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 3–4, <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Longo, Paulo. “From Subjects to Partners: Experience of a Project in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.” *Research for Sex Work* 7 (2004): 9–10, <http://www.nswp.org/r4sw/>; *Research for Sex Work*. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Van Damme, Lut, Gita Ramjee, Michel Alary, Bea Vuylsteke, Verapol Chandeying, Helen Rees, Pachara Sirivongrangson, Lonard Mukenge-Tshibaka, Virginie Ettigne-Traore, Charn Uaheowitchai, Salim S. Abdool Karim, Benot Msse, Jos Perrins, and Marie Laga on behalf of the COL-1492 study group. “Effectiveness of COL-1492, a Nonoxynol-9 Vaginal Gel, on HIV-1 Transmission in Female Sex Workers: A Randomised Controlled Trial.” *Lancet* 360; no. 9338, 28 September 2002, pp. 971–977; Vanwesenbeeck, Ine. “Another Decade of Social Scientific Work on Sex Work: A Review of Research 1990–2000.” *Annual Review of Sex Research* 12 (2001): 242–289.

Bebe Loff

RESIDENT ACTIVISM. Although almost no public debate or protest occurs at national levels regarding prostitution, resident activism at local levels has grown through neighborhood

antiprostitution groups. Street prostitution, as compared with exchanges of sex for money that occur—through in-call and outcall services and in massage parlors, **brothels**, or other locations that are not as open to public scrutiny, affects the communities in which it occurs in direct ways. Street prostitution is more visible than other types of exchanges, and many consider it to be disruptive to the peace. These types of exchanges of sex for drugs or money are therefore the subject of heightened public awareness. This awareness leads not only to the **stigma** about sex workers, but also to some people's active work to remove street prostitution from their neighborhoods.

As reasons for these activities to be criminalized, many neighborhood groups cite disorderly conduct, noise, declining property values, loss of business to local merchants, increase in crime, dangerous environments for children and women, and the public health risk of the spread of AIDS and other **sexually transmitted infections** that is evidenced by used **condoms** and drug paraphernalia that litter streets and sidewalks. Criminalization, in turn, allows for the removal of those who participate in these acts from the neighborhoods and society in general, at least for a short time. Rather than focusing on moral concerns, many studies find that people believe prostitution threatens their quality of life as well as a neighborhood's image and reputation.

In his 1994 article "Community Groups vs. Prostitutes," Ronald John Weitzer outlined the grievances and concerns of neighborhood groups and what they are willing to do to "fight back" and "reclaim" their neighborhoods. Rather than referring to these activities as immoral, the residents and activists point to the negative environmental factors and the immediate consequences of prostitution in a neighborhood. Weitzer argued that it "would be a mistake to simply dismiss these community groups as fanatics who are **scapegoating** prostitutes for problems not of their making. These groups may sometimes exaggerate the problem, but for the most part they appear to be reacting to real problems resulting from illegal street prostitution—problems that some prostitutes acknowledge as well" (1994, 124).

In addition to enlisting support from local authorities, these groups also use tactics to intimidate both prostitutes and their clients, in an effort to remove them from their neighborhoods. For example, groups often follow prostitutes up and down the streets carrying signs displaying such messages as "You're Hooking, We're Looking" and "Whores and **Pimps** are Wimps" (Weitzer 123). Groups also photograph and videotape customers, hold up signs about the risk of AIDS and venereal infections, and write down license plate numbers in hopes of contacting "the woman of the house." These tactics directly affect street prostitutes and their ability to control their own workspace and working conditions.

Street prostitutes are some of the most marginalized and victimized people in society and in the sex industry. Their work involves real time and proximal contact with their customers, which implies varying levels of danger and risk. Of all sex workers, street prostitutes have the fewest resources, work in the most dangerous circumstances, and face the most harassment from the police and those who are commonly referred to as pimps. They make less money than higher-end prostitutes, and they are often beaten, victimized, robbed, and raped—crimes that they have virtually no means to prosecute. They also have an increased risk of contracting drug-related illnesses, especially HIV/AIDS. Their low social status within the hierarchy of prostitution and within their communities as a whole, along with their lack of access to social and medical services, makes it difficult for them to leave prostitution for areas of work that are deemed more "legitimate" and less risky than their current position.

See also Attitudes toward Prostitution, Sociopsychological.

Further Reading: Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Chapkis, Wendy. "Power and Control in the Commercial Sex Trade." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald John Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 181–201; Leigh, Carol. "Prostitution in the United States: The Statistics." *Gauntlet* 1, no. 7 (1994): 17–18; Weitzer, Ronald John. "Community Groups vs. Prostitutes." *Gauntlet* 1, no. 7 (1994): 121–124; Weitzer, Ronald John. "The Politics of Prostitution in America." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald John Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 159–80.

Jill McCracken

RESORTS. See R&R; Sex Tourism; Venues and Labor Forms.

RETROGRESSIVE DYNAMIC. Many factors affect the economic well-being of the women and men who work in the sex industry—legal status, police harassment, discrimination by both society at large and individual clients, and various occupational risks, such as **sexually transmitted infections** (STI), HIV, and drug use—but the retrogressive dynamic is one of the most significant economic factors affecting the careers of sex workers.

"One interesting thing about this business," porn director Kristen Bjorn observed of the retrogressive dynamic, "is that the longer you are in it, the less money you are paid. Once you are an old face, and an old body, forget it. You're through as far as your popularity goes." Sociologist Paul Cressey was one of the first scholars to identify this distinctive socioeconomic pattern. In his 1932 ethnographic study of "dime-a-dance" girls, *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study of Commercialized Recreation and City Life*, he explored an occupation that employed young women to dance and socialize with young single men for a fee and that was widely seen as a step on the road to prostitution.

Cressey found that the social and economic prospects of these young women followed a distinctive pattern that has been recognized by many of those working in prostitution, the adult entertainment industry, and other forms of sex work. The pattern was essentially one in which the longer an individual worked in the industry, the less money that individual made—for the same work—over time. Cressey formulated his hypothesis as the "theory of retrogressive life cycle."

In the *Taxi-Dance Hall*, Cressey explained the theory of retrogressive life cycles primarily in terms of social status and racial stratification. But the "regressive" stages of the taxi-dancer's career that Cressey identified translated directly into economic consequences. Many young women who entered the world of commercialized dance entertainment found that after an initial success as a "novelty" in the taxi-dance hall, they ceased to be "the new girl" and experienced a loss of favor and status, which soon resulted in an exit from the dance hall: "Finding herself losing favor in one social world, the taxi-dancer 'moves on' ... from taxi-dance hall to another, perhaps one of lower standing" (Cressey 1932, 87). This cycle continues in the young woman's life as long as she continues work in the taxi-dance hall: "Her decline ... may be rapid or slow, depending upon the personality, ingenuity, and character of the individual girl. But ... a decline in status seems almost inevitable."

Many of those who engage in sex work of one kind or another probably first began to engage in sex work either as a temporary source of income during periods of unemployment or as a way

of supplementing their regular income. Few enter the workforce of the sex industry as part of a long-planned career move, although once engaged, many will continue to work in the industry over a period of several years.

In economic terms, the retrogressive dynamic has two significant results: “careers” in sex work are frequently fairly short (between two and four years in many types of sex work), and earnings may increase sharply over the first year as a sex worker, stripper, porn star, and so on, but earnings (for the same type of work) rapidly decline in the next few years.

The typical pattern of earnings over time for people in the sex industry differs sharply from the standard profile of earnings over time widely observed in many conventional forms of employment. The standard earnings profile shows as an upward sloping curve over several decades. This pattern reflects increases in productivity from on-the-job learning, training and education, and other human-capital improvements. Of course, in the long run, after a career peaks, earnings decline with age. The steepness of the curve and the peak time period vary according to gender, race, education, and other factors. In contrast, the standard career in sex work is fairly short, the peak earning period occurs early, and earnings drop off quickly after the peak year(s).

Prostitutes, **call girls**, and escorts may undergo a period of apprenticeship during which they learn how to successfully manage their customers or **clients** in the context of the sexual exchange. Such an apprenticeship is a form of on-the-job training during which time the sex worker earns less than in her or his peak years.

Although, ultimately, the retrogressive dynamic, as Cressey suggested, may be an inevitable process, it is possible for sex workers to slow down its impact and stretch out their careers. Cressey cited “the personality, ingenuity, and character of the individual girl,” but there are also a number of common work-based strategies that help to prolong a sex worker’s career.

This usually involves integrating new and different activities into the sexual encounter with the customer. Whereas some customers want the same thing every time, many want their sexual encounters to change and have variety so that they can avoid experiencing boredom. Different types of sex work incorporate the fantasy component in unique and distinctive ways. Most prostitutes or sex workers who have direct contact with customers seek to identify their customers’ favorite sexual activities, fantasies, and social interactions as a matter of course. Changes in appearance, clothes, hair color, weight, and physical fitness also contribute to enhancing the sex worker’s erotic appeal.

Another means by which sex workers renew their appeal and put off the debilitating effects of the retrogressive dynamic is by moving into different sexual markets (either geographically or socially), and yet another is working in complementary forms of sex work. Thus, for example, in the latter case, a person working initially as a stripper (who performs a “fantasy”) may at some point decide to work also as escort, which involves direct sexual contact—with each form of sex work contributing to a heightened erotic appeal of the person who engages in both activities. Those sex workers who establish long-term relationships with regulars—to some extent by shifting from an emphasis on sex to one on intimacy—engage similarly in a commercial activity that complements or includes sex.

See also Stripping.

Further Reading: Bernstein, Elizabeth. “The Meaning of the Purchase: Desire, Demand and the Commerce of Sex.” *Ethnography* 2, no. 3 (2001): 389–420; Cressey, Paul. *The Taxi Hall Dance*.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932; Escoffier, Jeffrey. "Porn Star/Stripper/Escort: Economic and Sexual Dynamics in a Sex Work Career." In *Male Sex Workers*, ed. Todd Morrison. Binghampton, NY: Haworth Press, in press; Frank, Katherine. *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Jeffrey Escoffier

REVIEWS. See **Blue Books; Directories; Guidebooks; Internet.**

RICHARD, MARTHE (1889–1980). In 1946, the French government passed a law closing **brothels** throughout the country. The law was the result of a press campaign and bore the name of the instigator of the campaign, Marthe Richard.

Richard was a complex figure. Born Marthe Betenfeld at Blamont in 1889, she is known to have worked as a prostitute in Nancy at age 16. She married a wealthy local official, Henri Richer, who purchased the Manoir de Beaumont at Joué-en-Charnie in the Loire region for his bride. In 1913, she became one of the first women in France to qualify as a pilot.

After her husband's death, she spied for France during World War I, using the code names "l'Alouette" ("The Lark") and "S-32." The name by which she is now known was invented by her handler, Captain Ladoux, in his memoirs. Ladoux sent her to Stockholm and Madrid to gather information by seducing German officers. She is credited with having unmasked a number of German agents and methods, but a car accident in Spain attracted unwelcome attention and cut short her career as a spy. The 1937 film *Marthe Richard au service de la France* is a fictionalized account of her exploits.

After the war, she married an Englishman, Thomas Crompton, who died in 1928. Using her former nom de guerre as a pen name, she then entered politics and became a municipal councilor in Paris. In 1945, she submitted a proposal to close the brothels in the region. The proposal was accepted, and she began a wider campaign to implement the measure nationally. Ironically, she was living with a **pimp** at the time, and some commentators suggest that she may have been partly motivated by conflicts with her lover.

Her efforts bore fruit with the passage of the law bearing her name on April 13, 1946. Some 1,400 brothels were closed, including nearly 200 in Paris. The law also made soliciting an offense and imposed heavier penalties for pimping.

Richard's book *Appel des sexes* (1951) hinted at a later softening of her position on prostitution. She died in 1980.

Further Reading: Lacassin, Francis. "Mata Hari, ou le romance interrompue." *Le Magazine Littéraire*, no. 43 (August 1970), http://www.magazine-litteraire.com/archives/ar_378.htm; Richard, Marthe. *Appel des sexes*. Paris: Editions du Scorpion, 1951.

Angus McIntyre

RIEHL, REGINE. The trial of 46-year-old Regine Riehl and two others charged with crimes associated with the operation of Riehl's tolerated bordello, opened in Vienna, Austria, on November 2, 1906. Not only that city's residents but other people throughout the **Habsburg Monarchy** and even beyond avidly read about the proceedings. The trial transfixed the public and reignited public interest in prostitution in the Monarchy, which was governed by police

rather than statutory criteria. With the alleged connivance of the Viennese morals police, whom she had reputedly bribed, Riehl had pursued her position with the “relentless rigor of a jailer.” Because some of the very officials who were meant to be enforcing regulations were those accused of helping Riehl evade them, a review of the trial also highlights some of the contradictions inherent in the regulation of illegal behavior and opens up a unique window into the attitudes of local police and other officials toward regulation of prostitution.

Unbeknownst to her bookkeeper-clerk husband, Riehl had become involved in pandering almost 30 years earlier, initially because she had accrued financial obligations. Following three arrests and convictions in the mid-1890s for undertaking her activities in secret, she had opened a tolerated house in the late 1890s. Business had gone well, so she had rented an entire house for the up-to-20 prostitutes she employed.

In the summer of 1906, following earlier complaints about the Riehl establishment from the Liga zur Bekämpfung Mädchenhandels and the city sanitation department, journalist Emil Bader published an expose that brought goings-on in the Riehl bordello, which was camouflaged as a clothing store, to the attention of the public. During the subsequent trial, witnesses contrasted the spacious, comfortable reception area for clients with the small, unsanitary, locked and barred rooms upstairs where girls slept two to a bed. Witnesses testified that girls as young as 14, their mail censored and their movements limited, had been employed there. They also testified that the prostitutes in Riehl’s employ were meant to encourage guests to drink cognac and champagne by drinking themselves. In the Riehl establishment, hunger, beatings, and imprisonment allegedly alternated with champagne orgies. Thus, many prostitutes soon wanted to leave her employ, which she allegedly prohibited. In the rare cases that she did permit someone to leave, that person was required to leave the city immediately.

On the evening of November 7, 1906, the criminal court judge sentenced the defendants. Riehl, found guilty of a variety of crimes, including limiting the personal freedom of others, embezzlement, fraud, suborning testimony, and procuring, was sentenced to three-and-a-half years of hard labor. The two codefendants, her maid, Antoinie Pollack, and the plumber’s helper, Friedrich König, who forced his daughter to remain in Riehl’s employ, were convicted of complicity in limiting the personal freedom of others. They were also sentenced to hard labor. Seven prostitutes, all of whom were convicted of lying under oath, received sentences ranging from 14 days to 4 weeks. Riehl began serving her sentence in February of 1907.

Involving, as it did, parents who profited from their daughters’ employment in the bordello, the testimony of prostitutes who spoke little German, and public concern over the morals of these young women, the Riehl trial stood at the intersection of issues of class, nation, and gender. The scandal generated widespread demands for reform. Thus, the Viennese police, who were responsible for the regulation of prostitution throughout Austria, issued a series of decrees beginning in late 1906 concerning the regulation of prostitution and obliged police in Cisleithania to provide detailed descriptions of their practices. Although there were subsequent accusations that the Prague police were also involved with organized prostitution, a local official in Aus-sig/Ústí nad Labem (northern Bohemia) asserted that the situation that occurred in Salon Riehl could not have happened in his city. In contrast to Viennese practice, that medium-sized town compelled prostitutes to register and un-register personally with the local police, who made them aware of their rights and responsibilities as prostitutes.

The Riehl trial was the subject of discussion in the imperial Parliament, where on November 6, 1906, deputies demanded that Interior Minister Richard von Bienerth explain what measures

his ministry was taking in response to the criminal proceedings. The minister acknowledged that the government had been made aware of the need for sweeping reform in the area of police surveillance of prostitution in connection with the Riehl trial. Indeed, the police headquarters and the governor's office had already taken the necessary steps within their area of influence to subject the regulations concerning prostitution to a thorough review and make the necessary changes. Moreover, Bienerth planned to ask other political agencies to propose modifications for the regulation of prostitution.

Further Reading: Kraus, Karl. "Die Prozeß Riehl." *Die Fackel*, 13 November 1906, 8; Mayreder, Rosa. "Die Frauen und der Prozess Riehl." *Neues Frauenleben* 18, no. 11 (1906); Vyleta, Daniel. *Crime, Jews and News, Vienna 1895–1914*. New York: Bergahn Books, in press.

Nancy M. Wingfield

RITES OF PASSAGE. In some societies, a visit to a prostitute is a rite of passage for an adolescent male. The term "rites of passage" (*rites de passage*) was coined by Arnold Van Gennep (1873–1957), a German-born French ethnographer and folklorist. He observed that all cultures had designated celebrations or ceremonies that marked movements or changes in status of an individual's life from birth to death. These stages were usually crisis-provoking. Societies assuaged the emotional trauma and anxiety by creating ceremonies with prescribed costume, food, and ritual, usually elaborate. The person undergoing change, the initiate, was given membership, and that membership was made visible in ways specific to every culture. Often a modification was added to the initiate's body to demonstrate that he or she had achieved the new status.

Van Gennep divided the activities associated with the ceremonies into three phases: separation, transition, and incorporation. Each society differs in the amount of elaboration they give to these three that is, they are not developed to the same extent or apparent in every set of ceremonies. A funeral is a rite of separation; an engagement, a transition; and a marriage, an incorporation. A particular type of transition is an initiation: a rite of passage from one phase of status in a society to another. In preliterate societies, physical puberty was marked with social puberty in a ceremony that may have included hair being cut, tattoos put on the body, scarification performed, tortures inflicted to test endurance, or isolation enforced for a period of time. The initiate went into the ceremony a child and came out an adolescent. During transition, the initiate experienced a state of insecurity because he or she was neither in one category nor the other. This state of emotional turmoil is known as liminality, akin to "being in limbo," neither here nor there. The ceremonies practiced are known as coming-of-age ceremonies. Margaret Mead, a 20th-century anthropologist, researched Samoan and Balinese rites of passage to compare the problems experienced during transition with those of American teens. In societies with state formation in which complex social structures are based on political hierarchies rather than kinship, events such as confirmations, Bar Mitzvahs, and Quinceañeros (la fiesta Quinceañera) are examples of rites of passage, transition ceremonies, or initiations into a new stage of life. Although they are occasions for both family and community to celebrate, the preparation and awareness generate anxiety.

In 19th- and early 20th-century European and American societies, a rite of passage from boy to man was sometimes marked by his first visit to a prostitute, who initiated him into the sexual world. On the chosen day he would be separated from other members of his family, perhaps

dressed in a respectable way, and taken to a house of prostitution by his father or other male relative. He would experience anxiety and fear because he did not know what awaited him. He would be encouraged and assured that this would be an enjoyable event during this liminal phase. Afterward, he was incorporated into the world of his father and all adult males who had sexual knowledge and experience.

If ancient literature can inform social science, there is evidence that sexual-initiation ceremonies in Rome and Greece were performed by sacred prostitutes. The goddess cult offered its worshipers the opportunity to experience divine power through the vehicle of sexual pleasure. The association of prostitution with profanity came after monotheism and **patriarchy** began dominating belief systems, relegating it to low rather than high status and making it illegal in most societies. Until the sexual revolution of the 1960s, a double standard existed regarding morality. Female prostitutes were arrested and jailed, whereas their male customers were released and chastised. Yet prostitutes retained a unique and important place in society because some fathers chose to send their sons to them for their first sexual experience. In Thailand, 46 percent of never-married males and 34 percent of married males sampled reported that their first sexual intercourse was with a prostitute.

Pretty Baby (1978), a Louis Malle film, showed a fictional house of prostitution in **New Orleans** and a rite of passage celebrating the transition of a prostitute's young daughter into the ranks of her mother's house. A more recent and realistic film, *Born into Brothels* (2004), written and directed by Ross Kauffman and Zana Briski, documented the conditions of children of prostitutes in Kolkata and how they were being prepared for a similar life.

Further Reading: Brundage, James. *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987; Mead, Margaret. *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation*. 1973. Reprint, New York: Harper Perennial, 2001; "Sexual Behaviour of Young People." *Progress in Reproductive Health Research* 41 (1997). Website of the World Health Organization. http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/hrp/progress/41/news41_1.en.html; Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Lana Thompson

ROCHESTER, JOHN WILMOT, EARL OF (1647–1680). Rochester was a Restoration poet and, for some, the quintessential libertine. His father was named the first Earl of Rochester for his role in King Charles II's escape following the disastrous Battle of Worcester in 1651. Rochester was educated at Oxford. As a sign of aristocratic disdain, little of his verse was published in his lifetime—circulating only in manuscript among court figures—and up until 1968, his work was heavily censored.

Rochester's verse often relies on representations of prostitutes within the sexual and political contexts of Charles II's court. As libertinism—a gender ideology comprising hard drinking, sexually promiscuity, and wit—became the dominant form of masculinity in the Restoration, the prostitute came to occupy a specifically ambivalent position. Not only was she necessary for sexual "conquest" and the public acknowledgment of masculine, libertine virility, but she also became a troubling symbol of Charles II's negligent political behavior. Literary wit was intimately tied with sexual performance, and this association exacerbated the sexual and political anxieties relating to prostitutes. In Rochester's work, however, this equation takes on a unique critical valence, as sexual impotence comes increasingly to be a marker of political impotence.

The figure of the “whore,” then, operates on four key sociopolitical levels in Rochester’s verse. First, the prostitute’s accessibility enables the maintenance of male virility, often, however, in an ironically self-reflexive, satirical manner whereby the libertine speaker becomes “a common fucking post” (“The Imperfect Enjoyment” 63). Second, she is a sign of Charles II’s hedonism, as he restlessly rolls “about from whore to whore / A merry monarch, scandalous and poor” (“Satyr on Charles II” 20–21). Third, the prostitute is a liminal figure, marking the transgressive crossing of class and status boundaries—“A passive pot for fools to spend in!” (“A Ramble in St. James’ Park” 102). And, finally, the prostitute provides a troubling analogy for the court wit, or perhaps, Rochester himself: “For wits are treated just like common whores, / First they’re enjoyed, and then kicked out of doors” (“Satire on Reason and Mankind” 37–38).

Rochester’s critical view of libertinism enacts the futility of a masculinity dependent on sexual “conquest.” Although Rochester was not particularly attuned to recognition of the exploitation of prostitutes in Restoration London, the prostitute functioned as a key symbol for the breaking down of sociopolitical bonds in a debauched age.

See also Poetry.

Further Reading: Thormalen, Marianne. *Rochester: The Poems in Context*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993; Turner, James Grantham. *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630–1685*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Wilmot, John, second Earl of Rochester. *The Complete Poems*, ed. David M. Vieth. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.

Jim Daems

ROCK MUSIC. “Rock and roll,” like “jazz,” is a term that refers not only to the performance of music, but also to the act of sex. Because of the influence of the **blues**, country and western music, rhythm ‘n’ blues, and other music genres (jazz, hillbilly music), from early on rock relied on similar lyrical themes. Many songs in these other genres referred to loose women and sexual activity, and so several early rock and roll songs celebrated the loose sexual mores of prostitutes, hookers, and “queens.”

Most early hit rock and roll records were based on sexual themes: “Good Golly Miss Molly,” recorded in 1958 by Little Richard, describes a woman who “sure like to ball.” “Rock Around the Clock,” released in 1955 by Bill Haley and the Comets, one of the earliest hits, has been interpreted to mean playing music all night, but many teenagers in the 1950s assumed it referred to the alternate definition of “rock.”

Few of the initial rock and roll records specifically referred to prostitution, but the sexual liberation implied in the lyrics would have a profound influence as time passed. Hank Ballard and The Midnighters (a.k.a. The Royals) recorded the raunchiest and most sexual early rock and roll songs, beginning with “Get It” in 1953 and “Work with Me Annie” in 1954, which featured lyrics such as “Give me all my meat, ooo!” and “Annie had a Baby.” Billy Ward & the Dominoes also had a hit record with sexual lyrics with “Sixty Minute Man.”

Once the initial rock and roll revolution of the 1950s had passed (and after the radio payola scandal disgraced the music business), the recording industry promoted clean-cut, white teenagers singing harmless love songs, and the music business went back to the “June/Moon/Swoon” school of love song lyrics. This all changed in 1963, when the phenomenal success of the Beatles ushered in the British Invasion. The Beatles were followed by several bands that took musical

and lyrical inspiration from blues musicians. The Animals, led by Eric Burdon, became the first British group after the Beatles to chart a number-one single in America with "House of the Rising Sun," the first number-one single explicitly written about a whorehouse.

According to folklorist Alan Lomax in his book *Our Singing Country* (1941), the melody of "The House of the Rising Sun" is a traditional English ballad, though the lyrics were written by Georgia Turner and Bert Martin, both from Kentucky. The song was first recorded in the 1920s by black bluesman Texas Alexander and later covered by such diverse musicians as Leadbelly, Charlie Byrd, Roy Acuff, Woody Guthrie, the Weavers, Henry Mancini, Dolly Parton, and Peter, Paul & Mary, as well as many others. But the Animals' version became the most famous recording of this musical standard and opened the door for many more rock songs about prostitutes.

Jimi Hendrix (who was discovered and managed by Chas Chandler of the Animals) recorded another famous song about a house of ill repute, "Red House," which appeared on his first album (*Are You Experienced*), released in 1967. The song also shows up in many of his live concert recordings and became his tribute to blues music. The song tells the story of how a man (after serving 99 1/2 days in jail) tries to visit his girlfriend who lives in a "red house." Upon finding out that she has left him, he decides it is not all that problematic because if she does not love him anymore, "her sister will."

In 1968 The Beatles recorded a song that, according to many interpretations, is about a prostitute: "Lady Madonna." Although some people interpret it as referring only to the difficulties of single motherhood, its lyrics about a woman who has difficulty paying the rent and supporting her children and who "creeps in like a nun" on Sunday mornings indicate that Lady Madonna is selling her body to feed her children.

By the late 1960s, the theme of prostitution had become sufficiently mainstream that Simon and Garfunkel, a folk/rock duo, had a top-10 hit called "The Boxer," with lyrics describing the tough life of a "poor boy" who could not find a job. The young man finds "just a come-on from the whores on Seventh Avenue," and he admits that he "took some comfort" with them.

In August 1969 The Rolling Stones released "Honky Tonk Woman," a blues-influenced number-one hit and certified as a gold record. It is probably the most celebrated song about a sex worker in recent history. A honky tonk was a type of bar common throughout the South. Honky tonks were rough establishments that served alcoholic beverages to working-class clientele and that sometimes also offered dancing to music by piano players or small bands; they sometimes were also centers of prostitution. In some rougher tonks the prostitutes and their customers would have sex standing up clothed on the dance floor while the music played.

"Honky Tonk Woman" describes a "gin soaked, bar-room queen in Memphis" who gives the songwriter the "honky tonk blues (i.e., "the clap"). The term "queen" subsequently became a code word for loose women who were easy with their sexual favors, and as a result, several successful songs with the word "queen" in the lyrics or title referred to loose women (or men in drag) who performed sexual favors, often at a price. "Mississippi Queen" by Mountain is allegedly about a real woman who is a well-known stripper and groupie. "Rock 'N' Roll Queen" by Mott the Hoople also refers to a loose woman who performs sexual favors.

The sexual revolution in the 1960s was formed by popular songs that treated the subject of prostitution as less of a taboo and more like a part of sexual liberation. "Groupies" became common in rock and roll culture, and they were known for freely offering sex to members of rock 'n' roll bands. As the 1960s culture ended, it was natural that sex of all kinds was being glamorized and celebrated.

When forms of societal censorship began to loosen in the 1970s and social protest gained ground, rock and roll performers began to produce more overtly sexual music. In 1970, as rock and roll entered its third decade, the glitter rock phenomenon (also known as glam rock) was emerging. This type of rock music, which celebrated sexualities of many kinds, prostitution, and drugs, was made famous by such performers as David Bowie, T. Rex, and KISS. The flamboyant, theatrical, and sexually ambiguous Alice Cooper Band released their first albums in 1970 and 1971, but both were commercial failures. T. Rex, led by Marc Bolan, released “Hot Love” and “Bang a Gong,” which became hit records in England, a year later. Glitter became a full-fledged phenomenon later that year when David Bowie (who had worked with Bolan as a mime performer), announced that he was bisexual and expressed his fear that he would be the first rock star to be assassinated onstage, boosting sales of his 1971 album *Hunky Dory*. That album included the song “Queen Bitch,” with lyrics referring to the protagonist’s sexual jealousy of a transgender hooker who picks up a man he or she is interested in. Bowie (who played a male prostitute in a Berlin brothel in the 1979 film *Just a Gigolo*) was infatuated with New York City’s Andy Warhol and the Velvet Underground (a 1960s band whose song lyrics referenced everything from shooting drugs to sexual orgies to homosexuality and transsexuals). Although no Velvet Underground songs referred directly to prostitution, their masterwork “Sister Ray” (written by singer/songwriter Lou Reed) vividly describes a sex-and-drugs orgy attended by drag queens and a sailor (slang for “john”). This infatuation with New York City’s gay scene led Bowie to produce Lou Reed’s first commercially successful album (*Transformer*) in December 1972. “Walk on the Wild Side,” a top-10 hit from that album, refers to various New York/Warhol superstars—notably “Little Joe,” a male hustler who “never once gave it away,” and several drag queens.



Angie and David Bowie pose in all of their glam glory. Courtesy of Photofest.

Rock music was in line with the gay liberation movement, which was gaining in attention and popularity as the anti-Vietnam War movement began to wane. Glam rock bands promoted openly homosexual behavior in order to ally with the burgeoning gay liberation movement, and band members dressed in effeminate attire to shock audiences, but most of these glam bands featured heterosexual males in search of a hit record. Cross-dressing rock performers soon became the norm. Edgar Winter, a blues rocker, dressed in drag on the cover of his album *They Only Come Out at Night* (a reference to prostitutes as well as flamboyant gays). Another early 1970s New York glam/punk band, inspired by the New York Dolls, called themselves the “Harlots of 42nd Street.” The band Queen Elizabeth starred transsexual performer Wayne County (who changed his name and sexual ori-

entation to Jayne County in 1980). His next band, Wayne County and the Back Street Boys, performed songs such as "(If You Don't Wanna Fuck Me Baby) Fuck Off," "Toilet Love," and "Stick It in Me."

The trend set by the Rolling Stones' 1969 hit "Honky Tonk Woman," about a "barroom queen" and seemingly inspiring a multitude of songs about "queens," reached its peak as a band calling itself Queen, a slang term for a gay man, released their first records. One of their first major chart successes was "Killer Queen" (from their third album, *Sheer Heart Attack*, in 1973), which refers to a high-class call girl who is "recommended at the price."

Kiss, arguably the most successful glam act from the 1970s (rivaled only by Queen and David Bowie), recorded "Ladies in Waiting" for their third album *Dressed to Kill* in 1975. Gene Simmons's lyrics describe a visit to a typical **brothel**, where women line up to offer themselves to the client.

Meanwhile, mainstream rock tended to avoid the subject. Tom Waits recorded "I'm Your Late Evening Prostitute" in 1971 for a demo tape, but the song was not released until 1993. It is not the case that there were no mainstream songs about prostitution during this time. Black Oak Arkansas recorded a song called "Happy Hooker" (about a woman who enjoys her work) on their 1973 album *High on the Hog*. "He's A Whore," from Cheap Trick's 1977 self-titled debut album (which is itself a sex work reference), is indeed about a gigolo (male prostitute), but the lyrics seem to be more about greed than about sex work.

Glam rock represented the extreme limit of sexual liberation that resulted from the political movements of the 1960s. Once glam rock began to decline in 1974, songs that used "whore" or "prostitute" in their lyrics tended to take on a less favorable definition. Patti Smith's provocative lyrics "Rock 'n' Roll Nigger" (on the 1978 album *Easter*; the song was later covered by Marilyn Manson) included the lyrics "baby was a whore" and used the word for its shock value. In fact, as glam rock faded into memory, prostitution was rarely discussed anywhere in a positive way, which probably had to do with the prevalence of AIDS and other **sexually transmitted infections** in the 1980s.

Sex work was rarely referred to in the 1980s, but there were some instances. Iron Maiden recorded "Charlotte the Harlot" for their self-titled debut album in 1980, which describes a woman who charges a "fiver" for "starters" and "ten for the main course." Frank Zappa released "Teenage Prostitute" on his 1982 album *Ship Arriving Too Late to Save a Drowning Witch*, and the lyrics of this song describe the rather bleak existence of a runaway teenage girl who works as a streetwalker. The biggest hit in the 1980s about prostitution was The Police's "Roxanne," in which the singer discourages the title character from working as a prostitute.

David Lee Roth left Van Halen and recorded an immensely popular song and video cover of Louis Prima's "Just a Gigolo" for his 1985 EP *Crazy From the Heat*. Unlike most songs about sex work, "Just a Gigolo" is a light and entertaining romp, which reflects the double standard society has toward men who perform sex for money.

Jane's Addiction recorded a song called "Whores" for their first album. It was reportedly written about the band's first manager Bianca, who was a prostitute and financed a good portion of the bands earlier shows.

"My Michelle" by Guns 'n' Roses (from their *Appetite For Destruction* album, released in 1987) was written about a friend of the band named Michelle who was a prostitute and drug addict.

The Pixies, one of the most influential alternative rock bands, recorded a couple of songs featuring prostitutes. On their debut EP *Come on Pilgrim*, the song "I've Been Tired" refers to the singer's biggest fear as "losing my penis to a whore with disease." On *Doolittle*, their second album, the song "Hey" repeatedly invokes "whores."

As the 1990s geared up and alternative rock became more popular, prostitution became a popular topic for songwriters. Courtney Love wrote and recorded “Teenage Whore” for Hole’s debut album *Pretty on the Inside* (1991). The song refers to the negative image the protagonist has from seeing herself, and from her mother referring to her, as a teenage whore, although it is unclear whether she is one or whether she is the victim of parental verbal abuse that makes her feel like one.

Bon Jovi recorded “Prostitute,” released as a demo recording in 1995, with lyrics that referred to the male protagonist’s willingness to do anything required for the woman he loves.

Canadian musician Lisa Dal Bello, who received her first recording contract in 1977 when she was 19 years old, recorded an album called *Whore* (with a song by the same name) in 1995. The somewhat obscure lyrics feature a chorus that equates the face of an angel with that of a “whore.”

The thrash metal band GWAR (an acronym for God What an Awful Racket) used shock value and humor for their song “Preschool Prostitute” on their *Carnival of Chaos* album, released in 1997.

Finland’s Impaled Nazarene, a satanic death metal band, also used humor and shock value for their song “Whore,” recorded for their 1996 album *Motorpenis*. The lyrics refer to the protagonist’s penchant for sex with “your mother” (a “fucking whore”) and his subsequent boredom with the act, which leads to his decision to use her as a human sacrifice to Satan. The song also describes a four-year-old girl who is used for sex. The infamous, and more serious, black metal band Mayhem, whose members have actually participated in **murder**, suicide, cannibalism, satanic rituals, and church-burning, recorded “Whore” on their 2004 album *Chimera*. The lyrics are difficult to decipher but appear to refer to the Whore of Babylon and describe a multitude of obscene acts.

The all-female metal band Kittie recorded “Do You Think I’m a Whore?” on their debut album *Spit* in 1999. Although the protagonist admits in the song, “I’m a whore,” the statement is obviously meant to be ironic.

Punk Rock

The relationship between punk rock and prostitution is compelling because the earliest meaning for the word “punk” is “prostitute” and an often-cited modern definition is “young man used as a homosexual partner in prison.” It also of course refers to rebellious and immature young people. The term “punk rock” came about in the early 1970s, when rock writer Greg Shaw used it to refer to “garage rock” groups such as Count Five, The Troggs and The Standells. Later, Nick Tosches, Lester Bangs and Richard Meltzer used “punk” to label those bands, as well as the Velvet Underground, the MC5 and The Stooges, in Detroit’s *Creem* magazine, and the term “punk rock” described hard rock bands such as the New York Dolls and The Sweet as well as English “pub rock” bands such as Eddie and the Hot Rods. *Creem* featured Alice Cooper on the magazine’s cover for winning their “Punk of the Year” award in 1974.

The first punk rock band that enjoyed commercial success was Alice Cooper, with a hit record “I’m Eighteen” in 1971. The only song the band recorded that made a direct reference to prostitution was “Never Been Sold Before,” which appeared on their last album *Muscle of Love*, and the lyrics seem to be about a woman who refuses to become a whore. Released in 1973, the record’s interior photographs feature the band in before-and-after poses, first dressed in sailor suits and carrying lots of money before they enter the “Institute of Nude Wrestling,” which the band obviously believes is a brothel. The “after” pose features the band in battered and bloody poses with a gorilla dressed in drag with its arms raised in victory.

The New York Dolls, a prominent New York City punk rock band whose flair for attracting publicity inspired many imitators, posed in female attire and wrote songs with ambiguous, overtly sexual song lyrics and titles that suggested male or female prostitution such as “Babylon,” “Trash,” and “Bad Girl.” Their lack of commercial success helped to bring an end to the glam rock movement around 1974, and soon afterward, “punk rock” shifted meaning to refer to a new wave of rock bands such as The Ramones, Suicide, Television, The Patti Smith Group, and The Dictators, who performed at clubs such as CBGB and Max’s Kansas City in New York City. The fashion sense of these early punks was not as sexually suggestive as the glam rockers, but the lyrical content was more shocking, violent, and humorous.

It seemed that it was an unwritten rule for 1970s punk rock bands to write one song about prostitutes. One of the Ramones’ earliest songs, “53rd & 3rd,” is written from the point of view of a male prostitute who works on a well-known New York street corner where young men were picked up, and the protagonist of the song stabs a client to prove that he is “no sissy.” Dee Dee Ramone, the songwriter, refused to provide specifics about whether the song was autobiographical, but it was often rumored that he wrote it from personal experience.

Janie Jones, whose name was the title of a song by England’s The Clash, was a famous madam of the 1970s, and the song lyrics describe a man who hates his job, does drugs, listens to rock and roll, and visits Janie Jones (to represent a prostitute or escort service) after work to relieve all his stress and tensions.

The Dictators penned “Minnesota Strip” for their third album, *Bloodbrothers*. It describes the area near the Port Authority bus station, where newcomers to New York City were sometimes recruited by **pimps**.

X-Ray Spex recorded “I Live Off You” for their first (and only) album *Germ Free Adolescents*. The song makes the case that everyone is exploited by someone else and includes lyrics about a pimp beating a prostitute.

Coincidentally, women who worked in the sex industry as strippers or prostitutes sometimes supported individual punk rock band members. Nancy Spungeon, the infamous girlfriend of Sid Vicious (born John Ritchie) of the English punk band The Sex Pistols, was known for **strip-ping** and turning tricks when she lived in New York City. She was known to many members of the early punk rock bands as “Nauseating Nancy” (because of her tendency to have sex with musicians who already had girlfriends). The Dead Boys “Caught with the Meat in Your Mouth,” which appeared on their debut album *Young Loud and Snotty*, describes this lifestyle.

The only Sex Pistols song that referred to prostitution is “Friggin’ in the Rigging” (which was recorded after the core group broke up). The song describes a wooden ship *Venus* with a figurehead that was a “whore in bed,” and the rest of the lyrics describe various onboard sexual perversions.

The Misfits, a New York City hardcore band who kept the punk rock tradition alive in the early 1980s, recorded “Hollywood Babylon” about the most famous whore of all. They also recorded a song titled “Devil’s Whorehouse.”

In the 1980s, as punk rock became influenced by the anti-Reagan politics of West Coast hardcore punk bands such as the Dead Kennedys, references to sex declined in popularity, and most punk bands wrote politically inspired lyrics. When a reference to “whore” appeared, it was more likely to be a negative political reference, such as the hardcore punk band Millions of Dead Cops’ 1981 7-inch single “John Wayne Was a Nazi,” which referred to Wayne as “just another pawn for the capitalist whore.”

There were exceptions. The Germs' "Let's Pretend" (from *Germicide: Live at the Whisky*, 1977) marked one of the first, but hardly the last, times a punk song used a reference to a prostitute as a personal smear. The list of punk rock songs that do so numbers in the thousands, and virtually every punk band in the 1980s and 1990s—the Angry Samoans, Anti-Flag, Bad Brains, Bad Religion, Bikini Kill, Black Flag, Blink 182, The Business, Butthole Surfers, The Circle Jerks, Crass, The Damned, Descendents, Dropkick Murphys, The Dwarves, The Exploited, G. B. H., Guttermouth, Husker Dü, Leftover Crack, the Lunachicks, NOFX, Stiff Little Fingers, Sublime, Social Distortion, The Queers, and U.S. Bombs—use "whore" in a song lyric. However, there are some punk rock songs that stand out because of their unusual content.

In 1985, Johnny Thunders (of New York Dolls and Heartbreakers) took this to its limit with his song titled "(There's a Little Bit of) Whore in Every Little Girl," which appeared on his album *Que Sera Sera*.

GG Allin, a New York rocker who represented the extreme of both shock and punk rock (he was notorious for flinging his own feces at audiences), recorded "Be My Fucking Whore" in 1988 for his album *Freaks, Faggots, Drunks & Junkies*. The song describes a variety of perverted sexual acts ("sit on my face," "I'll piss in your mouth," "suck it") that are underlined by his insistence that his partner "be my fucking whore." Allin made many more references to "whore" in his song lyrics, such as "Needle Up My Cock" (which refers to how the protagonist of the song caught a social disease from a prostitute or "whore"), "I Wanna Fuck Myself," and "Bite It You Scum," to name just a few.

Recent punk rock bands have recorded any number of songs that mention or refer to prostitution, whores, hustlers, and the like. One that deserves mention is Fifteen, who released "Prostitute" on their 2002 album *Survivor*. This is perhaps the most sympathetic portrayal of a streetwalker's life to be found in any punk rock song. It is told from the point of view of a social worker who works with streetwalkers and refers to the child abuse and drug use that sometimes accompanies the work. It also expresses the opinion that social workers themselves are in business to keep sex workers where they are. Fifteen also recorded "Hello My Name Is Whore," a song that questions why people are often sexualized.

The most famous punk rock band of the 1990s to the present, Green Day, wrote "Misery" for their best-selling Grammy Award-winning 2004 album *American Idiot*. The first verse describes a girl named Virginia who was a "lot lizard," a term that describes prostitutes, some of whom are underage, who offer sex for money to truck drivers at interstate highway truck stops. Virginia and the other characters in the song meet unhappy ends.

See also Appendix document 10, Hip-Hop.

Further Reading: Gendron, Bernard. *From Montmartre to the Mudd Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

John Holmstrom

RODE DRAAD. The Rode Draad ("Red Thread") is an organization that serves the interests and fights for the rights of sex workers in the Netherlands. The Rode Draad was founded in 1985, just before the first World Whore Conference was held in **Amsterdam**.

The organization works with both paid staff and volunteers who do outreach work. They visit the **brothels**, shop windows and official streetwalking zones to monitor the working conditions,

gather information, and inform sex workers about their rights. Sex workers can contact the organization if they have questions about the business or if they want to exchange thoughts and ideas with colleagues or—anonously—lodge a complaint about a club, private brothel, or window proprietor.

The Rode Draad has consistently supported the legalization of the sex industry as an instrument to improve the working conditions of sex workers and their access to protection through labor laws. The organization is still critical of several aspects of the new legislation and of the way it is being implemented.

The Rode Draad negotiates on behalf of sex workers with brothels owners about working conditions and labor relations in the sex industry. The foundation also acts as an interlocutor in the legislations processes for (local) government and governmental divisions such as the taxation, social services, and labor inspection departments.

In the late 1990s the Rode Draad became a member of the FNV, the largest labor union in the Netherlands. The FNV fully supports the Rode Draad's work on behalf of both individuals and groups of sex workers in labor conflict cases within the sex industry. The union is also an important support for the Rode Draad's political action, given that the FNV has long been recognized by the government as a valuable social partner. The relationship between the Rode Draad and the FNV allows individual sex workers, who may be hesitant to join a sex workers union, to still have their labor rights protected. The Rode Draad has resisted traditional ideas of "employment" in sex work in favor of a worker status as independent entrepreneur or self-employed contractor. More recently, the organization has recognized that employment in a sex business with a labor contract may be a desirable option for some sex workers. On a national level the FNV may draw up collective labor agreements for those sex workers who wish to enter into an employer–employee relationship. In addition, because the FNV decided some years ago to create a division specifically concerned with labor issues of entrepreneurs without personnel, they are able to serve the interests of sex workers who prefer self-employment.

The Netherlands lifted the ban on brothels in 2000, formally recognizing the sex industry. Since these changes, the Rode Draad has allocated its organizational tasks to two organizations: the Foundation Rode Draad and Vakwerk. The foundation continues its important work of drawing public and political attention to the social, economic, and legal position of sex workers in the Netherlands and informing women and men involved in sex work of their rights. Vakwerk (which means "skilled or professional work") functions as a union representing the individual and collective interests of sex workers in the Netherlands.

See also Window Prostitution.

Further Reading: Rode Draad Web site. <http://www.rodedraad.nl>

Marieke van Doorninck

ROMANTIC LITERATURE. The prostitute in Romantic Literature is certainly not as prominent a figure as she was in later 19th-century Victorian literature, but she is often present in a variety of revealing roles. For the Romantics, a woman could signify pleasure, domestic bliss, death, or nature. When she was a prostitute, however, a woman could also signify moral decay as well as deep injustice. On the one hand, the prostitute represented the corruption and degradation of urban life. On the other, hers could be a marginalized voice added to the other anguished

cries of the city. Further, because the Romantic poet indulged a suspicion that the act of writing for an audience was a form of artistic prostitution, he could identify with the prostitute, complicating her symbolic value all the more.

Most literary histories date the Romantic Movement as the period between 1785 and 1830, a turbulent time in European history. The years following the storming of the Bastille in Paris in 1789 were ones in which the long-intact class system was challenged while, at the same time, the growing importance of business and commerce solidified the status of the burgeoning middle class.

Mary Wollstonecraft, an 18th-century feminist and early Romantic, clearly saw the prostitute as victim, not transgressor. In her essays and fiction, she identified gender inequities, often focusing on the particular problems of class for women, and laid these problems at the feet of the laws and customs of society. Wollstonecraft saw the prostitute's case as one of desperate economic need rather than moral weakness. She further recognized that a woman's virtue was the only valuable commodity that she possessed, and when this was compromised, she was ruined, morally, economically, and emotionally.

Although Wollstonecraft approached the prostitute with sympathetic feminist sensibilities, the major figures of the Romantic Movement were all male poets whose primary concerns were the imagination and liberating effects of fully engaging one's creative faculties. William Wordsworth, William Blake, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and John Keats lived in a time of dramatic political, social, and literary change and were vitally engaged in every aspect of their culture.

Politically liberal, they were inclined to idealize the rural landscape and abhor the soul-deadening grime and bustle of the city. Although in many ways radical literary theorists who advocated a central role for common people and common language in **poetry**, they also lamented the decline in public taste that accompanied the rise of popular culture and the novel. They were sympathetic to poor and marginalized victims of urban life even as they celebrated the rural sage. Yet, for all their compatible views, these poets were rarely of one voice. All used the trope of the prostitute to different ends, and if the sage occupied the countryside, the prostitute occupied the city.

The older Romantics witnessed the French Revolution, and the younger ones saw the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the middle class. Coleridge wrote a number of essays that addressed the popular taste for the new form of the novel and, to his mind, the corresponding divide of literature into two categories—literature and popular fiction. The influences of urbanization and industrialization further developed the tastes and habits of the new middle class, but, at least for the Romantics, the city was the site of society's greatest ills; the prostitute proved a useful symbol, both of moral degradation and of the corrupt society that brought her to this state. Further, because the cash nexus and commodification became the basis for most human interaction, the very fact of prostitution provided a wealth of metaphoric possibilities.

Perhaps reflecting their own marginal status as artists, many Romantics seemed to simultaneously sympathize with and revile the figure of the prostitute. In Wordsworth's "The Reverie of Poor Susan," the prostitute is a country girl who, foolishly perhaps, has left the country for the city, only to find that the morning song of a bird she hears in Cheapside as she returns from the streets is a bittersweet reminder of the wholesome life she left. Similarly, in the autobiographical *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, Romantic Thomas de Quincey tells of a 15-year-old prostitute named Ann who befriends him when he is 17, alone and on the streets. He credits her kindness with saving his life and refuses to pass judgment on the lives of the "street-walkers."

A more complex, less idealized portrayal of the prostitute as both victim and transgressor is suggested in Blake's "London" from *Songs of Experience*. In this poem, a dark and dirty London is home to a prostitute who curses the marriage bed, presumably with venereal disease acquired by the husband as he visited the streets. The harlot, however, is described as "youthful," implying a prematurely lost innocence.

The image of the prostitute as a figure to be feared is present in Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Byron's "Childe Harold," and Keats' "Lamia." In the first example, the nightmarish figure Life-in-Death is described by the Mariner as a woman whose lips are red and looks are free—symbols of wantonness often associated with prostitution. For Byron and Keats, the presence of lewd women signals a depraved urban sensuality that indicates real danger to their protagonists. For all of these artists, the act of commodifying one's body, and the subsequent social and moral fall it implied, signified deeper ills, both in the literary marketplace and in the sociopolitical structure of the early 19th century.

Further Reading: Goodwin, Sarah Webster. "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice: The Poet's Song and the Prostitute's Cry." In *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 65–79; Mellor, Anne K. *Romanticism and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988; Mudge, Bradford K. *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Anita R. Rose

RUSSIA. See **Imperial Russia.**

S

SABATIER, APPOLONIE (1822–1890). French **courtesan** Appolonie Sabatier was born April 7, 1822, to a washerwoman and a sergeant named Savatier. Aglaé-Joséphine, as she was christened, had a talent for music and the beauty of a model, both of which she used to make her way into bohemian life, which was paid for by her short liaisons. In 1846 she accepted as her protector Alfred Mosselman, who rented her an apartment, and celebrated the next step on the social ladder by changing her first name to Appolonie and slightly altering her last name—to disassociate herself from her family. It was Mosselman who commissioned a sculpture of Appolonie that immortalized her. In 1847 Auguste Clesinger exhibited his sculpture *La Femme piquée par un serpent*, which represented a naked woman bitten by a snake but was read by the public as a woman in sexual ecstasy (the sculpture is on permanent display in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris). Charles Baudelaire wrote a series of poems for Appolonie, some of the most beautiful masterpieces of French poetry. She also inspired Théophile Gautier's hymns to female beauty and sexuality. Appolonie's Sunday evenings attracted the intellectual elite of Paris. Among her guests were the writers Gustave Flaubert, Victor Hugo, and Ernest Feydeau; the artists Eugène Delacroix and Paul Joseph Chenavard; the poets Gérard de Nerval and Théophile Gautier; and the critic Sainte-Beuve. Appolonie became the female president of the evenings and became known as "La Presidente." When in 1860 Mosselman, Appolonie's protector of many years, left her for a younger woman, she refused the money he offered her and decided to support herself through painting and repairing miniatures. She still entertained, but not lavishly, and she never again had a permanent relationship of the type she had had with Mosselman. However, at the age of 48, she prudently accepted an annual income from an admirer, Richard Wallace. She was now at the age when it became increasingly difficult for her to find protectors. Appolonie died of influenza in 1890 and was buried in the cemetery at Neuilly.

See also *Grandes Horizontales*.

Further Reading: Hickman, Katie. *Courtesans: Money, Sex and Fame in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: William Morrow, 2003; Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*,

trans. Richard Daly. New York: Grove Press, 2004; Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Maria Mikolchak

SACRED PROSTITUTION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. Sacred prostitution is the temporary sale of a person's body for sexual purposes in which either all or some portion of the money received for this transaction belongs to a deity. In the ancient Near East, this deity was usually understood as Ishtar or Astarte; in ancient Greece, it was Aphrodite.

At least three separate types of sacred prostitution have been distinguished. In some examples, such as argued by Herodotus for Babylon and Cyprus, once in life every woman must prostitute herself, often to a foreign man, and give the money to the relevant deity.

The most shameful of the customs among the Babylonians is this: It is necessary for every local woman to sit in the sanctuary of Aphrodite once in life to "mingle" with a foreign man ... in the sanctuary of Aphrodite many women sit wearing a garland of string about their heads. Some come forward, others remain in the background. They have straight passages in all directions through the women, by which the foreigners passing through might make their selection. Once a woman sits there, she may not return home before someone of the foreigners tossing money into her lap should mingle with her outside the sanctuary. And in tossing he must say thus: "I summon you by the goddess Mylitta." The Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta. The money is of any amount, for it may not be rejected: This is not their sacred custom, for the money is sacred. The woman follows the first man who tossed her money, nor may she reject anyone. When she should have mingled, having discharged her obligation to the goddess, she leaves for home. (Herodotus 1.199)

A second type of sacred prostitution involves women and men who are professional prostitutes and who are owned by a deity or a deity's sanctuary, as described by Strabo:

Eryx, a lofty mountain, is also inhabited and has a sanctuary of Aphrodite which is very much esteemed; in former times it was filled with women hierodules, whom the inhabitants of Sicily, and also many others, dedicated through vows. But now the neighborhood is much less inhabited, and the sanctuary not so well supplied with sacred bodies. (6.2.6)

There are also references to a temporary type of sacred prostitution, in which the women and possibly men only prostitute themselves during certain rituals. One such example is presented in Lucian's *Syrian Goddess*(6):

The women of Byblos shave their heads, as do the Egyptians when Apis dies. The women who refuse to shave pay this penalty: For a single day they stand offering their beauty for sale. The market, however, is open to foreigners only and the payment becomes an offering to Aphrodite.

In the first and third examples, sacred prostitutes do not appear to belong to any specific profession or subgroup within society but presumably come from all walks of life. In the second category, sacred prostitutes belong to a clearly delineated profession.

The textual evidence for sacred prostitution can be divided into two distinct categories—direct references to the institution in the works of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and early Church Fathers and implied references in the Near Eastern corpus. The direct, Classical references are

apparently unambiguous in that they refer to women who sell their bodies for sex, who are either “sacred” or who hand over the money they earn to a deity. The words used to describe them are *hetairai* (courtesans), *hierodouloi* (sacred slaves), and *sômata hiera* (sacred bodies).

The implied references in the Near Eastern corpus are more difficult to analyze, given that the identity of sacred prostitutes depends on the translation of words that are not as blatant as “hetaira.” The individuals most commonly referred to as sacred prostitutes are the *qedesh* (male) and *qedeshah* (female) of the Bible and, in the Mesopotamian cuneiform corpus, the *entum*, *naditum*, *qadishtum*, *ishtaritum*, *kulmashitum*, and the *kezertum* for women and the *kalbu* (literally meaning “dog”), *assinnu*, *kurgarru*, and *kulu’u* for men (Hooks 1985, 3). The biblical *qedeshah* seem to be the most obvious sacred prostitutes in the Near East. The radicals (*qdš*) generally refer to holiness or sacredness in Semitic languages. The use of the words in Genesis 38 leaves little doubt that it refers to a prostitute. Here, Judah inadvertently solicited his daughter-in-law Tamara, taking her to be a prostitute (*zonah* in the text). Later, when he sent his servant to pay for her services, the servant claimed to be looking for the “*qedeshah* who was at Enaim by the wayside.” Prostitution is clearly at issue. The radicals refer to holiness. Thus, sacred prostitution seems to be intended. Another usage though of as referring both to male and female prostitutes, appears in Deuteronomy:

You shall not bring the hire of a whore [zonah] or the wages of a dog [*keleb*, Hebrew for *kalbu*] into the house of the Lord your God in payment for any vow; for both of these are an abomination to the Lord your God. There shall be no *qedeshah* of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a *qedesh* of the sons of Israel. (23:18–19)

The Mesopotamian terminology is more difficult. Many of the cult functionaries deemed to be prostitutes are thought to have had strict limitations placed on their sexuality. The *naditum*, for example, was not allowed to bear children, although she was allowed to adopt, suggesting that she was not allowed to reproduce sexually. The same was true for the *qadishtum*, who was, however, allowed to marry, as was the *kezertum*. In short, it seems that the early Assyriologists were not sufficiently rigorous in their translations, applying the definition “sacred prostitute” too freely.

Such “freedom” has recently come under considerable scrutiny, as has the undeniable fact that most references to sacred prostitution occur as invective, condemning “other” societies, usually far away and long ago. Furthermore, there is, to date, no evidence of the sacred prostitution practices mentioned in the Classical texts: there is no Babylonian evidence, for example, that Babylonian women prostituted themselves once in life for Mylitta. This has suggested that sacred prostitution never actually existed, but was a literary device or an accusation used to denigrate others. Herodotus used it poetically to describe the conquered status of Babylon. The Church Fathers used it to impugn pagans: “In times past women displayed themselves in front of idols in Phoenicia, offering the price of their bodies to the local gods, and believing that by prostitution they conciliated their goddess and incurred her favor through these practices,” wrote the 4th-century Athenasius in his *Against the Nations* (Oden 2000, 143). New studies based on this perspective that cite the lack of any corroborating evidence for Herodotus’s and Strabo’s accounts are slowly chipping away at the sacred prostitution myth. The Mesopotamian vocabulary is being redefined with a view toward functions as described in the cuneiform texts, not based on the accusations of later Classical and Christian authors. The Biblical *qedeshah* is being seen more as non-Yahwistic priestesses, a holdover from Canaanite times, which was redefined

in insulting fashion to refer to common whores. Sacred prostitution is now being studied as a long-term aspect of propaganda and rhetoric.

See also Ancient World; Child Prostitution, Cultural and Religious; *Devadasi*; *Hetaera*.

Further Reading: Beard, Mary, and John Henderson. "With This Body I Thee Worship: Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity." In *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. M. Wyke. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998, pp. 56–79; Bird, Phyllis. "'To Play the Harlot': An Inquiry into an Old Testament Metaphor." In *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. P. Day. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989, pp. 75–94; Budin, Stephanie L. "Pallakai, Prostitutes, and Prophetesses." *Classical Philology* 98 (2003): 148–159; Budin, Stephanie L. "Sacred Prostitution in the First Person." In *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, ed. Laura McClure and Christopher Faraone. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, in press; Hooks, Stephen M. "Sacred Prostitution in Israel and the Ancient Near East." Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College, 1985; Oden, Robert A., Jr. *The Bible without Theology*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000; Westenholz, Joan G. "Tamar, Qedeša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia." *Harvard Theological Review* 82:3 (1989): 245–265.

Stephanie Lynn Budin

SACRED PROSTITUTION, CONTEMPORARY. Modern sacred prostitutes, also called sacred harlots, sacred whores, or *Qadesh(im)*, are people (mostly women) who interact sexually with strangers for the purpose of offering healing or an experience of divinity. This is based on ancient polytheistic traditions in which men would come to a temple to worship a Goddess (such as Astarte or Shakti) by making love to her priestesses. The vast majority of the clients/worshippers are male (and probably were even in ancient times), even when one takes into account the male and transgender sacred prostitutes.

Modern sacred prostitutes fall into two overlapping categories. Some are primarily spiritually motivated, and these people act as sexual therapists or surrogates or teach Tantra or similar techniques. Some simply feel they have a calling to be sexually available to all and are less formal about it. Sometimes they accept money, and sometimes they do not. Another category of modern sacred prostitutes are people who identify primarily as sex workers and who bring an element of spirituality or healing to their work. Generally, these people are earning a living from their sex work, so money is almost always exchanged. During the course of the individual's career and path, she may go from one type to the other or may function in both ways simultaneously.

Sacred harlots differ in their spiritual paths. Some are *Tantrikas*, who embody the Goddess Shakti and follow a Hindu-based path. Others are NeoPagan priestesses, who may identify with a Goddess from an ancient European pantheon. Still others may not be focused on any deities, but proceed from the belief that sexuality is a sacred force and something to be enjoyed. The notion of the sacred embodied in the physical (pantheism) is a common idea.

Activities may include touch and sensual massage; hand jobs; oral, vaginal, or anal sex, bondage and **sadomasochism** (BDSM), and role-play. Sacred prostitutes may even interact with clients over the phone, practicing in an astral temple. Not all are "full service"; each harlot sets her own limits.

Modern sacred prostitution has an element of therapy to it. Female sacred prostitutes who receive male clients/worshippers say that men have been wounded by our society by being taught that their sexual desire is bad or wrong, either in its focus (such as a fetish) or its intensity. In

this way, they may provide acceptance, encouragement, and understanding for the client. They may also help the men become more comfortable with women and women's bodies, including offering instruction on techniques (energetic and physical), birth control, and safer sex. With spiritually or energetically experienced clients/worshippers, they may be able to take things further and create a Great Rite or *hieros gamos* (a ritualized coupling between God and Goddess) or assist them in raising energy for magical purposes.

The issue of money is hotly charged for people in this area. Some believe that to charge for the service is to strip it of its sacredness or demean the priest or priestess. Others see it as precisely the opposite situation: people value that which they have to pay for, and the harlot should be compensated for her time and hard work. Prostitution is illegal in most places, so sacred prostitutes who are compensated are sometimes paid as therapists, escorts, or performers.

The client who visits a sex worker is generally looking merely for pleasure and entertainment, not a spiritual experience; some sacred prostitutes stay on a physical level with such clients, and others try to bring them a little further into the realm of worship and communion. Regardless, the sacred prostitute provides pleasure and release, which increases the amount of pleasure and joy in the world.

Some well-known modern sacred prostitutes include Pat Califia, **Carol Leigh** (a.k.a. Scarlot Harlot), Magdalene Meretrix, and **Annie Sprinkle**.

See also Religion; Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World.

Further Reading Fabian, Cosi. "The Holy Whore: A Woman's Gateway to Power." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 44–54; Stubbs, Kenneth K. *Women of the Light: The New Sacred Prostitute*. Tucson, AZ: Secret Garden Publishing, 1995.

Jennifer Hunter

SADE, MARQUIS DE (1740–1814). Donatien Alphonse, the Marquis de Sade, was an 18th-century French poet and writer. Sade was involved in a number of sexual scandals and personified the excesses of 18th-century French aristocracy. Sexual themes and overindulgence permeate Sade's literary works, which are still considered controversial in modern society. He employed the services of prostitutes to satisfy his own desires, and the theme of prostitution pervades his works.

Sade's first criminal conviction came in 1763, after an encounter with a French prostitute, Jeanne Testard, whom, during the course of their encounter, Sade threatened to torture for the purpose of sexual gratification. Testard was able to talk her way out of the situation with the promise that she would later indulge Sade. She reported the events to the police the next day. At the time of the incident, the young Sade had been married for six months. He was sentenced to death in 1772 after being convicted of sodomy and poisoning two prostitutes, but he managed to avoid execution.

Sade's first completed novel was *The Misfortunes of Virtue*, which was written in 1787 during the last of his imprisonments. His most well-known works were to follow: *The 120 Days of Sodom* (written in 1785; date of first publication unknown), *Juliette* (1797; a revised version of *The Misfortunes*), and *Philosophy in the Boudoir* (1795). Throughout these narratives, sexuality and violence are entwined in shocking plots.

The works of Sade are still considered controversial, depicting rape, theft, prostitution, and degradation. However, in the latter part of the 20th century, Sade's work received critical and theoretical attention, which allowed it to slowly become more available.

See also Masoch, Leopold von Sacher; Sadomasochism.

Further Reading: Lynott, Douglas B. "The Marquis de Sade." *Court TV's Crime Library*. <http://www.crimelibrary.com/classics/marquis/>; Thomas, Donald. *The Marquis de Sade: A New Biography*. Se-caucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1992.

Shannon Schedlich-Day

SADIE THOMPSON. The famous fictional prostitute Sadie Thompson was created by W. Somerset Maugham. His short story "Rain," published in 1921, tells of Thompson's encounter with a zealous missionary on a Pacific island. Several successful adaptations of the story have spread Thompson's fame. Maugham's story centers on a clash between the pleasure-loving Thompson and the judgmental Christian, Mr. Davidson. Davidson strives to ensure that Thompson will fail to reach her hoped-for destination, Sydney, and will instead return to San Francisco to face imprisonment for prostitution offences. This punishment is necessary for Thompson's moral reform, Davidson insists. The story ends with the discovery of Davidson's corpse; although Maugham provides scant details, Davidson has shot himself after a sexual encounter with Thompson.

Instantly renowned, the story was adapted into a play by John Colton and Clemence Randolph in 1922. The play was performed and revived several times on Broadway and elsewhere. Gloria Swanson starred in the 1928 Raoul Walsh-directed film adaptation, *Sadie Thompson*, and Lewis Thompson's *Rain* (1932) featured Joan Crawford in the Thompson role. The 1946 film *Dirty Gertie from Harlem U.S.A.* twists the Sadie Thompson myth: a black showgirl is cast as the troubled woman in a very similar plot. John Mackenzie directed a 1970 TV version. The best-known adaptation of "Rain," the 1953 Curtis Bernhardt-directed film, *Miss Sadie Thompson*, differs from the original story in important ways. The action is moved from the 1920s to the postwar era, where Rita Hayworth's vivacious Thompson enraptures bored, ill-disciplined American soldiers. A sergeant falls in love with Thompson, and she reciprocates with equal affection—Thompson, possibly, will not engage in prostitution again. Also, Davidson's hypocrisy is more ferocious, because he forces himself sexually upon a shocked, unwilling Thompson. In Maugham's story, the reader is not told whether if Davidson or Thompson initiated the fatal sexual act.

Further Reading: Colton, John, and Clemence Randolph. *Rain: A Play in Three Acts*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925; Maugham, W. Somerset. "Rain." In *The Exotic Novels and Short Stories of Somerset Maugham*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2001, pp. 342.



Gloria Swanson (as Sadie Thompson) in Raoul Walsh's 1928 film *Sadie Thompson*. Courtesy of Photofest.



A French dominatrix flexes her whip in anticipation, circa 1920. Sean Sexton/Getty Images.

SADOMASOCHISM. As a form of prostitution, sadomasochism, abbreviated as S/M, typically describes the domination of a man by a woman, usually known as a dominatrix or mistress, for payment. More rarely does it describe the domination of a woman by a man, though dominatrices often receive female clients. Sadomasochism combines sexual dominance (sadism, derived from **Marquis de Sade's** name) and submission (masochism, derived from **Leopold von Sacher Masoch's** name). It is fundamentally an expression of power over another human being in which the dominatrix "tops" or dominates and the client "bottoms" or submits, whether through bondage, wrestling, whipping, body-piercing, and so on. Most often, this kind of prostitution does not involve sexual penetration, and it usually involves no nudity on the part of the dominatrix. For this reason, this form of prostitution enjoys a certain immunity from law enforcement in some parts of the United States.

In the dominatrix's "dungeon," the session takes place with the client, in a submissive role, seeking some form of humiliation, typically through receiving pain or being rendered immobile. A dominatrix may cause pain by whipping, spanking, caning, or verbally abusing her client. Some clients seek the experience of being bound or tightly wrapped through, for example, rope bondage, mummification (being wrapped or fitted in latex or leather), entombment, or suspension. A client may also desire to be humiliated through receiving "golden showers" (being urinated on), depersonalization fantasies (being treated like an object, such as a footstool, or an animal, most often a pony) or infantilism (being treated like a baby, wearing a diaper and sucking on a bottle). Other forms of pleasurable humiliation include cross-dressing (especially being forced to do so), body worship (foot fetishism is common), enemas, branding, and scarification.

The paid session is in many ways a mutually created role-playing or theatrical event with the dominatrix and the client enacting a fantasy of dominance and submission. Great attention may be paid to setting, dialogue, and costume. The dungeon, for example, may recreate a medi-

eval torture chamber with its instruments of pain such as a rack, cage, or hooks. An elaborate drama may unfold in which the client is being tortured for some imaginary crime and begs for his mercy. What makes any session work, no matter how basic or how elaborate, is the contract between the dominatrix and the client. This usually formalized agreement may involve something as simple as a “safe word,” a word uttered by the client when the pain becomes unbearable or the scenario too threatening or debasing. It may also involve something elaborate such as a detailed contract of servitude in which the client agrees to do certain tasks for the dominatrix such as cleaning her bathroom or floors with a small brush.

Currently, thousands of dominatrices and mistresses advertise their services on the **Internet**. Some even offer more technologically advanced forms of sadomasochism such as email or phone domination. A live session may range in price from \$100 to more than \$1,000 an hour. Nick Broomfield’s documentary *Fetishes* (1996) takes the viewer inside Pandora’s Box, an upscale dungeon where investment bankers, lawyers, executives, and other **New York City** powerbrokers go to be humiliated by professional dominatrices. A thriving part of the sex industry, sadomasochistic prostitution holds special appeal for well-to-do urbanites who seek a combination of physical and imaginative stimulation.

See also Kink.

Further Reading: Brame, William, Gloria Brame, and Jon Jacobs. *Different Loving: The World of Sexual Domination and Submission*. New York: Random House, 1993; Stoller, Robert J. *Pain and Passion: A Psychoanalyst Explores the World of S&M*. New York: Plenum, 1991; Theroux, Paul. *Nurse Wolf and Dr. Sacks*. London: Faber & Faber, 2001.

Michael Uebel

SAI, JINHUA (1872–1936). Originally from Yancheng, Jiangsu Province, Chinese concubine Sai Jinhua spent her childhood in Suzhou, China. When her father died and the family faced hard times, Sai became a prostitute at age 13, with the professional name Fu Caiyun. In 1887 she was taken as a concubine by Hong Jun (1839–1893), a high-ranking official who was visiting Suzhou. When Hong was appointed by Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) as the Chinese envoy to Europe, Sai accompanied him on his diplomatic mission touring Russia, Austria, Holland, and Germany. In Berlin she reportedly made the acquaintance of a high-ranking officer in the German army named Alfred von Waldersee (1832–1904). Hong died shortly after returning to Beijing, and his relatives refused to support Sai, who was forced back into prostitution in 1894, now known by the name Cao Menglan. A few years later she organized a courtesan theater company called Golden Flower Troupe (Jinhua Ban), which became widely known in Beijing and Tianjin. In 1900 when the antforeign Boxer Rebellion was crushed down by the allied forces of the Western powers, Sai renewed her acquaintance with Waldsee, who was then the chief commander of the occupation army. With her German connection, Sai was credited with influencing Waldsee to moderate the harsh treatment of Beijing residents. When the dust settled, the imperial Qing government was not grateful to her, and so Sai returned to her old business. In 1903 she was jailed for mistreatment of one of her courtesans, who committed suicide because of Sai’s abuse. Banished to her hometown, Sai first entered into a brief marriage to a railroad official and then married a member of the National Assembly. In 1936 she died penniless and was buried in Beijing. Her life became the subject of Zeng Pu’s novel *Nie Hai Hua* (meaning “Flower in a Sea of Evil”). It has been

repeatedly adapted into plays, films and TV series, and she was regarded by some as a cross-cultural courtesan.

Further Reading: Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei, China: Xiapu Press, 1994.

Wenxian Zhang

SALVATION ARMY. The Salvation Army, a British-based worldwide Evangelical Christian organization, provides social services for prostitutes. It began as the Christian Mission in 1865. In 1878, founder William Booth changed the organization's name to the Salvation Army and adopted a martial structure.

The Salvation Army formed groups of people who had been conspicuous sinners. The groups, which included former prostitutes, went from place to place attracting attention with colorful antics, brass bands, and parades. Women, led by William's wife Catherine Booth, were particularly drawn to the movement because they were treated as the equals of men. They had the chance to preach and to serve as leaders.

By 1883, the Salvation Army had begun to turn from a focus on proselytizing to social concern for fallen women, drunkards, and released prisoners. In 1885, it joined the efforts to pass the Criminal Law Amendment in Britain to raise the age at which a girl could consent to be a prostitute. Both William and Catherine Booth promoted women's suffrage to give women a voice in choosing the lawmakers who made prostitution laws.

The Booths recognized that poor economic circumstances prevented many people from hearing a spiritual message. In his 1890 book *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, William proposed that social services be combined with religious outreach. American Salvationists were also moving in this direction. The Salvation Army established national networks of shelters, cheap hotels, and rescue homes for fallen women. The modern Salvation Army includes homes for families with AIDS, adult rehabilitation centers for substance abusers, and after-school centers for children.

See also Fallen Woman Trope; Religion.

Further Reading: McKinley, Edward H. *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States, 1880–1992*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995; Murdoch, Norman H. *Origins of the Salvation Army*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.

Caryn E. Neumann

SAN FRANCISCO. See *American West, 19th Century*.

SANGER, WILLIAM WALLACE (1819–1872). William Wallace Sanger was the first resident physician at the Houses of Correction on Blackwell's Island, New York. In 1853, with the public increasingly alarmed by the visibility of growing numbers of female prostitutes on **New York City** streets, the city's aldermen commissioned Sanger to investigate the factors causing women to turn to prostitution. Under Sanger's direction, police interviewed 2,000 women incarcerated at Blackwell's venereal disease hospital. Police asked the women questions about their ethnic and social backgrounds and their reasons for entering the profession, and the result was an 1858 groundbreaking statistical study, *The History of Prostitution*, similar one conducted in 1830s Paris by French physician **Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet**. Like Parent-Duchâtelet's,

Sanger's findings challenged popular preconceptions. Nearly 47 percent of the women were very young (median age of 15), foreign-born (mostly recent Irish or German immigrants), and unskilled, though 38 percent were native-born. Although most came from unskilled backgrounds, more than half were daughters of skilled workers or came from elite artisanal families. Male desertion, widowhood, single motherhood, and especially death of a male wage-earner made prostitution a viable choice for many. Economic factors, low wages, and the monotony of mill life for many young working women clearly led to prostitution. Casual prostitution became a relatively easy way to supplement low-wage employment. Disconcerting to the public and reformers alike, who saw these women as victims of circumstance and destitution, was that one-fourth of the women cited attraction or an easy life as a reason for entering the profession, thus revealing some element of personal choice on the part of these young women.

Further Reading: Gilfoyle, Timothy. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1992; Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Melissa Ellis Martin

SAPPHO OF LESBOS (c. 630 B.C.E.–?). Sappho, a poet born in either Mytilene or Ere-sus on Lesbos, was claimed by some ancient, apocryphal sources to have been a courtesan. She composed wedding hymns and ritual mourning songs, and ancient sources also claimed that she composed epigrams, elegiac poems, and iambics, although none survive. Most of her **poetry**, in fact, is no longer extant: one complete poem and numerous fragments survive from an ancient edition that probably comprised eight books and was arranged according to meter and genre several centuries after her death. Her poetry dealt with erotic and homoerotic themes, the goddess Aphrodite, and her relationship to the Muses. Her poetry was particularly influential to the Roman poets Catullus, Horace, and Ovid and remains canonical despite its fragmentary state.

The apocryphal claim that Sappho had been a courtesan was probably influenced by representations of her in Attic drama: numerous comedies entitled *Sappho* were produced in Athens during the 4th century, and although none of them survive, at least one by the comic poet Diphilus represented Sappho as the object of erotic pursuit by the male poets Hipponax and Archilochus. Hermesianax's *Leontium*, a poem that was influenced by comic representations of Sappho, depicts a rivalry between the lyric poets Alcaeus and Anacreon for the erotic attention of Sappho, who spurns them both. Erotic pursuits featuring agonistic rivalries between lovers for the attentions of beautiful and accomplished **courtesans** were typical scenarios in Attic comedy. The fact that courtesans in antiquity, particularly in Classical Athens, were well educated in music, political and philosophical discourse, and drama may have reinforced the association between Sappho and mercantile sexuality.

See also *Hetaera*.

Further Reading: Hunter, Richard. *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Angela Gosetti-Murrayjohn

SCAPEGOATING. The scapegoating of prostitutes has a long history. Attacks on prostitutes as threats to public space, morality, and health are a long-term fixture of discourses on prostitution. These moralistic views of sex for monetary transactions typify and transform the public response from one of tolerance for a victimless crime toward more punitive approaches. Most prostitu-



HIV/AIDS poster warning against sex with prostitutes, Hanoi, Vietnam. The text reads, “Prostituting yourself: the quickest way to HIV/AIDS.” Courtesy of Angus McIntyre.

tion law is framed as a conflict between a “sex monster” and the innocent victims he or she is polluting, damaging, or contaminating; the patriarchal state steps in to punish, regulate, and preserve the nuclear family. The following highlights a number of flashpoints in this age-old conflict.

Competing Discourses and World War

“A German bullet is cleaner than a whore,” stated American hygiene propaganda during **World War I**. During the **syphilis** outbreak of the period, public health publications and announcements suggested that prostitutes were “pools of contagion,” “reservoirs of infection,” and “vectors of transmission”; they were thought to sell “death” to “pure” victims. Most important, prostitutes were thought to reduce the will to fight among the young. Thus, their presence increased anxiety about the preparedness of U.S. soldiers, whose leaders thought they needed to focus on war instead of sex. As the war proceeded,

some 30,000 accused or suspected prostitutes were incarcerated and quarantined in response to increasing syphilis cases (yet the government failed to distribute **condoms** to its servicemen). Those women under suspicion were forced to submit to mandatory tests harking back to the “inspections” required with the **Contagious Diseases Act of 1864**. And in the end, syphilis rates never decreased; instead, the basic civil rights and human dignity of a group of women were sacrificed under the auspices of protecting the public at large. Concurrently, many of the jurisdictions that had quietly tolerated prostitution in their red light districts shut them down. As syphilis rates continued to increase, one state after another passed legislation outlawing prostitution. Many states used feminists’ concerns about a **white slavery** trade of white women (which few historians seem to think ever existed) to justify criminalization. Others suggested that shutting the **brothels** had more to do with military concerns about mobilizing men to fight than with a feminist agenda.

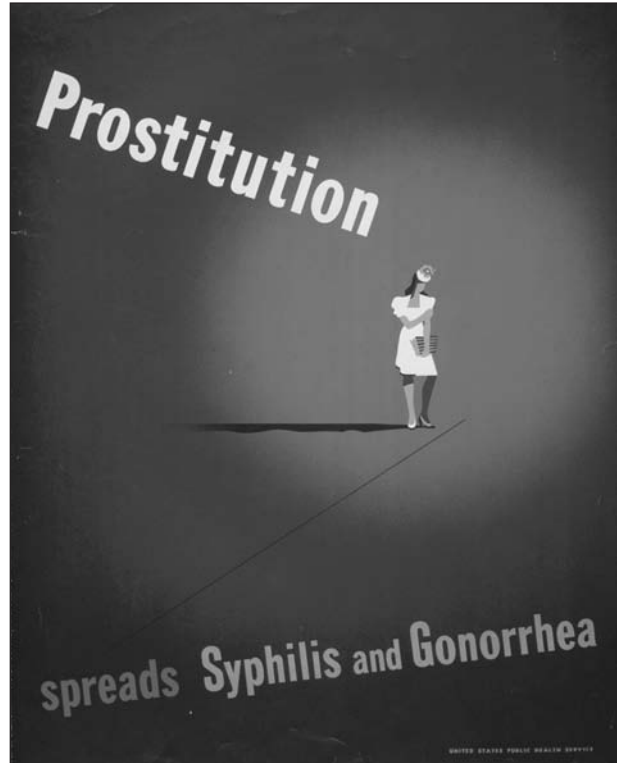
Contemporary Panics

As the prostitute quarantines during World War I clearly demonstrated, treating prostitutes as the source of infection for **sexually transmitted infections** is rarely an effective tool of public health. Yet, as the AIDS epidemic spread in the 1980s, prostitution was once again defined as a social problem of “disease” and “disorder.” During the AIDS panic, prostitutes were thought to be responsible for spreading the disease. In 1988, California passed a law

mandating HIV tests for prostitutes. The results of the tests would be permanently placed on their record. In addition to the violation of basic rights to privacy and confidentiality, criminal charges for prostitution in relation to AIDS shifted from the usual misdemeanor charge to that of a felony offense, once again with mandatory jail time. The result was a radical escalation in the punitive treatment of prostitutes. However, the Centers for Disease Control has never demonstrated that prostitutes are more likely to have HIV/AIDS than the general public. To the contrary, studies suggest that prostitutes use condoms at higher rates than the general population does. Panics influence the way prostitution has been understood, defined and enforced as a social problem. Here, accusations of prostitutes and their patrons as “disease carriers” are closely linked with the redefinition of prostitution as a criminal offense in relation to transmission of HIV.

Narratives that defined prostitutes as carriers of disease fit within a plotline that has a powerful cultural resonance. These “carrier narratives” build on the suspicion that certain groups function as pathogens. These cultural tales function much like epidemiological detective novels, recounting how professionals track the spread of a disease to its culprit and source. Those who promote these narratives are generally professionals, such as judges, juries, doctors, psychiatrists, and other representatives of law enforcement, who label prostitutes as “disease carriers” or “threats to moral order.” They make use of the narrative to make visible the dangerous carriers in an effort to justify their containment and control. Central to the “carrier narrative” is a contagious disease—such as syphilis or AIDS—that presents a threat to the population and social order at large. To propel the stories, their narrators use different types of scientific research—such as the study of bacteria—to invent social theories; all the while, scientific terminology transforms social biases against outsiders into social truths. The results are often the “get tough” policies that turn prostitutes into social scapegoats.

Others describe these stories as panic scripts. “During a sex panic, a wide array of free-floating cultural fears are mapped onto specific populations who are then ostracized, victimized, and punished,” notes Eric Rofes (1998). Historian Allan Bérubé defines a sex panic as “a moral crusade that leads to crackdowns on sexual outsiders” such as those who engage in sex for money transactions (Wockner 1997). Those entrusted with protecting the public good, who may not be able to control larger social forces, have often resorted to using the panic script to target and label prostitutes as threats to the public good. The Fritz Lang silent film *M* presented an instructive example of the treatment of the prostitute as emblem of social decay.



Prostitution spreads syphilis and gonorrhoea/Karsakov. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

By the 1990s in **New York City**, prostitution was defined as a “quality of life crime” dangerous to public health and morality. The subtext of this part panic, part social **purity campaign**, part real estate land grab was to clean up the city so that it would be more attractive for business and investment. Getting prostitutes and other displays of public sexual culture off the streets was a core factor in the Disney Company’s agreement to move to Times Square. So Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his pro-growth governing coalition generated a social purity campaign against prostitutes. To a great degree, the process worked. In the weeks after September 11, 2001, many New Yorkers started getting nervous. Although the overall **crime** in New York City declined by 7 percent during the first four months of 2002, compared with a year earlier, sustaining a long-term trend, residents remained anxious, particularly as the news reported that budget cuts were reducing the number of police on the street. And statistics showed that overall crime in the Sixth Precinct, covering Greenwich Village where prostitutes generally worked, was down nearly 10 percent compared with the same months of the previous year. Nonetheless, fears of a return to the rotten-apple days of the mid 1970s through the early 1990s persisted. Early in March 2002 an engineer was murdered in a way that harked back to that earlier era. As a sign of negative turn, residents noted an increased presence of prostitutes in the streets. In response to such concerns, a small group of village residents, calling themselves Residents in Distress (RID), began organizing against the presence of prostitutes and youth of color in their neighborhoods. As a goal, RID organized to get more police to target the runaways and prostitutes whom they argued had taken over their neighborhood. Opponents suggested that inequalities in class, race, and gender determined who was attacked and who was left alone. Deviance among the poor is generally harder to disguise without the privacy provided by middle-class homes. Low-income, gender-deviant, poorer prostitutes in the streets faced inordinate attention and harassment as the New York Police Department followed RID’s lead. Prostitutes who catered to more affluent clientele with ads in expensive papers and who charged higher fees fared better. Even the *New York Times* suggested the New York Police Department “may also be inadvertently feeding the syndrome with high-profile measures, like the recent sweep for prostitutes in Times Square” (Murphy 2002). Prostitutes become easy targets in periods of social anxiety.

Moral Panic as the Study of Deviance

Many of the first attacks on prostitutes in the United States occurred during the Temperance Movement, which led to Prohibition. . Thirty years later, Joseph Gusfield (1963) described the period as a symbolic or moral crusade, and in the 1970s, sociologist Stanley Cohen borrowed from this idea to frame his theory of moral panic, another useful framework for considering the scapegoating of prostitutes. For Cohen, the process begins when cultural institutions draw parameters around deviance. As the process escalates, “groups of persons emerge to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion” (1972, 9). The crusade is mounted with the publicity and mobilization of interest groups, resulting in a moral enterprise and creating a new moral constitution of a society. These moral constituencies are the stakeholders who tend to define prostitution as a social problem.

Moral panic can be understood as part of the school of labeling theory that first emerged in the 1950s and 1960s as a branch of research on deviance. Labeling theory views the act of labeling as deviant. Without objective criteria for what is and is not deviant, it becomes impossible to discern appropriate occasions for the arbitrary deployment of the label. Moral entrepreneurs use this void to exploit the panic script, using the media and other discourses to label one group, such as prosti-

tutes, as a scapegoat or folk devil and threat to the public at large while framing different groups as protectors of the public at large. All too often, those entrusted with protecting the public good have used the panic script to scapegoat socially vulnerable groups, such as prostitutes, as social threats.

Theories of Moral Panic

Moral panics about prostitution generally conform to well-established patterns. Indicators of collective behavior that form moral panic generally include the following: (1) volatility—a sudden anxiety about the social threat presented by a group of cultural outsiders or moral deviants; (2) hostility—the group is faced with an angry public because the group is perceived to be a threat to social order. They are viewed as part of a stereotype of evil; (3) measurable concern—anxiety about the threat can be measured by public polls or surveys; (4) consensus—there is widespread agreement about the threat by this group; and (5) disproportionality—the perceived threat presented by the deviant group is far greater than can be verified with measurements of harm. The targeted group's numbers are often small and their threat objectively non-existent. Cultural anxieties generally propel hysteria over the social threats, and the hysteria is translated into calls for absolutist positions, moral barricades, and quick fixes. As noted with the AIDS panic regarding prostitutes, prostitutes were no more likely to carry HIV than the general population, yet prostitutes had their basic civil rights to privacy and confidentiality denied them. Inappropriate or unrealistic solutions often are put forward. Quarantines, the closings of brothels, or the incarceration of prostitutes have never solved problems in their respective eras.

Elite-Engineered Moral Panics

One of the most significant models of moral panic is that of the elite-engineered model offered by Hall et al.'s 1978 book *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. Functioning as a Marxist “mass-manipulative” model, this elite-engineered theory assumes that crime stories divert attention away from the real problems of capitalist society, which, if solved, could shift power arrangements out of the favor of the elites. Thus, elites use state institutions to promote campaigns to generate and sustain public anxiety over perceived threats from specific, targeted population groups—often prostitutes, youth, people of color, and sexual minorities. The aim is to legitimate greater social control measures during crises of capitalism. Within this engineered frame, moral panics serve as ideological distortions of reality, created as political tools used to deploy ideas and control reality and, by extension, control other people including prostitutes. According to Hall, panic was used to justify forms of discreet and overt ideological oppression during the 1970s mugging panic. Law and order policies and structures were initiated, including preemptive control cultures of those who worked in public space, such as low-income prostitutes. Instead of the interest group model's gradual escalations, sequences of control radically accelerated, creating a frenzy. From **World War I** to post-September 11, 2001, the state routinely stepped in to stir such panic when things got bleak. In terms of prostitution policy, the linkage of ideologies of crime control to a theory of the state presented in *Policing the Crisis* offers a useful framework for understanding the ideology of police strategies toward the social problem of prostitution.

In the last 100 years, the definitions of prostitution have shifted, as prostitution has been defined as both a social necessity and a problem of vagrancy, later as a problem of morality, public health, inequality between the sexes, workers rights, HIV transmission, and full circle again a problem of public visibility. As suggested by the view of prostitution as a public emblem of urban decay in New York, prostitutes are still easy targets and scapegoats. The fear or concern driving

panics generally has a social foundation that explains the inner workings of the culture in which it takes place. In the case of the panic regarding prostitutes as indicators of decay, the social foundation at hand is post-9/11 anxiety; in the case of AIDS panic, the social foundation is a fear of a disease; in the case of the World War I syphilis quarantine, the foundation is an anxiety about the preparedness of U.S. soldiers whose leaders thought they needed to focus on war instead of sex; and so on. Theories of deviance, moral panic, and labeling help explain the scapegoat script.

Further Reading: Bastow, Karen. "Prostitution and HIV/AIDS." *HIV/AIDS Policy & Law Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (1995), <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/bastow-aidslaw.html>; Bernstein, Elizabeth. "What's Wrong with Prostitution? What's Right with Sex Work? Comparing Markets in Female Sexual Labor." Symposium Issue: Economic Justice for Sex Workers. *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 10, no. 1 (Winter 1999); Bernstein, Elizabeth. "The Meaning of the Purchase: Desire, Demand, and the Commerce of Sex." *Ethnography* 2, no. 3 (2001); Bland, Lucy. "'Purifying' the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England." *Women's History Review* 1, no. 3 (Oct 1992): 397–412; Brock, Debi. "Prostitutes Are Scapegoats in the AIDS Panic." *Resources for Feminist Research* 18, no. 2 (June 1989): 13–17; Bromberg, Sara. "Feminist Issues in Prostitution." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. by James Elias, Vern L. Bullough, and Veronica Elias. New York: Prometheus Books, 1999; Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. London: Martin Robinson, 1972; Fine, Bob. "Labelling Theory: An Investigation into the Sociological Critique of Deviance." *Economy and Society* 6, no. 2 (May 1977): 166–193; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1992; Goode, Erich, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994; Gusfield, Joseph. *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1963; Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1978; Hobson, Barbara. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990; Jenness, Valerie. "From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work: Coyote and the Reorganization of Prostitution as a Social Problem." *Social Problems* 37, no. 3 (August 1990): 403–17; Lee, Danny. "Street Fight." *New York Times*, 31 March 2002, C1; Leonard, Zoe, and Polly Thistlethwaite. "Prostitutes and AIDS." In *Women, AIDS, & Activism*, ed. The ACT UP/NY Women & AIDS Book Group. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990; Rofes, Eric. *Dry Bones Breathe: Gay Men Creating Post-AIDS Identities and Subcultures*. Birmingham, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1998; Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982; Rubin, Gayle. "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality." In *Social Perspectives in Lesbian and Gay Studies: A Reader*, ed. Peter M. Nardi and Beth E. Schneider. New York: Routledge, 1984; Shepard, Benjamin. "Culture Jamming a SexPanic!" In *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community-Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. Benjamin Shepard and Ron Hayduk. New York: Verso Press, 2002; Wagner, D. "The Universalization of Social Problems." *Critical Sociology* 23, no. 1 (1997): 3–23; Walkowitz, Judith. "Male Vice and Female Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in 19th Century Britain." In *Powers and Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, & Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983; Ward, Prescilla. "Cultures and Carriers: 'Typhoid Mary' and the Social Science of Control." *Social Text* 52–53 (1997): 181–214; Wockner, Rex. "Sex-lib activists confront 'SexPanic!'" *Gaywave*, 2 December 1997. <http://gaytoday.badpuppy.com/garchive/events/111797ev.htm/>; Worth, Robert. "Tolerance in Village Wears Thin Drug Dealing and Prostitution Are Becoming a Hazard in a Normally Quiet West Village Area." *New York Times*, 19 January 2002.

Benjamin Shepard

SCARLET ALLIANCE. The Scarlet Alliance, Australian Sex Workers' Association Incorporated, is an Australian organization formed in 1989 after the AIDS Debate 88 conference in Melbourne, Victoria. At that time Queensland and Northern Territory sex workers were trying to set up their own state-based organizations, and it was decided that forming a national sex worker rights body could assist them and others around Australia to establish local sex-worker political advocacy for the purpose of sex worker rights work. The national body was formed and called Scarlet Alliance. Founding members included sex-worker activists from a variety of Australian sex worker groups: Prostitutes Association of South Australia (PASA), Prostitutes Collective of Victoria (PCV), Australian Prostitutes Collective (New South Wales), and the Self Information Education Referral Association (Western Australia). Early years of the organization saw a focus on HIV-positive sex workers, including consultation, research, rights protection, and information. Organizational support for state and territory sex-worker groups was also a priority, including training and skills recognition for **peer education** staff and sex-worker volunteers. In 1995 Scarlet Alliance participated in the International Womens' Conference in Beijing, and this saw the beginning of major international work carried out by elected Scarlet Alliance representatives. The issue of migrant sex workers and the impact of anti-**trafficking** discourses was pursued by a Human Rights Caucus at the United Nations, in which the Scarlet Alliance (though not holding official UN nongovernmental organization status) was heavily involved, working with the Network of Sex Work Projects. Successful anti-licensing campaigns in Western Australia and Tasmania marked the early years of the 21st century. Leading the campaign to defend migrant sex workers' rights in Australia and strengthening links in the Asia-Pacific Region, Scarlet Alliance is a recognized expert in Australia on the issues of migrant sex work and sex-worker peer education, and members are assisting Papua New Guinea sex workers to develop an autonomous and peer-driven response to HIV/AIDS. Scarlet Alliance holds an annual National Forum for members and sex workers, in a different Australian state or territory each year. They have an affirmative action policy that ensures that delegates and elected officers of Scarlet Alliance are sex workers. The National Forum is not open to members of the public or sex-industry operators. National objectives, policy directions, and funding priorities are determined at the sex worker-only National Forum. In 2005 Scarlet Alliance was honored with the National Australia Bank Volunteer Award.

See *also* Migration and Mobility; Occupational Safety and Health; Sex Worker-Only Communication Tools; Appendix document 15.

Further Reading: Banach, Linda, and Metzenrath, Sue. "Model Principles for Sex Industry Law Reform." Sydney, Australia: Scarlet Alliance/AFAO, 2000; Scarlet Alliance Web site. <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au>

Scarlet Alliance

SCIENCE FICTION. See *Fantasy and Science Fiction*.

SEAMSTRESSES. "Seamstress" was a euphemism for "prostitute" in census records and other documents of the 19th century in the United States. Historical documentation showing several "seamstresses" sharing common living quarters may generally be assumed to represent a brothel. Whether this occupation was reported by prostitutes or supplied by census enumerators and other officials remains speculative, although potential reasons for both are easily understood.

Legitimate uses of the term should not be confused with the codified use. Other historical and modern euphemisms exist, including **laundresses** and **actresses**.

Karen K. Swope

SERIAL KILLERS. Street prostitutes are often the victims of choice for predatory serial killers, who are usually white middle-aged men. Prostitutes are some of the most vulnerable victims of serial killers because of their availability, and for many serial killers, prostitutes are the representative group for their rage against women.

One of the earliest documented and most famous serial killers who targeted prostitutes was England's **Jack the Ripper**, who, beginning on August 31, 1888, with the **murder** of prostitute Polly Nichols, began a series of viciously brutal attacks on prostitutes in London's Whitechapel, a poverty-stricken neighborhood. Jack the Ripper sadistically dismembered six prostitutes between August and November 1888, a crime spree that was never solved. The Ripper murders shocked London, even though the victims were prostitutes. Though elite London society did not approve of prostitution, the general attitude toward prostitutes was less moral condemnation than age-old attitudes concerning the lower classes in general. The crimes were shocking because of their brutality against vulnerable women, who just happened to be prostitutes.

Most in American society do not view prostitutes as vulnerable women, but rather as social castoffs, women who represent moral deficiency and are therefore of less value. Many crimes against prostitutes go virtually unnoticed and are considered a natural part of harsh street life. In the case of prostitute murders, however, many times links between the murders will go unnoticed by authorities for whom prostitute murders are not surprising and sometimes even common, particularly in major metropolitan areas. Usually, links between individual murders of prostitutes are only made when a significant number of prostitutes are murdered, which then signals a possible serial killer. In 1983 in Vancouver, British Columbia, prostitutes began to vanish. The authorities did not begin searching for the missing women until 1998 and only after a written demand from an advocate group for prostitutes. Fifty-four women went missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside between 1983 and 2001. The case was finally solved with the arrest and later conviction of pig farmer Robert Pickton. In August 1987 a hunter in Oregon's Molalla Forest stumbled on the scattered remains of seven prostitutes. Dayton Leroy Rogers was later convicted of the 1987 murder of prostitute Jenny Smith, and in 1988 Rogers was convicted of the Molalla Forest killings. The police were unaware there had been a serial killer in their midst for years.

The most notorious and prolific serial killer in the United States is Gary Leon Ridgway, the Green River Killer in Seattle, Washington. Ridgway admitted to killing 48 women, mostly street prostitutes, many of them teenagers, between 1982 and 1984. No one knows exactly how many prostitutes Ridgway killed over the years; some estimates are in the hundreds. Ridgway was spared the death penalty by a plea agreement for life in **prison**. Ridgway stated that he chose prostitutes because he figured he could kill as many prostitutes as he wanted without getting caught. He was almost right.

See also Violence.

Further Reading: Egger, Steven A. *The Need to Kill: Inside the World of the Serial Killer*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003; Leyton, Elliott. *Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003; Newton, Michael. *The Encyclopedia of Serial Killers*. New York: Facts on File, 2000.

Debbie Clare Olson

SEX WORK. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry* (1987), edited by Frédérique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander, is a highly influential book that was foundational to feminist literature on the lives, choices, experiences, and activism of prostitutes. The text was one of the first to use the now widely used term “sex work,” originally coined by sex worker **Carol Leigh**, aka Scarlot Harlot. *Sex Work* highlights the many facets of prostitution as fundamentally about labor. Part 1 of the book emphasizes the editors’ interest in centering the voices of sex workers “in the life,” providing a range of moving and personal essays, **poetry**, and interviews by street prostitutes, **call girls**, exotic dancers, and porn **actresses**. The next part turns to theoretical considerations of sex work, power, and **feminism**. Here influential essays by Priscilla Alexander, Gail Pheterson, and Joan Nestle posit sex work as a socially marginalized and misunderstood form of labor that is informed by gender, class, race, sexuality, and national differences. Part 3 situates as a central concern activism for sex workers’ rights and unity among sex workers and allies internationally. Articles by the leaders of such national and international organizations as US PROStitutes Collective, **COYOTE**, The English Collective of Prostitutes, Holland’s **Rode Draad**, and the International Committee for Prostitutes’ Rights provide important accounts of the groups’ organizational histories and perspectives on movements toward legalization and **decriminalization** of prostitution. Although the book describes a wide range of experiences and opinions about sex work, an overall belief in the agency and rights of sex workers to be protected from criminalization, abuse, and **stigma** runs through all the pieces. The second edition (1998) of *Sex Work* features an expanded bibliography and resource list that now includes Web sites and search engines for research on the subject.

Further Reading: Delacoste, Frédérique, and Priscilla Alexander, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1987; 2nd ed., 1998; Nagle, Jill, ed. *Whores and Other Feminists*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Pheterson, Gail, ed. *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press, 1989.

Mireille Miller-Young

SEX WORKER-ONLY COMMUNICATION TOOLS. Sex workers share information among themselves that is only accessible to those in the sex-work community. This insider-only communication in Australia has formalized into publications, Web sites, performance groups, and political meetings on a local and national level and has successfully impacted the life, health, and cultural expression of the Australian sex-worker community. It also forms the basis of Australian understandings and practical application of “**peer education**” in service delivery, policy development, and funding.

The importance of sex worker-only communication tools is recognized in Australia by Government Health policy and funding, articulated through the National HIV Strategies. Sex worker-only communication tools implemented through peer education are identified as vital to inform, educate, and create common knowledge and best practice within the sex industry, in a nonjudgmental environment.

In the early 1980s the success of sex-worker communication in Australia was acutely identifiable in sex workers’ adoption of prophylactic technology in response to the HIV virus. By 1986 in some states and territories of Australia, sex workers reported close to 100 percent condom use for penetrative sex at work. In the early 1990s sex-worker condom use was compared with condom use among sexually active women of the same age who were not sex workers, and surprising discrepancies were found. Sixty-six percent of the sex workers interviewed used condoms

"We are living in a cultural moment in which representations of the sex trade abound. If the figure of 'the prostitute' has been so compelling in this era, it may be precisely because she (almost always, she) has stood-in for broader cultural anxieties: globalization, changes in gender roles and kin networks, the specters of social disorder and crime. The (art of sex workers) make these linkages explicit, transforming sex-workers from empty stereotypes into complex, contradictory, and historically-rooted beings."

Elizabeth Bernstein, from *Re-Presenting Sex Work, Readings in Sex Worker Sinema*, San Francisco Sex Worker Film and Video Festival, May 2001.

in their private lives; however, among sexually active women of the same age in Australia who were not sex workers, condom use was only 24 percent (Perkins 1991). Higher condom use has resulted in sex workers' having lower rates of **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) than non-sex workers of the same demographic. Throughout the history of the HIV epidemic in Australia, there have been no documented cases of transmission through commercial sex. Sex-worker communication in Australia has prevented HIV and STIs among the sex-worker community.

Sex workers in Australia share information about **clients** who have displayed offensive behavior, from bouncing checks to committing sexual assault and **violence**. These clients are known as "ugly mugs." Sex workers have traditionally been able to report ugly mugs to sex-worker organizations who then compile a regular broadsheet and distribute it back to sex workers. The Prostitutes Collective of Victoria won the Australian National Violence Prevention Award in 1995 for their Ugly Mugs project after publishing the list for more than eight years. More recently sex workers have shared this information through sex worker-only sections of sex-industry Web sites, outside the formal structure of sex-worker organizations. Sex workers also use mobile phone text messages to communicate about ugly mugs to watch out for.

Scarlet Alliance is the Australian Sex Workers' Association, and its members are Australian sex workers. Potential members are required to demonstrate the value that is placed on communication tools for sex workers only and promotion of sex workers within the organization. Scarlet Alliance also hosts an electronic mailing list for sex workers. The annual sex-worker meeting is called the National Forum and is organized by Scarlet Alliance and funded by the Commonwealth Health Department. Members of Scarlet Alliance share written reports and the executive members are elected. Constitutional changes, policy direction, and the year's finances are approved at the National Forum. This sex worker-only political space is a vehicle of accountability and transparency among sex worker networks in Australia and is attended by 50 or more sex workers each year.

Sex worker-only publications in Australia have included *The Professional* (New South Wales, with more than 55 issues and a distribution of 3,000 per quarter), *Working for a Living* (western Australia, published for more than 10 years but currently not printed, with a distribution of 2,000 every four months), *SIN* (south Australia, with a distribution of 700, three quarterly issues), *WISENEWS* (ACT, currently not printed, with a regular distribution of 300 at time of publication), and a Northern Territory Newsletter (distribution of 150 to Darwin and remote areas, including Alice Springs). These publications are available to the industry only and as such are "unclassified." Sex workers contribute content and often will use a pseudonym or work name to protect their identity. The magazines list sex worker-friendly services, tips about work, information for new workers, questions and answers about STIs, and media clippings.

Sex-worker groups in Australia have a growing tradition of hosting their own "sex workers and friends" parties. "Hookers Night Out" in Adelaide, South Australia, celebrates International

Whores Day each year. “Red Light Disco” (formerly known as the Hookers and Strippers Ball) is the annual industry-only event in Sydney. “Whoretown” was a one-time sex worker-only event in western Australia held at the Blue Room, Northbridge, in 2002.

In Australia, as funding for community-based projects becomes deprioritized and the “pox clinic” pathologization of sex-worker health services emerges, independent sex worker-only communication tools are more important than ever. Sex worker-only performance groups such as **Debby Doesn't Do It for Free** and autonomous sex-worker organizations are taking up the mandate of sex worker-only communication and using it to strengthen peer networks. The **Internet** is also playing a large role; the Australian Babe Web site, based in Queensland, is run by sex workers and also has an active sex worker-only chat area.

Further Reading: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aging. “5th National HIV Strategy; Re-vitalising Australia's Response.” Commonwealth of Australia, 2005; Metzenrath, Sue. “To Test or Not to Test.” Website of the Scarlet Alliance. http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/library/metzenrath-testdonttest/file_view; Murray, Alison. “Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific.” Melbourne, Australia: Centre of South East Asian Studies, Monash University, 2001; Perkins, Roberta. “Sexual Health and Safety among a Group of Prostitutes.” *Sex Industry and Public Policy* (1991): 147–153.

Elena Jeffreys

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED INFECTIONS. Sex workers, along with soldiers and sailors, have been on the forefront among history's participants in the acquisition and transmission of sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

STIs, which can be bacterial or virological in nature, can be present in human semen, vaginal fluid, blood, and sometimes saliva.

Although sexually transmitted disease (STD) is the most frequently used term to describe a range of clinical manifestations, STI is a more medically appropriate descriptor given that most of the ailments under the general rubric of these infections are not diseases per se. The term STI encompasses all the physical maladies that can be transmitted sexually, including infections that may not be clinically manifest.

Sexually transmitted infections also have been described as venereal diseases (VD), derived from “Venus,” the name of the Goddess of Love. Whether labeled “STIs,” “STDs,” or “VD,” these infections are and always have been acquired mainly through sexual contact. Their presence can be traced back millennia to ancient Chinese, Indian, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman writings.

Today, in **brothels** and sex **venues**, in streets and temples, and on the highways and byways all over the world, men and women and those who defy gender stereotypes engage in prostitution. They do so in a climate in which the risks associated with the 21st century's array of STIs are, though serious, not necessarily a death sentence.

The potential transmission of STIs from sex workers to their clientele or vice versa is often considered by public health officials to justify both outreach and research initiatives—many of which have been initiated largely as a result of the appearance of HIV.

In the late 1880s the germ theory, regarding the causal relationship of bacteria and viruses to disease, led to public health's moral panic in regard to sex work and STIs (that is, until the 1940s, when penicillin proved invaluable as a treatment for a host of STDs experienced by sex workers and their clients). For the global sex-work industry, as for others, it was not until the appearance of HIV and AIDS in the mid-1980s that the prevalence and incidence of STIs within sex-working populations began to be taken seriously as an international public health issue.

Regardless of laws or regulatory frameworks, STIs are usually present within the social environment in which sex workers work. Therefore, many have suggested that a measure of **occupational safety and health** should be provided. Although STIs are frequently an occupational hazard of sex work, there are highly effective mechanisms to prevent the infection and transmission of such.

Generally, both female and male sex workers and male and female clients are susceptible to STIs within the prostitution workplace, although the infections to which male and female prostitutes are susceptible may vary.

There is some understanding in the broad literature that there are fewer risks associated with the exchange of sex for money than with sex in personal relationships. However, this tends to differ between the Northern and Southern hemispheres and between developed- and developing-country contexts.

Historically, rates of STIs have varied both within and across communities and periods of time. Prevalence (cumulative infections) and incidence (new infections) can be understood in part by the availability of preventive (such as prophylactics or **condoms**) and/or curative measures, and these measures can act as barometers to help understand prevalence and incidence.

In general, when faced with the choice of treating STIs once they have appeared or preventing infections in the first place, modern public health's goal is to choose the latter option: prevention and education. Yet within the context of sex work, this does not necessarily need to signify "no glove, no love." Some countries have instigated 100 percent condom-use programs as a means to address local HIV and AIDS epidemics, but such programs are not the only—or necessarily the preferable—option, in part because they are not always pragmatic, desired, enforceable, or community-based. Other options include techniques for harm reduction that enable sex workers and their clients to negotiate safer sex within the context of individual sexual history, STI testing, sexual activity, and experience.

Current understandings of the intersection between prostitution and STIs suggest that the professionalism of sex workers and their ability to engage in and promote safer sex activities with clients and partners relies not only on the availability of tools and techniques to lower risk, but also on their ability to provide and interact within a peer-education model in which others within the industry take some responsibility for disseminating information about and teaching how to reduce risks associated with sexual activity. One example of such activities is the document *Making Sex Work Safe*, produced by the Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP).

Yet from the 12th century (when it was illegal for brothels in Europe to employ sex workers known to be infected with STIs) until the very present, the world's peoples have managed to live side by side with these infections, largely because beyond the social construction of sex work—be it influenced by public opinion, editorial stance, or governmental policy—such sexual exchanges are biological. They are the biological acts of two or more people. Within that context, sexually transmitted infections are a normal and known correlate of intimate interaction, be it financially motivated or otherwise.

Sexually transmitted infections are a fact of nature among all sexually reproducing species, including plant and nonhuman animals species. The existence and transmission of STIs is considered by many people to be a moral issue. It is this moralist stance that has helped facilitate a powerful social **stigma** that can prevent open discussion of prostitution and its related issues.

Further Reading: Eadie, Jo, ed. *Sexuality: The Essential Glossary*. London: Hodder Arnold Publishers, 2004; Nettleton, Sarah. *The Sociology of Health and Illness*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1995; Pub-

lic Health Agency of Canada. *What You Need to Know About Sexually Transmitted Infections*. Minister of Public Works and Government Services, Canada, 2002. <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/publicat/std-mts/>

Dan Allman

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM (1564–1616). William Shakespeare is acclaimed as English literature's greatest dramatist. His most significant portrayal of prostitution occurs in *Measure for Measure*, in which Angelo, ruling in the Duke's absence, has begun ruthlessly enforcing laws against fornication and prostitution. **Brothels** are pulled down, including one run by the comic character Mistress Overdone and her servant Pompey, and Angelo condemns a young man, Claudio, to death for impregnating his fiancée. The play ultimately suggests that the moral assumptions behind such laws run counter to human nature. The Duke returns to a more tolerant and compassionate administration of the law, and characters like Angelo and Claudio's sister Isabella come to accept their previously repressed sexuality.

Whores or bawds appear in several other plays. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholus of Ephesus dines with a **courtesan** and promises her a gold chain because he is angry with his wife. In *Timon of Athens*, Alcibiades's mistresses Phrynia and Timandra accept Timon's verbal abuse in exchange for gold. In *Henry IV*, part II, Doll Tearsheet, a prostitute, appears with Falstaff at the Boar's Head Tavern. In *Pericles*, Pander, Bawd, and Bolt purchase Mariana for their brothel, although her eloquence preserves her virginity. In *Othello*, the *dramatis personae* lists Bianca as a courtesan, and she is commonly depicted as one although this means accepting that Iago uncharacteristically speaks truthfully about her. In several other plays, women are denigrated by falsely being called whores or other insulting terms that suggest they lack sexual virtue. For example, Hamlet questions Ophelia's "honesty," Othello berates Desdemona as a whore, and Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing* accuses Hero of unchastity.

Further Reading: Dollimore, Jonathan. "Shakespeare Understudies: The Sodomite, the Prostitute, the Transvestite and Their Critics." In *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, 2nd ed., ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 129–152; Pechter, Edward. "Why Should We Call Her Whore? Bianca in *Othello*." In *Shakespeare and the Twentieth Century: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Los Angeles, 1996*, ed. Jonathan Bate, Jill L. Levenson, and Dieter Mehl. Newark: University of Delaware

Measure for Measure, Act 1 Scene 2

POMPEY. Yonder man is carried to prison.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. Well; what has he done?

POMPEY. A woman.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. But what's his offence?

POMPEY. Groping for trouts in a peculiar river.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. What, is there a maid with child by him?

POMPEY. No, but there's a woman with maid by him. You have not heard of the proclamation, have you?

MISTRESS OVERDONE. What proclamation, man?

POMPEY. All houses in the suburbs of Vienna must be plucked down.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. And what shall become of those in the city?

POMPEY. They shall stand for seed: they had gone down too, but that a wise burgher put in for them.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. But shall all our houses of resort in the suburbs be pulled down?

POMPEY. To the ground, mistress.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. Why, here's a change indeed in the commonwealth! What shall become of me?

POMPEY. Come; fear you not: good counsellors lack no clients: though you change your place, you need not change your trade; I'll be your tapster still. Courage! there will be pity taken on you: you that have worn your eyes almost out in the service, you will be considered.

MISTRESS OVERDONE. What's to do here, Thomas tapster? Let's withdraw.

Press, 1998, pp. 364–377; Stanton, Kay. “Made to Write ‘Whore’ Upon’: Male and Female Use of the Word ‘Whore’ in Shakespeare’s Canon.” In *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymphna Callaghan. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, pp. 80–102.

Bruce E. Brandt

SHANGHAI. Shanghai was a small town before the Western intrusion in the mid-19th century but grew to be the largest and most cosmopolitan city in China and became known, among other things, as “the brothel of the Orient.” This dubious reputation was derived from the fact that prostitution in its varied forms was thriving and, at times, even omnipresent in the city in the first half of the 20th century. The number of prostitutes has been estimated at between 50,000 to 100,000 shortly before the Communist take-over in 1949 (Henriot 2001, 119).

Evolution of Prostitution in Shanghai

Prostitution in Shanghai underwent a dramatic change both in scale and in character in the past century and a half. “The world of flowers” in the late Qing dynasty (1644–1911) was dominated by a group of high-class *courtesans*, whose primary function was artistic entertainment rather than sexual service and who were patronized by members of the traditional elite of gentry, officials, and merchants. This elite-oriented system of entertainment was eroded by the rapid modernization of the city around the turn of the 20th century. By 1920s, a more commercialized and popularized sex market emerged to meet the demand of a bigger clientele from the new middle and working classes. The expansion of prostitution with its accompanying social ills aroused concerns and debate first in the Western communities and the authorities of the foreign concessions and then in the Chinese ones. The Western efforts to regulate or abolish prostitution from the late 19th century to the 1940s were not very effective, which contrasted sharply with the successful campaign by the Communist regime in the 1950s. Yet, the revival of the sex market since the 1980s after China’s economic reform and opening up belied the success of the Communist government to eradicate prostitution as short-lived.

The early Qing government banned prostitution and punished scholars and officials for visiting prostitutes. As the administrative control relaxed in the last years of the Qianglong era (1736–1799), prostitution first revived in the south of the Yangtze River. In the early 19th century when Shanghai was a small town, prostitution was carried on the “the flower boats,” which cruised along the merchant ships moored in the Huangpu River to solicit the merchants customers. After the 1820s, courtesan houses were set up on the bank in the walled Chinese city. The early 1860s was a turning point, as a large refugee population displaced by the Taiping upheaval poured into the city and boosted its economy, including the business in the pleasure quarters. Also at this time, many courtesan houses moved into the foreign concessions for security and business opportunities (the International Settlement was established in 1845, the French Concessions in 1849). For the next eight decades until the Communist takeover in 1949, prostitution in Shanghai saw a tenfold growth from more than 5,500 prostitutes in the 1860s to over 50,000.

The women in “the world of flowers” in the late Qing Shanghai were highly varied, from high-class courtesans to common and low-class prostitutes and streetwalkers. A hierarchy was formed among them according to such factors as artistic skills, age, beauty, and elegance. Such a hierarchy, to a considerable extent, corresponded to the social backgrounds of the women’s patrons. On the top resided a group of elite courtesans known as *shuyü*, who were young and pretty, and good at singing, storytelling, and playing musical instruments. They were considered artists and professional entertainers rather than prostitutes, providing entertainment, compan-

ionship, prestige, and status. Shuyu distinguished themselves from not only common prostitutes but also courtesans of a lower rank. To obtain sex from a shuyu, a complex etiquette of courtship had to be followed and a trusting relationship established besides the monetary transactions. With no more than 400 in number by the end of the 19th century, this was a small and exclusive group, but the group's economic, social, and cultural influence was strong.

Below the shuyu was a group called *changsán*, whose artistic skills, beauty, and elegance were considered of lesser quality. Their fees were lower as well. Even though a ritual of courtship was also necessary, they were more available for sex service. Next on the hierarchy were two groups known as *ersán* and *yáo er*. Yao er courtesans would entertain both regular customers and strangers as long as a set fee was paid. Below these groups of courtesans were various types of common and low-class prostitutes working in brothels or soliciting customers on the street and in public places. Along with the growth of foreign communities in the foreign concessions, there were growing numbers of foreign brothels and prostitutes including Europeans, Americans, Russians, Koreans, and Japanese. A hierarchy was also formed among them with the Euro-Americans on the top, and Russians, the most numerous and the least expensive, at the bottom. Foreign prostitutes numbered about 10,000 in the 1930s, 80 percent of whom were Russians.

By the early 20th century, industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, and migration made Shanghai into a world metropolis. A new and larger clientele from the emerging middle and working classes demanded immediate sex satisfaction for their money. By 1920s, Shanghai's prostitution scene had undergone three important changes: First was the decline of the high-class courtesans and the luxury market they used to serve. Shuyu were absorbed into changsan, who themselves underwent a downward transformation. For example in the 1940s, changsan courtesans exchanged sex for money just like common prostitutes. Second was the emergence of various new agencies and institutions of the entertainment and service industry, including dance halls, massage parlors, restaurants, tea and coffee houses, and guide agencies, whose employees worked as ancillary prostitutes, even though their official job description was different. Third was the expansion of the ranks of common and low-class prostitutes, in particular, the street-walkers known as *yeji* (pheasants). As a result, prostitution in Shanghai became more accessible, more varied, and more pervasive. A mass sex market was formed.

In the Republican era (1911–1949), most prostitutes came from the two provinces of the lower Yangtze—Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Another source was Shanghai. They were a very young group, especially the courtesans. A 1923 study showed that 90 percent of 77 courtesans were between the ages of 16 to 20. The trend afterward showed an increase in age for those in the profession. Most were poorly educated single women of the lower classes from towns and cities rather than from the countryside. In the 1940s, 86 to 90.5 percent of them were illiterate. Most prostitutes surveyed gave “poverty,” whether as a typical status or caused by a sudden change of fortune, as the reason for their entry into the trade. Their life and working conditions varied. Those of the higher ranks seemed to have more control over their life and labor, and they probably enjoyed more freedom and material comfort than most working women and wives. Those working in low-class brothels had little freedom and comfort, especially those who were sold or pawned. The length of time as a prostitute varied from some months to some years. A major way of existing and reintegrating into society was marriage. About one-third became concubines and wives.

Social and Governmental Interventions

The early attempt to regulate prostitution in Shanghai can be traced to 1868, when the French ambassador in Peking wrote to the authorities in the French Concession, urging

them to establish a system similar to the one in Europe to check and treat the Chinese prostitutes catering to Western customers. A lock hospital jointly financed by the authorities of the International Settlement and the French Concession was set up in 1877. But throughout the existence of the hospital until 1899, the Chinese prostitutes who registered for regular checkups were consistently fewer than half of the population working in **brothels**. The increasing visibility of prostitution caused growing concerns among the Western and the Chinese reformers for its effect on public health and social and moral order. They carried out a continuous debate as to its causes and solutions from the late 19th century onward. During **World War I**, a dozen religious associations in the International Settlement began to mobilize public opinion for abolishing prostitution. With their high moral ground, the abolitionists won the support of the ratepayers in the debate with the authorities who urged a strengthening of regulations. Prostitution was banned in 1920 in the International Settlement, and all the brothels were to be closed by annual lot-drawing in five years. The movement, however, eventually failed for at least two reasons: the government lacked the will and resources to enforce the elimination plan, and the Chinese and the French authorities did not cooperate. As a result, prostitutes either moved out to the French Concession or continued to do business underground. The re-legalization of the courtesan houses in 1924 marked the end of the **abolition** movement.

After coming to power in 1928, the Nationalist government banned prostitution in the three provinces of the lower Yangtze River effectively under its control. Yet prostitution either continued to operate illegally or moved to Shanghai, in particular, to the International Settlement. The Chinese authorities of the city requested, to no avail, that their counterparts in the foreign concessions regulate prostitution. Probably for economic reasons, the Nationalist government eventually lifted the ban on prostitution in mid-1930s, despite the protest of women's organizations. When its full authority was restored in Shanghai at the end of the World War II, the Nationalist city government began to regulate prostitution, including registration, physical examination and treatment, zoning, and crackdown on the illegal prostitution with the final aim to end prostitution. Yet, a variety of factors—including the government's lack of will and resources and poor coordination between agencies and official corruption—made the regulation effort ineffective. The downfall of the Nationalist government on the mainland after three years of civil war left the task to eliminate prostitution to the Communist regime.

The People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong, especially in its early years, proved to be an effective totalitarian revolutionary regime capable of mobilizing the masses and transforming society. Not surprisingly, its campaign to eradicate prostitution throughout China in the 1950s was a success. The revolutionary regime adopted a totalitarian approach with a uniform policy of abolition, a coordinated program of reintegration, determined enforcement, propaganda and media control, mobilization of activists, and establishment of a grass-roots monitoring system. Unlike previous Western and Chinese authorities in Shanghai, the Communist government did not hesitate to close down brothels, to arrest madams, to severely punish traffickers of women, and to detain and **reform** prostitutes. A key component in the campaign was the rehabilitation program in which prostitutes were subject to medical treatment, thought reform, job training, and family reintegration. Under Mao, it seemed that prostitution had indeed been eliminated.

Since the economic reform in 1979, prostitution along with other social vices have revived in Shanghai as in other parts of China. Prostitution is still illegal, so hardly any open brothels can

be seen. Yet, with the rapid growth of the entertainment and service industry, the underground sex market and ancillary prostitution in its varied forms are thriving. The large number of women in the increasing flow of **migration** from the countryside to the cities and in the growing rank of laid-off workers from state-owned enterprises has conspired with limited employment opportunities for women who lack education and skills to induce women to seek alternative opportunities in casual or full-time prostitution. Despite periodic campaigns by the government and repeated crackdowns by law enforcement officers, the rank of the prostitutes in China today is 4 million strong and growing.

Further Reading: Henriot, Christian. *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849–1949*. Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge Press, 1997; Hershatter, Gail. *Dangerous Pleasure: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Yusheng Yao

SHOES. Shoes have been associated with prostitutes since antiquity. Today, shoes probably account for the biggest professional expense sex workers have and are sometimes the only piece of **clothing** worn throughout the engagement.

Throughout history sumptuary laws have attempted to restrict clothing according to social status and occupation. In most societies respectable women were to dress modestly, and where prostitution was tolerated, dress codes were enforced as a **stigma**. Shoe styles often featured in sumptuary laws that regulated what prostitutes could wear.

Walking on high heels elongates the legs, causing the bosom to protrude and the buttocks to tighten. The resulting gluteal limp increases pelvic floor tone, emulates the precoital position, and appeals equally to the romantic and the predator.

In ancient Egypt, working girls' sandals left the message "follow me" in the sand. During the Middle Ages, German prostitutes were prevented by law from wearing heeled shoes. Chinese **courtesans** (and others) had their feet bound and wore lotus-shaped shoes to excite and pleasure men. By the 17th century, high platform shoes (*chopines*) had been made popular by Italian courtesans. From the French Revolution to the American Civil War, respectable women wore heelless pumps. During La Belle Époque, heeled boots were synonymous with French prostitutes. Historians believe the popularity of hookers in heels was the main reason for the introduction of the shoe-fashion industry to the United States.

In the United States, the bad-girl image included the wearing of high-heeled shoes. Hollywood used the psychosexual association with shoes as a means to portray characters. Stereotypically, screen Jezebels wore high heels.

The outrageously high platform shoe has been iconic of the prostitute since the 1970s. Shoe fetishes and the role of the shoe in **sadomasochism** also figure in prostitution.

Further Reading: Kippen, Cameron. "The History of Footwear." Web site of the Curtin University Department of Podiatry. <http://podiatry.curtin.edu.au/history.html>

Cameron Kippen

SHORE, JANE (c. 1450–1527). Born Elizabeth Lambert, sometime in the mid-15th century in England, Elizabeth "Jane" Shore was twice married, was the mistress of King Edward IV, and was linked to numerous other powerful men during a dangerous, troubled period of English

history. Although already infamous during her lifetime, Shore's notoriety expanded after her death, when she became famed as the quintessential fallen woman. She is consistently referred to as "Jane Shore" in the many literary characterizations of her that have been produced from the 16th century onward.

In 1476, Shore successfully divorced her first husband, the London mercer William Shore, because of his impotence. Shore's affecting looks and personality attracted Edward IV, who rewarded her with much attention and gifts. A possibly contemporary portrait, traditionally thought to be a likeness of Shore, hangs at Eton College. The painting explains Shore's appeal to 15th-century statesmen: she appears bare breasted, expensively jeweled, clear skinned, and of confident disposition. Many later portraits similarity exploit and perpetuate rumors of Shore's enthusiastic sexuality.

Edward IV died in April 1483; Shore then became involved with a number of influential men, although it is difficult to separate fact from mere accusations. Shore was linked with a follower of William, Lord Hastings, a supporter of Edward IV, but it is certain that she became the mistress of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. This angered the new King, Richard III, whose coronation had been opposed by Grey. Suggestions that Shore was a go-between in elaborate plots against Richard are plausible but unproven. Shore's infamous immorality was cited by Richard's regime to smear Grey, and Shore was coerced into making a public penance. She was also imprisoned at Ludgate for her many alleged transgressions but was released to controversially marry a royal secretary, Thomas Lynom.

Settling down after the coming-to-power of the Tudors in 1485, Shore survived into obscure widowhood, finally dying in or around 1527. That decade, Thomas More, in a prose history of Richard III's reign, immortalized her as a great harlot who faced penitence with impeccable patience. Her legend flourished. Thomas Churchyard wrote a stirring monologue for Shore's ghost in the mid-16th-century poetic compendium, *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Three plays of the 1590s alone feature Shore prominently: she has a role in an anonymous drama about Richard's rise and fall; she is referred to several times in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (although Shakespeare gives her character no lines, Shore's character often enlivens filmed and staged versions of the play with colorful, silent, walk-on appearances); and Shore is a crucial character in Thomas Heywood's two-part play, *Edward IV*.

Mythologized both as a vivacious temptress and as an overpunished, sincere penitent, Shore's legend has persisted. Nicholas Rowe's *Tragedy of Jane Shore* (1714) is the most famous play to feature Shore as the actual protagonist. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Shore continued to inspire ballad singers, playwrights, poets, writers, and historians.

Further Reading: Beith-Halahmi, Esther Yael. *Angell Fayre or Strumpet Lewd: Jane Shore as an Example of Erring Beauty in Sixteenth-Century Literature*. 2 vols. Salzburg, Austria: Universität Salzburg, 1974; Horrox, Rosemary. "Elizabeth Shore." In *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 50. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 216–17; Scott, Maria M. *Re-presenting Jane Shore: Harlot and Heroine*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.

Kevin De Ornellas

SINS OF THE CITIES. Homosexual erotic literature was rare in Victorian England, and *Sins of the Cities*, an erotic memoir, was especially unique. Published in London in 1881 by the mysterious William Lazenby, it purported to be in great part the autobiography of Jack Saul, a male prostitute, as told to "Mr. Cambon," who narrates the story. Saul, or "Dublin Jack" as he

was known, was a real character who, at the age of about 20 in 1871, was acquainted with the defendants in the celebrated Boulton and Park case involving a pair of transvestites. In 1889 he was interviewed by the police in connection with the much more serious Cleveland Street affair, which concerned a homosexual brothel with titled clientele.

There is good circumstantial evidence that Saul sold his fragmentary memoirs to Pre-Raphaelite artist Simeon Solomon, who in turn suggested to James Campbell Reddie that they edit the manuscript together and have it published. Both Solomon and Reddie were homosexual, and Solomon also moved in the same circle as those implicated in the Boulton and Park case, which suggests he knew Saul. Reddie had connections in the erotica publishing business and could have arranged the printing; he was himself the author and translator of many erotic texts and was an intimate friend of Henry Spencer Ashbee, who was the possible author of *My Secret Life*.

Further Reading: Hyde, H. Montgomery. *The Cleveland Street Scandal*. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1976; Mendes, Peter. *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study*. Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1993; Simpson, Colin, Lewis Chester, and David Leitch. *The Cleveland Street Affair*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.

Patrick J. Kearney

SISTERS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD. “Sisters of the Good Shepherd” is the popular name for the Roman Catholic order of the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, founded in 1641 in France and still existing today. In addition to the common vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Sisters in this order take a fourth vow of charity, dedicating their lives to saving delinquent girls and prostitutes. To this end, the Sisters established houses of refuge, known as Good Shepherd Homes, in many countries, mostly in Europe in the 19th century. The Sisters continue to work to reform prostitutes and keep wayward girls from further acts of criminality through a program of religious instruction and training for domestic service. Some prostitutes voluntarily sought out the homes, whereas other young women are committed by their families. From the 1850s to the 1920s in the United States, many prostitutes were sent to the Good Shepherd Homes by court order because communities lacked other facilities for incarcerating women or reforming juveniles. During this period, the Sisters’ method of isolating their charges was a qualified success; although some prostitutes rejected **religion** and the strict regimen of the homes and returned to the streets, others converted and either married or found respectable employment when they left. A few chose to remain with the Sisters and join their order. In the United States, the Sisters established the first Home of the Good Shepherd in 1855 in Buffalo, New York; homes in St. Paul, Denver, and other large cities followed. Today the Sisters number fewer than 200 in North America.

See also Magdalen Homes.

Further Reading: Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Mercy: Prostitutes in the American West 1865–90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985; Lebrun, Charles. “Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd.” The Catholic Encyclopedia Web site. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>

Rachel Hays Williams

SLANG. If it is true that prostitution is the world's oldest profession, then it only stands to reason that brothels are the oldest stores, madams and pimps are the oldest managers, and johns are the oldest customers. And given this, it further stands to reason that the slang of whoredom is also the world's oldest "professional" discourse. It can be assumed that there were words to describe the sex profession long before there were literate societies. The basic words of the trade are hundreds, if not thousands, of years old. "Whore" and "meretrix" came into the lexicon in the 12th century, whereas harlot, first meaning a "low, common person," only appears to have begun defining a "whore" in 1432. The more professional-sounding "prostitute" didn't appear until the early 1600s, even though "working girl" had been known to refer to a "slut" since 1450. A "brothel" first meant a "whore" in 1493 but 100 years later became the common term for the house in which whores plied their trade.

In more modern times, a woman may be considered a borderline whore if she is known as a beddy, bimchette, bimbo, biscuit, hank, hoser, jump, party girl, slag, skag, skanky box, skeezer, slut, strawberry, swinger, tart, tramp, trollop, or whoopee mama.

Prostitution slang reflects a certain caste within its ranks. A young and fresh whore can be called green goods, kid leather, "something," fresh meat, or young stuff. Slang treats the opposite end of the age spectrum more brutally with words such as harridan, nag, cow, artichoke, blowser, rank, garbage can, Tom, zook, zucke, and the generic "old timer."

If a whore is considered of a higher class, she might be called a miss, prima donna, courtesan, flash dona, incognita, purest pure, Kate, pro, boulevard woman, or the more elegant "thoroughbred."

Language does not, generally, treat the lowest of whores very kindly. This lower class of whore has been called a dress lodger (so-called because she does not even own her own clothes), flag-about, jack, mawk, screw, quiff, burlap sister (with a reference to a "bag"), mud-kicker, two-bit hustler, Hershey Bar (indicating she would turn a trick for a 5 cent candy bar), skank, slouch, and, some of the worst names, blisterine (a cross between a blister and Listerine, which means the woman is uncouthly unclean), glue neck, and carrion.

On the other hand, there are kinder, gentler words from different cultures and eras to describe a prostitute, some seeming almost benign. No doubt proper folks could not issue the word "whore," so along came clever synonyms such as bona roba, Cyprian, woman about town, fille de joie, puta, unfortunate woman, camp follower, scarlet woman, cousin Betty, fancy woman, dollymop, nymph du prairie, nymph of darkness, warm 'un, warm member, fallen woman, working girl, calico queen, sporting lady, lady of infinite leisure, pavement nymph, perfect lady, lorette, chippie, saleslady, scarlet sister, call girl, hostess, behavior problem, clever girl, heart hostess, pro skirt, pavement princess, model, bar girl, inmate of ill-fame, chere amie, demirep, tommy, sex worker, prosty, molly, actress, or any number of sisters, such as frail, erring, red, scarlet, street, or sister-in-law.

Then there are the animal references; allusions to cats, birds, and fish are the most prominent. A whore therefore can be one of the following creatures: mutton, hobbyhorse, minx, shrimp, cat, cattle, laced mutton, quail, game, mackerel, squirrel, wag tail, hen, flashtail, tail, goat-milker, nightingale, owl, cow, painted cat, soiled dove, guinea hen, roach, sardine, pig, bat, moose, alley cat, and nag.

As with all slang, humor and irony have a place. These terms might have brought a bit of a knowing smile to the face: natural, occupant, spinster (female prisoners were required to spin wool while in prison), convenient, Dutch widow, Madam Van Harlot, nanny, abbess, dasher, public ledger, receiver general, cooler, disorderly, early door, ceiling expert, twofer, trading girl, hotsy, painted lady, cocktail, two-by-four or forty-four (rhymes with "whore"), sailor's bait, cat house cutie, tail-peddler, soldier moll, split mechanic, star-gazer, trickster, tricking broad, round-

heel (her heels are round because she falls backward so frequently), kite, trick babe, curfloozie, virtue after (“sin first, virtue after”), field worker, lobby lizzie, pure, Q.T. cutie (Q.T. meaning “on the quiet”), and saleslady. The English have such slang as Picadilly commando and Thatcher girl, so-named because of the economic woes forcing British women into prostitution during the Margaret Thatcher administration.

A whore has also been called a treadle, trug, wapping dell, white meat, tackle, wanton, baggage, piece of trade, scab, market-dame, blow, blower, frow, bitch, bangster, gook, nockstress, bag, flesh-peddler, stew bum, hip peddler, hay bag, hat rack, whisker, notch moll, whore bitch, blimp, leg worker, sex-job, ass peddler, butt peddler, mat, piece of goods, middle-britch worker (stealing while applying one’s trade), dead meat, blister, flat tire, town bike, punchboard, and town pump.

The more generic, yet descriptive, British terms include hackney, puttock, tweak, fen, belter, Judy, fly-by-night, **Jane Shore**, shake, pinch-prick, hay-tit, mollisher, and scupper. Universally, a whore is also a strumpet, cyprian, doxy, tib, streetwalker, punk, moll, brim, white slave, hooker, trip, jilt, cross girl, cocotte, flash moll, hop picker, jintoe, tart, beat moll, cruiser, bimmy, walker, red-lighter, rip, or roller. “Ladies of the evening” are also night poachers, night shades, night traders, and night pieces.

Equally interesting are the words describing a prostitute’s workplace. In addition to “whorehouse,” “bordel,” and “brothel,” other names were seemingly coined to introduce elements of sin, humor, or secrecy. Some, simply and brutally, tell it like it is and most were likely coined by the working women themselves. Humorous terms include academy, ladies’ college, girlery, window-tappery, finishing academy, hotel-de-loose, hot pillow shop, resort, heifer den, man trap, service station, school of Venus, old ladies’ home, vaulting school (where a gentleman might spend time “improving” himself), and steer joint (as in “one is steered in”).

Other words that when preceding the word “house” denote a whorehouse include occupying, bawdy, accommodation, nanny, coupling, disorderly, fancy, fofaraw, flop, panel, dress, goat, grinding, assignation, sporting, parlor, dipping, hot, fast, bilking, call, notch, joy, cat, can, nugging, slaughter, and trugging.

Other places where prostitution is practiced are quaintly noted: flesh factory or market; goose-berry, goosing, hog, or chicken ranch; hook, cat, whore, girl, or warm shop; house of ill repute or ill fag; ice-palace; sporting place or stable; or the more genteel massage or beauty parlor.

On the sleazier side, the brothel might be called stew, lift-skirts, goosing slum, snoozing ken, panel crib, catwagon, drum, nautch joint, dead fall, cab joint, creep joint, lay joint, dirty spot, cap, cat’s nest, hot hole, zoo, cowboy, shake joint, rib joint, lupanar, hooch, melina, vrow case, kip, cab, bagnio, or smuggling ken.

Randall Platt

SLAVERY. See **Forced Prostitution; Trafficking; White Slavery.**

SOCIETIES FOR THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS. Reacting to the dissipation and immorality introduced in the reign of King Charles II of England (1660–1685) and not trusting the Church of England to deal effectively with the nation’s sinners, groups of lay persons formed societies dedicated to enforcing a stricter, more puritanical code of conduct. The nation’s criminal justice system dealt with such common **crimes** as theft, fraud, coining, **rape**, and **murder**, but many sins or vices including drunkenness, gambling, swearing, blasphemy,

lewdness, profaning the Lord's day, and whoring were left to the ecclesiastical courts. These new societies, dedicated to stamping out vice or sinful conduct primarily among the common folk, first appeared in the London area in the 1690s and spread to other cities in England. The societies reached their peak of power and influence in the mid-1720s and operated until about 1740, by which time the public had lost confidence in their methods and in their claims to have reformed the vicious. The members of these voluntary associations were not officially appointed or elected and they did not wear uniforms. Their primary activity was to report any sinful behavior to constables so as to initiate the process of apprehending, charging, and sentencing those whom they named. They initiated this process by acting as informers. Although they were motivated by religious values, they ignored the ecclesiastical courts that had existed for centuries and turned instead to the nation's secular courts of law to secure swifter prosecutions of those charged. Women arrested for prostitution might have come off with a fine, but sometimes the punishments were whipping and carting or incarceration for a limited period in Bridewell. Generally these women belonged to the lowest levels of society, but a number of the middle-class males who patronized them were also arrested and charged—a sign, perhaps, that these societies were also targeting male customers to reform them as well. By the middle of the 18th century, attitudes toward the culpability of prostitutes were changing, and new groups supported the **Magdalen Homes** that were being erected to house and support former prostitutes.

See also Mandeville, Bernard; Medieval Prostitution; Syphilis.

Further Reading: Burt, Shelley. "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England." In *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660–1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 149–69; Curtis, T. C., & W. A. Speck. "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study of the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform." *Literature and History* 3 (1976): 45–64; Isaacs, Tina. "The Anglican Hierarchy and the Reformation of Manners, 1688–1738." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33, no. 3 (1982): 391–411; Shoemaker, Robert B. "Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690–1738." In *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, ed. Lee Davison. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, pp. 99–120.

Irwin Primer

SOILED DOVES. Soiled doves were prostitutes of the **American West** working in bordellos, tents, houses, cribs, and hog ranches in the red light districts. In the 1800s, there were approximately two women for every 100 men, and thus the services of painted ladies were in high demand and paid better wages than domestic work, and the job was thrilling. In the old West, becoming a prostitute was a logical solution for a woman to make money if she was not married, and soiled doves were good for the economy and community. These ladies of easy virtue wore elaborate gowns, black silk stockings, or scanty costumes while entertained in their houses by a professor playing the piano. Most prostitutes were of the ages 16 to 35. Once a prostitute lost her looks, she could find work in cheaper houses, or she could become a madam. Some famous **madams** of the time were Mattie Silks in Illinois, Lil Lovell in Colorado, Rowdy Kate and Big Nose Kate in Arizona, **Chicago Joe** in Montana, and Pearl Starr in Arkansas. Well-known prostitutes were **Ah Toy** in San Francisco, Julia Bullette in Nevada, Lottie Johl in California, and Molly b' Dam in Idaho. Some soiled doves worked in hurdy-gurdies (*dance halls*) where they



Two Mexican prostitutes, referred to as soiled doves, entertain clients in front of a saloon. New Mexico, c. 1880–95. The Art Archive / Bill Manns.

danced, served drinks, and often provided sexual favors for a price. By the mid-1850s, respectable women began to arrive in the old West and the dichotomy between good and bad women was enforced by a new morality. Though many women enjoyed being a prostitute, they often could not improve their reputation despite **marriage**, charity work, or donations to the town.

See also Clothing; Dance Hall Girls; Organized Crime.

Further Reading: Leaton, Anne. *Pearl*. New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, 1985; Seagraves, Anne. *Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West*. Hayden, ID: Wesanne Publications, 1994; Traywick, Ben T. *Hell's Belles of Tombstone*. Tombstone, AZ: Red Marie's, 1993.

Laura Madeline Wiseman

SONAGACHI PROJECT. A sex workers' collective in Kolkata, India, the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC) was formed by women who were brought together by the state-sponsored STD and HIV Intervention Project (SHIP) in 1992. This project, tremendously influential and implemented by Smarajit Jana, later came to be known as the Sonagachi Sexual Health Project. A central principle of the program was to help sex workers on their own terms, without attempting rehabilitation, asserting external expectations or moral judgments, or dismissing the emotional and material complexity of the women's lives.

Early in 2004, Subrata Mukherjee, the mayor of Kolkata, offered to legalize sex work in the city if prostitutes would consent to mandatory HIV testing. The DMSC refused this offer on the grounds that only sex workers can effectively and rightfully regulate themselves. The DMSC states in its "Sex Workers' Manifesto" that it seeks **decriminalization** of sex work in India rather

than legalization. Its members want for sex workers to have more influence in the administration of their industry and to face no threat of arrest for doing their work and for the local police to turn their attention from harassing prostitutes to prosecuting those who commit **crimes** against them.

The principles of the DMSC closely parallel those supporting the **harm reduction** movement begun in England in the 1980s, which seeks to make dangerous actions less damaging, given that it may not be possible or even desirable to simply eliminate such behaviors. Other dangerous circumstances in an individual's life (poverty, abuse, and so on) may pose the greater threat to her or his well-being, so sex workers need protection as professionals rather than rehabilitation. The DMSC members have used these ideas to successfully lobby for their increased legitimization as workers, citizens, and mothers with civil rights and human needs.

Sex-worker organizing in Kolkata and Dhaka overlaps with other social welfare movements in the cities. The DMSC structured itself as a labor union and, within a few years of its formation, began including male and **transgender sex workers**, incorporating a response to homophobia and transgenderphobia into its feminist analysis.

In addition to conducting HIV/STD-prevention work and lobbying for civil rights as laborers, the DMSC has set up sexual health clinics throughout the state for testing and care, more than 30 literacy and legal literacy centers throughout the red light districts of Kolkata for themselves and their children, and a microcredit cooperative (the Usha Multipurpose Cooperative Society) to foster economic security. The organization also has a cultural wing called Komal Gandhar in which workers and their children perform dances, plays, and music to educate others about their work.

The DMSC has hosted a series of *melas*, festivals-cum-conventions, for sex workers from throughout India and from other countries, with the first of these held in Kolkata in March 1998. The conferences have been organized annually since then and have taken place in other cities as well. The Millennium Milan Mela, held in March 2001, was particularly large, with thousands of attendees from several different countries and a broad agenda, including the declaration of March 3 as "International Day for Sex Workers' Rights." However, the conference was threatened by a coalition of Indian women's groups that influenced the local government to ban the conference just days before it was planned to begin. This coalition argued that the meeting would promote the use of the city for sex **tourism** and sex **trafficking** and that the legalization of prostitution would exacerbate the abuses ongoing within the trade. DMSC members countered that they sought decriminalization rather than legalization, which would allow for better prosecution of crimes of force and **violence**, and that the meeting was meant to further legitimize sex workers as laborers and citizens rather than to contribute to their exploitation. In the end, the DMSC won back their permit to hold the conference, which was very successful and a key event in putting the organization's struggles into the mainstream of West Bengali and Indian media and political conversations.

Organizing work in Kolkata has received a great deal of international attention. The World Bank/UNAIDS program recognizes the Sonagachi Sexual Health Project and the DMSC as providing models for effective community-based prevention work, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has also supported their efforts, offering publicity and partial funding. Perhaps most important, the sex workers in Kolkata have formed close and productive international alliances with the Network of Sex Work Projects and other sex workers' groups and

with prominent women's rights groups in other countries, hosting many of them at a variety of conferences. They have achieved impressive gains toward improving their own working and living conditions and determining their own choices and have done so in a poor city in politically conservative times.

See also Feminism; South Asia; Unions.

Further Reading: DMSC. "Manifesto for Sex Workers' Rights." 1997 BAYSWAN Web site. <http://www.bayswan.org/manifest.html>; "The Sonagachi Project: A Global Model for Community Development." *Horizons Report* (May 2002), <http://www.comminit.com>

Ananya Mukherjea

SOUTH ASIA. Sex work has had a long and visible place in the history of South Asia, with red light districts established in certain Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani cities centuries ago during the Raj, meant to be mainly patronized by British officers and Indian administrators. In the form of services ritually performed by temple dancers, young male craftsman apprentices, and *hijras* (a highly defined transgender community), sex work has been integrated into South Asian culture for even longer. Since the early 1990s, however, ongoing conversations about prostitution in the region have shifted to focus on the matters of sex-worker mobilizing, HIV prevention, and the **trafficking** of women and children. The bulk of public, international discussion regarding prostitution and Nepal focuses on increasing concerns that Nepali girls are being coerced by economic and political circumstances or by physical force into migrating to India and Pakistan to work as prostitutes. Other South Asian countries, however, present more transparent and complex scenarios with respect to sex work.

India

Sex work in India has changed and has gained an international focus through the highly effective organizing work done by prostitutes in Kolkata, Chennai, in Falkland Road in Bombay, and elsewhere in the country. Kolkata sex workers have been cooperatively organizing themselves since 1992, growing out of the state-sponsored STD and HIV Intervention Program (SHIP) known as the **Sonagachi Project** that placed sex workers and their self-determined needs at the center of their planning and implementation. These women and men have gone from doing safer-sex peer education to organizing for better fees, developing literacy and legal advocacy centers for themselves, establishing a microcredit organization for their own use, producing a cultural wing that puts on educational plays and performances, and hosting conferences for sex workers from all over India and other countries. They have been tremendously effective at increasing their visibility and agency, thereby improving the overall wellness of their constituency. Other sex workers' groups in India have followed similar courses, also hosting conferences and mobilizing for better healthcare, prevention of **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) and HIV, and greater economic security. In Bombay, for example, the Saheli Project in Falkland Road works with principles and goals similar to those of the Kolkata SHIP.

In August 2000, however, the national government sought to tighten antiprostitution laws, focusing on **brothel** owners and **pimps**. Sumitra Mahajan, the junior human resources minister, intended to give more force to the existing 1956 Immoral Traffic Prevention Act in the interest of rescuing and rehabilitating women being exploited by brothel owners. Although illegal, sex work in India is often overlooked by authorities who recognize its place in the econo-

mies of Indian cities. Raids and arrests are generally motivated by current morality campaigns or by police seeking to be paid bribes by prostitutes who want to avoid jail time. In 2004, the mayor of Kolkata, Subrata Mukherjee, offered to make sex work in the city legal if local prostitutes would submit to mandatory HIV tests. The Kolkata sex workers' union (the DMSC) refused, however, on the grounds that only the sex workers could rightfully and properly regulate themselves. Although concerns about the national AIDS epidemic and growing concerns about trafficking prompt much of the legal attention given to prostitution, the social gains and increased visibility achieved by organized sex workers in the country have promoted tolerance and leniency in the legal treatment of sex workers themselves. These organizations have also made slow but certain gains in terms of improved health care and housing options and, more generally, gains toward ensuring that prostitutes are treated as citizens, with protected civil rights.

Bangladesh

In October of 1996, the independent nonprofit group UBINIG (a Bengali acronym that stands for Policy Research for Development Alternatives) held the "South Asian Workshop on Trafficking in Women and Children" in Bangladesh. As the group describes the problem of trafficking, five of the seven South Asian countries have a close relationship with respect to trafficking in the region. Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal are often the countries from which women and children are trafficked, and India and Pakistan are the countries that receive these people or act as transit centers that ship trafficked persons to the Middle East, Europe, and North America. UBINIG estimates that 4,000 to 5,000 women and children are trafficked to Pakistan each year, most of these from Bangladesh or Nepal, to work there as prostitutes or to be shipped to the Middle East. This is one major aspect of policy discussion and organizing work regarding sex work in Bangladesh.

The other is the sort of work done by brothel-based prostitutes at **Tan Bazar** and elsewhere in the country. Prostitution is legal in Bangladesh, but legal conflicts arise with respect to the morality of sex work and its influence on local communities and with regard to trafficking, particularly of children. The largest of such conflicts in recent years occurred when police began monitoring and harassing women working at Tan Bazar, the oldest and largest brothel in Bangladesh, following the **murder** there of a prostitute named Jesmin in 1994. In 1999, police raided and closed the brothel on grounds of immorality, forcing its workers into ill-paid "rehabilitative" programs, unemployment, or unprotected sex work. Some Tan Bazar workers created the collective organization Shonghoti, which fought a legal case for the reopening of their brothel. Although they won the case in the courts, Tan Bazar has never been reopened.

Pakistan

There is relatively little information available outside the country about the state of sex work and sex workers' organizing in Pakistan. A significant proportion of women prostitutes in Pakistan are Bangladeshi, and although some section of this population may well have been trafficked over the border, others seem to come of their own volition to work in Pakistani brothels or to provide services to businessmen and travelers to Karachi, Lahore, and other larger cities. There are also many women from Nepal and Burma, and several organizations such as the Bangladeshi, UBINIG, and the International Human Rights Monitoring Group claim that most of these women are kidnapped and trafficked. Much of the sex work in Pakistan, though, is done by Pakistani women and men who work more informally, as street prostitutes sometimes

or in exchange for goods and services from employers or landlords. Erratically applied but severe legal and social strictures against homosexuality, promiscuity, adultery, and prostitution make it all the more important to maintain discretion in sex work and for individuals not to identify themselves too strongly as prostitutes. Those who are arrested are most often convicted of crimes against the state and can serve long sentences in **prison**. A prostitute who is also an illegal immigrant, whether that immigration was forced or not, has four years automatically added to her or his sentence. Nevertheless, red light districts flourish in every city, including the historically famous Heera Mandi in Lahore. In 2003, the International Human Rights Monitoring Group estimated that there are almost 800,000 prostitutes working in Pakistan. The National AIDS Control Organisation sometimes attempts rehabilitation programs in these districts, although they show low levels of efficacy. Local women's groups seem more effective in helping prostitutes gain access to health care, housing, and other basic resources.



A Pakistani woman, who runs a prostitution service and did not want to be identified, looks out from home in Quetta, Pakistan, 2001. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

Sri Lanka

As in India, the organizing of sex workers in Sri Lanka has been closely interlinked with HIV-prevention efforts. As with the Kolkata SHIP, the objective of a program advanced by the Community Front for the Prevention of AIDS (CFPA) focuses on helping sex workers to do their current job more safely, securely, and lucratively rather than on persuading them to give up prostitution in favor of work that requires different types of physical exertion and does not pay nearly as well. This program adopted a social-psychological approach, focused on improving self-esteem and self-image. With partial funding from the World Health Organization, the CFPA launched a number of initiatives aimed at facilitating safer sex, better financial management, and increased access to medical and legal services for sex workers in Sri Lanka. They organized workshops on antihomophobia training, cooperative banking, and how best to negotiate for higher fees and invest one's income. They also hired and trained sex workers as peer educators to counsel each other about condom usage and self-defense. The CFPA backs the sex workers in their bids against mandatory testing for drug use and STIs and for full-scale legalization of the adult sex trade in the country.

The type of Sri Lankan sex work that receives international media coverage is prostitution that caters exclusively to tourists. Sri Lanka gained a reputation, through the 1990s, as an appealing Asian **sex tourism** destination, although this reputation has been compromised at times by escalations in conflict and terrorism in the country. The “beach boys” who frequent the shore resorts have received a great deal of international attention because many of these workers are children—boys in their late preteen or early teen years. Young women work these resorts as well, but they are usually at least into their teen years. Local police report a increase since 2000 in the number of Sri Lankan women working as high-end “**call girls**” for the new influx of businessmen with ready cash. Women sex workers from other parts of Asia and from Eastern Europe also travel to work in Sri Lanka, although they tend to work in the major cities, away from the coastline. There seem, however, to be fewer reports of forced trafficking to and from Sri Lanka for the purposes of prostitution. Some women sex workers from the country have attended the *melas* in India as well as the International AIDS Conferences, but it is difficult for these “beach boys” to formally organize themselves because they are so young, they see their participation in the sex trade as transient, and their groupings are strongly governed by the informal organization of their social relationships and attachments with each other. These young male prostitutes also struggle with homophobia in their communities and with the conflicts of social identity they themselves face because many do not identify as homosexual except in their work behavior. Sex work in the country has been receiving more international attention over the past few years because the rate of HIV infection in Sri Lanka is still very low and because prostitutes working with tourists present some of the highest concentrations of HIV infection in the country. Therefore, the work of the CFPA has been particularly significant.

See also Child Prostitution; Forced Prostitution; HIV Interventions in India; Southeast Asia.

Further Reading: Bay Area Sex Worker Advocacy Network. Prostitute Rights Demonstration in South Asia. <http://www.bayswan.org/seasian.html>; Gansinghe, Mallika. “No Stray Dogs: Sex Worker Empowerment in Sri Lanka.” *Research for Sex Work* 3 (2000): 21–22. <http://www.nswp.org/r4sw>; Russell, Sabin. “The Role of Prostitution in South Asia’s Epidemic: Push for Safe Sex in Red-light Districts.” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 July 2004.

Ananya Mukherjea

SOUTHEAST ASIA. Sex work in Southeast Asia has varied with economic conditions throughout history. References to upper-class sex workers in Thailand date from at least the 13th century. The King of Vajjishe created the class of *sopaynee*, in which a small number of high-class women were available at an extremely high price to nobles and to men of considerable wealth passing through the village. Traditions existed among the foreign merchant class of an unregistered **temporary marriage** with a local woman. The lack of population concentrations and of disposable income among the poor during these times likely limited the ability of most women to seek payment for sexual services, though gifts, as in dating, were likely common. The middle class was limited in size. Royals and other men of wealth had slaves and multiple wives and thus no need for paid sex workers. References exist to Thai nobles threatening disobedient daughters with banishment to a brothel, but the nature, prices, and clientele of such places are unknown. Some Thai kings had many hundreds of wives, a practice that began to decline with Rama IV and Rama V in the later 19th century. A King’s new wife might visit him only once, but she was forever his wife from that point and thus unavailable to other men.

In the early 1800s, green lanterns were suggested as the color to be hung in the doorway of **Bangkok brothels** to keep away those not wishing to encounter such a business, creating green-light districts. By the mid-1800s, the canals in Bangkok were insufficient to carry commercial traffic and new roads were needed. Although various taxes on opium were sufficient for upkeep of the canals, a tax on brothels was instituted to pay for the new and expanded roads and their upkeep, and the brothel tax was sufficient to do so. Thus, brothels were a profitable operation in Bangkok by the mid-19th century.

The 20th Century

During the 20th century, sex work expanded with the economy and population, with the increase of disposable income among the middle and lower classes, and with concentrations of males. With the **abolition** of most acknowledged slavery in Thailand by the early 20th century, large numbers of freed slave women no longer had support or domicile, and the existing brothels were flooded with new workers. The form taken by sex work varied according to cultures, economies, and cultural expectations. An increase in the Thai rice trade with China may have accounted for some increase in customers, but Chinese merchants preferred Chinese-style brothels with Chinese workers, not Southeast Asian women. Relationships with freed slaves began to replace temporary marriage among Western foreigners. Higher-priced services were available in more expensive hotels, restaurants, and bars. Lower-priced services were often delivered from the cover of a part-time job, such as selling vegetables or merchandise on the street, or from a brothel. Streetwalking has always been discouraged throughout Southeast Asia because of a desire to keep what is improper out of sight. It exists nonetheless.

Although the Napoleonic Code outlawed prostitution in the early 19th century, the French were never enthusiastic about enforcing this provision, and certainly not within their colonies. French women often found better prices and working conditions as sex workers in Saigon than in Paris. The protection of French law was extended to French women in the colonies but not to native women engaged in sex work, making such work more dangerous and much more low-paying for local women.

Late in the 19th century, the Dutch Colonial Administration in the East Indies introduced female laborers to work in the fields alongside men, to entice male workers to labor for less pay. The British in India had done the same. The women were paid even less than the men, ensuring that male wages would be spent in part on making up this differential, forcing women to engage in sex work so as not to starve and keeping both men and women bound to their field labor.

The Vietnam War

Sex work depends on a sizable population of males with disposable income and few social sanctions controlling their behavior, and as such Cambodia had relatively little sex work before the late 1960s compared with its neighbors, Vietnam and Thailand, with their larger populations and better economies. Following Richard Nixon's 1969 to 1973 extension of the Vietnam War into Cambodia through supposedly secret bombings, together with secret invasion missions in 1970, the Khmer Rouge with the complicity of King Norodom Sihanouk convinced significant portions of the Khmer population that the United States was the enemy. The Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh, set up and then abandoned by the United States, was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge in 1975. The disaster that followed from 1975 to the rescue

by Vietnamese forces in 1979 destroyed almost all Cambodian society and culture, aside from that remembered in the minds of the starved and enslaved populace.

Tu Do Street in Saigon became a street of bars catering to American GIs during the Vietnam War period, but it was only the most infamous of many smaller such areas spread around the city. Sex work and public nudity were first outlawed in Thailand in 1960, following pressures from the United Nations and Western countries. The need for a two-week period of **R&R** (rest and recuperation; the GIs called it I&I: Intoxication and Intercourse) for U.S. troops in Vietnam led to the passage of the Thai Entertainment Places Act of 1966, which kept sex work illegal but legalized places of entertainment where sex work could occur. Persons caught in the act by police—a highly unlikely event because many entertainment places had police connections or paid off the police—could simply claim to be in love as a defense.

Two locations in Vietnam and 12 outside were available for R&R. Bangkok was closest, soldiers had more out-of-country ground time there, and it took only three months to qualify to go there. A Thai Air Force General negotiated the Bangkok R&R. Working with his wife as a travel agent, they booked thousands of GIs on R&R into newly constructed hotels on an extension of Petchburi Road in Bangkok between Soi Nana Tai and Soi Ekamai, with bars and massage parlors scattered among the hotels.

After the Vietnam War

Neither the infrastructure nor the management skills from the R&R period translated into increased levels of sex work in Thailand following the end of R&R in the early 1970s. Grants in the 1970s from the World Bank to transform the sleepy fishing village of Pattaya into a tourist attraction did increase sex work, together with the knowledge gained from the R&R period that foreigners with money would pay more for sex than would locals if it were packaged in a way acceptable to their culture. Although most sex work—about 90 percent—in Southeast Asia continues to cater primarily to local customers, beginning in the mid 1970s, Pattaya became a mecca for German tourists and other Westerners. By the 1990s Pattaya had



Detail of a karaoke bar in Mae Hong Son, Thailand. Courtesy of Angus McIntyre.

supplanted Chiang Mai as the second largest city in Thailand, principally as a tourist haven and primarily based on sex work. A 1996 revision of the Thai prostitution laws in theory tightened controls on sex work and increased penalties, but in fact exceptionally few prosecutions resulted.

In communist countries such as Vietnam, where sex work is classified as bourgeois, not proletariat, and thus is strongly opposed by the government, brothels and other fixed sex-work locations are often attacked by the police. Although streetwalking is dangerous in such countries, it is perceived by many workers as safer than fixed-location work. Today, such attacks drive Vietnamese sex workers into more accepting capitalist climates such as present-day Cambodia.

The 1975 communist victory in Vietnam led to the immediate dissolution of the foreign-oriented portion of the sex industry in Vietnam and the incarceration of those former workers who could be located, for “reeducation.” While local sex work remained, foreign-oriented sex work in Vietnam slowly reemerged in the 1980s as a hidden and highly illegal industry. More expensive “hugee bars,” public dances at hotels and small, discreet restaurants and bars were the main competition for the furtive cheap sex work occurring in the parks and on darkened Saigon streets.

As Cambodia reinvented itself in the early 1980s, sex work together with other old institutions reemerged as a new and stronger economic force. Driven by money from UNTAC troops and other United Nations nongovernmental organizations and foreign aid operations, as well as by business forces from Asia and rampant poverty, sex work locations increased in the cities and larger towns of Cambodia wherever such economic forces were present. Infighting within the government, preoccupation with eliminating the remnants of the Khmer Rouge, and a general lack of law and order allowed large sex-work areas to form in Phnom Penh and other cities. These areas operated freely until the mid-1990s, when Tuol Kork, Street 63, Steg Menchey, Street 154, and other large brothel areas in Phnom Penh faced increasing harassment from various police agencies.

By the later 1990s, Vietnamese sex workers in Phnom Penh no longer engaged in friendly “attacks” on potential customers, attempting to drag them into the brothel as they passed by on the street. Brothels were segregated by mutual choice according to worker ethnicity into those with Vietnamese or with Khmer workers. Khmer brothels were somewhat more discreet. Vietnamese brothels frequently have operated behind locked doors and have quickly opened for a motorcycle and its passengers to speed into the front room, then closing and locking again. As the police began to own more of the brothels, these restrictions eased somewhat. Sadistic practices were never in vogue, but underage workers were available. Most such workers were 15 or older, but certain brothels, especially in Toul Kork and in Svay Pak, north of the city, featured a number of younger workers.

By early in the 21st century, workers under 18 had largely disappeared in Toul Kork but continued to be available in Svay Pak. One tightly guarded brothel featured only girls under 15. The economic impact of customer traffic in Svay Pak encouraged a few local children to become available, sometimes inside and sometimes outside of the brothels. According to two different U.S. government sponsored investigations, one child outside of the brothels who offered oral sex only was well under 10. Although most of the women in Svay Pak were of age, the existence of about 50 underage sex workers in one location led to international concern and consternation. Police raids against Svay Pak continued intermittently until one led by the International Justice Mission, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, shut it down relatively permanently in November 2004. Although a few younger workers were apprehended, most escaped capture and continued to work in new locations in Phnom Penh and other Cambodian cities.

See also Child Prostitution.

Further Reading: Lewis, M., S. Bamber, & M. Waugh, ed. *Sex, Disease and Society: A Comparative History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS in Asia and the Pacific*. Contributions in Medical Studies 43. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997; Steinfatt, T. *Working at the Bar: Sex Work and Health Communication in Thailand*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002; Steinfatt, T. M. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia. Part I of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 2002. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfcamf3.pdf>; Steinfatt, T. M. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia: A Direct Observation Field Study. Part III of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 2003. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfciiif.pdf>.

Thomas M. Steinfatt

SPECULUM. The speculum, a device used to dilate the vagina in order to view the cervix, vaginal walls, and other tissues, was used in antiquity by Galen, and Soranus and was known to Paul of Aegina. Their writings were not available in Europe in translation until the 19th century.

In 1801, Joseph Recamier (1774–1852) tried to reintroduce the speculum use in France. His instrument was a thin tube, but despite its ability to visualize diseased tissues, it was met with criticism and controversy. Two problems associated with the use of the speculum involved social mores at the time. One was the fact that men were looking at women's bodies and, in particular, their genitals. The other was that any instrument or device inserted in the vagina was allegedly indecent and compromising of a woman's honor. This particularly was significant if the woman was a virgin. The belief was that when the speculum was introduced, erotic feelings would be awakened and uncontrollable urges would dominate the woman's life from then on. She might crave repeated insertions of the speculum and become addicted.

During the Napoleonic wars, venereal disease caused more morbidity than battle injuries. Female prostitutes were the first group to be targeted for checking its spread. Although prostitutes were already allegedly indecent, they too suffered from the insults of this gynecological technology. The use of the speculum on these prostitutes became a political issue, so much so that the speculum was referred to as an "instrument of rape."

"Morals" were stronger than science in the verbiage of many medical professionals. In the mid-19th century, Charles Meigs, a professor of medicine at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, urged "restraint" in the use of the speculum. According to Meigs, the physician's major responsibility was to preserve the moral fabric of society. There was to be strict limitation in the speculum's use, as if it would cause some kind of disease itself. Apocryphal stories arose in which physicians were accused of leaping into bed with the women they examined or making the vagina into a "Chinese top shop." A genre of humor regarding "speculumizers" arose, with public theatrics mimicking the use of the speculum.

By 1830 the vaginal speculum had gained popularity in France, and prostitutes were examined for venereal infection and treated accordingly. There was no penicillin yet, and prostitutes had been douching with irritating chemicals and damaging a large surface area of the vagina. To see the venereal lesions, a speculum was necessary. An English physician, Fleetwood Churchill gave brief mention to the speculum in his 1835 edition of a text but, in 1844, stated that although it was a valuable instrument, he thought it had been used improperly and unnecessarily.

J. Marion Sims (1813–1883) is the American physician most often associated with the use of the speculum for obstetric and gynecological surgery. When he began his obstetrics practice in Alabama, there were strong beliefs about male physicians attending women. Those who did were taught not to look at a woman's genitals but to use touch: a good physician need only have a reassuring manner and know the body by touch. There was already controversy regarding obstetrical forceps, a new technology not used by, or acceptable to, midwives, who were the traditional health care providers for women. Sims believed in using forceps and had recently assisted in a birth in which the woman was in labor for 72 hours and the baby's head became wedged in her pelvis. Sims delivered the child, but the woman developed an infection and urinary and fecal incontinence. Sometimes, particularly after a difficult birth, a tear between the anterior vaginal wall and surrounding tissues developed, resulting in a vesicovaginal fistula. These complications were both painful and embarrassing for the woman. Once they occurred, they were incurable. Sims was called back to see the new mother and, upon examination, was unable to see far into the birth canal. He reached for a spoon and bent it, pulling down on the posterior portion of the vaginal canal. He bent another spoon and pulled up, revealing the entire canal up to the cervix. He was able to see the fistula and, using what he referred to as "silver sutures," sewed the injured tears closed. Both the knee-chest position used to position the woman and the speculum were named after him. This first case in 1846, although complicated, paved the way for acceptance of the speculum in gynecologic surgery.

When **William Acton** (1813–1875) tried to introduce the speculum into general gynecological practice in England in the 1850s, he was severely criticized by his colleagues. The speculum examination was perceived by patients and doctors as a voyeuristic and degrading act, one that inflicted mental and physical pain on the female. Marshall Hall, a physiologist, wrote an article in *Lancet* cautioning the readers that a speculum could damage the delicacy and purity of a woman and dull the edge of virgin modesty.

In 1864, the first **Contagious Disease Act** was passed. It attempted to legislate the spread of **syphilis** by allowing a plainclothes law enforcement officer to detain and arrest a woman, keep her overnight, and subject her to a speculum examination. Two more laws were enacted in 1866 and 1869. Outrage was not expressed publicly until the 1870s when emotional meetings were held to demonstrate the ramifications on the general population. Speakers would display the vaginal speculum, waving it, gesticulating to a rapt audience.

Josephine Butler (1828–1906) was the feminist who raised consciousness about the inequity of the Contagious Diseases Acts. She organized the Ladies National Association for the repeal of the Acts. Although the government was desperate to stop the spread of syphilis, women, not men, were subjected to examinations by law enforcement officers. Any woman could be detained and subjected to a speculum examination. When too many non-prostitutes were arrested and forced to undergo the internal examination, reformers acted, and the Acts were repealed in 1886.

Speculum use and the Contagious Disease Acts had an incidental beneficial aspect. As women's health care became more medicalized and less traditional and folk-oriented, women lost the self-knowledge that their ancestors had passed from generation to generation. With attention directed to this new technology or "instrument of rape," women could not ignore the need to know about their own bodies and could not leave everything to the doctor. Although physicians bemoaned the fact that patients spoke about the womb and uterine organs with a familiarity that was formerly unknown, a certain amount of self-awareness gave many women agency that they sorely needed.

Further Reading: Dally, Ann. *Women Under the Knife*. New York: Routledge, 1992; Drachman, Virginia. "The Loomis Trial: Social Mores and Obstetrics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *Women and Health in America*, ed. Judith Waltzer Leavitt. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, pp.156–165; Fissell, Mary E. "Speculations on the Speculum." *Women's Health in Primary Care* 3 (2000): 298; Groneman, Carol. "Nymphomania: The Historical Construction of Female Sexuality." *Signs* 19 (1994): 337–367; Wertz, Robert, and Dorothy Wertz. *Brought to Bed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989; Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian Society Women, Class and the State*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Lana Thompson

SPRINKLE, ANNIE (1954–). Porn actress, pinup model and photographer, author, sex film director and producer, college lecturer, sex-oriented performance artist, and sex-worker activist, Sprinkle began her career as a prostitute in 1973. She worked in Manhattan massage parlors for 20 years and starred in close to 100 feature XXX porn films and 508-mm loops. She became the second best-selling video star in 1982 in the United States for the film *Deep Inside Annie Sprinkle*, which she wrote and directed. Frustrated by the industry's lack of response to her pro-condom campaigning in the time of the emerging AIDS crisis, she left the world of mainstream pornography shortly thereafter.

Sprinkle was perhaps the first-known porn actress to advertise openly for prostitution. A member of the organization COYOTE and Prostitutes of New York (PONY) since 1975, she continued to be an active advocate of sex workers and their rights but phased out her own work in prostitution by 1993.



Annie Sprinkle during one of her performances. Courtesy of Annie Sprinkle.

Sprinkle began to see her work as a porn star and prostitute as a foundation for her creative self and made the shift from prostitution to art, with innovative theater performances such as “*Post-Porn Modernist*” (1989–95) which featured her infamous *Public Cervix Announcement*, in which she showed her cervix to her audiences, and *The Legend of the Sacred Prostitute*, during which she performed a sexual-healing masturbation ritual and the theater piece. *Annie Sprinkle’s Herstory of Porn* (1998–2004) centered around her life in porn. She toured internationally to great acclaim. Today her performance art is studied in colleges and universities. Her unique “postmodern sex films” include *Linda/Les & Annie: The First Female-to-Male Transsexual Love Story* (1989), *The Sluts and Goddesses Video Workshop* (1992), and *Annie Sprinkle’s Amazing World of Orgasm* (2004).

In 2002, Sprinkle became the first porn star to earn a doctoral degree, making her a certified sexologist. She served on the board of the **St. James Infirmiry**, a free clinic for sex workers in San Francisco, for five years. She is the author of several books, including *Hardcore from the Heart: The Pleasures, Profits and Politics of Sex in Performance* (2001), *Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-media Whore* (1998), and *Dr. Sprinkle’s Spectacular Sex—Make Over Your Love Life* (2005).

Further Reading: Annie Sprinkle’s website. <http://www.anniesprinkle.org>; Sprinkle, Annie. *Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-media Whore*. San Francisco: Last Gasp Books, 1998.

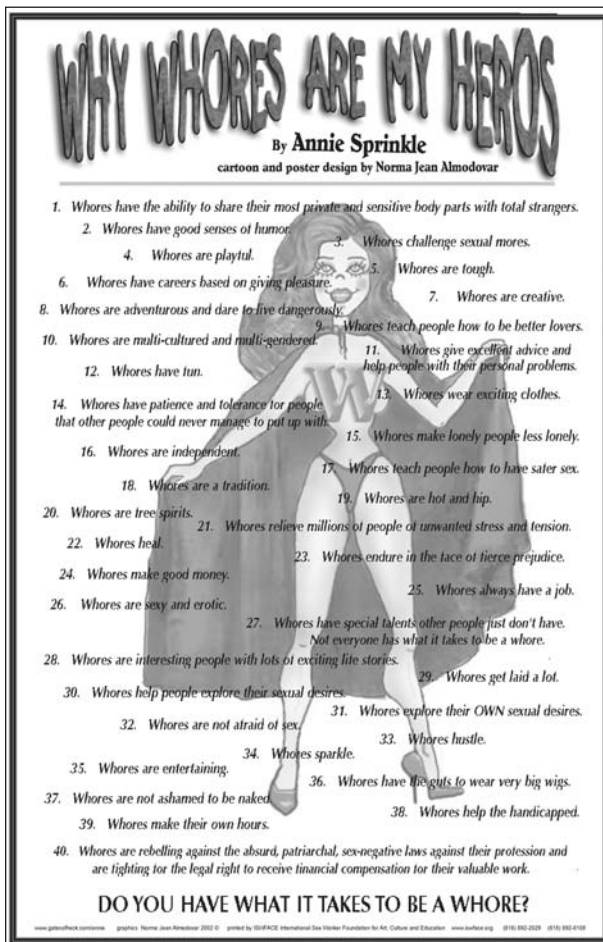
Tom Garretson

ST. JAMES, MARGO (1937–). Margo St. James, a former prostitute in the United States, has spent more than 30 years advocating for the rights of sex workers. Her many years of sex work activism started in 1962 when a judge labeled her a prostitute because she used the word “trick” in pleading not guilty. She said, “I’ve never turned a trick in my life.” Labeled by that ruling, she then became a prostitute for four years. In 1972, St. James founded the group Whores, Housewives, and Others (WHO), with “Others” referring to lesbians. This group resulted in the establishment of COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) in 1973 to provide services to sex workers and to draw attention to the abuses sex workers experience.

Shortly after the creation of COYOTE, St. James began organizing at the international level. She cofounded the National Task Force on Prostitution as well as the International Committee for Prostitutes’ Rights. In the mid-1980s St. James moved to France to escape the shifting political climate in the United States. She returned to San Francisco in 1993, and in 1996 she ran a close race for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and ultimately lost by a small number of votes. In 1999, St. James and COYOTE cofounded **St. James Infirmiry** in San Francisco. The St. James Infirmiry is a peer-led **occupational safety and health** clinic that offers free, confidential, nonjudgmental medical and social services for sex workers of all genders.

Alexandra Lutnick

ST. JAMES INFIRMARY. St. James Infirmiry (SJI), founded on June 2, 1999, is a multiservice, peer-led **occupational safety and health** clinic located in San Francisco, California, for current, former, and transitioning sex workers of all genders. This unique organization is the result of the collaboration between Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE), founded by **Margo St. James** in 1973, the Exotic Dancers’ Alliance (EDA), cofounded by Johanna Breyer and Dawn Passar in 1993, and the San Francisco Department of Public Health, specifically the STD Prevention and



Courtesy of Annie Sprinkle.

single-room occupancy hotels. SJI also offers a pretrial **diversion program** for those charged with prostitution-related crimes.

SJI provides education to the community and other organizations about sex workers, facilitates a medical student elective about the health care needs of sex workers, and collaborates with other agencies.

Alexandra Lutnick

STATUTORY RAPE. See *Rape, Statutory*.

STEAD, WILLIAM. See “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.”

STEEN, JAN (1626–1679). Steen was a Dutch painter best known for his moralizing scenes of everyday life. Steen’s genre paintings depict busy interiors that simultaneously celebrate and warn about the dangers of overindulgence in sex and drink. In the paintings, playful pairings and

Control Department headed by Jeffrey Klausner. All services at SJI are delivered in a nonjudgmental, **harm reduction** fashion by staff and volunteers made up largely of former, current, or transitioning sex workers.

SJI provides all its services free of charge to its participants. Currently SJI has four clinics during the week that offer sexual health care inclusive of testing and treatment for HIV, sexually transmitted infections. (STIs), tuberculosis, and hepatitis, primary medical care, immunizations, acupuncture, chiropractic care, massage therapy, Reiki, food, **clothing**, harm-reduction groups and supplies, syringe exchange, social service and legal referrals, mental health counseling, substance use counseling and treatment, smoking-cessation groups, support groups, career counseling and training, child care assistance, individual peer-counseling sessions, and apprenticeship programs. On a monthly basis, harm-reduction counselors offer testing for HIV/STIs at local venues, and the outreach program provides referrals, harm-reduction supplies, and support to those individuals who work on the street and in strip clubs, massage parlors, and

subtle suggestions of monetary exchange make reference to prostitution in both humorous and admonishing ways.

Although Steen is most remembered for his genre scenes, during his life he experimented with a wide variety of subjects, ranging from biblical subjects to portraiture. Steen moved frequently between Dutch cities and emulated the work of many **Dutch masters**, perhaps in hopes of finding the success that continually eluded him. By the 18th century, however, Steen's genre scenes had garnered significant attention in popular culture, even generating a new Dutch saying, "a Jan Steen household," referring to a crowded home in disarray. The attraction of Steen's genre paintings lies in their dual role as moral instruction and low-life entertainment. The populated interiors are an intricate web of exchanged glances and suggested misbehavior. Several of Steen's paintings are set in taverns, which appear to double as **brothels**, and the characters of such scenes always convey a jovial nature. However, Steen often appended moralizing proverbs to his paintings, continuing a 16th-century tradition that admonished decadent or immoral behavior. In witnessing these realms of temptation and misconduct, the viewers of Steen's painting are invited to both laugh at and reprimand the sexual mischief.

Further Reading: Chapman, H. Perry. *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996; Westermann, Mariët. *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century*. Zwolle, the Netherlands: Waanders, 1997.

Rachel Epp Buller

STIGMA. The prostitute is the prototype of the stigmatized woman. She is both named and dishonored by the word *whore*. "Whore" does not, however, refer only to prostitutes. The label can be applied to any woman. A whore is "unchaste," defined as "indulging in unlawful or immoral sexual intercourse; lacking in purity, virginity, decency (of speech), restraint, and simplicity; defiled (i.e., polluted, corrupted)" (Pheterson 1996). Significantly, charges of unchastity do not make a man a whore, although they may stigmatize him according to color, ethnic, sexuality, or class discriminations. The word "whore" is specifically a female gender stigma. Given that "stigma" is defined as "a brand marked on a slave or criminal, a stain on one's character, a mark of shame or discredit and/or a definite characteristic of some disease" (Pheterson 1996), the whore stigma is then a mark of shame or disease on an unchaste woman or female slave or criminal.

The lack of chastity that dishonors women is not an exceptional or avoidable state. Sexuality, racial or ethnic status, class position, history of abuse, disease, manner, appearance, or independence can all be used as evidence of female unchastity. Prostitutes reappear on every dimension of dishonor as the prototypical whore. They are perceived as the personification of (adulterous) sex, (dark) race, (dirty) money, (deserved) abuse, (sexually transmitted) disease, and (taboo) knowledge. Other women are threatened with a loss of honor when accused of unchastity; whorish women are shamed for sexuality, blamed for **violence** and disease, and punished for financial, sexual, or intellectual initiative.

Not every woman may feel equally controlled and judged. But every woman, like every man, has learned the social criteria of female chastity within her culture. The verb "to chasten" or "to chastise" means "to punish (as by whipping)," "to censure severely," and also "to purify" (Pheterson 1996). The concept and practice of "purifying" women is thus linguistically as well as socially synonymous with punishment through control and battering. The menace of the whore stigma

acts as a whip holding females in a state of subordination. Until that whip loses its sting, the liberation of women will be in check.

Further Reading: Pheterson, Gail. "The Whore Stigma: Crimes of Unchastity." In *The Prostitution Prism*, by Gail Pheterson. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, pp. 65–89.

Gail Pheterson

STORYVILLE. Storyville was the famous turn-of-the-century red light district of **New Orleans**, Louisiana. It opened in 1897 under special ordinance of the city government and closed in 1917 under orders of the federal government. It occupied 18 square blocks bounded by North Basin, Customhouse (now Iberville), North Robertson, and St. Louis streets. The district was famous for its extravagant bordellos, its jazz music, and its promotion of interracial sex and octoroon prostitutes at the beginning of the Jim Crow era.

The author of the ordinance was council member Sidney Story, hence the name "Storyville." The government that created Storyville was dominated by reformers and businessmen and represented a brief interruption in the decades of machine rule of the city. The creation of a red light district was their attempt to curtail the spread of prostitution and to limit commercial sex to a small, discrete neighborhood on the outskirts of town. However, Storyville became one of the most visibly flamboyant legal red light districts in history.

The neighborhood the City Council chose for the new commercial sex district was on the margins of both the French Quarter and the rapidly developing business district, known as the American section. At the time of the ordinance, the area was inhabited by a mix of people, both in terms of race and respectability. There were small businesses and working-class families. There was one church, the Methodist Episcopal Church for "colored" parishioners; one school (for "colored" children); and three "Negro Dance Halls," in the predominately residential neighborhood. There were prostitutes, but they did not dominate the area. The largest business in the neighborhood was the lumber company owned by George L'Hote. L'Hote also lived in the neighborhood with his wife and their eight children. L'Hote sued the city to prevent passage of the ordinance after an amendment to the original ordinance, passed in July 1897, extended the district's boundaries to allow prostitution on St. Louis Street. The original ordinance stipulated that St. Louis would serve as boundary only, with no houses of prostitution allowed on it. The same amendment created another, smaller red light district above Canal Street, in "uptown" New Orleans. Its borders were Perdido, Gravier, Franklin, and Locust streets. This four-block area was never associated with the downtown Storyville. It was a poor black neighborhood known for drugs, **violence**, and commercial sex. L'Hote's case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the city prevailed and Storyville gained the sanction of the judicial branch. Technically, while L'Hote's case was pending, the opening of the district was held in abeyance, but construction of bordellos began as early as 1897.

The most spectacular bordello was Mahogany Hall. Built especially for Lulu White, the self-styled "Diamond Queen of the Demi-monde," Mahogany Hall reportedly cost more than \$40,000 to build and decorate. It had an imposing marble staircase, four floors, two parlors, including a parlor in which the walls and ceiling were covered with mirrors, 15 bedrooms with water closets attached to each, and an elevator. Sometimes called "The Octoroon Club," Mahogany Hall featured octoroon prostitutes for an exclusively white clientele. Other bordellos were Willie Piazza's, which also featured octoroons, Emma Johnson's "House of All Nations,"



Street scene of Storyville, the famed jazz, blues, and red light district of New Orleans, early 1900s. Frank Driggs Collection/Getty Images.

which put on elaborate sex circuses under the direction of Johnson, a black woman, and Josie Arlington's business, which billed itself as the "most costly fitted-out sporting palace" in the country. Arlington was white.

Entrepreneurs, **madams**, and property owners created a guidebook to Storyville that was published every year from 1898 until 1915. Known as the "**Blue Books**," these **guidebooks** listed the brothels and the prostitutes according to race: "W" for white, "C" for colored, and "Oct." for octoroon—the district's specialty. Some editions listed "French" prostitutes or "French 69" bordellos. "Jews" were included in several editions, and one Blue Book featured a "Jew Colony."

Storyville is often called the birthplace of jazz, and it did provide venues for the new musical style developing in New Orleans at the time. Jelly Roll Morton, Bunk Johnson, Manuel Manetta, Tony Jackson, King Oliver, and a young Louis Armstrong, among others, all played in Storyville. Spencer Williams, who wrote "Basin Street Blues" in the 1920s, lived for a while in Mahogany Hall.

Storyville intersected the two most trafficked areas of the city: the French Quarter and the American section. The business district developed adjacent to Storyville and provided much of its clientele. In 1908 the train terminus at Canal and Basin streets, only one block from Storyville's border, was completed. As the trains entered the station, they went past the Basin Street bordellos, where the prostitutes waved to passengers from windows and balconies, often naked. The increased visibility of Storyville, its flagrant violation of Jim Crow, and its flouting of bourgeois morality spurred local reformers to take action against the district. They objected most strenuously to the district's promotion of interracial sex. In 1917 the city attempted to force all non-white prostitutes to relocate to the "uptown" neighborhood, but several octoroon and "colored"

prostitutes and madams successfully fought the measure. Later that year, the Woodrow Wilson administration forced Mayor Martin Behrman to close the district because it violated a law designed to protect American sailors and soldiers as they prepared for war.

Storyville has lived on in memory and memorial throughout New Orleans. Numerous clubs, bars, and music venues use its name to evoke a kind of golden age of New Orleans' transgressive culture of pleasure. Recent scholarly work on Storyville promises to bring the women of Storyville, from the ostentatious Lulu White and Willie Piazza to the crib girls and street walkers, back into the center of the story.

See also Bellocq, Ernest J.

Further Reading: Landau, Emily Epstein. "Spectacular Wickedness': New Orleans, Prostitution, and the Politics of Sex, 1897–1917." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, forthcoming; Long, Alecia P. *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004; Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; Rose, Al. *Storyville: Being an Authentic, Illustrated History of the Notorious Red-Light District*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1974; Shapiro, Nat, and Nat Hentoff, comps. *Hear Me Talkin' To Ya*. New York City: Rinehart & Co., 1955; Dover, 1966.

Emily Epstein Landau

STREET OFFENCES ACT OF 1959. This statute (7 & 8 Eliz. 2. c 57), passed by the British Government, embodied the recommendations of the 1957 **Wolfenden Report**. It applied to England and Wales (Scotland and Northern Ireland had their own legislation). The original purpose of the act was to eradicate the nuisance caused by prostitutes soliciting on the streets of **London**. The act was underpinned by a nonstatutory "cautioning system" that provided for two cautions before a woman was taken to a police station and officially registered as a "common prostitute." She was entitled to appeal within 14 days if she felt wrongly accused. The caution was intended to forge a link between the prostitute and social worker in the hope of persuading her to change her lifestyle, a tactic that proved ineffective. However, it also provided a presupposition of guilt, given that a woman would be presented to the court as a "common prostitute" seen "loitering or soliciting for the purpose of prostitution," leaving her with no defense. Escalating fines were introduced with a three-month **prison** sentence on third conviction (repealed by the Criminal Justice Act in 1982).

Initially, the act worked well, and the women vanished from the streets, reappearing in striptease clubs, bars, and private flats. From a policing point of view, it was deceptively simple because there was no longer any need to provide evidence that a citizen had been annoyed when harassed residents might call them in to "clean up" their area. However, this led to displacement of the problem from one district to another, which relieved one group of residents while infuriating another. And because the street prostitute became less visible, curb crawling intensified, so that by 1985 additional legislation was introduced to deal with a new situation.

The nature of the trade also adjusted as women adopted a peripatetic lifestyle, disguising their appearance, giving false addresses to police officers, moving from place to place, or working in one area and living in another. Thus, a problem that had been largely London-based spread rapidly around the country. Additionally, the old accommodation among prostitute, police officer, and voluntary social worker broke down as the women became distrustful. Eventually, however, they regained their confidence and the street scene recovered, so that prostitution became more complex and difficult to police.

During the 1960s, reaction to the perceived injustice of the act was intense, and a campaign to repeal or reform it was led by the **Josephine Butler** Society, previously known as the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, in cooperation with some members of the House of Lords. Three private Members bills were introduced but failed, principally because the Members of Parliament who had originally pushed the act through the Commons had been elevated to the Lords and were in a position to oppose them. The legislation continues to generate resentment.

Further Reading: Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Helen J. Self

STREET-BASED PROSTITUTION. Street-based prostitution involves someone who solicits or negotiates sex outdoors—for example, on the street or in some other outdoor venue, such as a boardwalk, pier, or parking lot. Outdoor prostitution is more common in warmer than in colder climates.

Street-based prostitution is stereotyped as the province of drug addicts, and many street areas include drug sellers and users. However, sex workers on the street are not always involved with drugs. In some places, sex workers of many economic strata are represented on the street. For example, in Germany, where prostitution is legal, men and women who engage in prostitution on the street do so by choice and can move easily between indoor and outdoor prostitution. For them, the difference is not between inside and outside but between addicted or not addicted or, more often, EU citizen and noncitizen.

Street-based prostitutes may be entirely independent and work only when they choose to do so, but their work can also be surprisingly structured. **Tippelzones** were outdoor prostitution zones with specific hours, regulations, and services in the Netherlands. Some street-based sex workers are part of structured networks including coworkers and **pimps** or other people who are expected to assist in cases of assault or arrest. Such relationships vary and can be mutually beneficial, altruistic, or exploitative. In some cases, street-based sex work can appear to be safer than other sex work **venues**. For example, Jenkins (2005) describes the way Cambodian brothel workers were victimized when they left the brothel for work on an “out-call,” whereas other sex workers, particularly those on the street, were not. The ratio of on-street prostitution to off-street venues (such as saunas, massage parlors, or incall/outcall escort services) varies in cities depending on local law, policy, and custom.

Prostitution on the street, because of its visibility, often receives the most attention from the press, communities, police, and researchers. This research is problematic for some scholars because they think it calls too much attention to street work at the risk of making other sex work invisible. Community concerns about nuisance crimes such as loitering and littering mean police aggressively target street prostitution. **Resident activism** against street prostitution is often a response to increased traffic, litter, and gentrification of areas where prostitution and other activities take place. In some cities, even though police are aware of street-based prostitution, they will only act on it and make arrests if prompted by local residents. As a result, street prostitutes tend to move within a city or travel from one city to another in an attempt to avoid being arrested.

Street-based prostitution often involves women, transgender women, and men for whom few other options exist. They may face more problems with substance dependency, poverty, and unstable housing and may lack opportunities for mainstream employment of any kind, even sub-living wage jobs. These vulnerabilities, coupled with these individuals’ higher visibility,

create an environment in which street-based prostitutes are more likely to face problems such as **violence**, police harassment, and false arrest. A number of factors keep people on the street, even when they would like to leave. Because both drugs and prostitution are illegal in most of the United States, street-based prostitutes are often pulled into the criminal justice system. Once arrested, they may spend time in jail or, less commonly, in drug treatment. As a result of the collateral consequences of incarceration, such as being barred from certain jobs and housing, in addition to the lack of comprehensive and targeted drug treatment, the street prostitute often leaves jail with even fewer options or sources for support than before.

See also Addiction.

Further Reading: Jenkins, Carol. "Cambodian Sex Workers Conduct Their Own Research." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005). <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>; Sterk, Claire E. *Tricking and Tripping: Prostitution in the Era of AIDS*. New York: Social Change Press, 1999; Thukral, Juhu and Melissa Ditmore. *Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-Based Prostitution in New York City*. Web site of the Sex Workers Project of the Urban Justice Center. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>; Weitzer, Ronald. "Prostitution Control in America: Rethinking Public Policy." *Crime, Law & Social Change* 32 (1999): 83–102; Wotton, Rachel. "The Relationship Between Street-based Sex Workers and the Police in the Effectiveness of HIV Prevention Strategies." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005). <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>

Jill McCracken, Juhu Thukral, and Eden C. Savino

STRIPPING. Stripping (also known as striptease or exotic dance) is a continually evolving art form in the contemporary United States. Strippers, or male or female entertainers who disrobe and perform in varying stages of nudity for money, have appeared in many different kinds of entertainment **venues** historically. In 19th-century U.S. cities, striptease shows were indeed often part of an encounter with a prostitute in a **brothel**. But stripping performances were also being given in venues that did not allow contact between the audiences and the performers, including model artist shows, burlesque performances, and "cooch dance" performances, which were first seen at the **Chicago** World's Colombian Exposition in 1893, and in upscale cabarets such as the celebrated Ziegfeld's *Follies*. Some strippers, such as Gypsy Rose Lee, Lilly St. Cyr, Blaze Starr, Maggie Hart and Ann Corio, became well-known celebrities.

Contemporary stripping is also to be distinguished from prostitution because the two occupations are not always synonymous. In its current form, striptease is a specialized service because it is not necessarily coupled with sexual activity: when it occurs in strip clubs, it is a legal form of gendered spectacle and an opportunity for public **voyeurism**—a form of (usually male) sexualized "entertainment." Despite popular beliefs to the contrary, strippers are generally not selling sex to their customers—although they are indeed selling sexualized and gendered services. Regulations regarding contact and the amount of nudity vary around the United States, and thus one finds different kinds of performances being offered in different locales. Dancers may be allowed to strip down to bikinis, to perform topless or with pasties, or to dance completely nude, sometimes depending on whether the club serves alcoholic beverages. Though occasionally only stage performances are allowed, most clubs also allow the dancers to circulate among the customers and offer personal or "private" dances as well as companionship and conversation. Many of these venues may restrict contact but allow table

dances offered to the customers at their seats, either on a raised platform or table or while the woman stands on the ground between the man's knees. Some cities allow lap dancing, or friction dancing, a practice that involves varying amounts of contact between the dancer and the patron and can lead to sexual release for the customer, who may even wear a condom underneath his clothes. Such services may blur the line between performance and prostitution, depending on one's definition of each. Strippers who perform outcall services for bachelor parties and other private engagements, as well as porn stars who travel and perform in strip clubs as feature entertainers, may also blur these boundaries.

Significantly, however, some studies of the male customers of female dancers have found that the men's visits to strip clubs are desirable to them precisely because they do not involve actual sex or prostitution (Frank 1998, 2002). Instead, customers may be purchasing the conversation and attention of young women just as much as they are paying for an opportunity to see their bodies. Further, most entertainers who perform in strip clubs explicitly understand their jobs to be about the creation of a fantasy of access rather than as the provision of actual sex.

Sophisticated arguments have been made for a perspective of stripping as a form of expressive conduct that should be protected under the First Amendment.

See also *Gentlemen's Clubs; Male Stripping*.

Further Reading: Allen, Robert C. *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991; Erenberg, Lewis A. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984; Foley, Brenda. "Naked Politics: Erie, PA v the Kandyland Club." *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002): 1–17; Frank, Katherine. "The Production of Identity and the Negotiation of Intimacy in a 'Gentleman's Club.'" *Sexualities* 1, no. 2 (1998): 175–202; Frank, Katherine. *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002; Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992; Hanna, Judith Lynne. "Undressing the First Amendment and Corsetting the Striptease Dancer." *The Drama Review* 42, no. 2 (1998): 38–69.

Katherine Frank

STROZZI, BARBARA (1619–1677). An extraordinary composer and singer, Barbara Strozzi published eight collections of songs, containing 125 pieces of vocal music that were printed during her lifetime, more than some of her male contemporaries. Her work displays a full range of the musical forms used in 17th-century **Venice**. She was the first female composer to publish significantly and was often referred to as *la virtuosissima cantatrice*, the most virtuosic singer. Born in Venice and raised in a literary and musical household, Strozzi was the adopted daughter of poet Giulio Strozzi, whose family was second in wealth only to the Medici family. Some believe that Barbara was actually the illegitimate daughter of Strozzi and his long-term servant, Isabella Garzoni, herself rumored to have been a **courtesan**. Barbara received formal musical instruction, and by age 16 had already made a name for herself. She is believed to have created the Italian Secular Cantata, a musical form for a chorus or soloist based on a religious text, and one that developed a new way of expression in music. Though her first informal vocal performance was at the Accademia degli Incogniti, Strozzi sang in many important academies of her day. Her presence was considered scandalous because women generally did not attend. It caused such great interest that her chastity was questioned and it was rumored that she was a courtesan. She

never married, but gave birth to four children, three of whom she had with her father's colleague and friend, Giovanni Paola Vidman.

Further Reading: Bowers, Jane, and Judith Tick, eds. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987; Jelic, Diane Peacock, and Elizabeth Wood, eds. *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found*, 2nd ed. New York: Feminist Press, 1993; Magner, C. *Barbara Strozzi: la Virtuosissima Cantatrice*. <http://www.home.earthlink.net/~barbarastrozzi/index.htm>

Anne Marie Fowler

SURVIVAL SEX. *See* Transactional Sex

SYPHILIS. Syphilis is a congenital or **sexually transmitted infection** that has prompted the regulation of prostitution for nearly 500 years. The historiography of syphilis has been greatly influenced in recent years by social and cultural studies in the history of medicine. Although syphilis has traditionally been associated with the early modern affliction called the “French Pox” or the “French Disease,” historians have been increasingly reluctant to conflate the two in recent scholarship. Despite its etymological origins from Girolamo Fracastoro’s 16th-century pastoral poem about the affliction of an eponymous shepherd, this reluctance to use retrospectively the term “syphilis” recognizes that the epidemiology and symptomatology of the two may not be identical, whether because they were in fact different maladies or a single disease that may have mutated over time.

The French Disease

Traditionally identified as syphilis, that which was most commonly known as the French Disease (*morbis gallicus*) or Pox was, according to most accounts, first recorded in 1493 and 1494 among the French troops laying siege to Naples at the onset of the Italian Wars. (The French rejected this aspersion in favor of an alternative name like the “Italian disease.”) Its seemingly sudden appearance in epidemic form at the end of the 15th century encouraged a search for its origin; in fact, a 1524 medical treatise listed more than 200 possible names for the affliction, each citing another geographical source. Symptoms of the Pox (French or otherwise) included fever, achy limbs, and pervasive skin ulcers. Although its etiology was not fully understood, the association of sexual intercourse with the diffusion of the ailment was quickly observed. Venetian chronicler Marin Sanudo noted in one of the first accounts of the affliction in 1496 that the disease began at the genitals before and during intercourse but was not otherwise contagious (except perhaps congenitally, he seems to have interestingly observed, given that he reported that children were also rumored to suffer from it). Traditional historiography has cited the advent of the French Disease as one of the key factors in the subsequent crackdowns on European prostitution beginning in the 16th century, although it is unclear whether the new reform-minded, sexually conservative mentality of the time had a greater influence.

Beyond Europe, the epidemic seems to have arrived in Japan by 1512, carried by Chinese sailors to Nagasaki. Called the “T’ang sore” or the “Chinese ulcer,” within a few decades its venereal character was likewise recognized by the name *karakasa*, or the “Chinese pleasure disease.” Although the illness was still clearly associated with an “Other,” a Jesuit missionary writing in 1585 interestingly recounted that the Japanese did not, however, regard the ailment

as a social **stigma**, but rather as a disease like any other.

Treatment

This new malady was supposed to be very difficult to cure, but it was rarely fatal. Early treatments involved oil baths and various unguents but soon veered toward the use of mercury, which contemporaries believed would encourage the purgation of the pollution. Though highly toxic, mercury apparently could retard the spread of the disease and thus persisted in antisyphilitic salves and draughts into the 20th century. In addition, the discovery in the Antilles of *guaiacum*—also known as “holy wood”—for syphilis treatments encouraged Europeans finally to designate the New World as the original source of the infection because many believed it was only natural that a cure would originate in the same location as the disease itself. (The debate about the American origins of syphilis continues to this day.)

Syphilis

Shakespeare, in *Henry IV, Part 2 Act 2 Scene IV*, wrote this salty and punning exchange about venereal disease between Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet, a prostitute.

FALSTAFF (...) How now, Mistress Doll!

MISTRESS QUICKLY Sick of a calm; yea, good faith.

FALSTAFF So is all her sect; an they be once in a calm, they are sick.

DOLL TEARSHEET You muddy rascal, is that all the comfort you give me?

FALSTAFF You make fat rascals, Mistress Doll.

DOLL TEARSHEET I make them! gluttony and diseases make them; I make them not.

FALSTAFF If the cook help to make the gluttony, you help to make the diseases, Doll: we catch of you, Doll, we catch of you; grant that, my poor virtue grant that.

DOLL TEARSHEET Yea, joy, our chains and our jewels.

FALSTAFF 'Your broaches, pearls, and ouches:' for to serve bravely is to come halting off, you know: to come off the breach with his pike bent bravely, and to surgery bravely; to venture upon the charged chambers bravely,—

DOLL TEARSHEET Hang yourself, you muddy conger, hang yourself!

Modern Syphilis

“Syphilis” did not appear as a frequent medical term until the 18th century, and only in 1905 was its cause discovered to be a spirochete, *Treponema pallidum*, that enters the body usually through the mucus membranes, where it incubates for between two to four weeks before producing a chancre near the infection site. After this first phase, about one-third of modern-day subjects develop multiple sores on the skin and internal organs during the second stage, and in the rarer late or third phase, the lesions may destroy tissues throughout the body, causing neurological or cardiological damage should they attack the nervous or cardiovascular systems. Only the development of commercially available penicillin in the 1940s finally permitted a consistent, effective treatment regimen.

Contagious Disease Acts

Fears of syphilis in the 19th and 20th centuries tended to encourage a demonization of the women thought to be carriers, more often than condemnation of sexually promiscuous men. When, for example, the British military estimated a syphilis infection rate of around 369 per 1,000, the British government responded with the **Contagious Disease Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869**. As a result, prostitutes in certain military garrison towns throughout Britain and the Empire were required to register with the police and undergo a medical examination for venereal disease. If they were found to be infected, they were incarcerated in a quarantine (or “lock”) hospital until cured. Likewise, any woman even suspected of soliciting (no probable cause was

required), if she refused to submit to a genital (**speculum**) exam (accepting the examination was tantamount to a confession of prostitution), could be arrested. Increasing popular dissent over the next two decades, spearheaded by activist **Josephine Butler**, eventually led to the repeal of registration and to legalized prostitution in Britain in 1885 (although the Contagious Disease Acts continued to be enforced elsewhere in the Empire until the early 20th century).

Syphilis Today

In 1972, the U.S. Public Health Service admitted to having conducted human experiments for 40 years, not on the effectiveness of various cures, but rather on the progression of untreated syphilis in nearly 400 African American men in Macon County, Alabama. Perhaps 100 individuals may have died as a consequence of what subsequently became known as the infamous “Tuskegee Experiment.” As a result of this public disclosure, a class action lawsuit awarded more than nine million dollars to the study’s subjects, as well as free medical and funeral services. The Centers for Disease Control was given the responsibility of administering these health services, not only for surviving participants, but also for wives, widows, and children who had been infected in the course of the experiment. In addition, new regulatory norms were imposed on the ethical treatment of human subjects, and in 1997, President Bill Clinton extended a formal apology on behalf of the country to the survivors.

Syphilis cases in developed nations seemed to be on the decline in the late 20th century. The rate of primary and secondary syphilis in the United States, for example, dropped by nearly 90 percent between 1990 and 2000, to the lowest levels in nearly six decades. But the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have reported that cases have slightly increased annually in the early 21st century, inspiring the additional concern that syphilis may increase from two to five times the risk of transmitting and contracting HIV. Although syphilis among women seems to have instead dropped, more than two-thirds of the new syphilis patients in 2001 were men. Debate continues regarding the significance of this increase in infection rates. Some experts fear that present diagnostics could be inadequate, suggesting that standard syphilis tests may give not only false-positives but false-negatives as well. On the other hand, it appears from U.S. urban public health data that syphilis rates also seem to increase and decrease in regular cycles, perhaps as those previously infected develop a temporary immunity, and thus worries that the disease is spreading rapidly in the United States and Europe mainly as a result of greater complacency about safer sex practices may be unfounded.

See also Research Ethics; Scapegoating.

Further Reading: Beck, Stephen V. “Syphilis: The Great Pox.” In *Plague, Pox and Pestilence: Disease in History*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1997, pp. 110–15; Centers for Disease Control. “The CDC Tuskegee Syphilis Study Page.” <http://www.cdc.gov/nchstp/od/tuskegee/index.html>; Foa, Anna. “The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494–1530).” In *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, pp. 26–45; Gould, Stephen Jay. “Syphilis and the Shepherd of Atlantis (Renaissance Poem about Syphilis Attempts to Explain Its Origins; Genetic Map Revealed in 1998).” *Natural History* 109 (October 2000): 38–42, 74–82; Jones, James H. *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment*. New York: Free Press, 1981; Kohn, George Childs, ed. *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001; Laughran, Michelle A. In “The Body, Public Health and Social Control in Sixteenth-Century Venice.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of

Connecticut, 1998, pp. 57–104; National Library of Medicine, “Visual Culture and Public Health Posters: Venereal Disease” <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/visualculture/venereal.html>; Quérel, Claude. *The History of Syphilis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986; Watts, heldon. *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 121–66.

Michelle A. Laughran

T

TAN BAZAR. The Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition, in collaboration with Smarajit Jana, formerly of the **Sonagachi Project**, began a sexual health initiative in 1994 at Dhaka's Tan Bazar, the largest and oldest brothel in Bangladesh. However, after a sex worker named Jesmin was murdered at the brothel in 1999, local authorities began pressing for its closure. Later that year, a police raid permanently closed the facility and evicted all workers, for the purpose of their social rehabilitation. The Sonagachi Project organized sympathy demonstrations, and Tan Bazar sex workers organized a union called Shonghoti ("collaboration"), which successfully won a court case to reopen the brothel. Tan Bazar, however, remains closed.

See also South Asia; Unions.

Further Reading: Ahmed, Julia. "Health Impacts of Prostitution: Experience of Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition." *Research for Sex Work* 4 (2001): 8–9. <http://www.med.vu.nl/hcc/artikelen/ahmed.htm>

Ananya Mukherjea

TEA HOUSES. *See* Geisha; Venues and Labor Forms.

TEL AVIV. Prostitution and **trafficking** in women in Israel predates the establishment of the state in 1948. In Jerusalem, prostitution increased under the rule of the Turkish Empire during **World War I**, with the number of women who worked as prostitutes growing in subsequent years. On one hand, large numbers of British troops were stationed in Palestine, and on the other, waves of migrants, including a few thousand widows, divorcees, and single women, some of them with children, were flowing into the area. Many women were not able to find work, and those who did were not able to support themselves and their children on their pay. During the same period, prostitution in Tel Aviv was concentrated around the seashore and the boardwalk alongside it. In the 1990s the phenomenon of trafficking in women for the purpose of prostitution began in Israel.

Currently, while there are some Israeli sex workers, many women who are victims of trafficking are involved in commercial sex in Israel, with an estimated (by police) 98 percent of them being foreign women. They are primarily trafficked from Uzbekistan, Moldova, the Ukraine, and Russia. Today there are a few thousand prostitutes. (The population of Israel is approximately seven million.) Estimates of the number of women who are trafficked into Israel every year range between 1,000 and 3,000. The women are primarily located in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Eilat, and Beer Sheva, with the largest number located in Tel Aviv. Their presence is felt most strongly in south Tel Aviv where one can find brothels open for business 24 hours a day. Victims of trafficking suffer from **violence**, threats, and **rape** by traffickers, smugglers and clients.

The penal code in Israel specifically prohibits pimping, solicitation for the purpose of prostitution, the managing of **brothels**, and trafficking. However, social norms carry more weight than the law, use of the services of a prostitute enjoys widespread legitimacy in Israel, and a strong distinction remains between prostitution and trafficking, including a misunderstanding of the concept of trafficking. Most people and most law enforcement agencies believe that if a woman agrees to work in prostitution, she is not a victim of trafficking, regardless of abuse or intolerable working conditions. As a prostitute, she is not deemed to be deserving of protection. According to estimates, one million visits a month are made to brothels. In Tel Aviv, although prohibited by law, dozens of brothels are open to the public in the vicinity of two major police stations. Tel Aviv, as the largest center of flesh trade in Israel, is sometimes considered "the brothel of the Middle East." In the Middle East, Tel Aviv is the only city that displays the sex trade publicly, with no religious, legal, or moral holdbacks.

See also Migration and Mobility.

Further Reading: Amnesty International. "Israeli Government Must Stop Human Rights Abuses Against Trafficked Women." <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/engMDE150242000>; Kantorowicz, Liad. "Discrimination and Sex Work in Israel-Palestine." *\$pread* (Spring 2005): 20–21; Specter, Michael. "Traffickers' New Cargo: Naive Slavic Women," *New York Times*, 11 January 1998; Vandenberg, Martina. *St. Petersburg Times*, 13 October 1997.

Nomi Levenkron

TEMPLE PROSTITUTION. See *Ancient World*; *Devadasi*; *Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World*; *Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary*.

TEMPORARY MARRIAGE. Temporary **marriage** is a contractual relationship entered into by a man and a woman for an agreed period of time. It is often considered a form of prostitution because the women in these arrangements receive money on dissolution of the union. Temporary marriage was a common feature of many premodern societies in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the institution remains operational in some countries today.

Temporary marriage was known to the peoples of the Middle East well before the advent of Islam. The practice, known as *mut'a* in Islamic texts, was so common that the prophet Muhammad did not at first prohibit it, deeming it a preferable alternative to more illicit sexual relations for pilgrims, soldiers, and other men enduring extended separations from their wives. Men, married or unmarried, could enter into *mut'a* unions with unmarried, divorced, or widowed women. The only stipulation was that a woman could not be married, temporarily or permanently, to more than one man at once, whereas men could simultaneously maintain four permanent wives and an unlimited number of temporary wives. Witnesses were not necessary to solemnize tem-

porary marriages, but the duration of the union and the amount of money owed to the woman concerned were required to be fixed before the marriage could be consummated. Furthermore, although *mut'a* marriages differed from permanent marriage (*nikah*) in that the purpose of the former was expressly reserved for sexual enjoyment and the latter for procreation, the children of both types of marriage were perceived as equal in social standing and inheritance rights. The Sunni sect of Islam later outlawed *mut'a* on the grounds that the specific circumstances under which Muhammad had allowed the practice were no longer extant, whereas Shiite law has continued to recognize temporary marriages.

The practice of temporary marriage was also prevalent throughout **Southeast Asia** in the premodern period. Local elites would incorporate foreign traders, usually Chinese, into existing socioeconomic networks largely based on familial relationships through temporary marriages with their female relatives, clients, or slaves. Women were responsible for day-to-day marketplace transactions; they were usually related to persons in remote areas with access to a greater selection of raw materials or specialized goods, and their connections to powerful local men enabled them to facilitate trade. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, European traders also engaged in temporary marriages, lasting from a single rainy season to five years in duration, with local women in Southeast Asian **ports**. The women would have their everyday expenses met, learn new languages and customs, and receive cash settlements on the dissolution of the marriage, thus increasing their repertoire of skills to offer their next liaison. Some women in Southeast Asia arranged their own temporary marriages.

Europeans accepted the institution of temporary marriage in Southeast Asia with such ease because of precedent in their own cultures. The Celtic peoples of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales practiced a form of temporary marriage known as “hand-fasting” until the 18th century. According to this custom, men would choose female companions at local fairs with whom they would cohabit for one year and one day. At the end of this period, during which both parties were perceived as a legitimate couple, they could either marry in earnest or separate without reprisal. Until the 18th century, there was no **stigma** attached to a woman who had been a temporary wife in Southeast Asia. Status was actually increased as a result of temporary marriage with Europeans. Multiple sexual partners did not immediately impact the status of women in the premodern period, although this certainly contributed to their construction as exotic and licentious in later periods.

European men came to prefer slave women as temporary marriage partners in Southeast Asia because they were more likely to be obedient, were used to fulfilling sexual and domestic roles without exerting their rights as wives, and were less likely to have recourse to family in the event of mistreatment. Women living as slaves in the households of powerful local men contributed to the incomes of their masters by manufacturing textiles or preparing food later sold in markets. They were also sometimes used as sexual currency, offered to their masters' guests as gestures of hospitality and goodwill. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the association with slavery, perceived as a dishonorable, and the confusion of temporary marriages with prostitution lowered the status of the temporary wife in Southeast Asian societies.

The institution of temporary marriage has been almost universally devalued since the 19th century. *Mut'a* has become synonymous with legalized prostitution in many Islamic countries. Sex workers claim to be Shiite practitioners of *mut'a* so as to avoid prosecution during the frequent crackdowns on prostitution in Pakistan. Elsewhere in **South Asia** and the Middle East, young girls are tricked into consenting to a *mut'a* union with a rich man, only to discover that their marriage certificate was falsified and their “marriage” lasted only as long as the consummation. Women who voluntarily enter into *mut'a* marriages are perceived as advertising that they

are no longer virgins and as therefore bringing shame on their families. Temporary marriages continue to be contracted in Southeast Asia between local women and foreign men living in the region. Often, the women who engage in these marriages are perceived as prostituting themselves in return for having their expenses and those of their children met regardless of whether there is genuine affection between the parties.

Some Islamic commentators have heralded the existence of *mut'a* as an alternative to perceived Western promiscuity. In Iran, temporary marriage (known as *sigheh*) has been advocated as a form of Islamic modernization—a reconciling of tradition with the pressures of the younger generation in the face of changing global attitudes toward sexuality.

See also Religion.

Further Reading: Andaya, Barbara Watson. "From Temporary Wife to Prostitute: Sexuality and Economic Change in Early Modern Southeast Asia." *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 11–35; Haeri, Shahla. "Temporary Marriage and the State in Iran: An Islamic Discourse on Female Sexuality." *Social Research* 59, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 201–24; Nagar, Richa. "Religion, Race, and the Debate over *Mut'a* in Dar es Salaam." *Feminist Studies* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 661–90.

Trudy Jacobsen

TENDERLOIN DISTRICTS. "Tenderloin," a late-19th-century term, refers to an urban vice district characterized by visible **brothels**, gambling salons, saloons, dance halls, entertainment palaces, vaudeville halls, and illicit theatres. In **New York City**, areas such as Bottle Alley, the Bowery, **Five Points**, and Mulberry Bend were identifiably tenderloin districts. The more popular a tenderloin district, the more prime the assignment for corrupt police who would, for a price, provide official protection for prostitutes and toleration of prostitution. By 1916, there were 47 fewer cities with operating vice districts according to an American Social Hygiene Association publication. Whenever one vice district shut down, its occupants migrated to another city, to another Tenderloin.

Further Reading: Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

Kate Kramer

TENOFIVIR. Tenofovir is a drug used to treat HIV, and it is being tested for efficacy as a preventative for HIV infection. Sex workers in Asia and Africa have been approached about participating in the tenofovir trials. Sex workers in Cambodia who had been approached about participating in the trial held two press conferences and a demonstration at the 2004 International Conference on HIV/AIDS because they received conflicting and inaccurate information about participation and because no provisions for long-term care for HIV infection or side effects of tenofovir were made for trial participants. In an unprecedented historic moment, a tenofovir trial involving sex workers in Cambodia was canceled by the Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen for **human rights** reasons. Sex workers have participated in many clinical trials, most recently for drugs intended for use in combating HIV. A number of drug trials have not lived up to ethical standards, but this is the first time a trial has been stopped by a protest by sex workers.

See also Research Ethics.

Further Reading: Kao Tha, Chuon Srey Net, Sou Sotheavy, Pick Sokchea, and Chan Sopheak. "The Tenofovir Trial Controversy in Cambodia." *Research for Sex Work* 7 (2004): 10–11; Loff, Bebe, Carol

Jenkins, Melissa Ditmore, Cheryl Overs, and Rosanna Barbero. "Unethical Clinical Trials in Thailand: A Community Response." *The Lancet* 365, 6 May 2005, 1618–1619.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

TERMINOLOGY. The terminology of prostitution is contested and complicated and often serves to reinforce the **stigma** associated with the profession. Some of the terms most often used in the field (both academically and socially) are *prostitution*, *sex work*, and *exchanging sex for drugs or money*. These terms refer to commercial sexual services performed in exchange for material compensation. It is called "the world's oldest profession," and some scholars argue that the concept of prostitution is a relatively modern social construction created as an identifiable concept only within the last 200 years. Laura Agustín (2005), for example, argues that the term and identification of the prostitute was invented to create a pathetic victim who required "saving." Before the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Agustín argues, "the buying and selling of sex was treated as one of an array of social offences ... [and] there was no word or concept which signified *exclusively* the sale of sexual services." During this time period, Agustín asserts, middle-class women created the classifications of prostitution and prostitute in order to have someone to "help"—which not only provided employment for these rescuers, but also provided an activity that made these women feel good about themselves. This construction also created a governmental avenue through which these women were able to pass "down" their own values, which were the middle-class values of the family, to those whom *they* identified as prostitutes. By not questioning the "invention" and construction of the term, those who use it continue to reinforce the stigma associated with this term, which in turn can ultimately hurt the lives of the women and men who participate in commercial sex.

Perhaps, then, these "acts" should be defined as commercial sexual services provided for material compensation. And yet even that definition needs to be questioned. Commercial sexual services, and many other types of services, are exchanged for all types of material compensation. The term *prostitution* makes it easy for the reader to categorize the object of the identification. The terms *prostitute*, *sex worker*, and *victim of sexual exploitation*, among others, in addition to the definition of prostitution (commercial sexual services provided for material compensation), make it easy to identify and categorize certain activities in specific ways. And yet the women, men, and transgendered people who are the objects of this discourse do not easily fall into one category or another. Agustín argues that this category of prostitute, as imposed on a whole person, was never separated out in this way prior to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Before this, prostitution was one "act" among others in which people participated. At this point in history, the act of exchanging sex for material gain became the identifying mark of these people. And yet there are many other aspects in and of their lives. So even to focus on the word—the identification of *an act*—serves to reinforce the stigma and the identification of people who perform this act, among others, in certain ways.

These terms are also contested in discourses within the framework of **feminism**. Although the term *prostitution* is well known and even used by most people, the term *sex work*, initially coined by **Carol Leigh**, is not used as often in laypersons' conversations. Leigh created this term in an attempt to reconcile the reality of her life and the lives of other women she knew with her feminist goals. Ultimately, she was working to "create an atmosphere of tolerance within and outside the women's movement for women working in the sex industry." Words or phrases such as *prostitute*, *sex worker*, or *victim of sexual exploitation* are used within these debates, and the choice

of words reflects the viewpoint of the speaker. But each “choice” ultimately places the object, based on the definitions and assumptions embedded in the terms, within the dichotomy of victim and agent. The actor either is a victim of others’ actions or is his or her own agent of commercial enterprise. Although complicated by many scholars, this victim-versus-agent dichotomy holds fast in many debates. The language positions the speaker on one side or the other of the debate while also positioning the object of the discourse as one who is acting or being acted on. Neither “victim” nor “agent” does justice to the person who is the subject of the discourse.

And yet currently, there are men, women, and transgender persons who are identified as prostitutes, sex workers, or other similar terms. The fact that these words and the transactions these words signify—and do not signify—have been so widely discussed and debated implies that there is a lot still to learn—not only about the transactions and the people who participate in these transactions, but also about the words and their power to define and reinforce these concepts that are so thoroughly contested.

One solution is to continue to talk to the people who are participating in these transactions to better understand how they identify themselves, their actions, and their lives. Rather than being identified by outside groups who have their own political purposes, the people about whom these outsiders speak should be able to identify themselves. And yet simply asking people how they wish to be identified is also political. However, continuing the conversation can encourage a transition from the overtly politicized words of *prostitute* and *sex worker* to new terminology.

International sex “trafficking” is also a highly contested term. According to the **Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000**, international sex trafficking is defined as a commercial sex act that is induced by force, fraud, or coercion or in which the person who is induced to perform such acts has not reached 18 years of age. Based on this concept of trafficking, the sexual acts being exchanged for drugs or money are not consensual. And yet the distinction of offering or withholding consent is not always clear when related to acts of prostitution or sex work. The situations are complicated at best. There are situations in which migrants are tricked into joining the sexual trade but then decide that this is their best option. Others may be aware of the terms of their work but then may find the conditions in which they work unacceptable and are no longer free to leave. Are these cases of trafficking or prostitution? These questions are controversial and complicated, especially as they relate to transnational issues.

Although sex acts exchanged for money have been performed for thousands of years, during the past 10 years within a global, transnational, capitalist context, governments, the media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individuals have increasingly brought this terminology to the world’s attention. The terms are contested because, like the people who supposedly “choose” to perform sexual acts for drugs or money, these people are often defined by only one side of the debate and are often not asked how they wish to be identified or how they understand the situation in which they are participating. Although the definitions of sex trafficking and exchanging sex for drugs or money by choice are very different, various political and academic groups, on the basis of their own moral and political agendas, often conflate the two. And at times, the two are not easily separated. Women and men who are trafficked and forced to perform sexual acts are not free to choose their work and therefore are not identified as sex workers or women and men who trade sex for drugs or money, but as slaves or victims. And women and men who choose to perform sexual acts for any kind of economic gain or security are defined as sex workers.

The language used to identify people who exchange sex for drugs or money is not the language often used by those who are in these positions. The terms ultimately place individuals into

predetermined positions, which then allows outsiders to feel more comfortable in that they can know how to better “act on” the situation. Agustín (2002) argues for a framework of migration studies to think about those who work in sex, domestic, and “caring” services and also advocates identifying these women as migrants, which then “allows consideration of all conceivable aspects of people’s lives and travels, locates them in periods of personal growth and risk-taking and does not force them to *identify* themselves as sex workers (or as maids, or ‘carers,’ for that matter).” The language used to talk about these issues is powerful because it represents people’s lives and actions while also reaffirming ideologies and belief systems about this work that have existed for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Exploring underlying roots and ideologies of these terms encourages a deeper understanding, not only of the language itself, but also of the people who participate in these exchanges.

See also Male Prostitution; Migration and Mobility; Slang; Street-Based Prostitution; Venues and Labor Forms.

Further Reading: Agustín, Laura. “The (Crying) Need for Different Kinds of Research.” *Research for Sex Work* 5 (2002): 30–32; Agustín, Laura. “Helping Women Who Sell Sex: The Construction of Benevolent Identities.” *Rhizomes Neo-Liberal Governmentality: Technologies of the Self and Governmental Conduct* 10 (2005); Agustín, Laura. “Migrants in the Mistress’s House: Other Voices in the ‘Trafficking’ Debate.” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12, no. 1 (2005): 96–117; Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. *Global Women: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002; Leigh, Carol. “Inventing Sex Work.” In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 225–31; Thorbek, Susanne. “Introduction: Prostitution in a Global Context: Changing Patterns.” In *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Global Patterns*, ed. Susanne Thorbek and Bandana Pattanaik. New York: Zed Books, 2002, pp. 1–9.

Jill McCracken

THAÏS. Three famous **courtesans** in the ancient Classical world were named Thaïs. In literature, Thaïs is the name of a main character in the Greek comedy *Eunuchus* (The Eunuch) by Menander (340–290 B.C.E.). She is the prototype of the “hooker with a heart of gold,” and she genuinely cares for one of her young admirers and decides to take him under her wing. Only fragments of Menander’s play are extant, but a Latin language adaptation by Terentius (who died in 159 B.C.E.) has survived.

According to some ancient historians, including Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, 38), Thaïs was also the name of an Athenian *hetaira* who accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition against the Persian empire. In a famous episode, set during a lively banquet in the Persian capital of Persepolis, Thaïs is said to have convinced an inebriated Alexander to burn down the palatial complex, so as to avenge the destruction of her hometown by the Persian king Xerxes, in 490 B.C.E. In 1697, the event was celebrated in English verses (the lovely Thaïs by his side / Sate like a blooming eastern bride) by John Dryden (1631–1700) in *Alexander’s Feast*, an ode for St. Cecilia’s Day that was eventually (1736) reset to music by Georg Frideric Handel (1685–1759). In later life, Thaïs became the mistress and possibly one of the wives of Alexander’s general Ptolemy, son of Lagos (King of Egypt, as Ptolemy I Soter, from 304 on), with whom she had three children.

Thaïs was also the name of a Christian saint venerated in the East (Feast Day: October 8), but not in the Latin West. According to her legend, Saint Thaïs lived in Alexandria, in Egypt, in the 4th century C.E., where she was feted as one of the most admired courtesans and female

entertainers of her day. Her whole life changed, however, the day she met with a Christian hermit, whose name, depending on the source, is given as Paphnutius, Bessarion, or Sarapion, and who converted her to Christianity. Suddenly turning her back on her past life, she withdrew to a monastery in the desert. There, she had herself walled up in a cell, where she subsisted on bread and water and atoned for her sins by spending her waking hours endlessly repeating the same short prayer: "You who created me have mercy on me!" After three years, she was freed from her living tomb and took the veil, but she died within a fortnight.

The traditional story of Thais became known in the West through various channels, including *Paphnutius*, a morality play by the 10th-century German Benedictine nun Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, as well as the *Legenda Aurea*, an authoritative collection of lives of saints by Jacopo de Voragine (13th century), in which she is called Thaide.

In 1890, the French anticlerical writer and pamphleteer Anatole France (1844–1924) published his best-seller novella *Thais*, which immediately became controversial. In it, Thais's path to salvation becomes her spiritual mentor's path to eternal damnation, as he progressively succumbs to her earthly charms, until, in the end, he surrenders to the demon of the flesh, loses all faith, and irretrievably sinks into utter despair. France's version was soon turned into a successful **opera**, *Thais*, with a libretto in blank verse by Louis Gallet (1835–1898), set to music by Jules Massenet (1842–1912). It premiered at the Paris Opera, on March 16, 1894. The work remains on the fringes of the repertory: infrequently staged, it has, however, been recorded several times, and one of its set pieces, the "Méditation" for violin, remains a concert favorite.

See also Ancient World; Desert Harlots; *Hetaera*.

Further Reading: Ward, Benedicta. *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987.

Pierre Marc Bellemare

THEODORA, EMPRESS OF BYZANTIUM (497–548 A.D.). Wife of Emperor Justinian, Theodora was the daughter of a bear trainer in Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey). When he died, she became an actress, the equivalent of a prostitute during that time. At 16, she accompanied an official named Hecebolus to Africa and lived there for four years. She later converted to monophysitism, the belief that Jesus was solely a divine being, rather than both human and divine. She left her profession and returned to Constantinople. Theodora married Justinian after his uncle, Emperor Justin I, repealed an old Roman law that forbade government officials from marrying **actresses**. During the Nike revolt, Theodora proved her leadership ability. Justinian and his advisers had prepared to leave the city, but Theodora addressed the government council saying it would be better to die as a ruler than to run and lose everything. She convinced them to fight and helped save the crown. She and Justinian rebuilt the city and their reconstruction of Constantinople included the architecturally outstanding *Hagia Sophia*, the Church of the Holy Wisdom. Though she did not serve as a joint monarch, under her influence **forced prostitution** became illegal, and women gained more rights in divorce cases. She had homes for prostitutes built as well.

See also Ancient World.

Further Reading: Cesaretti, Paolo. *Theodora: Empress of Byzantium*. New York: Vendome Press, 2004; Evans, James Allen. *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian*. Austin: University of Texas Press,



Sarah Bernhardt, as Theodora on throne. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

with their difficult and unsatisfying task. On the one hand they had to arrest the women, and on the other they had to protect them from **violence**. Also, workers from health and welfare services found it difficult to make contact with the women, to build trust and offer services and interventions to them. These circumstances led to social, health, and drug problems as well as pleading by police officials for the designation of an area where soliciting would be tolerated or even legalized.

Some of these zones had started as tolerance zones; others were official streetwalking zones from the start. The difference between the two is that a tolerance zone is designated by the city council but not formalized in the city bylaws, whereas the streetwalking zones are. In every single case the designation was the result of a complicated, sensitive, and sometimes long process. The most difficult part in each case was to choose a location.

2003; Prioleau, Betsy. *Seductress: Women Who Ravished the World and Their Lost Art of Love*. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Anne Marie Fowler

TIPPELZONES. In the late 1980s and 1990s, eight official zones for **street-based prostitution** were designated in the Netherlands. Distinct from the famous windows and **brothels**, these areas were called Toppelzones (*tippelen* is the Dutch word for soliciting on the street). Before the designation of the zones, city governments repressed street sex work. Other prostitution, such as **window prostitution**, has been legal for a long time, whereas **brothels** were only recently decriminalized for European Union residents. For the sake of public order, the police regularly arrested street prostitutes. As a result, women left the original beat and started soliciting in other parts of town. Inevitably, more residential areas were affected by street prostitution and more importantly by the associated impacts, such as drug-related nuisances and associated **crime** and antisocial behavior such as noise and littering.

This repression caused a lot of tension on the street. In periods of frequent police raids, the women were robbed, raped, and assaulted more often. The police force was not altogether happy

The main criteria for a location for a zone are that it is in a nonresidential area that can provide a reasonable degree of safety for sex workers and that is easy to access by car and by public transport.

Every zone has a shelter, called a “living room,” where sex workers can have a break, drink a cup of coffee, eat something, talk with their colleagues (for instance, exchange the features of the cars of dangerous clients), talk to the staff, and buy or get **condoms** for free. On a number of nights, a medical doctor can be consulted regarding **sexually transmitted infections** and general health issues. Drug use is prohibited in the living rooms.

All the zones had a working area, parking boxes where the sexual services can be provided, either in the zone itself or in the direct environment. There is also space to receive clients who come on foot or bicycle. The working area has proven to be very important for both the safety of the women, given that they do not have to leave the surroundings of the zone for desolate places, and the protection of the public—because sex workers and their clients do not go to residential areas for sexual contact.

The police have a key role in the functioning of the zone. In most cities a special and stable “tippelteam” is formed. This is a small group of policemen and women who control the zone and know the area and the workers. The team checks the zone a few times a night, and team members are on call if the project or sex workers need them. They can visit the living room as guests according to the rules of the living room. The presence of the police in the zone is a strong signal to the clients but also to **pimps** and drug dealers. Outside the zone, the police warn and fine sex workers who solicit.

The zones are managed by the municipalities, which means that the city is responsible for the environment of the zone, the (in some cases daily) cleaning and financing of the parking boxes, for example, and the employment of the police team dedicated to the area. The results from the first scientific evaluation of the Toppelzone showed a decrease in violence against sex workers and an enormous decrease in women in police custody and in other legal measures taken against sex workers. Sex workers reported that the zone and the project resources had a stabilizing effect on their lives and were happy that the zone was far from the drug scene because they did not like working next to their competition.

The earliest established zones (in Utrecht, Den Haag en Nijmegen) have encountered fewer problems than the other zones. The first zones were situated in areas where sex work already took place, whereas the others were especially built for the purpose of streetwalking. All but one of the latter were fenced-off areas, only open during the evening and night hours. The areas where the first zones are located function as normal streets during the day. In a sense the first zones are more integrated in society whereas the others are placed outside “normal” life. This major difference in approach had an impact on the functioning of the zone.

The Toppelzones in the Netherlands have been slated to close between 2002 and 2006 for moral, political, and legislative reasons. Factors leading to the closure of the zones include the visibility of drug addicts who work in the zones. Another factor that has contributed to the criticism of the zones is the changed political climate: there is now less sympathy for marginalized groups of people. In addition, brothels have been legalized. Now that brothels are a legal business, people who are working in the European Union illegally are no longer able to work in the brothels, so many migrants have moved to working in the street zones. Critics of the zones have accused the city governments of running an open-air brothel for illegal workers. This has led to greater vigilance about work permits, repression of the sale of hard drugs, and even the closing

of some of the Toppelzones. Some cities have responded to the presence of migrants in the Toppelzones by officially or unofficially changing the accepted rule that women were not asked to show identification to enter the zones. This was made official policy in Groningen and Utrecht. Migrants soon learned where they were still able to work, but this was also known to traffickers and other criminals. More and more signs indicated that a large number of women in the zones could be defined as victims of **trafficking** and that criminal activities were taking place in some of the zones and their surroundings.

The zoning discussion since 2003 has conflated the zones themselves with complex social problems that predate the zones, including failed drug policies and migration issues. The successful functioning of a zone is dependent on the policies of police law enforcement. Too much police control and too strict enforcement will make the zone unattractive for a large group (especially drug-using sex workers) to work in. Too little law enforcement will create a “free state” or a “lawless area” where criminal activities such as drug dealing and trafficking can occur. So a balance of clear rules for the sex workers with a show of police restraint needs to be achieved. A stable police team that is committed to the zone and the members of which know the women and their situation can provide this balance.

Although street prostitution policies are a local affair, sex work is not. Developments in one city impact other zones. Therefore, a degree of coordination or at least communication between cities that have a zone is necessary.

The experiences in the Netherlands have shown that public order and the safety and health of street workers as well as public health benefit from zoning. Zones are a good solution to the problems associated with street prostitution, but they are also fragile. Political involvement and commitment cannot stop once the zones are established. Social economic changes in society can have immediate and sometimes drastic effects on street prostitution, and the zones should be in the position to respond to these changes. Ongoing involvement and commitment, not from the local government alone but from all parties, are necessary to have and maintain a well-functioning zone.

See also Addiction; Legal Approaches; Migration and Mobility.

Further Reading: Bernstein, Elizabeth. *Economies of Desire: Sexual Commerce and Post-Industrial Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006; Molina, Fanny Polanía, and Marie-Louise Janssen. *I Never Thought This Would Happen to Me: Prostitution and Traffic in Latin American Women in The Netherlands*. Rotterdam: Foundation Esperanza, 1998; Vanwesenbeeck, Ina. “Another Decade of Social Scientific Work on Sex Work: A Review of Research, 1990–2000.” *Annual Review of Sex Research* (2001); Vanwesenbeeck, Ina. *Prostitutes’ Well Being and Risk*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.

Marieke van Doorninck

TO BEG I AM ASHAMED. *To Beg I Am Ashamed*, the alleged autobiography of a London prostitute, “Sheila Cousins,” was published in 1938 in London. Review copies sent out to the newspapers were followed by hostile reactions from the *Daily Mirror*, the *Spectator*, and the *Daily Mail*, all of whom were suspicious of its socially redeeming qualities. A purity watchdog group called the Public Morality Council sent a copy to the Director of Public Prosecutions, resulting in the publishers (Routledge and sons) being visited by the police, who threatened them with “serious consequences” if the book was not withdrawn, a demand with which the publishers

quickly complied. In 1939, the book was reprinted in Paris by Jack Kahané's Obelisk Press, where it sold briskly to the tourist trade. Richards Press successfully published the book at London in 1953 with no further trouble.

The authorship of *To Beg I Am Ashamed* remained a mystery until quite recently, when an examination of the original publisher's records revealed that it was mostly written by Ronald Matthews, "a failed poet," with the assistance of his friend, novelist Graham Greene. Both men were much addicted to the services of prostitutes, and their shared knowledge and experience of "the life" doubtless contributed to the authenticity that the book portrayed.

See also *Memoirs*.

Further Reading: Craig, Alec. *The Banned Books of England*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1962; Sheldon, Michael. *The Enemy Within*. London: William Heinemann, 1994.

Patrick J. Kearney

TOKYO. Since World War II, Japan has experienced rapid industrialization, the 1980s bubble economy, subsequent economic contraction, and radical accompanying shifts in demographics, lifestyle, social organization, and popular culture. Technological developments and the postwar affluent worldviews held by many young Japanese have contributed to, among other things, new types of social and sexual relationships, most conspicuously in the capital of Tokyo, one of the world's largest metropolitan areas. In dealing with prostitution, Japanese law has struggled to keep up with transforming social realities while framing policy appropriate to Japan's status as a developed nation and leading Asian democracy.

Contemporary Japan's sex and entertainment businesses are collectively known as the *mizu shobai* (literally "water business," a linguistic descendant of feudal Japan's "floating world"). Taking advantage of Japan's legal definition of "sex" as penetration, soft-core "pink salons" (*pinku saron*) feature scantily clad waitresses serving drinks and offering massages, with the options of oral sex or assisted masturbation. "Soaplands" (*So-pu*), in contrast, are a full-service combination of massage parlor, bathhouse, and brothel, at which women perform full-body "assisted baths." Previously called *toruko* (for "Turkish baths"), until growing political correctness motivated a name change, soaplands are located throughout Tokyo (and Japan) with high concentrations in Kabukicho and Yoshiwara (Senzoku 4-chome, the city's former pleasure quarter). For many years, soaplands were the mainstay of full-service prostitution, although since the mid-1990s, increased competition has emerged, particularly from budget-price "fashion health" and *este* ("aesthetic salon") massage emporiums and *deriheru* ("delivery health"), outcall massage services.

At hostess bars women earn excellent wages to chat and sing karaoke with men while lighting their cigarettes and topping off their drinks. Hostessing does not necessarily include sex, though at the hostess's discretion, and with the permission of her boss, she may go on shopping trips and dates with a patron, possibly leading to a more intimate relationship. Bars staffed by male hosts also exist, with clients including professional women, housewives, and female hostesses looking to relax. Many hostess bars feature foreign staff, cashing in on the perceived glamour of women from Western Europe, North America, and Australia. Though even the seedier areas of Japan are generally considered safe, a number of foreign hostesses have been raped, and several have disappeared or been murdered. Because most hostesses work illegally on tourist visas, they generally do not turn to the Japanese government when mistreated by their employers.



Neon signs of “pink salons” that promise sexual massage, “image clubs” for role-play and “soapland” bathhouses are seen among bars and restaurants in Tokyo’s Kabuki-cho entertainment district, 2002. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

of naked women. International attention has also centered on novel enterprises catering to fetishists. At image clubs (*imekura*), a variation on the fashion health shops, customers can role-play fantasies in private cubicles with women in costumes such as maid, police, and schoolgirl uniforms in thematically decorated rooms. *Bura-sera* (“bloomer seller”) stores sell schoolgirls’ worn underpants (for around 5,000 to 8,000 yen per pair). *Buru-sera* shops (and for a brief period, vending machines) have operated since the early 1990s, but because the Tokyo municipal government banned such stores in 2004 (though underage sellers remain immune from prosecution), many have gone either under or underground. Some commentators have also expressed concern that for teenage girls selling underwear, this may be a first step toward deeper involvement with prostitution.

Enjo Kosai

Teen prostitution, under the name of *enjo kosai* (“compensated dating”), has stirred up domestic and international debate. In this arrangement, high school-age girls date older men in return for gifts, shopping sprees, or cash. *Enjo kosai* (often abbreviated as “enکو”) emerged with the widespread availability of pagers, cellular phones, and **Internet** access. In the 1980s teenage girls began to meet men through *Tere-kurabu* (“telephone club”), party-line chat rooms, and telephone

Japan’s foreign hostesses received international attention in 2001 when a British hostess in a Roppongi club disappeared and was later found dead. The trial prosecuting her death has continued for several years and includes links to the 1992 death of an Australian hostess and a large cache of **rape** videos. Despite this, conditions for Western women are better than the conditions faced by sex workers imported from **Southeast Asia**, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, and hostessing remains a sizable industry, a popular employment option, and a much-discussed cultural feature. Japan’s brisk traffic in women from a range of locations and across varying strata of the *mizu shobai* has come under increased attention from **human rights** organizations and advocacy groups in recent years.

Japan has also garnered international attention for restaurants with racy gimmicks, such as *no-pan* (for “No panties”) coffeehouses, featuring short-skirted waitresses with no underwear, and specially arranged *nyotai-mori* service in restaurants in which patrons eat sushi off the bodies

message services. In the 1990s these were joined (and partially displaced) by online matchmaking (*deai-kei*) sites on which girls can post their cell phone numbers and by the increasing use of mobile messaging and Internet technology. Japan's national police agency affirms that 97 percent of its **child prostitution** cases involve some form of phone dating services.

Surveys conducted by the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare and by newspapers, university researchers (notably Mamoru Fukutomi of Tokyo Gakugei University), and advocacy groups suggest that *enjo kosai* does exist, though its pervasiveness may often be exaggerated. Estimates of how many Japanese girls have used a telephone service for compensated dating range from 5 percent to as high as 40 percent. Of those engaging in *enjo kosai*, about 25 percent report having sex with their dates, with 25 percent engaging in other sexual contact.

Although debates over *enjo kosai* are part of a larger moral panic concerning the erosion of traditional values (in an early 2005 Internet poll, 84 percent of respondents cited a decline sexual morals among Japanese), interpretations vary widely. Some argue that *enjo kosai* is driven by a craze among young women for luxury brand goods (most famously Louis Vuitton), which can be had by dating older men. In this sense, *enjo kosai* is an alternative to a low-paying part-time job and a way to support the lifestyle many grew accustomed to during Japan's bubble years. Others cite survey responses that evidence a desire to live adventurous teen years before settling into perceived lackluster adulthoods as housewives. Still others describe *enjo kosai* as a reasonable rite of passage through which young woman are socialized, through contact with older men, into the conventions of adult romantic relationships. Fukutomi has observed that some teenage girls perceive their schoolgirl image as itself a kind of brand-name glamour, akin to that of high-end merchandise, that can be exploited. In this sense, *enjo kosai* is one element of the widespread sexualization of young women in Japan, reflected by the slang term *loli-kon*, a truncation of "Lolita complex."

Teen prostitution and promiscuity have fed into broader public health issues, such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and birth control. Gynecologist Tsuneo Akaeda, who has operated a clinic in Roppongi since 1977 and a free counseling booth since 1999, notes high rates of pregnancy (birth control pills only became available in 1999 and remain difficult to obtain) and STIs (primarily chlamydia) among his patients. HIV/AIDS has also become a greater concern, linked to greater promiscuity and the popularity of Southeast Asian sex tours among men. Legal responses to this include a 1999 law making paid sex with someone under 18 illegal, followed by broader legislation forbidding sex with someone under 18 altogether. Since then, there have been several public scandals involving prominent individuals (including athletes, police, and politicians) who have paid for sex with underage women. Despite legislative efforts, *enjo kosai* shows no signs of slowing down. Additionally, recent studies conducted by universities, law enforcement agencies, and ECPAT, an international advocacy group, suggest that it has taken root in other countries, notably South Korea and Thailand.

Kabukicho and Roppongi

Kabukicho and Roppongi represent two prominent but distinct areas in Tokyo's sex trade. Kabukicho, located to the east of the Shinjuku station (Japan's largest train station), features numerous bars, hostess clubs, pornography retailers, peep shows, **sadomasochism** clubs, and street walkers. After the area was leveled by American bombing raids during World War II, a kabuki theater was planned. It was never built, but the name Kabukicho stuck and the area's ambitions as a modern entertainment quarter took off in other directions. After the passage of laws outlawing prostitution in 1956, previously regulated red light districts went under, and Kabukicho

became a haven for officially illegal but tolerated prostitution. Clustered around the northern edge of Kabukicho are “love hotels” (with anonymous check-in, rooms with extensive theme décor, and hourly rates). Also nearby is Shinjuku 2-chome, the center of Tokyo’s gay nightlife, and Okubo, a Korean immigrant enclave.

The Yakuza, Japan’s **crime** syndicate, have always been well represented in Kabukicho, though recent years have seen increasingly public clashes between Japanese and foreign (particularly Japan-born Korean and Chinese) crime organizations, making it one of the more dangerous precincts in a famously safe city. Increasingly visible crime since the mid-1990s has attracted cleanup efforts from the government and law enforcement. Kabukicho’s high percentage of listed foreign residents (around 40 percent) and the high incidence of visa violations has led to the establishment in Kabukicho of a local branch of the Immigration Bureau. Another Kabukicho institution that has received official attention is the formerly ubiquitous group of *kyakubiki* (“customer pullers”), young men who cajole and lure pedestrians into bars (often for surprisingly overpriced drinks they are forced to pay for); police crackdowns since 2003 have thinned their ranks. Although a combination of increased police measures, the installation of extensive street surveillance cameras, and talk of commercial development has made Kabukicho’s future seem uncertain, it remains Japan’s largest and most renowned pleasure district.

Roppongi (“six trees”) is a dense district of approximately two square miles in Tokyo’s Minato ward. As far back as the Edo Era (1603–1868), when it served as quarters for samurai, Roppongi has been a barracks area devoted to housing and training soldiers. This continued through postwar occupation, when the district housed American forces, which contributed to the area’s international atmosphere and demand for nightlife. Roppongi, sometimes called “foreigners’ Kabukicho,” features many nightclubs and hostess bars, centering around the neon-lit Roppongi crossing, the intersection of Roppongi Dori (“street”) and Gaien-Higashi Dori. Some of the more prominent and longer-lived clubs include Lexington Queen, Disco and Night Club, and Gaspanic, impishly named after the 1995 sarin gas incident in the Tokyo subway. Roppongi’s cosmopolitanism also includes more upscale areas, which feature several foreign embassies, the 333-meter-tall Tokyo Tower built in 1959, and, since 2003, the 54-story Roppongi Hills Mori Tower complex. Besides Kabukicho and Roppongi, sex-trade businesses can be found near most major railway stations, many of them enjoying lower rent and less rigorous law enforcement in Tokyo suburbs, such as Machida, and the neighboring prefectures of Kanagawa, Chiba, and Saitama.

Recruitment for sex-industry workers is conducted on the street by aggressive male “scouts” and is also carried out through a number of specialty magazines (some running to hundreds of pages) that attract women with offers of “high-income part-time work.” In addition to generous remuneration, the advertisements often offer such perks as “alibi services,” which provide women employed in the sex trade with spurious employment documents and other forms of assistance to conceal their activities.

See also Tourism, Yoshiwara.

Further Reading: Allison, Anne. *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994; Bornoff, Nicholas. *Pink Samurai: Love, Marriage, and Sex in Contemporary Japan*. New York: Pocket Books, 1991; Louis, Lisa. *Butterflies of the Night: Mama-sans, Geisha, Strippers, and the Japanese Men They Serve*. New York: Tengu Books, 1992; Schreiber, Mark, ed. *Tabloid Tokyo*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2005;

Schreiber, Mark, ed. *Tokyo Confidential: Titillating Tales from Japan's Wild Weeklies*. Tokyo: The East Publications, 2001.

Alex Feerst

TOUCHING BASE. Touching Base is a grassroots Australian community organization that has been bringing together people with disabilities, sex workers, caregivers, advocates, and service providers since 2000. The first event held by Touching Base was a forum in 2001, cohosted by People with Disabilities New South Wales and the Sydney Sex Worker Outreach Project. Touching Base addresses myths, **stigma**, and discrimination that affect the rights of disabled people to access the sex industry or that marginalize sex workers and their work. Touching Base has developed innovative training programs for sex workers to develop specialized skills to work with clients with disabilities and for service providers to gain increased awareness of the sex industry and access issues.

Touching Base has contributed to a cultural shift in Australian disability organizations by highlighting the sexuality of people with disabilities and the professional ethics applied by sex workers in this field. In February 2004, the Governor of New South Wales launched the Web site <http://www.touchingbase.org>. As leaders in a developing field, Touching Base trainers and presenters are sought after to provide stimulating workshops and presentations at local and international conferences.

Saul Isbister and Elena Jeffreys

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC, HENRI DE (1864–1901). Henri Marie Raymond Montfa, Vicomte de Toulouse-Lautrec, eldest son and heir of Count Alphonse-Charles de Toulouse, was born to one of the oldest aristocratic families in France. His parents were first cousins, and he inherited most of the infirmities running in the family and was sickly and physically weak. Having broken both his legs at the age of 12, Toulouse-Lautrec remained crippled for the rest of his life. His legs were disproportionately short and he was only four-and-a-half feet tall. Deprived of participation in typical aristocratic physical pursuits such as hunting and horse-riding, Toulouse-Lautrec overcompensated by passionately studying art. He lived in the center of Parisian bohemia, Montmartre, and painted portraits of the common people as well as social outcasts around him: **laundresses**, prostitutes, singers, and dancers. Toulouse-Lautrec frequented **brothels** as a client, which inspired his series of brothel paintings. His paintings demystify the eroticism of the prostitutes and oftentimes focus on the ugliness where others might find beauty or eroticism. His images of women show them as objects, with elements of perversion or degradation, caricatured in anatomically impossible poses, which psychologically might be linked to his own deformity. Another of his interests was lesbian love. He was known to frequent lesbian bars, observing and painting scenes of lesbian affection, which, unlike his images of heterosexual relationships, lack the usual cynicism. Among these paintings are images of prostitutes sleeping together, kissing, embracing, and enjoying each other's bodies. Lautrec's bohemian life and his heavy drinking led to an early death at the age of 36.

The 1952 *Moulin Rouge* movie depicts the life of Toulouse-Lautrec (played by Jose Ferrer) and features many characters from Lautrec's life. The movie emphasizes the discrepancy between the painter's exquisite art and the misery of Lautrec's life as a crippled alcoholic painter unable to find female company except in brothels.



An illustration of Au Moulin Rouge. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Further Reading: Cooper, Douglas. *Masters of Art: Toulouse-Lautrec*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983; Frey, Julia. *Toulouse-Lautrec: A Life*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1994; Heller, Reinhold. *Toulouse-Lautrec: The Soul of Montmartre*. New York: Prestel, 1997.

Maria Mikolchak

TOURISM. The stereotypical sex tourist is a white Western man in Asia procuring the services of a very young girl. However, Western women also can afford to pay for sex. An example is the phenomenon of gigolos or “tour guides”—young men who go to tourist destinations, such as Bali’s Kuta Beach and now many other places as well, including in the Caribbean and Africa, to pick up Western and Japanese women.

It is clearly easier for both Western and Asian feminists to focus on, and blame, Western “sex tourists” than to acknowledge the local client base (i.e., middle-class husbands, fathers, and so

on) and institutional support of most sex industries. Prostitution is thereby placed outside middle-class feminists’ own families and surroundings. Sex workers themselves are unable to translate financial independence into political power because of the stigma of prostitution and their low status. If the commercialization of sexual desire and pleasure is constructed as sordid and deviant, then these qualities are attached by implication to anyone who “chooses” the occupation.

Many otherwise-staid journals have followed the trend of almost hysterical writing on Asian prostitution. Their articles invariably open with a profile of an extremely young sex worker and a male Western sex tourist. The worker’s story involves being coerced into prostitution when underage and ends with the prostitute becoming HIV-positive:

Sam Nang is not sure how old he is. He thinks he’s nine or ten, but he could be younger with his skinny physique.... Sam Nang has one clear memory. He recalls the night last year when a “rich” foreign man approached him outside a nightclub. (Baker 1995, 15)

Twenty-two year old Chantana has the dark circles under the eyes of a drug user. . . . \$20 and she is yours. She tells the English man inquiring as to her price that he can also bring the Australian on the next stool. There are no rules. All three leave for her room. (Williams 1991, 73)

At ten, Bo was tricked into prostitution.... Bo endured countless Thai and Western men, including many Australians, whom the brothel owner called “kangaroos.” (*Sunday Age*, 18 April 1993 [apparently at 17 Bo was HIV-positive])

Marlon, 12, started his life in Manila as an urchin ... Soon [a man] was sending Marlon to five star hotels where he was sexually abused by foreign tourists. For each encounter he received gifts and some \$20. Most of the money went to the pimp. There are an estimated 60,000 to 100,000 Marlons in the Philippines. (*Asiaweek*, 25 August 1995)

Fourteen year old Mat Srey Mon got her first economics lesson [in] a brothel, and she says her mother sold her there two months ago for \$200. (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 December 1995)

One *Time* special report offers a classic example of such writing, with its “typical” story of a 14-year-old Thai girl sold by her impoverished parents:

When she reached Phuket, a centre for sex tourism, she was forced into prostitution in conditions of virtual slavery until she was rescued last December by Thai police. But they arrived too late; Armine has tested HIV-positive and will die of AIDS. (Hornblower 1993)

And the punch line:

Souls do not count, only bodies, debased over and over, unmindful of social cost or disease. Few corners of the world are immune to the burgeoning sex trade. (Hornblower 1993, 28)

In their analyses, these reports usually blame poverty and North–South inequalities as the cause of oppression and prostitution, typically focusing on Thailand, but recently also crossing borders as Thailand has become a newly industrialized country that imports as well as exports sexual labor. The movement of prostitutes within Asia indicates the effects of the patchy economic boom in creating inequalities within Asia “with Indochina as Ground Zero” (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 December 1995). Elsewhere, Cambodia is described as “the new frontier for international paedophiles” (Baker 1995, 15).

These news media reports claim that American GI dollars have encouraged the boom in Southeast Asian sex industries since the late 1960s. Prostitution has spread through the region as rapacious clients travel to ever more areas for cheap sex. The underlying premises are that the United States is at fault, that the wealth brought home to the villages is somehow not real, and that the villagers should not want televisions and videos. Prostitution has brought devastation, not wealth. For instance, Long et al. (1993: 5–21) report whole regions empty of children and a generation destroyed either by AIDS or by tourists’ passion for maiming and torturing.

Western literature has focused on Western-oriented bars, so that this small part of the sex industry has been exaggerated. There are significant differences between the foreign-oriented business and the indigenous; for one thing female sex workers are often older (rather than young “virgins”) and may have already left a marriage or have some other reason to question or reject the sexism inherent in their own culture.

The bar work environment can form a supportive subculture for these workers, but the foreign customers need not be seen as purely tourists or “sexploiters.” Often, they are long-term expatriates or repeat business visitors. The women are explicitly looking for more than short-time sex for payment and will seek out older, wealthier men for extended relationships (e.g., contract wives or *mia chaaw*) and possibly **marriage**. The women speak of these partners in terms of love and affection, although this has to be seen in the context of cultures of patronage and the material expectations attached to marriage (as in northern and northeastern Thailand). Gigolo, gay, and street-kid sex-work subcultures also involve seeking older patrons.

Frequent repetition has created a popular “truth” about sex tourism, which mounting evidence about the vast predominance of local clients in Asian sex industries is finally starting to displace. It is quicker to refute such myths in the age of instant communication than in the time of the white slave trade.

See also Child Prostitution; Male Prostitution; Migration and Mobility; R&R; South Asia.

Further Reading: Baker, M. “Guilty or innocents?” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 1995; Brennan, Denise. *What’s Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004; Hicks, R. “Women in Tourism: A Case Study of Bukit Lawang.” Honors thesis, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia, 1994; Hornblower, M. “Special Report: The Skin Trade.” *Time* 8, no. 25 (1993): 18–19; Law, Lisa. “A Matter of ‘Choice’: Discourses on Prostitution in the Philippines.” In *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 233–261; Long, F., M. Horsburgh, M. Rodgers, and R. Roberts. *Pleasure in Paradise?: Sex Tourism in Asia*. Sydney, Australia: General Synod Office, 1993; Manderson, L. “Public Sex Performances in Patpong and Explorations of the Edges of Imagination.” *Journal of Sex Research* 29, no. 4 (1992); Murray, Alison J. *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991; Murray, Alison. *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 2001; Odzer, Cleo, *Patpong Sisters: An American Woman’s View of the Bangkok Sex World*. New York: Blue Moon Books/Arcade Publishing, 1994; Sancho, N., and M. Layador, eds. “Traffic in Women: Violation of Women’s Dignity and Fundamental Human Rights.” Manila, The Philippines: Asian Women’s Human Rights Council, 1993; Williams, L. “Harlots and Heroin: A holiday in Hell.” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 March 1991.

Alison Murray

TRAFFICKING. Trafficking involves the movement of persons to exploit their labor. Trafficking in persons is a form of slavery and encompasses debt bondage, peonage, and involuntary servitude. Historically, trafficking of women and children was associated with the capture of young women and girls for **forced prostitution**. Trafficking was originally referred to as “**white slavery**” in the late 1800s when the phenomenon was distinguished from the African slave trade as the sale of women and girls of European descent for sexual servitude. Because of this early definitional connection, many still conflate trafficking and prostitution. The definition of trafficking in persons is still disputed. Some groups, notably a section of the feminist movement, define trafficking as the buying and selling of women and children for sexual exploitation. This definition includes all forms of prostitution, pornography, and any labor in the sex industry and does not require a lack of consent by the women or children involved. This definition assumes that no woman would ever choose to engage in such activity without some form of economic or social coercion. The current international legal definition of trafficking in persons looks not to the industry in which a person works, but to the elements of force or coercion involved in the labor. This definition is much broader, in that it includes forced labor in any industry. However, voluntary consensual labor in the sex industry is not included in this definition of trafficking, given that the element of coercion is central to the current understanding of trafficking.

Trafficking in persons is also often conflated with the smuggling of migrants. Smuggling generally involves one person paying a fee to another person to bring him or her safely across an international border. In this way, smuggling of people is akin to smuggling of drugs or arms. Trafficking of persons may involve the elements of smuggling, but trafficked persons are transported

for the purpose of subjection to labor against their will. The relationship between the trafficker and the victim continues far beyond the act of transportation. Smuggling and smuggling debts are often used by traffickers to gain control over their victims, but in a case of smuggling, the relationship between the parties ends once the smuggled person has reached the agreed destination.

Mobility is a common feature of the sex industry, which can cause confusion between trafficking and smuggling and between trafficking and legitimate forms of labor. Work opportunities in the sex industry often require moving between the mainstream economy in the form of porn work, **stripping**, or lap dancing to criminalized activities of prostitution. Prostitutes may also change their locations frequently, often on a circuit between cities or countries.

As a result, a prostitute who decides to move to another country to increase her or his ability to find work may be considered by some to be trafficked, even if no or coercion was involved.

Actual figures of the numbers of people trafficked vary widely. According to the United Nations, trafficking in persons involves anywhere from 700,000 to 4 million people worldwide and at least 1.2 million children. The U.S. State Department estimates that 800,000 to 900,000 people are trafficked across international borders every year and that 18,000 to 20,000 of those enter the United States (State Department Trafficking in Persons Report 2003). Most of these trafficked persons are women and children. Many of the figures do not distinguish between trafficking of persons for consensual or nonconsensual sexual services or between the sex industry and other forms of labor.

Trafficked people come from almost every country and from almost every background. However, trafficked persons tend to be from more vulnerable populations within a country, such as ethnic or religious minorities, women, children, disabled persons, the poor, or new migrants to urban areas. Newly uprooted populations, such as persons displaced by armed conflict, natural disasters, or political uprisings, are also particularly vulnerable to trafficking. Social or cultural practices that discriminate against women often lead to an increase in trafficking of women from those areas.

Trafficking occurs into all categories of labor. Besides for sex work, people are trafficked for domestic service, agricultural labor, factory or sweatshop work, restaurant work, construction labor, professional services, and more. Trafficked persons may have legitimate work authorization in that country, or they may be undocumented.

Trafficking

"Trafficking in persons (refers to) the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a person by means of the threat or use of force or other means of coercion, or by abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or by the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person, having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."

Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State, Model Law to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Article One, §100 (2003).

"In situations of captivity" like cases of human trafficking, "the perpetrator becomes the most important person in the life of the victim, and the psychology of the victim is shaped by the actions and beliefs of the perpetrator."

—Judith Herman

J. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—From Domestic Violence to Political Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 77.

Traffickers may work alone or as a family, or they may be part of large criminal organizations. Trafficking may also occur within loose networks of people, and legitimate businesses or agencies may unwittingly play a part in trafficking. The United Nations estimates that trafficking in persons is the third most lucrative international criminal enterprise, after smuggling of drugs and arms.

Traffickers gain control over their victims through a wide variety of methods. Some people are kidnapped or physically forced to follow the orders of their traffickers. Some are recruited through agencies in their home country that deceive them by promising them good jobs in a more prosperous country and by arranging for their travel, only to force them to work against their will on their arrival. Others are recruited more informally by someone familiar to them. This person may have experience living and working in another country and may be a family member, a boyfriend, or a person from the same town or village as the victim. Some people fall prey to unscrupulous smugglers who force their victims to work to pay off a smuggling debt after they have entered that country. Some people agree to servitude for a certain period of time to pay for a debt incurred by facilitated transportation and entry into another country. Some children are given to traffickers by their parents or guardians in exchange for money, goods, or promises of education, jobs, and a better life for that child.

Trafficked persons are held in servitude to their traffickers by a variety of methods. Often, the traffickers will confiscate the passports or other documentation from their victims to make it difficult or impossible for that person to leave their situation. Traffickers will often use physical **violence**, such as physical or sexual assault, to gain compliance from their victims. Psychological coercion in the form of threats against the victim or the victim's family are often effective. Threats to turn the person in to police or immigration authorities are common. Coercive debt practices also proliferate. Usually the debt is incurred for the transportation of the person to the promised country or promised work, and the victim is then held in the position by an inability to repay the loan immediately. In some cases, the loans may be paid off and the person freed once the debt is completed. In most cases, the traffickers will use excessively high interest rates, deductions from the victims' pay for inflated room and board charges, or unreasonably high payments to ensure that they will be unable to repay that debt.

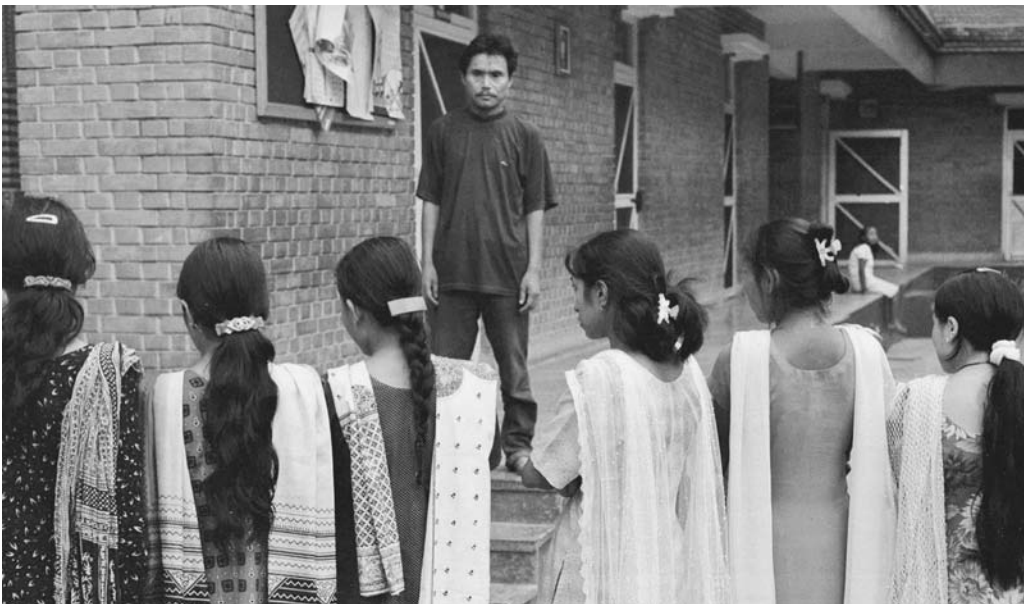
Trafficking is a phenomenon found throughout the world, but trafficking routes tend to follow certain patterns. Poorer regions that have a net outflow of trafficked persons are known as countries of origin or sending countries, and wealthier regions that have a net inflow of trafficked persons are countries of destination or receiving countries. These areas may be within the same country or in two different countries. Certain countries are also countries of transit, where people are trafficked through, but not trafficked to or from. Some countries, such as Thailand or Mexico, are a combination of all three regions; their own citizens are trafficked to wealthier neighboring countries or wealthier regions within the country, and citizens of poorer neighboring countries are trafficked to their economies and through their lands. Conflict areas often have increased trafficking for the sex industry into and out of the region. Women are often made more vulnerable to trafficking in conflict areas, and military bases are often magnets for voluntary prostitution and trafficked women and children.

Because trafficking is an international problem, countries have developed multilateral treaties and agreements to deal with trafficking. These agreements have taken the form of international treaties such as the 1949 Convention on Sexual Exploitation and the **United Nations Trafficking Protocol**. Methods to combat trafficking have also been agreed on in bilateral agreements between individual countries.

Countries have attempted to prevent trafficking through national laws in a number of ways. One is to place restrictions on the travel of certain classes of their citizens, such as young women. In the United States, this took the form of the **Mann Act**, which criminalized the movement of women across state lines for illicit purposes. In Romania, this took the form of restrictions on international travel of young women. Another prevention attempt is the development of laws that specify a criminal offense of trafficking and the subsequent prosecution and punishment of offenders. A third response is the creation of better economic opportunities for people who are vulnerable to trafficking and the launching of public educational campaigns informing people of the problem. Others have required increased documentation from employers in receiving countries before granting exit visas to their citizens, to verify that the employment opportunity is legitimate.

In most countries, few if any protections exist for trafficked persons. Countries often view trafficked persons simply as undesired illegal migrants, or as criminals, particularly if the trafficked person has been working in the sex industry. Most trafficked persons are summarily deported if discovered by law enforcement as illegal migrants; some countries detain them in prison or jails and may charge them criminally for activities such as working without permission or engaging in prostitution. Trafficked persons may also be subject to discriminatory practices on their return home. They may be imprisoned for having been deported from another country, for leaving the country without proper exit visas or permissions, or for having violated the laws of another country. Trafficked persons may also not have sufficient protections from being re trafficked or from suffering reprisals from the traffickers.

A relatively new development in trafficking that reflects the more recent focus on **human rights** protections for trafficked persons is reporting on the phenomenon worldwide by governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Many human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch have researchers dedicated to reporting on trafficking in persons in certain regions of the world. Intergovernmental organizations such as the European Union and OSCE have



Women rescued from brothels in Indian cities line up to identify an alleged trafficker at the Maiti Nepal shelter in Katmandu, Nepal, 2003. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

investigated trafficking within their regions. Governmental entities have also begun to create such reports. Signatories to the U.N. Trafficking Protocol are required to report on their country's efforts to maintain compliance with that agreement. The United States, through the **Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act of 2000**, is now publishing reports on how every country is responding to trafficking in persons. The countries are ranked into three tiers as to the effectiveness of criminal and human rights laws and enforcement of those statutes, and the countries in the third tier are subject to economic sanctions until they meet certain minimum standards for the prevention of trafficking and the protection of trafficked persons.

See also Migration and Mobility; Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda; Appendix documents 17, 18, 19, and 20.

Further Reading: Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women Web site. <http://www.gaatw.org/>; IHRILG Annotated Guide to the Complete United Nations Trafficking Protocol (PDF). http://www.hrllawgroup.org/initiatives/trafficking_persons/default.asp; Skrobanek, Siriporn, Nattaya Boonpakdi, Chutima Janthakeero. *The Traffic in Women*. New York: Zed Books, 1997; Trafficked Persons Rights Project. Introduction to the VTVPA. <http://www.tprp.org/resources/index.html>; United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/>; Wijers, Marjan, and Lin Lap Chew. *Trafficking in Women: Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage Domestic Labour and Prostitution*. Utrecht, the Netherlands: Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV), 1997.

Melynda Barnhart

TRAFFICKING, POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA. Propaganda is a one-sided, fear based, campaign, and the messages within that campaign attempt to subvert both rational processes and the available reasoning and evidence. It is often based in the negative emotions of hate and fear. For propaganda with a negative message, the arousal and creation of fear in the target audience is a necessary but not sufficient part of propaganda. Additional elements are often attempts to subvert rational processes through discouraging thinking about opposing ideas and evidence, attempts to control whom is accepted as a valid source, attempts to hide evidence from public scrutiny, and the biased selection of information.

In the United States and places subject to its jurisdiction, forced labor except as a punishment for a duly convicted crime has been outlawed since 1865 when the Thirteenth Amendment concerning slavery and involuntary servitude was ratified, adding constitutional status to President Abraham Lincoln's freeing of the slaves in 1863. The Thirteenth Amendment prohibits individuals from selling themselves into bondage. Peonage was defined by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1903 as a condition of enforced servitude by which the servitor is compelled to labor against his or her will to pay off a debt or obligation, real or pretended. In a 1988 ruling on the Slaughterhouse Cases of 1873, the Court held that involuntary servitude occurs when the victim is forced to work by the use or threat of physical restraint or physical injury, including threat of coercion through the legal process, but that psychological coercion is not prohibited.

Trafficking in persons is a form of slavery. The U.S. definition of sex trafficking is "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act," with severe forms of such trafficking taken to be sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not reached 18 years of age (U.S. Public Law 106-386 Sec. 103 [8] and

[9]). Thus, sex trafficking involves sexual work that occurs through force, fraud, coercion, or with persons under 18. Minors are forced by definition because they are legally incapable of consent.

Trafficking Allegations as Propaganda

Child prostitution and trafficking in persons arouses great emotional intensity among the public. The intense emotions arising from the discovery of such abuse can and often do lead to a strong desire to rectify the situation and punish the guilty. The strength of these emotions often produces a diminished reliance on cognitive processes and factual evidence among persons immersed in an actual situation of trafficking or child abuse, and consequently leads to a rush to judgment concerning the guilt or innocence of other persons involved. It creates the necessary initial conditions of fear and uncertainty for effective propaganda.

The mere allegation of the existence of child abuse can be and has been used to smear reputations. Such allegations have also served as a propaganda tool to attack political programs, occupational categories, and research results, as well as individuals. Many child care centers, owners, and their employees across the United States were prosecuted for sexual child abuse in the 1980s without credible evidence that such abuse had actually occurred. Many lives and businesses of innocent persons were ruined, and false confessions were obtained from some witnesses. The propagandistic bases of unfounded allegations of child sexual abuse bear similarities to the religious witch hunts in 17th-century Salem and the communist witch hunts of the post-World



Anti-prostitution poster, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. The text reads, “It is necessary to be vigilant (and determined) to check the scourge of trafficking in women and young girls.” Courtesy of Angus McIntyre.

War II period in which known Communist spies such as Ted Hall were not prosecuted, but many innocent Americans were hounded and vilified. Cases of sex workers being branded and killed as witches in some countries have been alleged by the United Nations.

Prostitution and other forms of sex work provide remuneration to women for acts they often perform voluntarily without pay. Conservative elements in many cultures have fought against the concept that sexual work is work, arguing that the only acceptable form of sexual activity occurs within **marriage**. Sexual activity occurring outside marriage, as in dating, is frowned on but allowed to exist. Because dating often involves giving items of value, and the likelihood of sex in the relationship is affected by such gifts, less conservative societal elements may see the exchange of something of value for sex as normal. The political attack by conservative moral forces on prostitution as a social evil that must be eliminated is encumbered by this less conservative view, requiring conservative forces to allege a greater evil to attack sex work successfully. Some conservatives believe that the evils of child prostitution and **forced prostitution** do not have to exist. It is sufficient for propaganda purposes to allege their existence in a given instance. The concepts of prostitution as the source of **sexually transmitted infection** (STIs) and of abuse of sex workers by **pimps** are used in a similar fashion.

Although each of the common bases for political attacks on the concept of sex work—child abuse, force, abuse of women, and disease—do occur in specific instances and often with tragic consequences, some conservative forces see the public's perception of the frequency of such occurrences as related to the level of the public outcry against sex work that can be produced. If the perceived frequency of such evils increases in the public mind over and above the actual frequency, the public outcry can be increased and then used to attack what the propagandists want to attack. Thus, as a form of this propaganda, some antiprostitution activists charge that the concept of "voluntary prostitution" is empty, that prostitution is always forced or coerced. Other such activists invent statistics that have no factual empirical basis, suggesting the existence of large numbers and proportions of sex workers who are children or who are forced into sex work. Abuse of sex workers by pimps is presented as standard operating procedure. Data indicating that abuse of wives by husbands occurs more commonly and with greater intensity than abuse of sex workers by pimps are neither presented nor discussed.

Propaganda through equivocation also occurs, wherein the persons involved in sex work are in fact 17, but the implication of the propaganda offensive is that they are far younger children, in addition to there being greater in number. Western audiences do not perceive Chris as a child molester in *Miss Saigon*, though Kim is only 17. But if an audience could be made to believe her to be far younger then Chris would be so perceived, and the goal of the propaganda would be achieved. Thus, although "child prostitutes" usually means older teenagers, the term is presented and used in propaganda as though it refers to small children. The extent to which the transmission of sexual disease is related to the paid-versus-free status of a sexual encounter is overstated in such offensives, and the "relational bond effect"—the strong tendency of persons to use **condoms** with unfamiliar sexual partners and to avoid them as the relationship progresses—is ignored.

Silencing as Propaganda

In addition to media campaigns based on claims of large numbers of trafficked women and children engaged in sex work, propagandistic tactics have included the use or attempted use of political influence to remove speakers who have an opposing view from the list of those scheduled to testify before Congress and at scientific meetings. Other silencing tactics have included

drowning out and shouting down those opponents who do appear and alleging ethical violations and incompetence by experts with a different point of view.

One form of silencing works through regulations that either outlaw or severely penalize disagreement with the propagandists' stance. Although the First Amendment makes this unconstitutional in America, the second Bush Administration issued regulations requiring all organizations receiving U.S. funding to take an overt stance against all forms of prostitution in order to receive any financial support from the U.S. government. Every group aiding the poor must agree with a particular government policy or face losing its funding. Similar regulations require agreement with the current U.S. government position on **abortion** and needle exchanges.

The propaganda of silencing opposing views prevents scientific evidence on sex work from being presented and diverts attention from empirical studies of trafficking and from well-designed campaigns against trafficking. This leads to a diminished focus on rational means of reducing and eliminating trafficking in women and children and finding actual child victims, thus allowing actual trafficking to escape undetected or go unpunished. The case of Cambodia provides an example.

Beginning in 1998, publications of the Cambodian government, the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and foreign organizations discussing the number of sex workers in Cambodia and the number of children involved in this sex work began vastly overstating the numbers involved, reporting 80,000 to 100,000 trafficked sex workers in Cambodia, some 15,000 of whom were said to be children. In 2000, an intelligence monograph published by Center for the Study of Intelligence, an office of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), cited a briefing held by the CIA in April 1999 as providing a preliminary estimate, on an unstated basis, of at least 700,000 cross border women and children trafficking victims worldwide each year. This number was later modified to 400,000 women and children, out of 800,000 trafficking victims worldwide. The Cambodian Government and United Nations numbers, when considered with the CIA numbers, would mean that potentially 14 to 25 percent of the world's trafficking occurs in Cambodia, which has only 0.02 percent of the world's population. A similar situation occurred in Thailand in 1988, when a worker for one nongovernmental organization issued an estimate of two million sex workers in Thailand, 800,000 of whom were said to be children. These Thai numbers are still cited by Western print and electronic media as accurate although they have been thoroughly discredited by a Thai government investigation of the time as an urban myth. (Steinfatt, 2002a, pp. 108–9)

The publicizing of these numbers diluted the focus on child workers as they actually existed in small numbers in specific places and created an impression of a society gone berserk with paid child sexual abuse. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)–sponsored research (Steinfatt 2002b, 2003) found between 2,000 to 2,500 actual sexual trafficking victims in Cambodia in the early 21st century and 18,000 to 21,000 sex workers, in agreement with AIDS researchers' estimates. When the USAID research was released in 2003, a group of nongovernmental organizations beseeched the British Ambassador in Phnom Penh to intervene with the U.S. Ambassador to quash the USAID research findings. Though a 2004 Asia Foundation International Roundtable on the issue supported the U.S. findings, one nongovernmental organization sponsored a non–research-based paper attacking the USAID results by misstating the methods employed in the research. The NGO then sent a representative to Bangkok, demanding that a scheduled paper identifying

and analyzing their own misstatements be removed from the program of the International AIDS Conference of 2004.

Thus the conditions of propaganda that incorporates fear of sex work and sex workers, subversion of rational processes, and attempts to control who is accepted as a valid source and the nature of what constitutes accepted message content are present in many campaigns against sex work.

See also Abstinence; Appendix document 20; Southeast Asia; Trafficking.

Further Reading: Steinfatt, T. *Working at the Bar: Sex Work and Health Communication in Thailand*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002a; Steinfatt, T. M. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia. Part I of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 2002b. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfcamf3.pdf>; Steinfatt, T. M. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia: A Direct Observation Field Study. Part III of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 2003. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfciiif.pdf>; U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. (2003). *Trafficking in Women and Children in East Asia and Beyond: A Review of U.S. Policy*. Washington, DC: Supt. of Docs., Congressional Sales Office.

Thomas M. Steinfatt

TRANSACTIONAL SEX. Transactional sex occurs when something is given in exchange for sexual services. This term is particularly useful to refer to sexual exchanges that are not necessarily between a professional sex worker and a client. Unlike survival sex, in which people with extremely few resources trade sex for food, shelter, and other necessities, transactional sex can encompass less desperate situations. Relationships that are generally referred to as transactional sex include informally compensated sexual exchanges. For example, transactional sex has been used to refer to some “sugar daddy” relationships in which a woman is supported or given presents by a man with whom she has sex. Participants in such exchanges may not identify as prostitutes or sex workers.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the term “charity girls” referred to young women who engaged in sexual relationships in dating situations so as to be taken to places and do things that would otherwise be outside their means. Although practitioners of transactional sex may be viewed as mercenary **gold-diggers**, they may also use transactional sex as a way to move ahead. This is demonstrated in accounts of sex given in return for school tuition or in some cases leading to long-term relationships, **marriage**, and in some cases **migration**.

Transactional sex is a particularly useful to describe situations involving women who offer gifts or payment to male prostitutes. The term “romance tourism” has been used to describe this phenomenon. Female **clients** seem willing to participate in this exchange but may be less likely to conceptualize it as prostitution, whereas the men they pay are clear about their motivations.

Heather Montgomery (1999) described **child prostitution** in Thailand and pointed out that the children very rarely identified as prostitutes but did acknowledge their transactions and relationships. Nancy Luke and Kathleen Kurz (2002) wrote about transactional sex between girls and older men in sub-Saharan Africa. They noted that gifts such as soap, perfume, dresses, meals out, and jewelry have become symbolic of a girl’s worth and a man’s interest, and girls who do not receive gifts in exchange for sexual relations are humiliated.”

See also Male Prostitution; Terminology.

Further Reading: Luke, Nancy, and Kathleen M. Kurz. *Cross-generational and Transactional Sexual Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa: Prevalence of Behavior and Implications for Negotiating Safer Sexual Practices*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women, 2002. <http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC11364.htm>; Montgomery, Heather. "Children, Prostitution, and Identity: A Case Study from a Tourist Resort in Thailand." In *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999, pp. 139–150; Peiss, Kathy. "Charity Girls' and City Pleasures: Historical Notes on Working-Class Sexuality, 1880–1920." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983, pp. 74–87; Phillips, Joan L. "Tourist-Oriented Prostitution in Barbados: The Case of the Beach Boy and the White Female Tourist." In *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999, pp. 183–200.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

TRANSGENDER SEX WORKERS. Transgender people are disproportionately represented in the sex industry because of employment discrimination that severely limits the economic options of many people who do not conform to standard ideas of male and female gender. "Transgender" is an umbrella term used to refer to identities, expressions, and behaviors that challenge traditional notions of gender and sexuality. Transgender individuals may cross, blur, violate, or transcend the socially constructed division of the world into discrete male/female, masculine/feminine dichotomies. Transgender people do not identify, in varying degrees, with the sex and gender assigned to them at birth. The identity categories that fall under the transgender umbrella include cross-dressers, transgenderists, drag queens, drag kings, transsexuals, genderqueers, and others. Members of the transgender community may or may not seek contra-gender hormonal therapy, sex reassignment surgery, or other cosmetic surgery procedures in an attempt to live in congruence with their preferred gender role. Here are definitions of some of the more common terms.

Cross-dressers, sometimes referred to as "transvestites," are individuals who dress, on a part-time or occasional basis, as members of a gender that does not match their assigned birth sex. Usage of "transvestite" has fallen out of favor because of its excessive clinical, fetishistic, and psychiatric connotations. Reasons for cross-dressing vary widely. Most cross-dressers are heterosexual men, many married with children. Reasons for cross-dressing include sexual release, expression of an alternate gender role, relaxation, and enjoyment of femininity.

Transgenderists are individuals who live full-time in their preferred gender role and may pursue hormonal therapy but do not want or need sex reassignment surgery (SRS). Transgenderism is another point along the gender continuum whereby people live as a gender other than the one assigned at birth but still retain elements of that original gender designation.

Transsexuals are people who desire not only to live full-time in their preferred gender role, but also to have their bodies changed via surgery to make their gender identities and bodies congruent. There are both female-to-male (FTM) and male-to-female (MTF) transsexuals. Transsexuals are often said to be suffering from "gender dysphoria" because there is a fundamental and persistent incongruence between their sex and their gender identity. Transsexuals often do everything possible to live comfortably in congruence with their gender identity. "Gender dysphoria" may change to "gender euphoria" as individuals are able to outwardly express the person inside that they have had to hide for decades because of shame and bigotry. Although some trans

people may seek hormones or SRS to become a woman or a man, other trans folks may identify as neither male nor female, or as both.

The genderqueer movement seeks to destabilize traditional roles of male and female and open up space for gender fluidity and multiplicity. *Genderqueer* refers to individuals or groups who “queer” or problematize the dominant notions of sex, gender, and desire in a given society. Genderqueers possess identities that fall outside of the widely accepted sexual binary. *Genderqueer* may also refer to people who identify as both transgender and queer (i.e., individuals who both challenge gender and sexuality regimes and see gender identity and sexual orientation as overlapping and interconnected). Authors such as Kate Bornstein and Leslie Feinberg have both criticized the enforcement of a strict gender binary and endorsed the need for acknowledgement and celebration of the rich tapestry of gender expression found in society.

Transgender Life Experiences

The period during which people change their gender from male to female or from female to male is known as “transition.” Although going through transition can be an exhilarating time because the individuals are finally living in harmony with their internal self, it also can be very difficult. Those who break the mold of traditional gender face a variety of serious life challenges.

Transphobia is the irrational fear and hatred of all individuals who transgress, violate, or blur the dominant gender categories in a given society. Transphobia is intimately related to **misogyny** and heterosexism. The hatred of women and the hatred of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals, are forms of gender oppression that may be found under male supremacist patriarchal societies. Transphobic attitudes (such as sexism and homophobia) lead to massive institutional discrimination against gender-variant persons. Such discrimination may manifest itself in the following ways:

1. Employment discrimination. Transitioning on the job can be very challenging for trans people. Often, employers are ill-equipped to correctly deal with a transitioning employee. Trans people report discrimination on the job, and many are fired or demoted after they transition. In addition, finding gainful employment is still a serious concern for trans people. Many employers do not want trans individuals working with their clients, customers, students, or other business acquaintances.
2. Familial rejection. Trans people may be rejected by family members. Trans youth who come out may be rejected by their families and even ejected from the home. This can cause them to wind up on the streets and to become homeless. Although some spouses or partners of trans people stay in the relationship, others leave. The loss of a partner’s love and support after many years can be devastating to a trans individual.
3. Housing discrimination. Trans people may have difficulty finding housing as a result of unfounded assumptions by landlords. It is often assumed that trans people are criminals or that they work in the sex industry. **Stigma** against sex workers coexists with transphobia. Trans people may be seen as a “negative” element, the presence of whom will bring down property values or cause a neighborhood to gain a negative image.
4. Police brutality. Although some police departments have received sensitivity training and are better equipped to deal with transgender people, harassment and brutality directed against the trans community by police officers continues. Harassment of trans sex workers can include physical and sexual assault. Transgender people whose gender expression does not match their state-issued identification may be singled out for harassment as well. There is a history of police harassing, baiting, and accosting of transgender

people. Transgender people historically were treated horribly by police when gay and lesbian bars were raided before the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion, the watershed event that sparked the queer liberation movement. Trans women were often sexually assaulted by police and humiliated by entire departments. In addition, they were, and still are, often placed in men's facilities, exposing them to abuse and **rape**.

5. **Religious persecution.** A transitioning person faces a range of potential treatment from his or her church, synagogue, or mosque. This could range from receiving warm and wholehearted acceptance to being asked to leave and never return. Transgender people face harassment from religious institutions for similar reasons that gays and lesbians do. Some religious doctrines state that cross-dressing or changing one's sex is sinful or evil. Such doctrines state that trans people have no right to change their god-given gender. This type of attitude can take a toll on trans people and cause them to question their religious and ethical beliefs.

6. **Violence** (sexual assault, hate crimes, verbal abuse, physical threats, intimidation). It is estimated that approximately one trans person per month is murdered in a hate-motivated attack. The Web site of the Remembering Our Dead project lists transgender people who have died because of antitransgender hatred and prejudice. Many victims of transphobic violence are MTF, young, and people of color. Some are workers in the sex industry. Some cases involve men having sexual relations with MTFs. Many such perpetrators claim that they discovered the person's biological maleness during or after the sex act and that this caused them to go "berserk." This "gay panic" defense is used by defense attorneys attempting to exonerate their clients. Transgender people are often brutally killed—stabbed multiple times or shot execution style. Trans people also face sexual assault and domestic violence.

7. **Culturally incompetent medical and psychological care.** Many trans people, especially in rural areas, receive inadequate medical and psychological care. Providers may be unfamiliar with the unique needs of trans clients and, even worse, may discriminate against them. FTM Robert Eads, whose story is told in the poignant documentary *Southern Comfort* (2001), developed uterine cancer and was unable to find doctors willing to treat him because he was a transsexual. Psychologists may also serve as gatekeepers and refuse individuals the authorization needed to access hormonal therapy or sex reassignment surgery.

All of these serious issues can compound the challenge of living as a transgender individual, and each problem can contribute to isolation and be a factor in an individual's entry into the sex industry. A middle-aged MTF transsexual, for example, can face multiple losses during gender transition. She may lose her job, her spouse may leave her, a custody battle may ensue, economic hardships may become serious, and so on. This loss of family and economic stability, coupled with social stigma and bigotry, can lead to a variety of physical, mental, and psychological health issues. Some possible examples include depression; social isolation (loss of friends, spouse, children, parents); substance abuse; suicidal ideation or attempts; use of "black-market" hormones; use of industrial-grade silicone, including dangerous "pumping parties"; self-injury (cutting, for example); and unsafe sex or promiscuity (which could expose the individual to AIDS and other **sexually transmitted infections**).

Further, because of rampant employment discrimination, some trans people may find their job options extremely limited. One way to survive is through participation in the sex industry.

Teens ejected from their homes by transphobic parents, for instance, may find themselves on the street and engaging in survival sex. However, the situations faced by trans people are diverse. Although some may opt for participation in the sex industry out of sheer financial need or desperation, others have more agency in their choices and emerge as empowered sex workers.

The Sex-Industry Worker

The term “sex worker” refers to an individual who earns money by providing sexual services. Like “transgender,” the term is an umbrella term to refer to a broad range of sex-industry work, including the work of prostitutes, porn performers, nude models, strippers, peep-show dancers, professional dominatrices, erotic massage providers, phone sex workers, and more.

Carol Leigh, also known as Scarlet Harlot, coined the term “sex work” to avoid some of the negative connotations of words such as “prostitute.” To Leigh, the term “sex worker” is “a feminist contribution to the language. The concept of sex work unites women in the industry—prostitutes, porn actresses, and dancers—who are enjoined by both legal and social needs to disavow common ground with women in other facets of the business.... The usage of the term ‘sex work’ marks the beginning of a movement. It acknowledges the work we do rather than defines us by our status” (230). The term “transgender” emerged from within the gender-variant community. Unlike “transvestite” and “transsexual,” which are hegemonic, psychiatric terms of reference, transgender is a grassroots term of empowerment and community pride. Similarly, “sex worker” emerged from someone working in the field, and it promotes unity among and between sex workers and functions to destigmatize those engaged in sex for pay.

In our erotophobic and sex-negative culture, individuals working in the sex industry have been stigmatized, discriminated against, and seen as social outcasts and deviants. The terms “slut” and “whore” speak of the pejorative ways that sex industry workers are seen in U.S. society. Because of a patriarchal social structure, women are expected to be chaste, virtuous, and virginal. Expressions of bold, assertive, and “promiscuous” sexuality are condemned by religious and cultural institutions. Many forms of sex-industry work, including prostitution, are illegal in most of the United States. Prostitutes are often arrested, humiliated, and physically and sexually abused by police.

As a result of this persecution, sex workers have organized to demand liberation and empowerment for their community. These efforts have included attempts to decriminalize prostitution and to improve the image of sex workers in the media and in society. Although other countries such as The Netherlands and Germany already have legal recognition for prostitutes, the United States has remained steadfast in its opposition to commercial sex work.

Transgender Sex-Industry Workers

Transgender sex workers engage in many different areas of the sex trade, including being escorts, **call girls** and street-based prostitutes, phone sex operators, strip show performers, and actors in pornographic adult **films**. Trans street prostitutes may work alongside their genetically female counterparts, or there may be a specific section of the city that is known for having trans women offering sex. Trans exotic dancers may “pass” as female and work along side genetic female strippers, or they may work in venues or shows that cater to customers who seek trans dancers. Transsexual woman Rosalyne Blumenstein detailed her experiences working as a peep show dancer at Les Gals in **New York City**: “In the Peeps, anything went as long as there was money to be made on it. ‘Changes’ [transsexuals] were allowed to work with the other women but I still didn’t want to be identified as a ‘Change.’ There was also a peep show specifically for

women with penises. They were marketed as ‘she-males.’ The adult industry used that term even though many of the women didn’t identify with that negative idiom” (139).

Pornography is a multibillion dollar a year industry in America. In any pornography outlet, there is a wide variety of different categories of pornography available for purchase. These different genres, both print publications and videos, include heterosexual, gay male, and “girl-girl” porn, **sadomasochism** porn, and porn featuring a host of different fetishes. One genre of pornography that is a mainstay in many pornography stores is known as “she-male.” This pornography is also known as “chicks with dicks,” “dolls with balls,” “TV/TS,” and even “transgendered performances.” Although seemingly a small segment of the overall pornography market, this “she-male” pornography is available across the country and globe in pornography retail stores, and it is also widely obtainable online. Both print publications and videos and DVDs are available for purchase and feature transgender women engaging in various sexual acts; the target consumer is almost exclusively nontransgender, heterosexual men. Very little has been written about this subgenre of pornography, and it seems to both intersect with and part company from gay male and heterosexual pornography. The term “she-male” is an invention of the sex industry, and most trans women find the term abhorrent.

Although the vast majority of trans porn features male-to-females, there is a growing body of sex films featuring FTMs. *Linda/Les and Annie: The First Female-to-Male Transsexual Love Story* (1990) is a 32-minute “docu-drama” created by Al Jaccoma, Johnny Armstrong, and **Annie Sprinkle**. It tells the story of a relationship between performance artist and former porn star Annie Sprinkle and FTM transsexual Les Nichols, nee Linda Nichols. There is also a full-length porn film by Asian American transman Christopher Lee entitled *Alley of the Tranny Boys* that puts the graphic sexuality of transmen center stage, as does the recent film *Tranny Fags* by FTM Morty Diamond. *Enough Man* by FTM Luke Woodward features nine FTMs being interviewed about their sexuality and engaging in explicit sex acts for the camera. Buck Angel is one of the most visible FTM porn stars and a successful entrepreneur who runs a Web site (transsexual-man.com) and produces his own videos (*Buck’s Beaver*, for example).

Representational strategies are based on different political, social, and cultural ideals. Some believe that promoting pleasurable trans sex in films is an absolute priority in making people see and appreciate trans bodies and trans pleasure. The idea is to make people expand their limited paradigms regarding sex, gender, and sexuality by forcing them to leave their comfort zone and see transgressively gendered bodies engaged in subversive sexual acts.

Most “she-male” porn is directed by non-trans men and produced for the enjoyment of straight-identified men with a particular “fetish” interest. Gia Darling, a MTF porn veteran, is trying to create sexually explicit films that are more respectful of trans women: “Behind most portrayals in tranny porn are men, and there’s a lot of ‘you dirty-ass-whore’ this, ‘you-cum-eating slut’ that. When I direct a tranny girl porno, I am representing transsexual women, I am representing myself. I take that seriously” (Taormino). Even newer is a groundbreaking porn film featuring sex between an MTF and an FTM. Directed by Gia Darling and starring Buck Angel and MTF star Allanah Starr, it promises to be a cutting-edge sexual representation.

Transgender sex industry workers face many of the things that their non-trans counterparts do: police harassment and brutality, arrests and possible imprisonment, violence from unstable johns, and physical or mental health issues resulting from societal stigmatization. However, transgender sex-industry workers also face specific challenges and issues:

- ♦ Dealing with disclosure of one's gender status to potential clients
- ♦ Transphobic bashings and hate crimes when the birth sex is discovered
- ♦ Brutal harassment from police, including expectation of "sexual favors," sexual assault, and humiliation
- ♦ Stigmatization from the middle-class, or bourgeois, trans and gay community who share cultural disdain for sex industry workers
- ♦ Social service agencies that are unaware of trans issues, identities, and communities
- ♦ Gender segregation in homeless shelters, domestic violence shelters, prison holding cells, public restrooms, juvenile detention centers, and so on
- ♦ Refusals by gender-identity clinics and other "gate-keepers" to assist trans sex workers in their transition, thus withholding much-needed hormones and surgery and forcing sex-industry workers to go to "underground" sources
- ♦ Predominance of black-market hormones and industrial-grade silicone used by MTF sex workers to make their appearance more feminine and marketable
- ♦ Lack of health insurance, job protection, and other benefits
- ♦ Being seen as sexual fetishes by some clients who engage trans prostitutes or use "she-male" pornography
- ♦ Lack of trans-specific outreach for HIV/AIDS education and treatment
- ♦ Dealing simultaneously with the double stigma of being trans and a sex-industry worker in a transphobic, sex-negative culture

Although these challenges are real and often difficult, trans sex industry workers also report many positive aspects to their work. These positive features can include the following:

- ♦ They can gain access to other trans community members through their work.
- ♦ Individuals may be able to earn good money, especially if they are struggling; to find employment in the "straight" world due to transphobia.
- ♦ Individuals have a sense of autonomy and of running their own business.
- ♦ Individuals have access to a diverse range of sexual experiences.
- ♦ Trans women may feel validation for their appearance or beauty from clients in a culture that regularly invalidates them as "fake," "ugly," or "unnatural."
- ♦ Trans men may enjoy interaction with gay and bisexual male clients who find them attractive and validate their masculinity.
- ♦ Trans people value their work, and some find it fun and enjoyable.
- ♦ Non-trans people get to interact with trans people in an intimate encounter and see their humanity up-close and personal, thus breaking down barriers.
- ♦ Trans sex-industry workers may unite with non-trans sex workers and allies in a fight for the **decriminalization** of sex work and civil rights for all gender and sexual minorities.

Global Trans Sex Work

Trans people are engaged in sex work all over the globe for several reasons. Everywhere, there is a market of individuals who wish to purchase sexual services. In particular, there is a subcategory of (mostly) heterosexual-identified men who wish to sexually engage with MTF trans women. These men often find trans women powerfully sexy, alluring, and "exotic." Secondly, trans people across the globe continue to face massive discrimination and oppression. The situation in some Latin American countries, for instance, is particularly serious. Trans prostitutes are

regularly murdered, assassinated by police, illegally held in police custody, tortured, and mutilated. Because of prejudice and discrimination, the only professions open to trans women in some countries are in sex work, hairdressing, and female impersonation.

Transphobia also combines with economic impoverishment, which is a result of **globalization** and (post)colonization. Many transgenders in Brazil, known as *travestis*, move temporarily or permanently to European cities such as Milan or Paris to engage in the sex industry there. They can make more money there than in their home country, and there is a class of European men who desire sex with MTF Brazilian transsexuals. In **South Asia**, the transgendered and intersex persons known as *hijras* frequently engage in prostitution for economic survival. **Sex tourism** is an international phenomenon and often contributes profoundly to the local economy.

As in the United States, all over the globe, trans people are demanding their right to a dignified life free of discrimination. Transnationally, transgenders work together for their **human rights** and freedom from violence, harassment, and oppression. Trans women have been known to play active leadership roles in sex-worker activism in the United States and abroad. Sex work is not “the problem” faced by trans people; rather, the problems are pervasive discrimination, impoverishment, and unsafe working conditions.

Some social workers, researchers, and activists have allied themselves with trans sex workers in creating nondiscrimination policies that ban discrimination on the basis of gender identity and expression at the local, state, and national levels as well as in supporting efforts to decriminalize or legalize prostitution at the local and national levels. This is intended to increase job and housing options for transgender people and to reduce the violence faced by transgender people, especially transgender sex workers. There is still a great need to educate social workers and social service providers about the specific needs and experiences of trans and sex-working clients. Trans sex workers continue to be underserved and marginalized by social services, including life-saving HIV/AIDS education programs.

As mentioned, transgender sex workers have produced and performed in films that depict their situations. The best of these include *Yapping Out Loud: Contagious Thoughts from an Unrepentant Whore* (2002), a performance by Mirha Soleil Ross, and historians Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman's *Screaming Queens: The Riots at Compton's Cafeteria* (2005). These cultural productions serve to educate the mainstream society about the realities of trans people and sex workers and demystify their experiences and counter distortions and stereotypes.

See also Migration and Mobility; Murder; Patriarchy.

Further Reading: Amnesty International. *Stonewalled: Police Abuse and Misconduct against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in the US*. New York: Amnesty International, 2005. <http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/document.do?id=ENGUS20050922002>; Blumenstein, Rosalyne. *Branded T*. 1st Books Library, 2003; Bockting, Walter, and Sheila Kirk, eds. *Transgender and HIV: Risks, Prevention, and Care*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth, 2001; Boles, J., and K. W. Elifson. “The Social organization of Transvestite Prostitution and AIDS.” *Social Science and Medicine* 39 (1994): 89–93; Bornstein, Kate. *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women and the Rest of Us*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995; Cullen, J. “Transgenderism and Social Work: An Experiential Journey.” *The Social Worker* 65, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 46–54; Feinberg, Leslie. *Stone Butch Blues: A Novel*. Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1993; Feinberg, Leslie. *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996; 519 Church Street Community Center. “The Happy Transsexual Hooker.” Toronto: 519 Church Street Community Center. <http://www.the519.org/programs/trans/index.shtml>; Gender Identity

Project Web site. http://www.gaycenter.org/program_folders/gip/index_html/program_view; High Risk Project Society Web site. <http://mypage.direct.ca/h/hrp/>; Israel, Gianna, and Donald Tarver, eds. *Transgender Care: Recommended Guidelines, Practical Information, and Personal Accounts*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998; Kulick, Don. *Travesti: Sex, Gender and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; Leichtentritt, R. D., and B. D. Arad. "Adolescent and Young Adult Male-to-Female Transsexuals: Pathways to Prostitution." *The British Journal of Social Work* 34, no. 3 (April 2004): 349–374; Leigh, Carol, aka Scarlot Harlot. "Inventing Sex Work." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997; Nemoto, T., et al. "Social Context of HIV Risk Behaviors Among Male-to-Female Transgenders of Color." *AIDS Care* (August 2004): 724–735; Network of Sex Work Projects Web site. <http://www.nswp.org/>; Pettiway, Leon E. *Honey, Honey, Miss Thang: Being Black, Gay and on the Streets*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996; Prieur, Annick. *Mema's House, Mexico City: On Transvestites, Queens, and Machos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; Remembering Our Dead Web site <http://www.gender.org/remember/>; Schifter, Jacobo. *From Toads to Queens: Transvestism in a Latin American Setting*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 1999; Sycamore, Matt Bernstein. *Tricks and Treats: Sex Workers Write About Their Clients*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2000; Taormino, Tristan. "Havin' Buck for Breakfast: On the Set of the Groundbreaking Transwoman-Fucks-Transman Porno." *The Village Voice*, 1 September 2005; Wilchins, Riki, Joan Nestle, and Clare Howell, eds. *Gender Queer: Voices from Beyond the Sexual Binary*. Los Angeles: Alyson Publications, 2002.

Films: Aparicio, Carlos, and Susana Aiken. *The Salt Mines*. Frameline, 1990, 47 minutes; Aparicio, Carlos, and Susana Aiken. *The Transformation*. Frameline, 1995, 58 minutes; Davidson, John Paul. *Boys from Brazil*. 1993, 69 minutes; Finch, Nigel, director. *Stonewall*. Fox Lorber, 1999, 99 minutes; Gibson, Alex, and Kirk Streb, directors. *Transgender Teens*. Discovery Health Network, 2003; Goldman, Henrique. *Princesa*. Strand Releasing, 2002, 96 minutes; Goldson, Annie, and Peter Wells, producers. *Georgie Girl*. Women Make Movies, 2001, 69 minutes; Lifshitz, Sébastien, director. *Wild Side*. 2005, 93 minutes; Livingston, Jennie. *Paris is Burning*. Buena Vista Home Video, 1990, 78 minutes; Owens, Brent, director. *Downtown Girls: The Hookers of Honolulu*. A Home Box Office (HBO) Production, 2005, 53 Minutes; Patton, Parris, director. *Creature*. Seventh Art Releasing, 2001, 76 minutes; Stamp, Nicole, director. *Yapping Out Loud: Contagious Thoughts from an Unrepentant Whore*. V-Tape Distribution, 2002, 74 minutes; Stryker, Susan, and Victor Silverman. *Screaming Queens: The Riots at Compton's Cafeteria*. KQED Television, 2005, 57 minutes.

Joelle Ruby Ryan

TRANSEXUAL. See **Transgender Sex Workers**.

TRANSVESTITE. See **Transgender Sex Workers**.

TVPA. See **Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA)**.

U

UKIYO-E. Japanese late medieval (Edo period, 17–19th centuries) color woodblock prints called “pictures of the floating world” (*ukiyo-e*) have never been as highly esteemed in Japan as they have been in the West. During the 18th and 19th centuries, *ukiyo-e* was popular among low- and middle-class people; it was a part of the hedonistic culture of entertainment that flourished in the capital city of Edo (now **Tokyo**) and, to a lesser degree, in Osaka and Kyoto. As Asai Ryoï wrote in *Tales of the Floating World* (*Ukiyo-monogatari*, 1661), “Living for the moment ... drinking wine, caring not of poverty, drifting like a gourd along the stream—this is what we call the floating world.” The images of this world were of leisurely lighthearted entertainment: picnicking, travels, and Sumo wrestling, but most of all, of Kabuki theater and beautiful women (*bijinga*). The latter became the most popular genre of *ukiyo-e* prints, and with few exceptions, these women were **courtesans**—from exquisite **geishas** to low-class streetwalkers. *Bijinga* (literally “pictures of beautiful people”) included a certain proportion of male prostitutes shown as young boys or transvestites. *Ukiyo-e* is rather unique in the history of art in that the women portrayed are mainly prostitutes.

A combination of socioeconomic, political, and religious reasons led to the eminence of the prostitutes’ images in *ukiyo-e*. City dwellers, often well-to-do middlebrow folks of humble origin, were politically deprived and restricted in the rigid society with limited opportunities for social, class, and geographic mobility. Often they had to channel their time and money to a rather narrow range of spare-time activity, such as theater and pleasure quarters. Also, there was a chronic shortage of women in Edo (in some periods the ratio of men to women was 10:1), and sex never had serious connotations of sin. So catching the fleeting pleasures of life basically meant having fun with the fleeting beauty of prostitutes. Prostitutes were considered the very embodiment of the transient world in its Buddhist sense. On a certain level they were closer to the real understanding of the impermanence of life than the major population was because they had less attachment to worldly things—no family, no property, and no permanent relationships, but a succession of transient guests. All this made prostitutes in the traditional Japanese society



Japanese Ukiyo-e print. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

a counterpart of monks or even the incarnation of religious deities, like bodhisattva Fugen. Often prostitutes were called *Daruma*—after a semi-legendary founder of Zen Buddhism, who was a popular subject in erotic prints (“A Prostitute as Daruma” and “Daruma Crossing the River to Visit Yoshiwara Pleasure Quarters,” for example).

Pictures of beautiful women served several purposes in Edo society. They were first seen as illustrations in erotic books (in the fiction genre [*ukiyo-zoshi*], in books on prostitutes and **brothels** [*keisei-mono*], or in sex manuals known as “pillow-books”) at the end of the 17th century. Later they were compiled in albums and series of loose leaves (often 12 pictures in a series). They served as promotional pictures of prostitutes in description of **Yoshiwara** brothels and critical catalogs with price lists. Another important use of images of courtesans was as a sexual aid. Men who could not afford to go to the Yoshiwara district frequently would buy a cheap print of a famous geisha and masturbate in front

of it. (Women also used prints with portraits of actors for similar purposes). A number of prints bear these “human stains” left by sloppy or ecstatic users. All in all, the cultural atmosphere in Edo Japan made prostitutes, or at least the upper ranks of them, the glamorous objects of desire.

Images of prostitutes and other erotic pictures were called *shunga* (“spring pictures”), *makura-e* (“pillow pictures”), *higa-e* (“secret pictures”), or *abuna-e* (“dangerous pictures”).

Most prominent artists of ukiyo-e dedicated themselves to depicting prostitutes and erotic scenes. The father of ukiyo-e, Hisikawa Moronobu (1618/25–1694), left black and white prints with entertainments in Yoshiwara. In the early period (up to the 1760s), prominent artists were the Kaigetsudo family; Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671–1750/1), who illustrated numerous *keisei-mono* books; and Ishikawa Toyonobu. Around 1765, Suzuki Harunobu (1725–1770) invented polychrome “brocade” prints (*nishiki-e*) and depicted extremely young, slender prostitutes, female and male, often distinguishable only by some minor details of their dress or hairstyle. (Around that time young prostitute boys [*yaro*] who worked in special *kodomo-ya* [“boys’ houses”] outside of Yoshiwara, were fashionable.)

The end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries was the best period for ukiyo-e on the whole and for the *bijinga* genre in particular. Many artists, of whom **Utamaro** was the most important, worked at that time. Not so gifted artistically but influential as a writer, Kitao Masanobu (aka Santo Kyoden, 1761–1816) wrote and illustrated about 15 books on

brothels and depicted many famous prostitutes with remarkable psychological introspection. That he found each of his wives, O-Kiku and O-Yuri, in brothels perhaps contributed to his intimate knowledge of the subject. Kikugawa Eizan (1787–1867), who was recently attributed with a famous book, *Niku Buton* (“The Mattress of Flesh,” c. 1820), his pupil Keisai Eisen (1790–1848), an extremely prolific author of erotic prints, and Hokusai (1760–1849) left their important marks too.

There are numerous and varied iconographic types of depiction of prostitutes and scenes in pleasure quarters, from innocent outdoor views with geishas’ processions on Nakanomachi (the main street in Yoshiwara) to coital scenes with greatly emphasized and oversized private parts. Often many seemingly innocent details bear hidden symbolism, such as bare feet with slightly bent toes showing a little from underneath the hem of a kimono, which was considered highly suggestive. A girl walking along the street and biting a corner of her headscarf was advertising her passionate temperament—during sex she had to bite something to keep from moaning and groaning too loudly. A wad of tissues tucked at her sash

represented the readiness for sex—by being prepared to wipe her partner and herself after the job. Numerous crumpled tissues scattered on the floor implied a long, steamy orgy. A rolled straw mat under the arm of a street beauty identified her as in the lowest rank of streetwalkers, unaffiliated with any bordellos, who had to perform under the sky, always ready to unroll her portable mattress. There is an extensive floral symbolism; for example, very often in the background of sexual scenes, a branch of plum blossom, associated with sex, is present, or a willow tree at the background demonstrates a submissive role of a woman under it.

Prostitutes and the culture of mercenary carnal pleasure found their ultimate artistic image in the phenomenon of ukiyo-e, and such representation is unparalleled in art history. Many celebrated Japanese artists can only be properly understood through consideration of their involvement with *bijinga* and *shunga*.

Further Reading: Hickey, Gary. *Beauty and Desire in Edo Period Japan*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1998; Screech, Timon. *Sex and the Floating World*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press,



Japanese Ukiyo-e print. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Japanese Ukiyo-e print. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

1999; Swinton, Elizabeth de Sabato, ed. *The Women of the Pleasure Quarter: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the Floating World*. New York: Hudson Hill Press in association with the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, 1996.

Evgeny Steiner

UNIONS. Sex workers all over the world have organized in order to establish civil, human, and labor rights. Around the world, sex workers have less autonomy and control in their work than many other workers do. Most sex-worker organizations believe that for autonomy and control to be established, sex work must be seen as a labor issue and must be established as legitimate work.

Thus, some actors in the global movement for sex workers' rights have used the strategy of aligning themselves with the workers' movements or trades unions' movement. Labor rights are at the center of these organizations' demands. They demand the regulation of the sex industry in a way that ensures that sex workers have occupational conditions enjoyed by workers in other in-

dustries. That is, they demand labor rights, sick pay, accident compensation, **occupational safety and health** regulations, and protection from exploitation.

Most sex-worker organizations work in much the same way as unions, even if they do not call themselves unions or are not recognized by the national or international labor movements. They do so by bringing sex workers together and mobilizing and campaigning for rights. For example, The Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (Committee for Co-ordination of Women; DMSC) in India is perhaps the strongest and best-known sex-worker organization. It is better known as **Sonagachi**. The DMSC organizes sex workers and campaigns and negotiates on behalf of its members in much the same way a union would do. It also operates a credit union for its members.

It is difficult to ascertain when the first sex-worker union was established. The tradition may go back to the early 20th century, with attempts in Spain during the nation's civil war.

In the United States, the first successful move toward official unionization came with the establishment of a closed-shop union in a peep show strip club in San Francisco. After repeatedly complaining to management about the lack of security, which allowed clients to photograph and film dancers without their knowledge or consent, some of the dancers at the Lusty Lady

requested support from the Erotic Dancers' Alliance (EDA), a sex-worker advocacy group based in San Francisco that put them in touch with the local branch of the Service Employees International Union. As soon as plans for unionization were announced, management removed the one-way glass that caused the filming and photographing problem. But other problems remained: favoritism toward certain dancers, no sick pay, and dismissal of workers based on ambiguous reasons, to name a few. In 1996 the Exotic Dancers Union was formed, and soon after, its members started negotiating a contract with the company. This proved a tiresome, frustrating, and long task. Some months later, they staged a job action to protest against the slow pace at the bargaining table. "No Pink" consisted of a day during which dancers continued to dance nude but kept their legs "demurely closed." The management responded by firing one of the dancers who took part in the action. The dancers retaliated by picketing the club for two days. After that, the company rehired the dancer it had fired and began to cooperate at the bargaining table—discourse about the need to fire long-term dancers was replaced by an offer of a pay increase.

In Argentina, the association of female sex workers AMMAR (Asociación de Mujeres Meretrices Argentinas) has since 1995 been affiliated with the National Workers' Union CTA (Central de Trabajadores Argentinos). This national union counts 1.5 million members. AMMAR has five branches and offices around Argentina, and it is led by sex workers, although it counts on the help and work of technical and professional consultants. Most of AMMAR's members work in **street-based prostitution**. AMMAR has also established a primary school for its members' children. They now demand government recognition as an official union.

In the United Kingdom, sex workers have entered the mainstream union movement through the affiliation of the collective IUSW with the official general union, the GMB. The IUSW was formed in 2000 and started as a small coalition of sex workers from several sectors of the industry and sex-worker rights advocates who came together to plan a demonstration through Soho, London's red light district, on International Women's Day. The group organized to support a strike in protest against a so-called cleanup by Westminster Council, which was seeking to evict local sex workers. The success of the event encouraged the group to continue its campaigning. The IUSW published a bulletin entitled "RESPECT" (Rights and Equality for Sex Professionals and Employees in Connected Trades). After approaching several existing workers' unions and the Trades Union Congress with no positive results, the group was finally successful in March 2002. By affiliating with the GMB, the British general union and one of the main unions in the United Kingdom, the group automatically became recognized officially as part of the mainstream trades union movement. Thus, sex workers based in the United Kingdom have the right to join an official branch of the GMB, the Sex and Fantasy Workers Branch. All genders and sectors of the sex industry are represented in the branch.

Now sex workers are unionized in other countries such as Australia, the Netherlands, Greece, and Sweden.

Further Reading and Viewing: The International Union of Sex Workers Web site. <http://www.iusw.org/>; *Live Nude Girls Unite!* Documentary, 2000.

Ana Lopes

UNITED NATIONS OPTIONAL PROTOCOL. See **United Nations Trafficking Protocol**.

UNITED NATIONS PROTOCOL TO PREVENT, SUPPRESS AND PUNISH TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS, ESPECIALLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN. See **United Nations Trafficking Protocol**.

UNITED NATIONS TRAFFICKING PROTOCOL. The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (hereinafter, the UN Trafficking Protocol), also commonly referred to as the United Nations Optional Protocol or UNOP), is the primary international agreement addressing the issue of **trafficking**—the transport and trade in human beings for the purpose of exploitation. It is one of three supplementary protocols to the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, along with protocols on the smuggling of migrants and the illicit manufacturing and trafficking in firearms. The Protocol on Trafficking and the main convention were adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 2000 and opened for signature in Palermo, Italy, the following month (the protocol is sometimes referred to as the Palermo Protocol). The protocol entered into force in December 2003, after reaching the necessary forty-state ratifications.

The convention and supplementary protocols were negotiated in response to intense international concern about the threat posed to national security by transnational **organized crime**, including the **crime** of trafficking in persons. During the 1990s, trafficking in persons—and particularly the traffic in women and children for sexual purposes—attracted growing attention from governments and civil society worldwide, resulting in numerous national, bilateral, and regional antitrafficking policies and programs. The UN Protocol on Trafficking represents the first major international agreement on the actions states should take to combat this problem.

Negotiated at the headquarters of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocol on Trafficking are primarily law enforcement documents. State parties are obligated to take a number of steps in areas such as cross-state information-sharing, measures to combat money-laundering and corruption, the criminalization of organized crime groups, and the confiscation of the proceeds from crime. In addition, the protocol and convention include provisions related to assisting and protecting victims and ensuring them access to justice and compensation. These provisions offer a framework for establishing an appropriate state response to the rights and needs of trafficked persons, though the language in such paragraphs is generally vague and nonbinding.

Another important function of the UN Protocol on Trafficking is providing an authoritative international definition of trafficking in persons. Earlier international conventions, such as the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others and the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, condemn trafficking, but without explicitly defining the term. Renewed attention to the issue of trafficking was accompanied by significant definitional debates, and the Protocol on Trafficking responds to some of these disputes.

According to paragraph 3(a),

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs. (A/RES/55/25, annex II)

The protocol thus makes it clear that for an act to qualify as trafficking, persons engaged in the facilitation of **migration** must use some kind of coercive or deceptive tactic. (An exception is

made for children, who are presumed to be trafficked if transported for the purpose of exploitation, regardless of the tactics used.) The protocol goes on to emphasize that if such a tactic is used, the initial “consent” of the victim to the act of migration is irrelevant. And the definition confirms that despite the common emphasis on “sex trafficking,” persons can be trafficked into slavery-like conditions in any labor sector.

However, the protocol does not resolve the most contentious definitional issue—the question of what constitutes “the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation.” The legal status of prostitution and of other commercial sexual activities varies significantly between, and often within, countries. Where prostitution is legal, it may be treated like other labor sectors or subject to additional regulations, such as compulsory medical checks. Where illegal, there may be penalties on all participants and all actions or only, for example, on persons who profit from another’s prostitution or from the act of soliciting clients. Similarly, women’s groups and other nongovernmental organizations hold widely divergent positions on the proper legal treatment of prostitution, and these disagreements have resulted in a sharp divide among those engaged in antitrafficking efforts.

During the drafting of the UN Protocol on Trafficking, state delegates on one side of the debate held that for the purpose of defining trafficking, the term “exploitation” should be reserved for situations in which coercion is used to extract a person’s labor, sexual or not. In this view, migrant women who voluntarily engage in prostitution should not be considered victims of trafficking. (Note that this argument was applied only to adults; there is wide agreement that a child cannot consent to sex work or other types of work understood to be injurious to a child’s health or development.) Other delegates held that all prostitution should qualify as exploitation because it is inherently abusive, and a woman cannot legitimately “consent” to engage in it. The compromise reached between these two positions is described in the protocol’s official interpretative notes (*travaux préparatoires*). According to the notes, “the exploitation of the prostitution of others” and “sexual exploitation” are not defined, and the protocol is “without prejudice to how States Parties address prostitution in their respective domestic laws” (A/55/383/Add.1, note 64).

See also Appendix D, documents 17, 18, and 20; Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda.

Further Reading: Dinan, Kinsey Alden. “Establishing an International Standard for States’ Treatment of Trafficked Persons: The UN Anti-Trafficking Protocol and the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.” In *“To Prevent, Suppress and Punish”: Ideology, Globalization and the Politics of Human Trafficking*, ed. Nancie Caraway. New York: Routledge, in press; Ditmore, Melissa Hope. “Trafficking in Lives: How Ideology Shapes Policy.” In *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2005; Jordan, Ann D. *The Annotated Guide to the Complete UN Trafficking Protocol*. Washington, DC: International Human Rights Law Group, 2002. http://www.globalrights.org/site/PageServer?pagename = wwd_index_49; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and Its Protocols. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Web site http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/crime_cicp_convention.html

Kinsey Alden Dinan

UTAMARO (1753–1806). The Japanese artist, most important master of “pictures of beautiful women” (*bijinga*) on woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*) was born Kitagawa Yuusuke and adopted the name Utamaro in 1782. He worked for the prominent publisher Tsutaya Juuzaburoo and

lived in Juuzaburoo's house opposite the main gate of the **Yoshiwara** pleasure quarters. The images of Yoshiwara women became the major subject of Utamaro's art. Portraits of prostitutes and **geisha** were one of the most popular genres of ukiyo-e for several decades before Utamaro began creating such work, but he perfected the genre. He found in prostitutes the paragon of eternal femininity and immortalized them as highly artistic creatures. In late 1780s he revolutionized bijinga by developing his style of tall and elegant female figures and paying much attention to psychological characteristics of his models. He often depicted only the upper part of the figure ("big heads" type) with an almost empty background and very few details. He did not try to glamorize prostitutes, but rather preferred to show them in various mundane occupations (making themselves up, brushing their hair, taking a bath, drinking, writing letters) and psychological states ("Ten Studies in Female Physiognomy," 1792–93). In "A Collection of Portraits of Reigning Beauties" (1794–95), he showed the most celebrated **courtesans**: Hanaoogi and Takigawa of the ōgiya brothel, Komurasaki of the Tamaya, Hanazuma of the Hyoogoya, and so on. In the series "Five Shades of Ink of the Northern Land" (1794–95), Utamaro depicted five ranks of prostitutes of Yoshiwara (situated at the northern outskirts of the capital, it was frequently called the "Northern Country") from the highest *oiran* to the lowest *teppoo*. The latter is the strikingly expressive portrait of a girl, most probably in the moment of her professional activity: with disheveled hair, exposed breast, and absent gaze and biting a handkerchief (to demonstrate her passionate nature). Utamaro also left numerous erotic works of extremely explicit nature ("Ehon Utamakura" [1788], an illustrated pillow book, and about 90 more).

Further Reading: Goncourt, Edmond de. *Utamaro—le peintre des maisons vertes*. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1891; Kobayashi, Tadashi. *Utamaro*. New York: Kodansha International, 1993.

Evgeny Steiner

V

VENICE. Venice, Italy, was an early center of sexual **tourism**. Initially, however, prostitution there was like prostitution in other contemporary medieval urban centers. Prostitution was considered the lesser of sexual evils, and around the 14th century, prostitutes were permitted to practice their trade in municipal **brothels**, such as the “Castelletto” or the “Carampane” near the city’s primary commercial district surrounding the Rialto Bridge. Prostitutes also worked at other sites throughout the city, leaving a legacy of landmarks, from the *Ponte delle tette* (“Bridge of Tits”) to the *Calle della donna onesta* (“Alley of the Honest Woman”). By the turn of the 16th century, the perception had developed that prostitution was particularly prevalent in Venice; though almost certainly an exaggeration, in 1509, prolific Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo reported that the city’s prostitutes numbered in excess of 11,000 (or approximately 10 percent of the estimated population).

The perception, if not the reality, that prostitution had exceeded acceptable limits in the city encouraged waves of governmental legislation and repression throughout the 16th century. In 1539, the city’s public health magistracy, the *Provveditori alla Sanità* (meaning the “Overseers of Health”), was granted jurisdiction over the city’s prostitutes in addition to the magistracy’s authority over the poor and over urban disease-control measures. By order of these public health officials, all prostitutes who had arrived within the last two years were required to depart the city, and those who remained were forbidden from living too close to churches or entering them at those hours when they were also frequented by women of “good and honest condition”; they were also forbidden from keeping female domestic servants under the age of 30 in their homes. Although the extant mid-16th century documentation indicates that prostitutes were indeed prosecuted for infractions of these regulations, the success of the regulations’ enforcement is certainly questionable, considering that, beginning in this period, Venice became more famous—not less—for its sexual tourism. According to the anonymous, satirical 1535 poem “Price List of the Whores of Venice” (“*La tariffa delle puttane di Vinegia*”), a foreigner claims to have come to the city to assuage his “famine of fornication” with the great variety of prostitutes who reside there, “some of whom live in grand houses and some of whom live in warehouses.” Indeed, a social hierarchy of prostitution

was already evident, from the city's famously cultured high-class **courtesans** to public prostitutes registered in the municipal brothels to those operating illegally in neighborhoods all over the city to the lowest ranks of streetwalkers. Throughout the early modern period, the Venetian Republic periodically attempted to eliminate these distinctions, together with any temptation courtesans' luxuries might present to "honest" women, through extensive sumptuary legislation. Starting in at least 1416 with the injunction that prostitutes and procurers should wear yellow scarves to identify themselves, sporadic laws throughout the 16th and 17th centuries also attempted to limit their wearing of silk, gold, silver, lace, and pearls.

Although earlier 16th-century Venetian literary sources already extolled the city's sex trade, the first major recorded instance of sexual tourism in Venice was French King Henri III's 1574 visit to the city, at least in part to meet the famous Venetian courtesan-poet **Veronica Franco** (whose fictionalized biography was brought to the big screen as *Dangerous Beauty* in 1998). In 1608, in his travel memoir *Crudities*, Englishman Thomas Coryat claimed that "so infinite are the allurements of these amorous Calypsoes, that the fame of them hath drawn many to Venice from the remotest parts of Christendom." Even as the republic's status as a major political and economic power was on the wane, the city's continued role both as an obligatory stop on the Grand Tour and as a major seaport ensured the persistence of a vigorous sex trade beyond the 18th century until well into the 20th. As Alexandre Saint Disdier insisted in his late-17th-century **guidebook**, it was unclear whether Venice or else Rome boasted the most courtesans, but sometime after 1728, Baron de Montesquieu lamented that a great number of Venetian women

lived and dressed like princesses, without any other source of income other than "this traffic." Throughout the 18th century, until the fall of the Republic to Napoleon in 1797, prostitutes were still forbidden in legislation to promenade through Saint Mark's Square, to attend plays or casinos without a mask, to live on or else travel in procession by gondola on the Grand Canal, to wear jewelry, or to otherwise demonstrate their wealth with expensive apartments or possessions, such as opulent furniture.

Although the profession of courtesan seemed to disappear after the fall of the Venetian Republic (because courtesans could no longer depend on the patronage and protection of powerful local noblemen to mediate the city's regulations), from Italian Unification in 1860 until 1958, Venice's brothels nevertheless remained open and legal under Italian law. When, on September 20, 1958, the Italian Republic officially outlawed brothels under the "Merlin law" (named after Lina Merlin



Sixteenth-century painting of a courtesan, by Vittore Carpaccio. The Art Archive / Galleria Borghese Rome / Dagli Orti.

[1889–1979], the socialist senator who sponsored the legislation), around ten “closed houses” (*case chiuse*) or “houses of tolerance” (*case di tolleranza*) were still operating in the city, handling clientele ranging from students, military draftees, and sailors to the elite. After 1958, some of these sex workers transferred to a handful of clandestine brothels throughout the city, whereas others decided to move to an area near Saint Mark’s Square called Corte Contarina, which had been associated with Venetian prostitution since at least the 16th century and where they continued to work publicly as streetwalkers until the 1970s. Today, the local sex trade is practiced primarily by non-Italians and occurs principally on the mainland, facilitated there by the availability of automobiles.

See also Clothing; *Grandes Horizontales*.

Further Reading: Barzaghi, Antonio. *Donne o cortigiane? La prostituzione a Venezia. Documenti di costume dal XV al XVIII secolo*. Verona: Bertani Editore, 1980; Canosa, Romano, and Isabella Colonnello. *Storia della prostituzione in Italia dal quattrocento alla fine del settecento*. Rome: Sapere 1989, 2000; Davanzo Poli, Doretta, et al. *Il gioco dell’amore: Le cortegiane di Venezia dal trecento al settecento*. Milan: Berenice, 1990; Dell’Orso, Claudio. *Venezia erotica*. Florence: Glittering Images, 1995; Dell’Orso, Claudio. *Venezia libertina: I luoghi della memoria erotica*. Venice: Arsenale, 1999; Laughran, Michelle A. “Regulating Bodies: Prostitution and the *Provveditori alla Sanità*.” In “The Body, Public Health and Social Control in Sixteenth-Century Venice.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1998, pp. 57–104; Pajalich, Armando. “Come nelle fiabe. Per Adele, l’ultima ‘battona’ veneziana.” *Insula Quaderni: Stranieri e foreste a Venezia* 6 (2004): 101–102; Rosenthal, Margaret F. *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Ruggiero, Guido. *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993; Ruggiero, Guido, ed. *Storia dossier: La storia della prostituzione*. Florence: Giunti, 1988.

Michelle A. Laughran

VENUES AND LABOR FORMS. Commercialized sexual activities occur at bus stops and on beaches, in **brothels** and bushes, and in barrooms and military barracks, but few researchers have explored the influence of venue on price, safety, meaning, or public health consequences. When prostitution occurs in bush locales, alleyways, or squalid compounds, the absence of safety, soap and clean water, light, or privacy promotes poor sexual hygiene and stigmatization of both the sex and the people who purchase and sell it. Even fewer researchers have considered the ways in which prostitution’s many labor forms (for example, streetwalking, brothel, window display, out-call, or **stripping**) are shaped by political, cultural, economic, and technological developments. Even when different types of prostitution are recognized, similarity between the women toiling in them is often assumed rather than demonstrated. Stereotypes and myths abound, such as in the trope in films about streetwalking such as *Pretty Woman*, *Taxi Driver*, *Miami Blue*, and *Leaving Las Vegas*, that **marriage** will somehow take women out of prostitution.

Prostitution helps to maintain gender, ethnic, colonial, racial, and other relations. In Peruvian brothels, a sort of theater of *machismo*, a broad-ranging culture complex, is enacted. Not all men can fulfill all its requirements, such as to own property, marry well, be respected intellectually, and command a household. However, by patronizing a brothel, a man can demonstrate his masculinity by drinking, engaging in salacious talk, and enjoying styles of intercourse otherwise prohibited, such as *la secretaria*, in which the woman sits “side-saddle” in the man’s lap. In the brothels of San José, Costa Rica, by contrast, masculine and (seemingly) heterosexually

identified *cacheros*, or men who are paid to have sex with other men, exhibit a dynamic cultural tension between machismo and cacherismo.

Brothels have spatial and temporal parameters that shape and make sex meaningful. For example in Peru, the sexual acts negotiated in nearby alleyways (*callejon*) between roughly 6:00 P.M. and 10:00 P.M. are cheaper, quicker, and less intimate and appeal to lower-class Peruvian males arriving primarily by bus, given that brothels must legally be located outside of town. Sex that occurs in the higher-class *salon* after 10:00 P.M., by contrast, is negotiated by means of alternative conversational styles and involves different entrances, clientele, prices, durations, and frequencies. Women in the streetwalking form of prostitution in Dakar, Senegal, cater to the sexual needs of students, mostly on the spot, atop cars or in the open air, whereas those frequenting Dakar's hotels cater mostly to civil servants, foreigner contract workers, and tourists. Assignations that occur in dismal, poorly lit, and often unsafe brothel compounds, however, are usually anonymous and distinctly unhygienic. Sexual repertoire is limited to vaginal intercourse only (often unprotected by **condoms**), which has been timed by researchers to average about four minutes in duration. Because of dismal working conditions, low pay, and severe police harassment, the turnover of women in this kind of venue is swift.

Whereas the brothels of Cuzco, Peru, are located and regulated so as to keep prostitution away from the public eye and to confirm the general rural/urban divide, brothels in the Nevada counties that permit them are purposely located along major and minor roadways. Geographic location determines both the size of brothels (in terms of the number of employees housed there) and the kinds and variety of sexual and other services that can be provided there—for example, pornography, hot tubs, sex toys, multiple women, and **alcohol**. Historically, locale has shaped the relationship between buyer and seller in Nevada's brothels, too, by upholding racist county laws that allowed black women to sell, but not black men to buy, sexual services.

The Political Economy of Sex Industries

Prostitution's venues and labor forms can reveal much about the time, place, and culture under consideration. "Freelance" prostitution is common wherever resource extraction, migrant agricultural laborers, and military installations (such as in border zones) can be found. "Streetwalkers" and the "hand-whores" in "jack-shacks" and "rub-n-tugs" (massage parlors) are just as common in Costa Rica and St. Louis as they are in **London** and Port Moresby insofar as women who are cut "free" from access to land and the ties of tradition attempt to uphold kinship obligations and failing family fortunes by engaging in prostitution, as during the colonial period in Nairobi, Kenya. The so-called *femme libre* ("free women") of French-speaking Africa who have been operating since the 1960s in slums, canteens, roadside diners and stops, marketplaces, and truck stops generally cater to extremely mobile, distressed, culturally dislocated, often war-torn populations. The state-sponsored and municipally controlled brothels of Argentina and England were common before the AIDS era and were justified by appeal to the alleged social benefits of separating "good" women and sex from "bad," but they are increasingly common nowadays in Thailand, Laos, and Indonesia and justified more in terms of alleged ability to decrease overall HIV transmissions. Bar-style prostitution is common at and near military installations and tourist destinations in the form of "go-go" bars, coffee shops, and teahouses.

Intra- and international sex tourism is increasingly promoted on the **Internet** and aided by developments in digital photography, video conferencing, and e-mail. One Australian company has designed computer software to help brothel owners manage bookings and banking and payment details. For a set fee, some American companies take small groups of men on package

tours from New York to Costa Rica, Tijuana, and Nevada to visit sex venues, sometimes under the guise of instructional endeavors or research opportunities for scholars of legal prostitution. Some states function as **pimps** insofar as they sponsor, regulate, and tax brothels, as in Thailand and Indonesia.

The Labor Forms of Prostitution

Sex industries always involve multiple venues and labor forms. Prostitution in pre-revolutionary China was organized by locale, clientele, physical attributes of the women, type and price of sexual activities, and other nonsexual attributes. The most prestigious brothels, or “sing-song houses,” housed **courtesans**, the “elite of the profession,” who dressed and displayed themselves elegantly, with feet bound, but who were also highly skilled in the entertainment arts. Wine-house, restaurant, and tavern brothels also featured female entertainers, but who were not as lavishly outfitted or displayed. Women in the inexpensive brothels were little trained in the entertainment arts and occupied barely furnished rooms. Flower boats (floating brothels) were anchored along the waterways and equipped with compartments for eating, having sex, and smoking opium. Streetwalking women, usually the poorest of the poor, solicited openly on the street without legal or physical protection.

Particular labor forms spring not just from culture or tradition, but also from the dictates of militarization, capitalism, **globalization**, **religion**, and colonial administration. In colonial Nairobi, the *watembezi* form involved streetwalking women, mostly homeless and runaway, who solicited men in public places and engaged in cheap, anonymous sex nearby. *Malaya* women waited in their own rooms for men to come to them. Because British colonial and capitalist labor demands prohibited the construction of family housing equipped with kitchens, women practicing the *malaya* form were able to charge for nonsexual items and services, too, such as food, tea, laundry, bathwater, and conversation. *Wazi-wazi* women waited outside the rooms of returning workmen and provided brief sexual encounters at fixed prices. Throughout the American Southwest and along the border between the United States and Mexico, by contrast, Latino and Anglo women follow Latino male migrant laborers from bars and barracks and service them sexually, but without performing further domestic labors. These Latino laborers bond by all having intercourse with the same woman. This is similar to the practice of gang **rape** of prostitutes in Cambodia and Papua New Guinea as a form of male bonding and, some have said, ethnic-boundary maintenance.

The Sex Industry on Daru

The sex industry in Daru, the capital of Papua New Guinea’s Western Province, illustrates some of these social and behavioral processes and principles. Since 1893, sailors, missionaries, patrol officers, soldiers, collectors and traders of sea cucumbers and pearl shells, seafood workers, and mining workers and representatives have traveled to and from Daru. Thirty different tribes have migrated to Daru, some having once engaged in sexual networking forms that later became commercialized and exploitative. Economic downturns, cultural dislocations, the flight of expatriates following independence (1975), and worsening access to health and educational services have slowly produced four different, somewhat overlapping labor forms of prostitution.

The “family” form is that in which fathers, brothers, husbands, boyfriends, and male friends of the family, typically members of the Kiwai and Bamu tribes, find generally older, married, wage-earning sexual partners for their daughters, sisters, wives, and girlfriends age 15 to 45. The women engage clients sexually in their own homes, in nearby bush areas, and at guesthouses.

The “freelance” form is engaged in by mostly unmarried, somewhat older Daruan females who exchange sex more or less on their own for money (or promise thereof), alcohol, food, **clothing**, and other material goods and services. They count public servants, businessmen, sailors, and crocodile-skin and sea-cucumber buyers among their customers and hope that customers turn into at least boyfriends if not husbands. The “women with sex broker” form involves some of the same Kiwai, Gogodala, Bamu, and Suki women who work freelance, but on whose behalf well-known brokers solicit businessmen, villagers who have come to Daru to sell marine, riverine, and garden produce, and especially government workers. In addition to free alcohol, food, tobacco, and betel-nut, the broker receives roughly 20 percent of the woman’s earnings to provide condoms and protection and to carry beer and food.

The most stigmatizing and brutalizing form of prostitution on Daru is located at and called *sagapari* (“small, mangrove garden”), the Daruan equivalent of a form known throughout Papua New Guinea as *tu kina bus*, or “two-dollar bush prostitution.” *Sagapari* is starkly patterned in terms of tribe (until very recently, only Bamu women were involved), locale (a particular bush area), price (\$2 by day, \$1 by night), and customer (non-Bamu villagers and laborers). Its former location west of the wharf was a mangrove scrub area bordered by tidal creeks and the sandy foreshore strewn with glass and bottle tops. It functioned also as a rubbish dump and outdoor toilet. *Sagapari* has since been relocated to the other side of the island, between cemetery and swamp.

Daru’s sex industry persists in part because of a distressed political economy; male privilege in kinship, marriage, production, and sexuality; and shame and fear about sexual expression.

See also R&R; Street-Based Prostitution.

Further Reading: Do Espirito Santo, Maria Eugénia G., and Gina Etheredge. “And Then I Became a Prostitute ... Some Aspects of Prostitution and Brothel Prostitutes in Dakar, Senegal.” *The Social Science Journal* 41(2004): 137–146; Gronewold, Sue. “Beautiful Merchandise.” *Women and History* 4 no.1 (1982): 3–102; Hammar, Lawrence. “Caught Between Structure and Agency: Gendered Violence and Prostitution in Papua New Guinea.” *Transforming Anthropology* 8, no. 1–2 (1998): 77–96; Primov, George, and Carolynne Kieffer. “The Peruvian Brothel as Sexual Dispensary and Social Arena.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 6, no. 3 (1977): 245–53; PSI. “Sweetheart Relationships in Cambodia Love, Sex & Condoms in the Time of HIV.” December 2002. <http://www.psi.org/resources/pubs/cambodia>; Schifter, Jacobo. *Lila’s House: Male Prostitution in Latin America*. New York: Harrington Press, 1998; White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990; Wilkinson, David, and Gillian Fletcher. “Sex Talk—Peer Ethnographic Research with Male Students and Waitresses in Phnom Penh.” Phnom Penh: PSI, 2002.

Lawrence Hammar

VERMEER, JOHANNES (1632–1675). Johannes Vermeer was a prominent Dutch painter, and several of his paintings depict sexual liaisons and prostitution. One painting, *The Procuress*, of 1657, specifically addresses the monetary sexual exchange, but several other paintings by Vermeer establish sexual tensions between the male–female pairings and hint at sexual impropriety.

Vermeer produced only 35 paintings, the best known of which feature solitary young women in interior settings and contemplative atmospheres. Similar in mood and composition are a handful of paintings that center on the quiet interactions of a young male and female couple, such as *The Music Lesson* or *Officer and a Laughing Girl*. The subjects of these paintings toe the

line between decorum and dubious behavior, raising the possibility of sexual relations. Vermeer only subtly hints at these sexual suggestions, through such devices as a smirk, a knowing look, a raised wineglass, or simply the questionable situation of an unmarried woman and man alone together. In Vermeer's genre paintings, or scenes of daily life, the viewer must infer whether the compromised decorum will indeed lead to debauchery.

In an isolated work from early in his career, Vermeer provided a clearer reference to sexuality and prostitution. The main action of *The Procuress* involves a man fondling a young woman's breast as he simultaneously places a coin into her outstretched palm. Also integral to the scene is the procuress, the old woman who establishes and observes the transaction. A smiling fourth figure, possibly Vermeer himself, raises a glass to the viewer and reinforces the licentious nature of the scene.

See also Dutch Masters.

Further Reading: Liedtke, Walter A. *Vermeer and the Delft School*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001; Wheelock, Arthur K., and Ben Broos. *Johannes Vermeer*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Rachel Epp Buller

VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING AND VIOLENCE PROTECTION ACT OF 2000 (VTVPA). The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 was passed by the U.S. Congress in October of 2000. The purpose of the act was threefold: to prevent **trafficking** in persons via public awareness and economic development programs in other countries, to protect the **human rights** of trafficked persons in the United States, and to prosecute traffickers through new criminal laws. One of the main focuses of this law was trafficking into the "international sex trade" (sec.102 [b][2]). The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act was passed by the U.S. Congress in January of 2004 and amended several of the original provisions.

The VTVPA defines a commercial sex act as "any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person" (sec.103[3]). Sex trafficking is considered the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act (sec.103 [9]). For a person who has been trafficked for sexual activity to be considered for immigration or other federal benefits, the person must also meet the definition of a victim of a severe form of trafficking. "Severe form of trafficking" is defined in two parts: "(A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (sec.103[8]). A person who is trafficked for commercial sexual activity could possibly meet either part of this definition; however, there is no clear distinction made and certified victims of trafficking are eligible for the same services regardless of which part of the severe forms of trafficking definition is met. A victim of a severe form of trafficking is defined as a person who meets the definitions under sec.103(8), and a victim of trafficking is defined as a person who meets the definitions under either sec.103(8) or (9) (sec.103[13][14]). Thus, the definition of sex trafficking is much broader and does not require the use of force, fraud, or coercion. Sex trafficking under the law only requires the movement of a person for commercial sexual activity.

Under the section dealing with prevention of trafficking, the act sets out the details for Annual Country Reports on trafficking in persons. Countries that do not meet certain standards of combating trafficking are subject to economic sanctions. Some critics describe political use of the annual reports and sanctions. The act created an interagency task force to monitor and combat trafficking in persons and also created an office to monitor and combat trafficking within the State Department. Under the TVPRA, the chair of this office is now a member of the president's cabinet. Finally, the President is required to create initiatives in collaboration with non-governmental organizations to increase economic opportunities for potential trafficking victims in their home countries and to increase public awareness of the problem.

The victim protection section of the act looked first at protection of trafficked persons in other countries and required the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development to create programs to assist victims of trafficking in other countries. The act created an entirely new federal program for trafficked persons in the United States, focusing on immigration relief and access to federal benefits for trafficked persons who have been "certified" as such by the Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR).

Federal assistance is offered to certified victims of a severe form of trafficking. When a person has received the status of "continued presence," the immigration authorities send a request to ORR for certification of that person for benefits. Another method of certification is a request made by Citizenship and Immigration Services based on a bona fide application for a T visa. The third method, added by the TVPRA, involves a local or state law enforcement agent requesting certification on behalf of a person who is cooperating in a reasonable way in the investigation or prosecution of state or local crimes relating to a situation of trafficking.

The act requires that such certified victims of trafficking be given certain benefits from the federal government, including appropriate shelter and care, access to legal assistance and translation services, and all other federal benefits available to incoming refugees. Therefore, certified trafficking victims may access social services through currently established refugee-resettlement service providers. Grants were established for both local governments and nonprofit organizations to expand their services to include trafficked persons.

Finally, the prosecution of traffickers was enhanced by the creation of a new federal crime of trafficking, following the definition of severe forms of trafficking. The act also enhanced penalties for existing federal crimes relating to trafficking, such as peonage and slavery. The maximum penalties for these crimes is now 20 years, with life imprisonment for violations that result in death or involve kidnapping, aggravated sexual abuse, sex trafficking involving force, fraud or coercion of children under the age of 14, or attempted homicide. The act also criminalized the possession or destruction of identification or immigration documents of individuals in order to restrict their movement. The offense of trafficking was added to federal racketeering statutes, and the law allows the federal court to order full restitution for victims.

Aside from the changes noted, the TVPRA also created the possibility for trafficked persons to sue their traffickers in federal court for the damage caused them by the trafficking. Thus, trafficked persons may now seek compensation for personal or monetary injuries done to them by their traffickers.

See also Legal Approaches.

Further Reading: Trafficked Persons Rights Project. "Introduction to the VTPRA." <http://www.trpp.org/resources/index.html>

VICTORIAN NOVELS. Although Victorian fiction offers numerous portrayals of fallen women, few novels directly address the problem of prostitution, which was considered unseemly subject matter for a morally proper, impressionable reading public. Novels of the period that discuss the issue share several characteristics. All of them present sympathetic and sanitized depictions of lower-class prostitutes, never directly stating the physical or practical details of the sex trade. To counter the widespread belief that women chose to become prostitutes, writers represented them as victims of socioeconomic circumstance rather than as innately depraved and vicious. Novelists hoped to rouse readers' sympathy for lower-class prostitutes and, in turn, encourage audience participation in reclamation and reform efforts. The novels fall into two categories, the social problem novels of the 1830s and 1840s and the more direct accounts of the 1860s onward. The prostitutes featured in the social problem novels are Nancy in Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1839), Alice Marwood from Dickens's *Dombey and Son* (1848), and Esther from Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848). These characters are constructed as virtuous, humanized variations on the traditional prostitute stereotype. In keeping with the stereotype, each woman succumbs to a violent or disease-induced death, despite attempts made for her rescue and rehabilitation. Although the women are only minor characters, their noble efforts on behalf of the works' major protagonists are crucial to the positive resolution of the primary plots. Novels from the second half of the century likewise incorporate certain traditional, stereotypical elements in their depictions, but they ultimately present a more realistic view of the women's lives and potential futures. Unlike in representations from the social problem genre, in these works prostitutes are the central characters. In Henry Jebb's *Out of the Depths* (1860), the prostitute Mary Smith is the novel's protagonist, as are Mercy Merrick in Wilkie Collins's *The New Magdalen* (1873) and Ida Starr in George Gissing's *The Unclassed* (1884). In these novels, reformed prostitutes do not die violent deaths. In keeping with the social reality of the period, they are reformed and, in the cases of Mercy and Ida, embark on respectable futures.

Early Novels

Early Victorian novelists tailored their subject matter and method of presentation to suit the demands of social propriety and middle-class Christian values. The Victorians looked to their fiction for behavioral guidance; improper subject matter that glamorized vice and **violence** was not considered acceptable for consumption in most middle-class households. The social problem novel provided the perfect vehicle for safely presenting the topic of prostitution in popular fiction. On the surface, these were not novels about prostitution: *Oliver Twist* critiqued the New Poor Law, *Dombey and Son* derided middle-class **marriage** and business practices, and *Mary Barton* addressed the Chartist movement and condition of the poor in industrial Manchester. A prostitute's narrative, however, is embedded in each text. The portrayals of lower-class prostitutes in these works remain true to the social problem genre by offering highly detailed descriptions of the women's wretched living conditions. The causes given for prostitution are likewise true to the social reality of the period, for it is made clear that socioeconomic necessity led these characters to the sex trade. Nancy is born to a life of poverty and is forced into thievery and prostitution by Fagin and Bill Sikes. Esther resorts to prostitution after her lover abandons both her and their illegitimate child. Like Nancy, Alice is born into poverty and is sold into the sex trade as a kept woman by her own greedy mother. Dickens and Gaskell also showed that prostitutes were social victims, not social plagues, by highlighting their extant virtues. Nancy pays with her life for trying to get Oliver away from Fagin and Sikes. Both Jem and John Barton's lives are saved because of the pistol wadding Esther finds and brings to Mary. These displays of virtue

induce other characters to attempt rescue efforts. Rose Maylie tries to persuade Nancy to leave Sikes and begin a new life. Similarly, Jem attempts to convince Esther to leave her life of prostitution; at the novel's conclusion, Mary nurses Esther in her final hours. Harriet Carker likewise offers aid to Alice and nurses her as she dies. These relationships between prostitutes and their virtuous counterparts encourage readers to pursue rescue and reclamation efforts of their own accord, illustrating textually that such efforts would be physically and morally safe.

Whereas Dickens's and Gaskell's novels were progressive in their descriptions of prostitutes' lives and called for reform efforts, their method of constructing these characters perpetuated certain stereotypical views. For example, Nancy and Esther paint their faces, mimic fancy dress with their shabby attire, and manifest a love of **alcohol**. Nancy, Esther, and Alice also suffer the traditional prostitute's death. Nancy is beaten to death by Sikes, and Esther dies from illness, as does Alice. Despite their redeeming qualities, Dickens and Gaskell ultimately could not conceive of narratives in which these women survive.

Later Novels

Subsequent renditions of lower-class prostitutes still manifest a certain degree of stereotype. However, these works offer prostitutes as their protagonists. Additionally, these authors resolve the women's fates in a more realistic fashion. In *Out of the Depths*, the prostitute Mary Smith repents, is saved by a clergyman, and receives a marriage proposal, only to die from the pox. Like Dickens and Gaskell, Jebb could not construct an outcome in which Mary survives the effects of her life as a prostitute. Yet the novel is progressive, for it suggests that repentant prostitutes can be found worthy of marriage. Collins elaborated on this idea in *The New Magdalen*, in which the reformed prostitute Mercy Merrick actually marries. She and her husband must immigrate to America, however, because English society deems their union unrespectable. At the conclusion of *The Unclassed*, former prostitute Ida Starr is likewise given hope for future happiness. Although it is uncertain whether she and Osmond Waymark will choose to marry, it is clear that they are both hopeful for a future that they will pursue together.

See also Fallen Woman Trope.

Further Reading: Anderson, Amanda. *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993; Basch, Françoise. *Relative Creatures: Victorian Women in Society and the Novel*. New York: Schocken, 1974; Hess, Marcy A. "Discursive Decontamination: Domesticating the Great Social Evil in Early Victorian Novels." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 2001; Nord, Deborah Epstein. *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Marcy A. Hess

VIE D'UNE PROSTITUÉE. *Vie d'une Prostituée* by "Marie-Thérèse" is a remarkable short memoir of a French prostitute during the German occupation of World War II. It first appeared in an abridged form in issue 27 (December 1947) of Jean-Paul Sartre's periodical *Les Temps Modernes*. It formed part of a series of existential documents with titles such as *Vie d'un juif* and *Vie d'un Légionnaire*. The following year, the complete text was issued sub rosa in an edition of 1,550 copies, with, as a frontispiece, a facsimile of a page of the original handwritten manuscript. The Olympia Press of Paris published an English translation, which dropped the name "Marie-Thérèse," in April 1955, with the title *I'm for Hire*. The translation is anonymous, but the translation work has been credited to Robert Nurenberg.

For a number of years following the book's publication, there was much speculation as to who the author may have been on the presumed understanding that the name "Marie-Thérèse" concealed the identity of some well-known author with a sense of mischief. Simone de Beauvoir was most often mentioned in this respect, but she made an elegantly phrased denial of the attribution in *La Force de l'âge* (1960). Oddly, the first official American edition of *Vie d'une Prostituée*, published in 1966 as *Memoirs of a Prostitute*, expanded the author's name to "Marie-Thérèse Cointre" and carried a foreword by de Beauvoir.

See also *Memoirs*.

Patrick J. Kearney

VIOLENCE. Violence against sex workers is pervasive around the world and is a common theme in academic literature and popular fiction and in political debates about prostitution, but the hidden and criminalized nature of prostitution means that reliable statistics are hard to come by. Examples are given here from many parts of the world, but local experience varies with social policy, police practice, and the structure of the sex industry.

Sex workers experience violence from those they encounter while working, such as clients, robbers, and vigilantes; from those who organize or control sex work, such as brothel managers, traffickers, and police; and from other sex workers, drug dealers, acquaintances, and partners. However, sex workers' risk of violence is variable and depends greatly on the individuals' method of work (e.g., whether indoors or outdoors, whether alone or with others). It also depends on the response of police and courts to these crimes, on the extent to which legislation exposes sex workers to violence, and on societal attitudes toward them.

Most research focuses on female sex workers, but violence, including serial killings, against male and **transgender sex workers** has also been documented.

Legal Frameworks

To avoid police attention, street-based sex workers make hurried deals with clients, leaving little time to negotiate prices and services (disagreements later can lead to violence) or to assess whether the client is likely to turn violent. If they have nowhere else to take **clients** for sex, they are forced into dark, isolated places where they can be attacked with impunity. A recent survey of street workers in **New York City** found that 80 percent had experienced either violence or threats in the course of their work (Thukral and Ditmore). More than 80 percent of Ugandan sex workers said clients had used violence to force them into unsafe sex (S. Sentumbwe, D. S. Nakkazi, N. Nantege), and similarly high rates have been found in many other places. Indoor work is usually safer, especially if there are other people close by to help if there is trouble. But antibrothel legislation criminalizes group working, and receptionists and "mindes" can be prosecuted for controlling or profiting from prostitution. Consequently many sex workers operate alone. Thus, laws aimed at eliminating or controlling prostitution promote sex workers' vulnerability by forcing them to operate in risky ways and in dangerous places. Such laws also inhibit them from reporting violence to the police, allowing for repeat victimization and escalation of attacks.

Laws that relate to sexual violence can also fail to offer sex workers protection or redress. Most legal codes define a sexual assault in terms of the victim's lack of consent to a sexual act. When a sex worker alleges sexual assault against a client, the assailant will claim consent was given. Police,

courts, and jurors may believe that, by offering sex for sale, the victim has forfeited the right to refuse any partner or any sexual practice. Although such beliefs are not reflected in modern legal principles, they frequently underlie acquittals or lenient sentences when the victim is a sex worker.

Law Enforcement Tactics

Antiprostitution drives, even when intended to tackle abuse within the sex industry, frequently increase sex workers' vulnerability to violence. Sex workers often change their place or style of working in response to crackdowns, so that the benefits of experience in identifying dangerous people or situations are lost. Sex workers may also be forced into environments that are intrinsically more dangerous. For example, in 2003, reports of widespread gang rapes of sex workers in Cambodia were linked to a government campaign to close **brothels**, forcing many more sex workers onto the streets.

In some countries, police target clients instead of (or as well as) sex workers, but when client numbers are reduced, sex workers have to take more risks, working longer hours and in more dangerous places, to make up for loss of earnings; clients may commit revenge attacks on sex workers whom they blame because they have been arrested or because they have been robbed by sex workers made desperate by the reduction in numbers of clients.

Social Attitudes: Impact on Vulnerability

Those who attack or kill sex workers often rationalize their violence with beliefs that sex workers are worthless human beings and deserving of punishment. Sometimes these beliefs are linked to **religion**; for example, in Iran in 2001, Saeed Hanaie, later hanged for killing 16 sex workers, said he "killed the women for the sake of God, and for the protection of my religion because they were prostitutes and were corrupting other people."

Fear of AIDS, often fueled by anti-vice and "educational" campaigns that blame sex workers for HIV transmission, can also lead to violence against sex workers. In Nepal, researchers found that fear-based messages, emphasizing links between **trafficking**, prostitution, and HIV, resulted in condemnation of trafficked women and girls for bringing HIV/AIDS into their communities on their return, to the extent that "94.0% of adolescent girls report that communities regard returnees with hate" (Sharma Mahendra 2002).

The common antiprostitution rhetoric of "respectable citizens" may also promote a climate of hate toward sex workers, making attacks more likely. Lowman (2000) described this "discourse of disposal," such as the demands to "clean up the streets" used by Canadian media and action groups opposed to street prostitution. He found associations between the intensity of such rhetoric and the incidence of sex-worker murders, suggesting that the social acceptability of using language that equates sex workers with rubbish, polluting the rest of society, legitimizes the actions of those who attack and kill them.

Attackers who claim to be on a mission to "cleanse society" can be highly dangerous, as can those who derive sexual satisfaction from hurting another person. However, aggression from clients during sexual encounters is more commonly related to disputes about sexual practice, money, or condom use, all of which suggest that the attacker resents the commercial nature of the transaction, refusing to accept the sex worker's rules on what she or he will do, for how long, and for how much. Clients' **alcohol** or drug use, often leading to inability get an erection or ejaculate, may also trigger attacks.

Despite these rationalizations, many attacks happen for no apparent reason. The strong associations between violence and sex workers' isolated situations when working suggests that those who attack sex workers do so because there is no one to stop them and the environment allows it; they do it because they can.

Murders of Sex Workers

American research has found that sex workers are far more likely to be murdered than other people (Potterat et al. 2003). (Potterat et al. may underestimate total numbers of sex workers, making the homicide rate seem very high. They assume that all sex workers will have been identified by police or health departments.) Not all are killed by clients: in both Canada and Britain, more than 40 percent of sex-worker homicides have been attributed to acquaintances, partners, robbers, and the like. Even those classified as clients may never have paid for sex, although they may have approached their victims in this role, taking advantage of sex workers' vulnerability and criminalized situations.

Serial killings of sex workers have occurred in many countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, China, Canada, Kazakhstan, Ghana, Iran, and South Africa. These cases grab headlines and lead to common assumptions that most sex-worker murders are committed by serial killers and that such killers do not target other people.

British research (Kinnell 2004) indicates that both these assumptions are incorrect. Of those convicted of killing sex workers, 63 percent had also attacked other people, including men and children. Only 25 percent had other convictions for homicide, and half of the other victims were not sex workers. Only one man was convicted of more than two sex-worker murders in 15 years. This may reflect relatively vigorous investigations following sex-worker murders in Britain, reducing the likelihood of serial killings by interrupting offenders' "criminal careers" at an early stage. However, even in Britain more sex-worker murders remain unsolved than any other category of victim.

Police Abuse and Violence

Sex workers in many countries report victimization by police, from demands for unpaid sexual services to sexual abuse and humiliation, **rape**, physical violence, and extortion. This behavior is not confined to police who abuse their power while off duty, but is reported as happening during arrests and in police custody. It is evident that, even where police abuse is rare and complaints against police are taken seriously, any such experience will deter sex workers from reporting attacks or expecting any help from police.

Responses to Violence

Sex workers have many strategies for defending themselves: working collectively, watching out for each other on the street, noting car registration numbers, sharing safety tips, carrying personal alarms or whistles, taking self-defense classes, and sharing information about attackers.

Sex workers know that someone who attacks one sex worker is likely to attack another, so they have developed many verbal and other warning systems. Descriptions of attackers are distributed through "bad trick sheets" (printed flyers), newsletters, and multiple text messaging and through the **Internet**.

However, attacks are rarely reported to police: victims may be unwilling to identify themselves or their work place, and they may fear arrest and prosecution for prostitution or other offenses or deportation if they are in the country illegally. Many sex workers do not expect prosecution of violent clients, and in areas where police abuse of sex workers is common, victims may fear the police more than they fear repeat victimization by other attackers. Even when sex workers do report attacks, investigations may be halfhearted, courts may not regard sex workers as credible witnesses, and even a guilty verdict may bring a more lenient sentence than if the victim had not been a sex worker.

Violence against sex workers is intimately related to hostile legislation, law enforcement, and public attitudes. Society's abhorrence of commercial sex, even when voiced by those who regard all sex workers as victims, results in laws and law enforcement strategies that prevent neither violence nor exploitation or even public nuisance. Instead, the legal framework makes all forms of sex work more dangerous, and proposals for making sex work safer are rejected lest they "encourage prostitution," indicating that many view violence against sex workers as an important deterrent to discourage the sale of sex and a punishment for those who do sell it.

See also Murder.

Further Reading: BBC News. "More Iranian Prostitutes Murdered," 30 July 2001. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1464990.stm; Kinnell, Hilary. "Murder Made Easy: The Final Solution to Prostitution?" In *Prostitution Now*, ed. Rosie Campbell and Roger Matthews. Devon, England: Willan Publishers, in press; Lowman, John. "Violence and the Outlaw Status of (Street) Prostitution in Canada." *Violence Against Women* 6, no. 9 (September 2000); Potterat, J. J., D. D. Brewer, et al. "Mortality in a Long-term Open cohort of Prostitute Women." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 159, no. 8 (2004); Sentumbwe, S., D. S. Nakkazi, and N. Nantege. "Legislation and Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS among Commercial Sex Workers in Kampala city." International Conference on HIV/AIDS, 2002, abstract TuOrE1202; Sharma Mahendra, V., et al. "Over-emphasizing HIV/AIDS Risk in Anti-trafficking Programs Can Contribute to Increasing Stigma and Discrimination—Lessons from Nepal." International Conference on HIV/AIDS, 2002, abstract ThPeE7910; Thukral, Juhu and Melissa Ditmore. *Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-Based Prostitution in New York City*. New York: Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center, 2003. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>.

Hilary Kinnell

VOYEURISM. Voyeurism or "peeping tomism" is a form of paraphilia (a love beyond "normality") or scopophilia (love of gazing). The voyeur obtains sexual arousal and gratification by observing individuals' sex acts or sexual organs without their knowledge or consent. On a general level, human beings tend to be voyeuristic and are sexually aroused by the naked body, and visual seduction precedes most sexual activities. Prostitutes and other sex workers, perhaps especially strippers, may encounter voyeurs in their professional lives, people who want to watch women disrobe or masturbate. Clinical voyeurism can manifest itself in exhibitionist behaviour (e.g., masturbation at beaches while watching naked bathers). To be considered diagnosable, the fantasies, urges, or behaviors must cause significant distress in the individual or be disruptive to his or her everyday functioning. Diagnostic criteria for voyeurism are recurrent sexual urges, fantasies, and behaviors involving the observation of an unknowing and nonconsenting person who is naked, in the process of disrobing, or engaged in sexual activity. The etiology of this sexual disorder has been variously explained by psychoanalysts as resulting from childhood trauma (e.g., sexual abuse) or other childhood experiences. Treatment typically involves psychotherapy aimed at uncovering and working through the underlying cause of the behavior.

The term "peeping Tom" is derived from the story of Lady Godiva's ride in the nude through Coventry, England, in 1040 to protest against a tax imposed by her husband. The people of Coventry were instructed to stay indoors with windows closed; one man, however, defied the order, and as punishment he was blinded and branded with the nickname "Peeping Tom." The act of window peeping was prosecuted historically as a crime of disorderly conduct or breach of the peace. Today, the criminalization of privacy intrusion is firmly established in many state penal codes, which include it under a wide variety of crimes: trespass, secret peeping, eavesdropping, indecent

or unlawful viewing or photography, and violation of privacy, as well as unauthorized videotaping.

The male gaze at a female (or male) body has always been the driving moment in prostitution if not in all kinds of sexual activity; it was, for example, key in the story of Susanna and the Elders and in the Old Testament story of King David, who was driven to adultery and murder after watching Bathsheba in her bath. Peep shows and striptease exploit the desire of (predominantly male) customers to subject the (female) body to their sexual fantasies by the power of their gaze. Voyeurism in the sex industry extends beyond the gaze in strip clubs, and prostitutes are sometimes hired not for sex but for other services, including being looked at by voyeurs. In such an instance, the voyeur may like to watch the sex worker undress or masturbate. Voyeurism is becoming more and more widespread through the technological revolution: mobile phones with inbuilt cameras have been used to spy on women disrobing in department stores or swimming, and cameras can be hidden everywhere, from sunglasses to locker rooms. Video surveillance in public spaces (parking lots, stores, schools) is becoming more and more widespread, and privacy experts and legislators have only recently begun to debate the issue.

Films such as *Mr. Hire* (1989) and *Sliver* (1993) have addressed the issue of voyeurism, heating up the debate about privacy in the media age, and spying on neighbors via cameras has only recently been outlawed. The movie *Peeping Tom* (1962) lays bare the voyeuristic underside of cinema, exploring the uneasy connections between violence, sex, and the urge to gaze. Pornography websites, erotic paintings, and magazines exploit the common human drive to be aroused by watching others engaged in sexual activity, thus contributing to the commodification of the (female) body through the (male) gaze.

See also Internet; Stripping.

Further Reading: Öhlschläger, Claudia. *Unsägliche Lust des Schauens. Die Konstruktion der Geschlechter im voyeuristischen Text*. Freiburg, Germany: Rombach, 1996; PsychNet-UK Web site. http://www.psychnet-uk.com/dsm_iv/voyerism_disorder.htm; Rose, Jacqueline. *Sexuality in the Field of Vision*. New York: Verso, 1986; Sex Education Links Web site. <http://www.bigeye.com/sexeducation/voyeurism.html>.



Lady Godiva riding nude on a horse through town, by Jules Lefebvre. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

W

WEIMAR REPUBLIC. During the progressive period of the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) in Germany, social reform campaigns resulted in the end of “regulationism” (*Reglementierung*) there. The new Law for Combating Venereal Diseases in 1927 outlawed state-regulated **brothels** and decriminalized prostitution in general. This brief period of legality was characterized by significant improvements in prostitutes’ legal status and increasing mobilization. However, the reform was met with strong resistance by religious conservatives and municipal authorities, eventually resulting in the reintroduction of state- controlled brothels in **Nazi Germany**.

Until 1927, prostitution had been illegal in Germany. However, registered prostitutes were tolerated in strictly state-regulated brothels in restricted locales assigned by the police. All prostitutes had to undergo regular compulsory medical examinations for venereal infections, were banned from most public spaces, and needed special permission to travel. A specifically assigned force of “morals police” (*Sittenpolizei*) was responsible for their supervision as well as the general enforcement of the law.

From the end of the 19th century, social reform movements that originated in both religious circles and the women’s movement included a critique of regulation in their campaigns. Especially after the introduction of suffrage for women in 1919, feminists attacked the law’s misogynistic double standard: whereas female prostitutes were regimented and controlled, their male **clients’** use of commercial sex remained condoned. Social reform efforts combined with growing public concerns about the spread of **sexually transmitted infections** (STIs) led to a general political discussion about the purpose and legitimacy of state-regulated prostitution. Consequently, the government passed several decrees during the first quarter of the 20th century that, for example, dictated mandatory tests and eventually forced medical treatment on all individuals suspected of having STIs. Although these new regulations were intended to be a neutral basis for the protection of society from perceived moral or hygienic threats, their practical enforcement by the police was often restricted to prostitutes.

The objectives of the various divisions of the reform movement pointed to different ends. “Moralists” aimed for the expansion of the existing criminalization of prostitution to include

male clients. In contrast, more radical fractions advocated the **abolition** of regulation by pointing to the law's inability to confine the rise of STIs and its implicit recognition of prostitution as a profession. Many public health professionals, hoping that legalization would result in voluntary testing and treatment of STIs among prostitutes, also supported the efforts of abolitionists to decriminalize prostitution. Key to the emerging alliance between social movements and radical professionals were associations such as the Society for Sexual Reform (*Gesellschaft für Sexualreform*), founded in 1913, that became central players to Weimar welfare reform. Other critiques of regulationism, particularly from Social Democratic and Liberal circles, pointed to the "morals police" as an institution irreconcilable with the new Weimar constitution.

Responding to demands for social reform, the Reichstag passed a new Law for Combating Venereal Diseases (*Reichsgesetz zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*) on February 18, 1927, which handed over to medical authorities what had previously been a police function in the treatment and prevention of STIs. The law abrogated the institution of state-regulated brothels, decriminalized prostitution in general, and abolished the "morals police." Nevertheless, the vigorous resistance of conservatives resulted in significant concessions to the reform's actual scope. For instance, clause 16/4 of the new law—the so-called church tower paragraph (*kirch-turmparagraph*)—prohibited street soliciting in areas adjacent to schools and churches as well as in towns with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants.

Although the enactment of the Law for Combating Venereal Diseases was based more on health and welfare considerations than on concerns about prostitutes' social standing, the nationwide abolition of state-regulated prostitution led to considerable improvements in prostitutes' legal and civil status. Previous municipal regulations that restricted prostitutes to special streets or buildings (*kasernierung*) were repealed and authorities' power to control the public appearance of streetwalkers became limited. Revised penal code 361/6, which was identical to clause 16/3 of the Law for Combating Venereal Diseases, allowed police intervention only if prostitutes solicited publicly "in a manner that violates morals and decency or harasses others." As a result, the number of arrested prostitutes declined sharply. **Decriminalization** also allowed prostitutes to successfully defy violations and encouraged their political mobilization against infringements on their civil rights. In many cities, prostitutes increasingly challenged illegal forms of police repression such as unauthorized imprisonment or grievous bodily harm. For example, prostitutes in Leipzig and Bremen founded organizations that employed legal counsel to defend their members against violations of their rights by the police.

Despite its decriminalized status in the Weimar Republic, prostitution remained in a legal vacuum. It still lacked official recognition as a profession; for example, prostitutes were not subjected to the same tax and income regulations as other workers. In most cities brothels continued to exist, often leading to problematic situations for prostitutes working there. On the one hand, brothels offered some safety, but on the other hand, owners often demanded compliance with (now illegal) police orders and regulations to protect their business. In fact, authorities frequently controlled the trade by regulations and restrictions in a fashion similar to "regulationism."

The 1927 law reform was met with much resistance from different parts of society. Within the state, police and other municipal authorities repeatedly complained about their inability to protect respectable citizens, control crimes associated with commercial sex, and intervene against the growing "shamelessness and excesses" of streetwalkers under the new law. Thus, in 1931 several police presidents filed a mutual claim demanding the revision of clause 361/6 of the penal code to outlaw all forms of street soliciting. Religious and morality associations raised similar demands. The perceived increase in prostitution, owing to an increased visibility

of streetwalkers, led to a popular opposition to the law as well as the mobilization of conservative and Catholic politicians who demanded the return to criminalization of prostitution. Yet, representatives of the Lutheran church and various women's associations, though disagreeing with the existence of prostitution for moral reasons, opposed its total criminalization for fear of a renaissance of state-controlled brothels.

The controversies surrounding social and welfare reforms came to an abrupt end with the demise of the Weimar Republic. The intense economic and social crisis of the late 1920s resulted in a coup against Prussia's Social Democratic government in July 1932 and the installation of Fritz von Papen as *Reichskommissar* ("Papen Putsch"), thereby bringing to power the most prominent opponents of the Weimar social welfare experiment. The conservative backlash against the 1927 reform was then used by Adolf Hitler to advance his own political agenda. Nazi propaganda continually blamed Weimar's Social Democrat government for its inability to maintain law and order and its failure to combat immorality. After the National Socialist triumph in 1933, many Weimar achievements were abolished, resulting, for example, in the ban of street soliciting and the reestablishment of state-regulated brothels in Nazi Germany.

See also *Criminalization of Clients*.

Further Reading: Bleuel, Hans Peter. *Sex and Society in Nazi Germany*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1973; Gleß, Sabine. *Die Reglementierung von Prostitution in Deutschland*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999; Grossmann, Atina. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Herzog, Dagmar. "Hubris and Hypocrisy, Incitement and Disavowal: Sexuality and German Fascism." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1–2 (January–April 2002): 3–21; Roos, Julia. "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1–2 (January–April 2002): 67–94.

Antonia Levy

WEST AFRICA. In West Africa, women are involved in four main types of prostitution: rural or village prostitution, junction town or truck park prostitution, urban or city prostitution, and international prostitution. The prostitute often lives a nomadic existence—moving from place to place to earn a living. She can be described as "running with the wind"—an apt Guinean expression for prostitutes, which captures the West African sex worker's tendency to migrate from rural to urban areas and when feasible, across the seas, in search of "the good life." This propensity to "run with the wind" is captured on a Benin City, Nigeria, billboard in the following way: "Have you been offered a trip abroad? Be careful. Don't throw your future away"—this challenge written in sharp admonition of the young Edo (Nigerian) woman who might otherwise be snared by the lures of international prostitution.

Rural or Village Prostitution

There are essentially two types of rural or village prostitutes in West Africa. The first operates within the bounds of her rural village, servicing her clientele from the comforts of her home. This kind of prostitute can be found tucked away in rural West African villages as far east as Nigeria and Benin and west as Ivory Coast and Senegal. She often sets up business in her primary residence, providing her male customers with services that range from sex to conversation to food. Sometimes, prostitutes form long-term reciprocal relationships with their clients, and other encounters are short-term and casual. The rural West African prostitute controls her own

affairs and as such never answers to a male or female pimp or **madam**. She is in total control of her body and decides when, where, and how much. Payment is often made in money or in kind. In most parts of rural West Africa, the village prostitute is considered a vital member of her community and is believed to perform services that are deemed useful to that community. She is therefore often viewed with a degree of deference.

The second type of rural prostitute in West Africa lives as a *nomada* (nomad), journeying from her rural village to the major population centers and busy crossroads in search of work. Prostitutes from the Guinea Bissau village of Caio regularly move eastward to the capital city of Bissau or settle in the northern city of Ziguinchor, and some of them work as far north as Banjul, Casamance, and Dakar, Senegal. In Ghana, most prostitutes are also rural/urban migrants. These girls and women go as far as Abidjan, Pikine-Dakar, and Brazzaville to trade sex for money.

Junction-Town or Truck-Park Prostitution

Junction-town prostitutes are sex workers who work on and along major West African highways. These sex workers either work full-time or part-time. The school-age girls among them often supply sex to fund their education. These young junction-town prostitutes get more action because of the truck drivers' misconceived ideas that HIV is more prevalent among populations 20 years and older.

Trucks parks—truck stops situated in junction towns where drivers can spend the night—are often adjacent to West African day-and-night markets. Itinerant female hawkers and solitary market women are known to offer sexual services to these drivers. Prostitution tends to be most prevalent in major junction towns of transport commerce, such as the Nigerian towns of Lagos, Ibadan, Calabar, and Maiduguri.

West African long-distance truck drivers stop for the night in designated areas—usually where the road widens or where they can park off the road. They then frequent popular roadside eating houses and bars called “Mama Puts,” as well as other buildings that serve as places to sleep and find sexual partners. Sexual activity between drivers and prostitutes is often high, not because the men earn substantial salaries as drivers, but because many of them perform additional services on the side for which they are handsomely remunerated.

The young sex workers who service these drivers live for the most part in shantytowns near these stops. Truck drivers who work the same route for long periods cultivate relationships with these junction-town or truck-park prostitutes much like in the rural areas where the sex workers provide home-cooked meals, familiar surroundings, friendships, conversation, and sex. Many of these relationships thus established become long-term.

Urban or City Prostitution

The vast majority of city or urban prostitutes in West Africa come from elsewhere. In the Ivory Coast, for instance, most city prostitutes come from Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Mali, Senegal, and other West African states. In Bamako, Mali, there is noticeable flux of young students from various parts of West Africa between July and August; these students spend their summer vacation working as prostitutes and then return home when school resumes in September.

There are many types of urban or city prostitutes in West Africa. In the Ivory Coast, the women in one group of prostitutes are known as “Dioula women” or “women of Dyato-Mouso.” Malian (mainly Bambara and Peul) in origin, these are usually young girls who after brief stints as prostitutes become vendors in the local markets. Another category of prostitutes is the

“Karoua women.” These Zerma or Hausa prostitutes are mainly divorced women from Niger. A third group are the “Westernized or évolue prostitutes.” These sex workers, mainly operating in French West Africa, hang out at bars and dance halls and service European and African clientele. “Toutou” prostitutes can be found all over West Africa. Originating primarily from British West Africa, they belong chiefly to the following ethnic groups: the Fante and Asante of Ghana; the Ewe of Ghana, Togo, and Benin; and the Igbos, Ijaws, and Calabaris of Nigeria. The name “Toutou” derives from “2 shillings, 2 pence,” and the women are so called because they charge low rates for sex. In Cote d’Ivoire, Toutou prostitutes have no general quarters and are mainly street prostitutes who cluster on the side streets of main avenues. This migratory pattern also lends credence to the other name by which they are known—“Walk About Women.” In Accra, Ghana, they live in a separate red light area and position themselves on their respective doorsteps in clear view of potential clients. When engaged, they lower a curtain in front of their doorways. An Accra Toutou may visit a client in his own home and spend the night with him there, but it would be rare for an Ivory Coast Toutou to do so. Nigerian “Toutous” en route to Abidjan make an initial stop in Ghana, where they offer sex for money on the major city streets. The “Karvas or Karuwai” prostitutes are Hausa, Fulani, and Zerma (Nigeria), and they rent small houses in the *zongo* (strangers’) quarters of the respective West African city to which they migrate. Their clients visit them for up to a week to talk, play music, and have sex. The city name for the modern-day Igbo prostitute is *akwunakwuna* or *okada*—the ubiquitous motorcycle that has taken the place of taxi cabs in Nigeria.

The urban prostitutes who frequent the hotels and bars are known as “door knockers” in Nigeria. They are so called because they frequent four- and five-star hotels, knocking on the doors of potential clients. Door knockers often stay the length of their client’s stop in the hotel, serving their sexual needs. In Lagos, Nigeria, high-price prostitutes work along the busy Allen Avenue in Ikeja. In a country where traditional religion and beliefs still hold sway, traditional medicines are said to be used by these prostitutes to procure clients.

Many city prostitutes in West Africa have organized associations that protect their interests as commercial sex workers. One such organization is The Nigerian Union of Prostitutes. In the Ivory Coast, city prostitutes have organized a number of large, highly formalized associations that are founded along ethnic lines. Each association is headed by a president, who is in turn aided by several elected officers. These officers are older prostitutes who are deemed wiser and are therefore trusted. They look after the interests of their group and act as spokeswomen for their members, especially in dialogues with the often-antagonistic police.

International Prostitution

There have been two types of international prostitution in West Africa. The first, which was especially common during the early days of independence in the 1960s, involved the importation of European prostitutes into French West Africa for sex. In the Ivory Coast, 90 percent of these European prostitutes lived in the capital city, Abidjan. These European prostitutes were predominantly barmaids attached to one of the city’s numerous nightclubs or bars. Most of them were between the ages of 25 and 40. Generally from Paris or Marseille, these prostitutes were sent from France to Africa expressly for the purpose of becoming sex workers. Like their African counterparts, they moved around quite a bit. They rarely spent more than six months in a particular bar and would often spend two to three years in one French West African country and then move to another. European prostitutes charged high fees. Consequently, they were frequented mainly by fellow Europeans and a select group of Africans who could

afford their services. In the late 1960s Ivory Coast's European prostitutes charged an average of 6,000 African francs (CFA) (\$24) and as much as 10,000 francs (\$40) per visit. They were said to make between 250,000 and 300,000 francs (\$1,000–\$1,200) per month, but were obliged to pay a per-client "air-conditioning" commission of 1,000 francs (\$4) to the proprietor of the bar in which they were stationed. Many European prostitutes were able to make enough money to return to France at the end of their three-year prostitution stints.

The influx of West African prostitutes into Europe is a more recent phenomenon. For nearly 20 years, women from Benin City, Nigeria, as well as from other West African cities, have been going to Italy and other European countries (e.g., Spain, Denmark, Germany, Holland) to work as sex workers. Called "Italos," many of these women are single, but some are married and seek work abroad with the blessings of their husbands. They build lavish homes in their hometowns, sink private boreholes to supply water, and buy four-wheel-drive luxury cars that they drive on the oftentimes unpaved West African country roads. The Italos often seem to be engaged in a never-ending cycle, as successful prostitutes recruit younger ones to join them in Europe. These younger recruits are encouraged by the success stories of the Italos before them who have purchased expensive cars and built mansions and estates for their families. The popular Nigerian singer, Ohenhen, in a hit song played the country over, recently celebrated the enormous wealth of a prominent Italo called Dupay who was said to sponsor younger women to follow her lucrative example. This apparent adulation of the international West African prostitute is not limited to the music world. The Nigerian Film Industry, Nollywood, seems also to have put a positive spin on prostitution in Nigeria and abroad. A number of popular low-cost videos that glorify prostitution have saturated the market. One such film, *Glamour Girls*, appeared in two volumes.

Many factors influence the young West African woman's decision to become a prostitute, but the most prevalent by far is the fact that prostitution is lucrative. In situations in which West African currencies have been devaluated by more than 800 percent, in which countries have been broken down by corruption, and in which still other countries have been ravaged by war, it is not surprising that young West African women take what appears to be the easy way out. When these West African girls come of age, they think only of survival—of how to put food on the table—and to many of these young women, survival in what has become a dry and unforgiving land often involves trading sexual favors for money. With limited education, West African prostitutes earn much more money than they ordinarily would in other modes of "legitimate" commerce. They are moved to enter prostitution because they see sex work as a temporary vice—a period of intense saving—that will allow many to marry and will allow still others to engage in "lawful" business.

See also Migration and Mobility; Unions.

Further Reading: Achebe, Nwando. "The Road to Italy: Nigerian Sex Workers at Home and Abroad." In *Women's Labors, Special Issue of Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 177–184; Anarfi, John K. *Female Migration and Prostitution in West Africa: The Case of Ghanaian Women in Côte d'Ivoire*. Accra, Ghana: GTZ Regional AIDS Programme for West and Central Africa, 1995; Buckner, Margaret. "Village Women as Town Prostitutes: Cultural Factors Relevant to Prostitution and HIV Epidemiology in Guinea Bissau." In *Social Sciences and AIDS in Africa: Review and Prospects; Experiencing and Understanding AIDS in Africa*. Paris: Karthala, 1999, pp. 389–404; FaSanto, Maria Eugenia, G. Do Espirito, and Gina D. Etheredge. "And Then I Became a Prostitute ... Some Aspects of Prostitution and Brothel Prostitutes in Dakar, Senegal." *The Social Science Journal* 41 (2004): 137–

46; Fagbohunge, Tunde, ed. *The Rape of the Innocents: Evolving an African Initiative Against Human Trafficking*. Proceedings of the First Pan African Conference on Human Trafficking, Abuja, Nigeria, February 19–23, 2001; ICWAD International Council for Women of African Descent, Trafficking of African Women Fact Sheet. http://www.npcbwo.org/newweb/icwad_04_trafficking_facts.htm; Loconto, Allison. “The Trafficking of Nigerian Women Into Italy.” *TED Case Studies* 656 (January 2002): 1–15, <http://www.american.edu/TED/italian-trafficking.htm>.

Nwando Achebe

WESTERN EUROPE. Prostitution in Western Europe is documented in Ancient Greece, with kept women or brothel slaves known as hetaerae, **porne**, and auletrides. The city of Pompeii offers the most relics of prostitution in Ancient Rome, when freeborn Romans were prohibited from marrying prostitutes and **pimps**. Laws from the 11th to 14th centuries document the state’s approach to prostitution in the Medieval Era, including widespread regulation and taxation of **brothels**. Sumptuary laws regulating prostitutes’ **clothing** indicated both what clues were worn to mark a woman a prostitute, such as a particular color scarf, and what she could not wear, usually expensive materials such as silk and fur that might be deemed above her status. **Magdalen homes** and orders were first established by a directive approved by the church in 1227.

Renaissance prostitutes faced harsher treatment than their predecessors as prostitution was gradually criminalized in much of Europe. This shift seems to have coincided with a growing prevalence of independent, unregulated prostitution, which rendered the municipal houses unprofitable, and brothels were closed in many cities. Religious fervor was not limited to the Catholic Renaissance. The **Protestant Reformation** promoted procreative sex and condemned recreational sex, especially sex with prostitutes.

Syphilis was first recorded in Europe in the late 15th century, and prostitutes were scapegoated for its spread. The **Contagious Diseases Acts** (CDA) in Britain in the 1860s stipulated that women suspected of prostitution be examined and held in a locked hospital if they showed symptoms of **sexually transmitted infections**. Victorian-era abolitionists including **Josephine Butler**, William Coote, and William Stead sought to eliminate prostitution, **white slavery**, and **trafficking** as well as to repeal the CDA.

Sex work in contemporary Western Europe takes many forms. In most places, sex work is not illegal; however, ancillary activities, such as managing the sex business of another, are generally criminalized. In Sweden, only the male buyer, and not the female prostitute, is committing a crime. **Street-based prostitution** is found almost everywhere, with supervised **tippelzones** in the Netherlands.

The low countries—the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—are known for prostitutes working in the windows. The windows are essentially shop fronts for prostitution: women stand in the window of a small room facing the street, clients negotiate at the door and then the curtains are drawn while services are provided.

Brothels were widely closed after the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which addressed only prostitution (as opposed to trafficking for work in other fields) and more specifically, living off the earnings of a prostitute. This meant that in Italy and France, the only legal venue for prostitution was the street, until the Sarkozy laws passed in France in 2002 made soliciting a crime. The Netherlands has allowed brothels to reopen in 2000. In Germany, large “Eros Centers” are state-supervised venues in which services including prostitution and **sadomasochism** are provided.

Despite the fact that antipimping laws prohibit them, **escort agencies** persist and, in Denmark, may even be patronized at government expense to secure sexual services for the elderly or disabled.

The International **Union** of Sex Workers is based in **London** and is affiliated with Britain's largest general union. Sex workers in Europe held a summit, attended by 120 people, in October 2005, echoing the original World Whores Congress held in 1985 during which the International Charter for Prostitutes' Rights was written.

See also Amsterdam; Appendix item 14; Hapsburg Empire; Medieval Prostitution; Syphilis; Unions; Window Prostitution.

Further Reading: Brussa, Licia, ed. *Health, Migration and Sex Work: The Experience of TAMPEP*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: TAMPEP, 1999; Cabiria. *Women and Migration in Europe*. Lyons, France: Le Dragon Lune, 2004; Pheterson, Gail. *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press, 1989; Roberts, Nickie. *Whores in History*. London: Grafton, 1989.

Melissa Hope Ditmore

WESTWARD EXPANSION. In the 19th century, prostitutes were frequently among the first civilians to settle an area in the American West after the army arrived. They also had close relationships with military personnel and law enforcement officials and contributed to town coffers through fines and licensures (though often unwillingly). Towns that grew by catering to the needs and desires of soldiers stationed at frontier posts often gained a reputation as dangerous centers of debauchery. During the 19th century, prostitution in the West offered a form of employment in a society in which many job opportunities were closed to women. With clerk and secretarial positions in the West dominated by men, women had very few options for earning a living. Although prostitution sometimes seemed to be the only answer in a dire economic situation, by making that choice, many of these women became trapped in a lifetime of dwindling economic prospects in light of the **retrogressive dynamic** of prostitution and possible exposure to dreadful and (at the time) incurable venereal infections.

Most full-time prostitutes on the frontier found themselves placed in one of four categories within the occupation. These categories included brothel dwellers, saloon or **dance hall girls**, crib women, and streetwalkers. The earning potential was highest with brothel dwellers (as were economic liabilities), and earning potential descended in the order the categories were previously listed. Brothel girls were usually younger, more attractive, and able to demand higher prices for their services. Likewise, renting a room in a brothel was quite expensive. Although a building rented for legitimate purposes could \$25, the same building as a brothel could be rented out for nearly \$200 a month. As brothel workers got older, they either became dance hall girls or rented cribs (small shacks in which the prostitutes lived and saw clients). These were steps down and also reduced the earning potential and living conditions of the women. The lowest step on the ladder was that of the streetwalker. Frequently these women did not earn enough to rent a crib and usually depended on clients to provide shelter for the night or squatted in an abandoned building.

Career prostitutes in the American West usually began working as early as age 15 and were often forced into "retirement" by age 30 because of younger competition. Some former prostitutes then began managing younger women in **brothels**, operating saloons, or working as abortionists. Prostitutes sometimes had their children living with them, and often, daughters followed in their mothers' footsteps. The presence of the industry and lack of education and marketable skills frequently left these young women with little hope for a different life.

Prostitution and Frontier Military

Whereas many prostitutes chose to locate within growing towns, others found their way to rural brothels, called hog ranches, located near military posts. Other prostitutes found lodgings in sutlers' stores (merchants who catered to the military), posing as domestic help. These often proved to be lucrative operations because military expeditions to the **American West** after the Civil War called for large garrisons of soldiers, providing a steady supply of customers. Although there was no official policy regarding prostitution near military posts, officers had diverse opinions regarding the institution. Post commanders rarely sought to banish prostitutes from the post, usually being content to allow brothels to exist nearby as long as they did not disrupt operations. If they were forced to act, commanders usually ordered such women away from the post. However, the women frequently ignored the orders.

Laundresses

Although some prostitutes pursued their careers full-time, others turned to prostitution to supplement their meager, and often unreliable, earnings as **laundresses** for the frontier army. In 1885, laundresses typically earned 37.5 cents per soldier per week and were paid by the soldiers after the soldiers were paid by the federal paymaster. Although the paymaster was supposed to make his circuit at least every two months, at times the soldiers, and in turn the laundresses, were not paid for six months at a time. The period after payday took on a near-carnival atmosphere. Soldiers gorged themselves on delicacies and **alcohol**, and some went directly to the brothels. Although post laundresses received rations from the military until they were withdrawn in 1883, between pay periods they were forced to incur debts for other necessities. After paying their debts, laundresses quickly found themselves destitute once more and in need of income. As a result, some laundresses seemingly had no choice but to supplement their income through occasional prostitution.

Laundresses also sometimes became common-law wives of various soldiers. Although some soldiers and frontier women found love in the West, for many soldiers the situation was a way to adapt the institution of **marriage** to meet their needs. At times, married soldiers were allowed to live outside of the barracks, and their "wives" frequented the post, drew rations, and found work as laundresses in a legitimate light. As evidence of the weakness of some such marital bonds, when a laundress's husband was transferred to another post, she often simply married another soldier.

Frontier soldiers sought out the company of laundresses and prostitutes for other reasons as well. Army regulations forbade married men from enlisting (with the exception of officers). Furthermore, enlisted men were forced to gain permission from their superior officer if they wanted to marry after they had entered the army. In addition, after 1883, laundresses and other women at the post had to be married to a soldier in order to draw rations. Thus, because of suspicion of marriages of convenience, marriage applications were closely scrutinized.

Venereal Disease on the Frontier

The loose morals and questionable arrangements embraced by soldiers and laundresses on the frontier often had bitter consequences. Although most post commanders frequently ignored the immoral behavior displayed by their men as long as they created few problems, post surgeons often argued against the mixing of soldiers and the undesirable elements of frontier towns. Consequently, commanders and surgeons commonly disagreed on allowing soldiers to venture into town and carouse with laundresses. The animosity between commanders and surgeons could also likely explain why orders for prostitutes to leave the area were rarely enforced.

The need to address the problems with prostitutes mainly arose from the transmission of infection. Medical records from posts in West Texas and the rest of the frontier often show several new cases of **syphilis** and gonorrhea each month. The young soldiers who contracted syphilis (which was incurable during the period) were discharged to endure the disease on their own. At Fort Griffin, Assistant Surgeon Henry McElderry discharged three soldiers in May 1871 for syphilis. Enlisted men were not the only soldiers who visited prostitutes on the lonely frontier. Brigadier General Ranald Slidell MacKinzie died in 1889, having retired from the army in 1884 during the late stages of syphilis.

Often the treatment of venereal disease by doctors during the 19th century was dangerous in itself. Syphilis was frequently treated by imbibing mercury, which not only did not cure the disease, but also poisoned the body while the disease ravaged it. The accepted medical treatment for gonorrhea involved a urethral injection of lead nitrate with a large syringe (which was also ineffective).

Although soldiers received treatment for their venereal diseases (ineffective though the treatment was) before they were discharged, prostitutes had to obtain their own treatment from local doctors. Furthermore, because they were often on the verge of economic collapse, prostitutes rarely received treatment for their medical conditions. Ironically, in this situation their desperate economic state probably saved them from the poor treatment at the time. Subsequently, both infected prostitutes and soldiers who sought their company commonly suffered with their diseases for the rest of their lives.

Suicide

Unable to endure their situations, many prostitutes sought solace in suicide. Newspapers of the period often documented the deaths of prostitutes by drug overdoses. "Red-Headed Mabel" Pratt of Salt Lake City attempted suicide by taking strychnine but was revived by a Dr. Witcher in June 1887. Three days later, Edna Scott, who had married a soldier in 1880 and was later abandoned, overdosed on morphine, ending her life in her crib on Commerce Street in the heart of the red light district.

Further Reading: Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985; Green, Bill. *The Dancing Was Lively: Fort Concho Texas: A Social History, 1867 to 1882*. San Angelo, TX: Author, 1974; Seagraves, Anne. *Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West*. Hayden, Idaho: Wesanne Publications, 1994; Wooster, Robert. *Soldiers, Sutlers, & Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987.

John J. Gaines

WHITE SLAVERY. The term "white slavery" has, at least since the middle of the 19th century, referred to an international traffic in white women and girls who have been sold or trapped into forced prostitution that usually involves transportation abroad, or out of the home nation. The traffic is sometimes referred to as the "white slave trade," a term that suggests both a coherent, organized system of exchange and a concomitant systemic representation of the white female body as sexual commodity within an international economy of masculine desire in which race and nation, along with gender, are indices of particular values. Although the term "white slavery" is occasionally used as if it were synonymous with prostitution, it represents rather a somewhat specialized category of sexual commerce that depends both on the racial visibility of the women and girls as white and on the widespread entrapment and transportation of white women and girls against their will into a condition of sexual enslavement for money. It is extremely difficult

to ascertain the extent or even the existence of a white slave trade, historically or in the present. White slaves “disappear,” and in the absence of compelling documentary evidence, the history of such a traffic remains obscure, despite the large body of anti–white-slave rhetoric produced in many nations from the late 1880s into the present and despite the widespread legislation in many nations and internationally to protect women and girls from **forced prostitution** and exchange across borders. Noteworthy legislation includes the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in England in 1885 and 1912; the White Slave Traffic Act, or **Mann Act**, in the United States in 1910; and the **League of Nations** International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in 1904 and 1949. Application of anti–white-slave legislation has been fairly limited.

Concern about white slavery has nonetheless been apparent in many national contexts over a period of at least 200 years, at least, that is, from the time that the term began to circulate in the English language, in the late 18th century. From the late 19th century until the aftermath of **World War I**, and especially in the years just before the war, fears about white slavery coalesced into a moral panic, a widespread, anxious conviction that white women and girls were being abducted in large numbers into an international sexual traffic, and a flurry of attempts to simultaneously make visible the existence of white slavery and stem the putative tide of white women and girls into foreign brothels or other locations for controlled, forced sexual labor.

In the British imperial context, the first blast against white slavery is usually attributed to *Pall Mall Gazette* editor William T. Stead, who, in the summer of 1885, published “**The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon**,” an exposé of a trade in white women and girls based in London and leading to conditions of sexual entrapment abroad. After Stead’s report, information about the **trafficking** began increasingly to appear in commentary and social reform rhetoric as well as in cautionary tales—white slave narratives—in print and, in the early 20th century, in **films**. These white slave narratives were produced in a range of genres, from didactic fiction to what purported to be firsthand accounts of enslavement or the witnessing of enslavement. White slave narratives of this period are characterized by the representation of women and girls in what are shown to be situations of vulnerability, notably through traveling alone or more generally moving through public space. Emphasized in these narratives and in the reports of the time was a conviction about the existence of the commerce and a sense of the concomitant danger for all white women and girls who might be caught by the snares of white slavers if they did not observe due care in their movement and conduct outside of the home.

The late 19th- and early 20th-century moral panic around white slavery had the effect less of protecting than of policing women and girls through efforts to restrict and control their movements as potential sexual subjects; it worked secondarily to demonize male lust as the basis for a commerce in white female bodies. Social reform activists and particularly feminists took up the cause of white slavery on these terms within and in relation to a broad range of problems, or “social evils,” seen to be affecting the strength and quality of the white races that were then engaged in competition for imperial power. Anxiety about population rates was rife, as were fears that the imperial races were not producing adequate numbers of people to fill the new territories into which the imperial nations were rapidly expanding through various acts of acquisition and colonization. The disappearance of white women and the apparent decline in white male moral behavior—as procurers and traders, as purchasers of women and girls—were taken as alarming signs of racial “degeneration.”

The existence of white slavery continues to be debated in historical analysis, as well as in contemporary discussions of sexual enslavement at the present time. Facts and statistics remain

elusive in the documenting of a sexual traffic in white women and girls, but the conditions that would lead to an exchange of white female bodies as sexual commodities remain intact in ideological structures of gender and race in many national and international contexts.

Although white slavery is now generally understood in relation to an international commerce in forced prostitution, the term was also used from the late 18th century and throughout the 19th to refer to white-skinned people exchanged in the African slave trade, to descendants of white and black parentage held as slaves in the United States during the period of slavery, and, at a metaphorical level, to exploited industrial workers in Britain.

Further Reading: Cordasco, Francesco, and Thomas Monroe Pitkin. *The White Slave Trade and the Immigrants: A Chapter in American Social History*. Detroit, MI: Blaine Ethridge, 1981; Devereux, Cecily. "'The Maiden Tribute' and the Rise of the White Slave in the Nineteenth Century: The Making of an Imperial Construct." *Victorian Review* 26.2 (2001): 1–23; Doezema, Jo. "The Re-emergence of the Myth of 'White Slavery' in Contemporary Discourses of 'Trafficking in Women.'" International Studies Convention, Washington, DC, February 16–20, 1999. *Gender Issues* 18.1 (2000): 23–50, <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/doezema-loose.html>; Irwin, Mary Ann. "White Slavery as Metaphor: Anatomy of a Moral Panic." *Ex Post Facto: The History Journal* 5 (1996), <http://www.sfsu.edu/~hsa/ex-post-facto/wslavery.html>; Stamp, Shelley Lindsey. "Is Any Girl Safe?: Female Spectators at the White Slave Films." *Screen* 37, no. 1 (1996): 1–15.

Cecily Devereux

WHOREHOUSE MUSICIANS. See *New Orleans; Storyville*.

WHORES' CONGRESS. See *Appendix A, document 2*.

WILDE, OSCAR (1854–1900). Anglo-Irish author Oscar Wilde was known as an author, playwright, poet, aesthete, and wit and infamously as a decadent "sodomite" convicted of "gross indecency." Son of an eminent Irish surgeon and a literary mother, Wilde embraced the Aesthetic Movement while at Oxford University, which heralded "art for art's sake," an ethos that later contributed to his tragic downfall for excluding moral considerations from the production of "art." Although Wilde married and had two children with his wife, Constance, the grand passion of his life was Lord Alfred "Bosie" Douglas, whose father, the Marquis of Queensbury, accused Wilde of "posing [as a] Somdomite [*sic*]" (Ellman 1987, 438) and corrupting his son, 16 years Wilde's junior. Encouraged by Bosie, Wilde foolishly brought a charge of libel against his lover's despised father for false allegation. Queensbury was not convicted, but Wilde was. Queensbury's evidence against Wilde resulted in his being charged with gross indecency. Wilde was cross-examined about his literary associations and his controversial homoerotic novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), which was brought in to prove Wilde's "sodomitical" tendencies, which Wilde denied. Wilde's conviction was secured because of his actual relations with a host of younger men, although he insisted his dinners, hotel stays, and trips abroad with them were mere platonic "friendships" and he neither had sex with them nor paid them for sexual favors. The depositions by these men—at least one of whom had blackmailed Wilde over his passionate letters to Bosie—and the testimonies of various hotels' staff who asserted they witnessed many of Wilde's assignations were more convincing than Wilde's vehement denials. Ironically, it was Bosie who had introduced Wilde to the other young men who were already "corrupted" and who would prostitute themselves for a small amount of money and an excellent meal. Wilde spent



Oscar Wilde. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

two years in jail, and with his reputation destroyed, he subsequently died a broken, impoverished exile in Paris. This anxiety about older aristocratic men corrupting lower-class youths had gained momentum in 1889, with the so-called Cleveland Street Scandal, which is considered to have fueled the prosecution of Wilde. The scandal surrounded the exposure of a West End male brothel that was filled with “rent-boys” or “painted boys” and patronized by many prominent aristocrats and titled men, allegedly including Prince Albert Victor, second in line to the throne.

See also *Male Prostitution*.

Further Reading: Ellman, Richard. *Oscar Wilde*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984; repr. 1987; Holland, Merlin. *The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde*. New York: 4th Estate/HarperCollins, 2003; Hyde, H. Montgomery. *The Cleveland Street Scandal*. London: W. H. Allen, 1976.

Janet Tanke

WINDOW PROSTITUTION. Window prostitution is a form of soliciting **clients** that is found mainly in Dutch, Belgium, and German cities.

Amsterdam is most famous for its red light district with more than 400 shop windows from which female and **transgender sex workers** conduct their business.

Window prostitution is an independent way of working. The sex worker rents the window and working room (and some facilities such as clean sheets and towels) per day or per shift from the window brothel owner, who is not a boss but a landlord. The sex worker is an independent entrepreneur. She negotiates with the clients, sets her own fees, and decides for herself what services she will or will not provide and to whom.

Historically, in red light areas, sex workers who worked in bars and **brothels** would stand in the doorway to attract clients and seduce them to come in. In the early 20th century, just after brothels were banned in the Netherlands, women started to work from their own homes or rooms they rented from **madams** (often former sex workers) in the red light district. To protect public order and public decency, they were not allowed to stand in the doorway. Most women had their rooms upstairs and picked up their clients on the streets or in the bars. Some women, however, rented the room downstairs and could sit behind the window. From behind closed

curtains they lured their customers with a tap on the window. The police decided to turn a blind eye to this “hidden” form of soliciting. With these conditions this form of home prostitution gradually expanded in Amsterdam’s red light district and gave the area the character that still makes it famous today. The women behind the windows often worked “at a half” with the owner of the room. This meant that half of her earnings were paid to the madam, who usually had three or four women renting rooms from her.

As the years passed, the curtains were allowed to be opened further. In the 1950s the women sat in elegant dress in their living room behind the windows. With the gradual opening of the curtains came changes to the dress and behavior codes of sex workers, from wearing dresses to wearing lingerie and from tapping on the windows to standing visibly illuminated by red or black lights. Now, if the curtain is closed, it means that the sex worker is doing business. From the 1970s onward the character of the red light districts has changed. The sex industry has become more commercialized. Businessmen bought the prostitution houses from the landladies. They expanded the commercial business within their buildings by increasing the number of windows spaces and building small working rooms directly behind the windows. Sex workers no longer lived in the window brothels, and the owners started to introduce shifts. Most brothels now have two shifts and some of them even three.

Since the legalization of the Dutch sex industry, the window brothels are required to meet various **occupational safety and health** standards, such as standards regarding fire, safety, and public health, in order to obtain or retain a license to operate. Although the owners of the window brothels are not considered to be bosses, they are responsible for checking the passports of sex workers renting from them to make certain that they satisfy legal residency and age restrictions. Although sex workers in the Netherlands are not required to have a license or to register with local authorities, migrants from countries outside of the European Union do need a work permit.

Marieke van Doorninck

WOLFENDEN REPORT. The Wolfenden Report, officially entitled the “Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution 1957,” was a 1957 British government study on sexual morality, especially prostitution and homosexuality, as they related to public issues. It led to the **Street Offences Act of 1959**, a law that proposed to stop the nuisance caused by prostitutes soliciting on the streets of London.

Sir John Wolfenden (1906–85) was the chairman of the study. Born in Halifax, Yorkshire, he was a fellow and tutor in philosophy at Magdalen College, Oxford (1929–34); headmaster of Uppingham (1934–44) and Shrewsbury (1944–50); and vice-chancellor of Reading University starting in 1950. He was made a life peer in 1974.

Wolfenden was a man who believed in the efficacy of corporal punishment and rose to prominence in British society during the late 1950s after the publication of the report named after him. His appointment as chairman of this committee followed a chance meeting with the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, on an overnight sleeper train traveling from Liverpool to London in 1954.

Maxwell Fyfe had been concerned for some years over the “shameless display” of prostitutes “flaunting” themselves in the West End of London and “pestering” passersby. This activity had attracted attention in the press and complaints from leaders of the churches. He considered it a particularly deplorable example of London’s immorality, likely to shock the increasing number of foreign visitors coming to Britain during an era of post-war celebration.

Wolfenden

"There were precious few occasions of light relief. One occurred when a highly respectable society of lawyers arranged for a party of girls from the street to come and expound their point of view. My colleagues were looking forward with naughty expectation to my conduct of this particular interview, and were more than usually fertile in their suggestions about questions which might be asked. A few hours before it was due the visit was called off by the girls themselves. They had not realised they would have to come to the Home Office, and they were not going to be seen dead entering or leaving the place. Besides, they thought it would be bad for trade.... So that piece of firsthand experience was denied us."

John Wolfenden, *Turning Points: The Memoirs of Lord Wolfenden* (London: The Bodley, 1976).

ON PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT

"We were accused by some highly respectable women's organisations of discriminating against the prostitute and doing nothing against her wicked client. Indeed, one very distinguished ecclesiastic charged me with this in conversation. 'Surely', he said, 'you would agree that the man who goes with a prostitute is just as guilty as she is.' To which I replied, 'My dear Archbishop, he may be just as guilty as she is of what you and I might call the sin of fornication: He is not a guilty as she is of cluttering up the streets of London.'"

John Wolfenden, *Turning Points: The Memoirs of Lord Wolfenden* (London: The Bodley, 1976).

The legal system regulating prostitution at the time was believed to be unsatisfactory. Prostitutes were rounded up by the police on the basis of a rota system, and they were then taken to a magistrates' court, where they were fined a trivial amount that they swiftly recouped by returning to the street. It was suggested that this system brought the law into disrepute.

Maxwell Fyfe had prepared the ground in 1951 when a senior civil servant, Philip Allan, was dispatched to the United States to investigate the American method of regulation. Although prostitution was illegal in the States, a discreet equilibrium was maintained through a call-girl system. In response to Allan's report, Maxwell Fyfe formulated a plan that he set out in a confidential Home Office memorandum (to which the final report of the Wolfenden committee bore a remarkable resemblance). The legislative formula was a combination of steeply increased, incremental fines accompanied by a prison sentence for repeat offenders and, crucially, the withdrawal of the need for the police to provide evidence in court that a citizen had been annoyed. To achieve the desired end and override any antagonism from women's organizations, Maxwell Fyfe considered it necessary to appoint a group of impartial, unbiased professional men and women who would

command the respect of the public. This committee would then investigate the subject in detail and suggest a legal remedy.

Once committee members were appointed (three women and thirteen men), one of the committee's earliest decisions was to meet in private, purportedly to limit sensational reporting in the press, which it feared might influence public perceptions of the problems. This turned out to be an astute move: official secrecy has prevented historians from examining the committee documents for 40 years. Moreover, this policy meant that the feared "women's organizations" (principally the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, later to become the **Josephine Butler Society**) could be ignored and lampooned behind closed doors while the chief of police and other high-status officials were treated with obsequious respect.

A number of things are now clear, most significantly that the committee was appointed primarily to deal with prostitution. Homosexuality was included as an afterthought (possibly a camouflage) by Maxwell Fyfe in an effort to avoid criticism because that topic had also received attention in the press. He was a notorious homophobe, and it is unlikely that he would have

conflated the two issues if he had suspected that the final recommendations would include liberalizing measures. Thus, although the harsh and repressive measures with regard to prostitution can be seen as a forgone conclusion, they were eclipsed by the public impact of the recommendations concerning homosexuality. However, what took the country by storm was the famous liberal assertion that “unless a deliberate attempt is to be made by society, acting through the agency of the law, to equate the sphere of crime with that of sin, there must remain a realm of private morality and immorality which is, in brief and crude terms, not the law’s business.”

The impact of this statement on law and on public perceptions of homosexual behavior has been profound, but with regard to prostitution exceedingly devious. To justify the Home Office aims for harsher penalties, Wolfenden and his committee argued that they were not concerned with morality but with public order. As Wolfenden put it in his *memoirs*, “questions of morality apart,” something had to be done to protect “the right of the ordinary citizen to have free and uninterrupted passage along the streets of London.” This denial of any moral component neatly sidestepped the responsibility of the client (who merely accepted an offer and annoyed nobody) and the inappropriateness of a prison sentence for “loitering or soliciting,” an activity described by the committee’s secretary, W. C. Roberts, as “hanging around.”

The subtleties of this argument were forgotten when it came to legislation, and the recommendations of the Wolfenden Committee were embodied in the Street Offences Act of 1959. It became an offence for a “common prostitute” to loiter or solicit in a street or a public place for the purpose of prostitution. This was underpinned by a nonstatutory cautioning system that provided for two cautions before a woman was officially registered in police files as a “common prostitute,” a label that could not be expunged.

In effect, this provided a presupposition of guilt, given that the subsequent presentation of a woman before the court as a “common prostitute” left her with no defense. Repeated attempts to repeal or reform this law have ended in failure.

Further Reading: Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Head, Frank Cass, 2003; Wolfenden, John. *Turning Points: The Memoirs of Lord Wolfenden*. London: The Bodley, 1976.

Helen J. Self

WOODHULL, VICTORIA (1838–1927). Victoria Woodhull was a fearless feminist activist who spoke against the hypocrisy of 19th-century attitudes toward sexuality. Born in frontier Ohio, Victoria rarely attended school, traveling with her family to hawk questionable medicines. At age 15, she married an alcoholic physician, Canning Woodhull; later, her daughter Zula became her lifelong companion. Victoria reunited with her sister, Tennessee Celeste (1845–1923) when Canning abandoned his family, creating a female-headed household that scandalized the Midwest. Woodhull’s new lover, Colonel J. H. Blood, introduced the sisters to the century’s many intellectual crazes. The family moved to Manhattan, where Woodhull and “Tennie C.” persuaded a millionaire to finance their Wall Street brokerage firm. In April 1870, Woodhull announced her candidacy for President of the United States, even though women did not have the right to vote. Woodhull’s denunciation of the sexual double standard that penalized women, but not men, for taking multiple lovers cemented her notoriety when Canning joined her possibly polygamous household. In *Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly*, published from 1870 to 1876, the sisters advocated **free love**, legalized prostitution, spiritualism, and dress reform, especially the abandoning of corsets. When a famous Brooklyn minister dismissed them as “two prostitutes,”

Victoria Woodhull

"Yes, I am a Free Lover. I have an inalienable, constitutional and natural right to love whom I may, to love as long or as short a period as I can; to change that love every day if I please, and with that right neither you nor any law you can frame have any right to interfere."

Victoria Woodhull, Steinway Hall, May 9, 1872. "Official Report of the Equal Rights Convention, New York City."

the *Weekly* retaliated, publishing a detailed account of his adulterous affair with a parishioner. The federal government invoked the new Comstock law, jailing Victoria Woodhull for distributing "obscene" material. Defended by a leading Congressman, the sisters won their free speech case. Woodhull and Tennessee Caffin immigrated to England in 1877, each marrying wealthy society men. Victoria Woodhull and Zula Woodhull were later advocates for birth control.

Further Reading: Victoria Woodhull & Company Web site. <http://www.victoria-woodhull.com>; Goldsmith, Barbara. *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1998; Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002.

Melinda Chateauvert

WORLD CHARTER. See Appendix C, document 11: **World Charter for Prostitutes' Rights, 1985.**

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION. The World Health Organization (WHO) is a branch of the United Nations, and it addresses sex work as part of its effort to address problems with **sexually transmitted infections** and HIV. When AIDS was identified as a



Victoria Woodhull reading her argument in favor of woman's voting, in front of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, 1870. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

significant threat to public health, WHO formed a department, the Global Programme on AIDS (GPA), under the leadership of Jonathan Mann. In 1989, Mann recruited Priscilla Alexander to review the experiences of projects that worked with sex workers in developing countries and to develop guidelines on how to organize HIV-prevention programs in the context of sex work. It was GPA's position that the people most affected by the epidemic had a crucial role to play in developing an effective response. Perhaps because of the urgency of the AIDS epidemic, GPA was given a freer hand than is typical of WHO departments, which traditionally are required to function within a formal bureaucracy that gives member states a leading role. As a result, GPA was able to bypass national governments in some cases. GPA's approach to prostitution used a labor perspective by which HIV was addressed as a workplace issue for sex workers. The GPA promoted the growth of nongovernmental organizations, which continue to play a crucial role in prevention of HIV in developing countries. A large number of nongovernmental organizations addressing HIV work with prostitutes. This program later became UNAIDS.

Priscilla Alexander

THE WORLD OF SUZIE WONG. Richard Mason's 1957 novel, *The World of Suzie Wong*, is narrated in the first person by a British artist, Robert Lomax. Starting a new life in **Hong Kong**, the initially naïve Lomax is both appalled and compelled by the rampant prostitution in the British colony. Living in a seedy hotel in the Wanchai district, where Chinese women can solicit sailors through a legal loophole, he befriends many of the women; however, Lomax becomes fixated on one particular prostitute: Suzie Wong. Their relationship is at first chaste, but after many dramatic ups and downs—convincingly narrated through Mason's matter-of-fact and sober prose—the couple marry in Macau and plan a new life together in Japan.

The couple face many obstacles to their union, including drink-sodden rivals and Wong's tuberculosis, her short prison spell for attacking a rival prostitute, and the death of her baby and the baby's *amah* (wet-nurse). Perhaps the biggest obstacle to contentment is Wong's low self-esteem: after being raped by an uncle as a teenager and sleeping with thousands of men for money since, she sees herself only as a "dirty little yum-yum girl." On one level a love story between an unlikely couple, the novel also contains a range of comment on social ills. Prostitution, Lomax insists, is a minor ill compared with the overcrowding and lack of hygiene in refugee-packed Hong Kong and compared with the racism shown toward mixed-race children of Western and Chinese parents. The novel is notable for its vivid depiction of Hong Kong's humidity-wracked nightlife, its gambling, drinking, and eating cultures, and its cast of colorful cameos of frustrated businessmen, irritable English wives, nervous officials, and harassed hotel staff. But it is also notable for its frank depictions of sexual activity and miscegenation and—above all—for its defense of the women who sell their bodies and even of the lonely men who resort to seeking out prostitutes.

The novel was quickly adapted for stage and screen. The dramatist, Paul Osborn, crafted a play based on Mason's novel, also called *The World of Suzie Wong*. Although Osborn's script has never been published, the play has been performed on Broadway and in Britain. The film version of 1960, which also retained the novel's title, was directed by Richard Quine and was a breakthrough film for Nancy Kwan, whose depiction of the Hong Kong prostitute established her as one of the leading Asian stars in the West.



France Nuyen and William Shatner in Joshua Logan's 1958 play *The World of Susie Wong*. Courtesy of Photofest.

Further Reading: Ho, Elaine Yee Lin. "Connecting Cultures: Hong Kong Literature in English, the 1950s." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2003): 5–25; Mason, Richard. *The World of Suzie Wong*. London: Collins, 1957.

Kevin De Ornellas

WORLD WAR I REGULATION.

During the World War I, the appearance of **syphilis** and gonorrhea among Allied and German troops produced heightened worries about the dangers of prostitution and **sexually transmitted infections**. From 1914 to 1918, European governments increased police surveillance of prostitutes to halt the spread of disease, yet prostitution as an economic force grew. Thousands of soldiers visited brothels to dance, drink, and forget the war. In turn, many women ran successful businesses catering to soldiers, only to retire from prostitution after the war.

During the 19th century, Britain and France introduced systems of medically regulated prostitution, seeking to ensure the health of prostitutes for customers. Regulation required prostitutes to register with police and receive medical examinations from police physicians. Doctors examined prostitutes monthly or bi-monthly, giving them pelvic and visual screenings for chancres or pox, both signs of syphilis. If deemed healthy, prostitutes received an official document to certify their health and could continue to work. If symptomatic, prostitutes were isolated in **brothels** or sent to a women's prison-hospital to recover. Regulation, however, did not stop the spread of disease; by 1917, Paul Faivre, a physician, complained that medical examinations infected women with venereal disease. Police doctors, he said, did not clean their instruments between exams, often using the same **speculum** dipped in a jar of grease. In this way, they transmitted infection from woman to woman.

Germany also had a system of regulation and police that kept prostitutes under surveillance. During the war, however, German authorities also suspected women who engaged in sexual activities outside of **marriage** to be prostitutes, identifying them as amateur prostitutes (*heimliche Prostitutierte*). To curtail prostitution and disease, German officials increased police surveillance and closed public bars.

When healthy, prostitutes did not have to work hard to attract soldiers to their services; prostitution as sex work increased during the war. In France, British officer Robert Graves witnessed long lines in front of brothels, up to 150 strong. With such demand, the women working as prostitutes learned to make use of men's eagerness; they passed rapidly from one client to the next without spending much time on any individual. Stories circulated among soldiers and officials

that a single prostitute could service a battalion of men a week, or upward of 60 to 80 men a day, for as long as she was able. French police doctor Léon Bizard reported that, near the front lines, women found ample if disagreeable work in the sexual economy. "There," Bizard wrote, "it was a pressing crowd, a hard, dangerous and sickening 'business': fifty, sixty, even one hundred men of all colors and races, 'to do' per day, under the continual threat from planes, bombardments." The prostitutes who had worked on the front lines explained to Bizard that "the profession was so laborious—eighteen hours of 'slaving at it' per day!—that every month, even every two weeks, [the women] had to go to Paris to regain their strength." But by that time, Bizard said, they had earned nearly a fortune and could begin life anew (Bizard 1925, 197).

Not all prostitutes left the business quickly or stayed near the front lines to work; some made use of the war to turn small brothels into larger businesses, sometimes selling them later. Aline Zink worked as an unregistered prostitute in Paris and, just before the war started in 1914, purchased a small brothel. On the first floor, the brothel included a bar, sitting room, and kitchen. She rented many of the second-floor bedrooms to *pensionnaires* (women who rented rooms to work as prostitutes). From eight in the morning until midnight, Zink allowed four women to dress in street clothes and solicit **clients** downstairs. A client could be expected to pay two or three francs for his visit, at a time when the exchange rate was nearly six francs per dollar.

Aline Zink ran her business carefully. She did not allow the women to cause problems and developed a solid working relationship with the police; they closed her brothel only once, for a minor infraction. She made certain that her house had a doctor and that all women received medical exams to continue working. On several occasions Zink acted as informant to the police, providing them with useful information on customers and troublemakers. After the Armistice in 1918, Zink and her husband (then a war veteran) sold the brothel for a tidy profit and began a new life. She never appeared in the police records again.

Regulated prostitution did not slow the spread of disease during the World War I. This slowing happened only at the end of the war, when soldiers returned home and resumed a normal life. Throughout the conflict, each of the warring nations took steps to increase surveillance of prostitutes. In spite of increased police attention and regulation of prostitution, sex work increased from 1914 to 1918. Many women, such as Aline Zink, created profitable businesses, running them strictly and working within the confines of police regulation.

See also Scapegoating.

Further Reading: Bizard, Léon. *Souvenirs d'un Médecin de la Préfecture de Police et des Prisons de Paris (1914–1918)*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1925; Grayzel, Susan. *Women's Identities at War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999; Rhoades, Michelle K. "No Safe Women': Prostitution, Masculinity, and Disease in France during the Great War." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 2001; Rhoades, Michelle K. "'There Are No Safe Women': Prostitution in France During the Great War." *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 27 (2001): 43–50; Sauertig, Lutz D. H. "Sex Medicine and Morality During the First World War." In *War, Medicine and Modernity*, ed. Roger Cooter, Mark Harrison, and Steve Sturdy. Phoenix Mill, Stroud, England: Sutton Publishing, 1998, pp. 167–188.

Michelle K. Rhoades

WUORNOS, AILEEN (1959–2002). Dubbed the "Damsel of Death," Aileen Wuornos was accused of killing seven men while she worked as a prostitute in 1989 and 1990. She is known



Convicted serial killer Aileen Wuornos waits to testify in the Volusia County courthouse in Florida, 2001. Courtesy of AP / Wide World Photos.

as one of the first female **serial killers** in the United States. Of the seven murders that she was suspected of committing, Wuornos was convicted and sentenced to death for six. Her initial defense revolved around the premise that she was acting in self-defense, protecting herself from being raped and sodomized. She later recanted. According to Wuornos, devotion to her lesbian lover Tyria Moore drove her to kill to earn money so that they could continue to live. Aileen, also known as Lee, began life in Michigan abandoned by her mother and left in the care of her grandparents. Her father was a convicted child molester who committed suicide while in prison. Pregnant at 14, Wuornos gave her child up and started her career as a prostitute. It was believed that Wuornos suffered from borderline personality disorder as a result of the neglect and abuse she faced as a child at the hands of her grandparents and the townspeople. During her trial, Arlene Pralle adopted Wuornos, claiming that she had received a message from God.

Wuorno's story was made into three movies. The first, *Aileen Wuornos—The Selling of a Serial Killer*, details her appeals process and features interviews conducted by documentarian Nick Broomfield, who also made a second film about her. These were followed by a Hollywood version titled *Monster* (2003), featuring Charlize Theron as Wuornos, a role for which Theron won an Academy Award.

See also Films; Violence.

Further Reading: Kennedy, Dolores, with Robert Nolin. *On a Killing Day: The Bizarre Story of Convicted Murderer Aileen "Lee" Wuornos*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 1992; Russell, Sue. *Lethal Intent*. New York: Pinnacle Books, 2002.

Anne Marie Fowler

Y

YOSHIWARA. Yoshiwara, the Edo, Japan, pleasure quarter, was for more than three centuries a center of prostitution, theater, and art. From 1617, Yoshiwara was located to the northeast of the city and, in 1657, was moved to a larger plot further from the city center. Originally named for the “field of reeds” it was built on, the initial character, “*yoshi*,” was later altered to signify “good fortune.” Yoshiwara’s geographical separation from the rest of the city (by distance, walls, and a moat) made it a social space distinct from that of strictly regimented Edo society. The fluid social relations of the Yoshiwara “floating world” (**ukiyo-e**) provided respite from the rigid hierarchies of everyday life in Edo. Once inside the Yoshiwara walls, which were locked at night, people hid visible signs of their social status, mixed with other classes, and, for a price, took pleasure where they could find it.

The Edo Era of Japan (1603–1868), also known as the Tokugawa Era, began with the nation’s unification under the Shogun Ieyasu, who settled in Edo, previously a small fishing village, thus making it the nation’s political and military seat. Over the next century, the city of Edo (current-day **Tokyo**) swelled to more than a million residents, of which around two-thirds were male, most of them samurai, merchants, and laborers. Populated by sojourners separated from family life, Edo grew into a “bachelor city” with great demands for diversion. To manage this social reality, a group of Edo brothel owners led by Shoji Jinémon petitioned the Shogun to allow prostitution within a contained pleasure quarter. In 1617, the Shogun licensed the operation of **brothels**, set aside a section of land, and ordered the construction and settlement of a pleasure quarter.

With the Shogun’s concession came a number of rules: people entering and leaving the quarter by its single gate were to be monitored, with suspicious strangers being reported to the authorities; **courtesans** were not allowed to work in other parts of the city or leave the quarter without permission; courtesans were not allowed to wear ostentatious **clothing**; buildings in the quarter were to be kept modest in size and plain in style; and the amount of time a guest could stay in the quarter was limited to one day and night. Ways to bend these rules were found soon enough, and periods of relative laxity and renewed enforcement would come and go. During periods of increased government vigilance, prostitutes found in other parts of the city were sent

to the Yoshiwara. Confined to its set area by law and walls, the Yoshiwara's density increased greatly as the number of inhabitants and courtesans increased, housing at its height around 3,000 courtesans.

Though its location was marginal, the Yoshiwara (often referred to as *fuyajo*, the “nightless city”) developed into a thriving cultural center packed with teahouses, restaurants, and theaters featuring kabuki and *bunraku* (puppet) drama. Artists and musicians recognized the Yoshiwara's potential as both a venue for their work and a source of material, reflected in visual art such as woodblock prints depicting the floating world (*ukiyo-e*) and erotic scenes (*shunga*, literally “spring pictures”). The quarter's internal folkways gave rise to distinct styles, behaviors, and speech patterns. Yoshiwara courtesans became known, in comparison to those of Kyoto or Osaka, for their self-possession and panache, known as *hari*. Frequent male visitors to the Yoshiwara strove for recognition as *tsu*, sophisticated dandies versed in style, the arts, and the workings of the pleasure quarter.

In many ways, the Yoshiwara was effectively exempt from common social restrictions, but a sophisticated hierarchy nevertheless resulted among its courtesans. From the early years of the Yoshiwara, the highest level of courtesan was the *tayo*, possessed of exceptional beauty and accomplished in traditional arts, followed by *koshi*, *tsubone*, *kirimise*, and the lowest class, *hashi*. The state of Yoshiwara's internal order was advertised through *saiken* (literally “directories”), which listed the names and locations of various courtesans and **guidebooks**, called *yujo hyobanki*, which considered at greater length the courtesans' respective merits and flaws. The prestige level of a given brothel rested significantly on the number, quality, and renown of its *tayo*.



“Morning at the Yoshiwara.” A man looking out windows at snow falling while courtesans prepare tea and perform other domestic duties. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, courtesans faced competition from several directions, and the taxonomy continued to evolve and consolidate in response to internal and external pressures. Unlicensed prostitutes in other areas, such as Fukagawa, drove down prices. **Geisha** (“artist”) emerged as a distinct profession whose practitioners specialized in high arts. Although geisha were not considered courtesans and were even prohibited from directly competing with courtesans, they filled the elevated cultural niche formerly occupied by elite courtesans. Former teahouse waitresses who had been relegated to the Yoshiwara in the late 17th century became known as *sancha*, displacing prior groups. *Tayo* and *Koshi* deteriorated in number, level of accomplishment, and price, causing the terms to fall into disuse and be replaced by other classes, such as *oiran*.

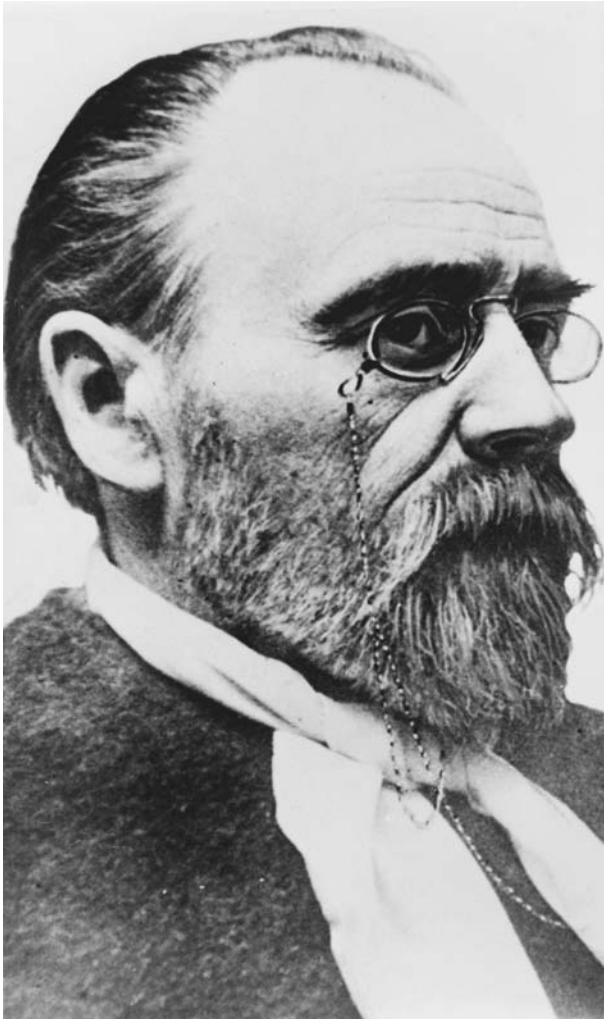
By the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868), when Edo became Tokyo, many Kabuki theaters had already moved to nearby Asakusa, and although many courtesans remained in Yoshiwara, it no longer was the city’s cultural center. A number of trends and events contributed to the Yoshiwara’s decline. Yoshiwara, since the blaze that had uprooted it in 1657, had always been vulnerable to fire. Blazes in the 1850s and 1860s, followed by many more over the next half-century, accelerated the migration of theaters, teahouses, and brothels to other sections of the city. After the great fire of 1911, in which several hundred Yoshiwara buildings burned down, the quarter was rebuilt with a more modern architectural character, and, along with much of Tokyo, it was leveled during World War II by American bombing campaigns. In addition to the lack of traditional Japanese architecture and waning demand for traditional arts, the Yoshiwara was dealt a final blow by legislation outlawing prostitution in 1956. Present-day Yoshiwara, officially Senzoku 4-chome, retains a notable density of unofficial brothels (called “soaplands”), but after significant shifts in the city’s demographics and lifestyle, such as the rise of Kabukicho, Roppongi, and other entertainment districts, Yoshiwara’s place as a vibrant pleasure quarter and center of culture has passed mostly into history and memory.

See also Appendix A, document 4.

Further Reading: De Becker, J. E. *The Nightless City, or, the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku*. New York: ICG Muse, 2003; Longstreet, Stephen, and Ethel Longstreet. *Yoshiwara: The Pleasure Quarters of Old Tokyo*. Tokyo: Yenbooks, 1970; Nishiyama, Matsunosuke. *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868*, ed. and trans. Gerald Groemer. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997; Screech, Timon. *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700–1820*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999; Seidensticker, Edward. *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake*. New York: Knopf, 1983; Seigle, Cecilia Segawa. *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993; Swinton, Elizabeth de Sabato. *The Women of the Pleasure Quarter: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the Floating World*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1995.

Alex Feerst

Z



Émile Zola. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

ZOLA, ÉMILE. Émile Edouard Charles Antoine Zola (1840–1902) was a French novelist and founder of the Naturalist movement in fiction. His series of 20 novels known under the generic title *Les Rougon-Macquart*. *Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire* (*The Rougon-Macquarts. The natural and social history of a family during the Second Empire*) included depictions of the lives of prostitutes, in particular the life of Nana in the novel of that name (published in 1880).

Zola researched in detail the lives of prostitutes and **courtesans** while preparing to write *Nana*, and his creation is a composite character, drawn both from his observations and from what he had been told about various courtesans. In particular, aspects of the historical characters of the Englishwoman **Cora Pearl** and

the French courtesan Blanche d'Antigny can be discerned in Zola's depiction of Nana. He was partly inspired to write the novel by Edouard Manet's painting, also called *Nana* (1877), which had in turn been inspired by Zola's earlier novel *L'Assommoir*, in which Nana makes her first appearance.

Zola was writing after the collapse of the Second Empire when attitudes toward prostitution were predominantly hostile and condemnatory; he was both influenced by and helped to perpetuate these attitudes. In one of his harshest diatribes in *Nana*, he likens a prostitute to a disease-carrying fly. He also reiterated the stereotypes catalogued by Dr. **Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet** nearly half a century earlier, dwelling on the prostitute's so-called instability and talkativeness, her taste for **alcohol**, her love for food and passion for gambling, and her propensity toward laziness, lying, and anger. In a gruesome closing scene that came to symbolize the disgust felt by many contemporaries for the prostitute, he made Nana die a particularly unpleasant death from smallpox.

See also France, Second Empire; Les Grandes Horizontales.

Further Reading: Auriant. *La Véritable Histoire de 'Nana.'* Paris: Mercure de France, 1942.

Virginia Rounding

APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

1. Prostitution in London (1862)

By Bracebridge Hemyng

Excerpts from Henry Philip Mayhew and Bracebridge Hemyng, *London Labour and the London Poor. Volume IV: Those That Will Not Work* (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1862).

Henry Mayhew is best known for his groundbreaking studies of urban workers and inhabitants of the street—including prostitutes—published in four volumes as London Labour and the London Poor in 1861 and 1862. Not only popular and influential in its day, London Labour and the London Poor also remains an important source for any study of Victorian prostitution.

The fourth volume of London Labour, titled Those That Will Not Work, contains a long discussion of prostitution, cowritten by Mayhew and Bracebridge Hemyng (1841–1901). Mayhew described prostitution around the world through the ages, and Hemyng provide groupings of prostitutes from “Sailor’s Women” to “Clandestine Prostitutes” and “Cohabitant Prostitutes.” Although Mayhew considered prostitution a type of theft, many of the fascinating interviews with prostitutes included in London Labour and the London Poor show a businesslike or professional attitude.

*See also **Mayhew, Henry** in this text.*

Many novelists, philanthropists, and newspaper writers have dwelt much upon the horrible character of a series of subterranean chambers or vaults in the vicinity of the Strand, called the Adelphi Arches. It is by no means even now understood that these arches are the most innocent and harmless places in London, whatever they might once have been. A policeman is on duty

there at night, expressly to prevent persons who have no right or business there from descending into their recesses.

They were probably erected in order to form a foundation for the Adelphi Terrace. Let us suppose there were then no wharves, and no embankments, consequently the tide must have ascended and gone inland some distance, rendering the ground marshy, swampy, and next to useless. The main arch is a very fine pile of masonry, something like the Box tunnel on a small scale, while the other, running here and there like the intricacies of catacombs, looks extremely ghostly and suggestive of Jack Sheppards, Blueskins, Jonathan Wilds, and others of the same kind, notwithstanding they are so well lighted with gas. There is a doorway at the end of a vault leading up towards the Strand, that has a peculiar tradition attached to it. Not so very many years ago this door was a back exit from a notorious coffee and gambling house, where parties were decoyed by thieves, blacklegs, or prostitutes, and swindled, then drugged, and subsequently thrown from this door into the darkness of what must have seemed to them another world, and were left, when they came to themselves, to find their way out as best they could.

My attention was attracted, while in these arches, by the cries and exclamations of a woman near the river, and proceeding to the spot I saw a woman sitting on some steps, before what appeared to be a stable, engaged in a violent altercation with a man who was by profession a cab proprietor—several of his vehicles were lying about—and who, she vehemently asserted, was her husband. The man declared she was a common woman when he met her, and had since become the most drunken creature it was possible to meet with. The woman put her hand in her pocket and brandished something in his face, which she triumphantly said was her marriage-certificate. “That,” she cried, turning to me, “that’s what licks them. It don’t matter whether I was one of Lot’s daughters afore. I might have been awful, I don’t say I wasn’t, but I’m his wife, and this ‘ere’s what licks ‘em.”

I left them indulging in elegant invectives, and interlarding their conversation with those polite and admirable metaphors that have gained so wide-spread a reputation for the famous women who sell fish in Billingsgate; and I was afterwards informed by a sympathising bystander, in the shape of a stable-boy, that the inevitable result of this conjugal altercation would be the incarceration of the woman, by the husband, in a horse-box, where she might undisturbed sleep off the effects of her potatoes, and repent the next day at her leisure. “*Neo dulces amores sperne puer.*”

Several showily-dressed, if not actually well-attired women, who are to be found walking about the Haymarket, live in St. Giles’s and about Drury Lane. But the lowest class of women, who prostitute themselves for a shilling or less, are the most curious and remarkable class in this part. We have spoken of them before as growing grey in the exercise of their profession. One of them, a woman over forty, shabbily dressed, and with a disreputable, unprepossessing appearance, volunteered the following statement for a consideration of a spirituous nature.

“Times is altered, sir, since I come on the town. I can remember when all the swells used to come down here-away, instead of going to the Market; but those times is past, they is, worse luck, but, like myself, nothing lasts for ever, although I’ve stood my share of wear and tear, I have. Years ago Fleet Street and the Strand, and Catherine Street, and all round there was famous for women and houses. Ah! those were the times. Wish they might come again, but wishing’s no use, it ain’t. It only makes one miserable a thinking of it. I come up from the country when I was quite a gal, not above sixteen I dessay. I come from Dorsetshire, near Lyme Regis, to see a aunt of mine. Father was a farmer in Dorset, but only in a small way—tenant farmer, as you would say. I was

mighty pleased, you may swear, with London, and liked being out at night when I could get the chance. One night I went up the area and stood looking through the railing, when a man passed by, but seeing me he returned and spoke to me something about the weather. I, like a child, answered him unsuspectingly enough, and he went on talking about town and country, asking me, among other things, if I had long been in London, or if I was born there. I not thinking told him all about myself; and he went away apparently very much pleased with me, saying before he went that he was very glad to have made such an agreeable acquaintance, and if I would say nothing about it he would call for me about the same time, or a little earlier, if I liked, the next night, and take me out for a walk. I was, as you may well suppose, delighted, and never said a word. The next evening I met him as he appointed, and two or three times subsequently. One night we walked longer than usual, and I pressed him to return, as I feared my aunt would find me out; but he said he was so fatigued with walking so far, he would like to rest a little before he went back again; but if I was very anxious he would put me in a cab. Frightened about him, for I thought he might be ill, I preferred risking being found out; and when he proposed that he should go into some house and sit down I agreed. He said all at once, as if he had just remembered something, that a very old friend of his lived near there, and we couldn't go to a better place, for she would give us everything we could wish. We found the door half open when we arrived. 'How careless,' said my friend, 'to leave the street-door open, any one might get in.' We entered without knocking, and seeing a door in the passage standing ajar we went in. My friend shook hands with an old lady who was talking to several girls dispersed over different parts of the room, who, she said, were her daughters. At this announcement some of them laughed, when she got very angry and ordered them out of the room. Somehow I didn't like the place, and not feeling all right I asked to be put in a cab and sent home. My friend made no objection and a cab was sent for. He, however, pressed me to have something to drink before I started. I refused to touch any wine, so I asked for some coffee, which I drank. It made me feel very sleepy, so sleepy indeed that I begged to be allowed to sit down on the sofa. They accordingly placed me on the sofa, and advised me to rest a little while, promising, in order to allay my anxiety, to send a messenger to my aunt. Of course I was drugged, and so heavily I did not regain my consciousness till the next morning. I was horrified to discover that I had been ruined, and for some days I was inconsolable, and cried like a child to be killed or sent back to my aunt.

"When I became quiet I received a visit from my seducer, in whom I had placed so much silly confidence. He talked very kindly to me, but I would not listen to him for some time. He came several times to see me, and at last said he would take me away if I liked, and give me a house of my own. Finally, finding how hopeless all was I agreed to his proposal, and he allowed me four pounds a week. This went on for some months, till he was tired of me, when he threw me over for some one else. There is always as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it, and this I soon discovered.

"Then for some years—ten years, till I was six-and-twenty,— I went through all the changes of a gay lady's life, and they're not a few, I can tell you. I don't leave off this sort of life because I'm in a manner used to it, and what could I do if I did? I've no character; I've never been used to do anything, and I don't see what employment I stand a chance of getting. Then if I had to sit hours and hours all day long, and part of the night too, sewing or anything like that, I should get tired. It would worrit me so; never having been accustomed, you see, I couldn't stand it. I lodge in Charles Street, Drury Lane, now. I did live in Nottingham Court once, and Earls Street. But, Lord, I've lived in a many places you wouldn't think, and I don't imagine you'd believe one half.

I'm always a-chopping and a-changing like the wind as you may say. I pay half-a-crown a week for my bed-room; it's clean and comfortable, good enough for such as me. I don't think much of my way of life. You folks as has honour, and character, and feelings, and such, can't understand how all that's been beaten out of people like me. I don't feel. *I'm used to it.* I did once, more especial when mother died. I heard on it through a friend of mine, who told me her last words was of me. I did cry and go on then ever so, but Lor', where's the good of fretting? I arn't happy either. It isn't happiness, but I get enough money to keep me in victuals and drink, and it's the drink mostly that keeps me going. You've no idea how I look forward to my drop of gin. It's everything to me. I don't suppose I'll live much longer, and that's another thing that pleases me. I don't want to live, and yet I don't care enough about dying to make away with myself. I arn't got that amount of feeling that some has, and that's where it is I'm kinder 'fraid of it."

This woman's tale is a condensation of the philosophy of sinning. The troubles she had gone through, and her experience of the world, had made her oblivious of the finer attributes of human nature, and she had become brutal.

I spoke to another who had been converted at a Social Evil Meeting, but from a variety of causes driven back to the old way of living.

The first part of her story offered nothing peculiar. She had been on the town for fifteen years, when a year or so ago she heard of the Midnight Meeting and Baptist Noel. She was induced from curiosity to attend; and her feelings being powerfully worked upon by the extraordinary scene, the surroundings, and the earnestness of the preacher, she accepted the offer held out to her, and was placed in a cab with some others, and conveyed to one of the numerous metropolitan homes, where she was taken care of for some weeks, and furnished with a small sum of money to return to her friends. When she arrived at her native village in Essex, she only found her father. Her mother was dead; her sister at service, and her two brothers had enlisted in the army. Her father was an old man, supported by the parish; so it was clear he could not support her. She had a few shillings left, with which she worked her way back to town, returned to her old haunts, renewed her acquaintance with her vicious companions, and resumed her old course of life.

I don't insert this recital as a reflection upon the refuges and homes, or mean to asperse the Midnight Meeting movement, which is worthy of all praise. On the contrary, I have much pleasure in alluding to the subject and acknowledging the success that has attended the efforts of the philanthropic gentlemen associated with the Rev. Mr. Baptist Noel.

PARK WOMEN, OR THOSE WHO FREQUENT THE PARKS AT NIGHT AND OTHER RETIRED PLACES

Park women, properly so called, are those degraded creatures, utterly lost to all sense of shame, who wander about the paths most frequented after nightfall in the Parks, and consent to any species of humiliation for the sake of acquiring a few shillings. You may meet them in Hyde Park, between the hours of five and ten (till the gates are closed) in winter. In the Green Park, in what is called the Mall, which is a nocturnal thoroughfare, you may see these low wretches walking about sometimes with men, more generally alone, often early in the morning. They are to be seen reclining on the benches placed under the trees, originally intended, no doubt, for a different purpose, occasionally with the head of a drunken man reposing in their lap. These women are well known to give themselves up to disgusting practices, that are alone gratifying

to men of morbid and diseased imaginations. They are old, unsound, and by their appearance utterly incapacitated from practising their profession where the gas-lamps would expose the defects in their personal appearance, and the shabbiness of their ancient and dilapidated attire. I was told that an old woman, whose front teeth were absolutely wanting, was known to obtain a precarious livelihood by haunting the by-walks of Hyde Park, near Park Lane. The unfortunate women that form this despicable class have in some cases been well off, and have been reduced to their present condition by a variety of circumstances, among which are intemperance, and the vicissitudes natural to their vocation. I questioned one who was in the humour to be communicative, and she gave the subjoined replies to my questions:—

“I have not always been what I now am. Twenty years ago I was in a very different position. Then, although it may seem ludicrous to you, who see me as I now am, I was comparatively well off. If I were to tell you my history it would be so romantic you would not believe it. If I employ a little time in telling you, will you reward me for my trouble, as I shall be losing my time in talking to you? I am not actuated by mercenary motives exactly in making this request, but my time is my money, and I cannot afford to lose either one or the other. Well, then, I am the daughter of a curate in Gloucestershire. I was never at school, but my mother educated me at home. I had one brother who entered the Church. When I was old enough I saw that the limited resources of my parents would not allow them to maintain me at home without seriously impairing their resources, and I proposed that I should go out as a governess. At first they would not hear of it; but I persisted in my determination, and eventually obtained a situation in a family in town. Then I was very pretty. I may say so without vanity or ostentation, for I had many admirers, among whom I numbered the only son of the people in whose house I lived. I was engaged to teach his two sisters, and altogether I gave great satisfaction to the family. The girls were amiable and tractable, and I soon acquired an influence over their generous dispositions that afforded great facilities for getting them on in their studies. My life might have been very happy if an unfortunate attachment to me had not sprung up in the young man that I have before mentioned, which attachment I can never sufficiently regret was reciprocated by myself.

“I battled against the impulse that constrained me to love him, but all my efforts were of no avail. He promised to marry me, which in an evil hour I agreed to. He had a mock ceremony performed by his footman, and I went into lodgings that he had taken for me in Gower Street, Tottenham Court Road. He used to visit me very frequently for the ensuing six months, and we lived together as man and wife. At the expiration of that time he took me to the sea-side, and we subsequently travelled on the Continent. We were at Baden when we heard of his father’s death. This didn’t trouble him much. He did not even go to England to attend the funeral, for he had by his conduct offended his father, and estranged himself from the remainder of his family. Soon letters came from a solicitor informing him that the provisions of the will discontinued the allowance of five hundred a year hitherto made to him, and left him a small sum of money sufficient to buy himself a commission in the army, if he chose to do so. This course he was strongly advised to take, for it was urged that he might support himself on his pay if he volunteered for foreign service. He was transported with rage when this communication reached him, and he immediately wrote for the legacy he was entitled to, which arrived in due course. That evening he went to the gaming table, and lost every farthing he had in the world. The next morning he was a corpse. His remains were found in a secluded part of the town, he having in a fit of desperation blown his brains out with a pistol. He had evidently resolved to take this step before he left me, if he should happen to be unfortunate, for he left a letter in the hands of our landlady to be

delivered to me in the event of his not returning in the morning. It was full of protestations of affection for me, and concluded with an avowal of the fraud he had practiced towards me when our acquaintance was first formed, which he endeavoured to excuse by stating his objections to be hampered or fettered by legal impediments.

“When I read this, I somewhat doubted the intensity of the affection he paraded in his letter. I had no doubt about the fervour of my own passion, and for some time I was inconsolable. At length I was roused to a sense of my desolate position, and to the necessity for action, by the solicitations and importunity of my landlady, and I sold the better part of my wardrobe to obtain sufficient money to pay my bills, and return to England. But fate ordered things in a different manner. Several of my husband’s friends came to condole with me on his untimely decease; among whom was a young officer of considerable personal attractions, who I had often thought I should have liked to love, if I had not been married to my friend’s husband. It was this man who caused me to take the second fatal step I have made in my life. If I had only gone home, my friends might have forgiven everything. I felt they would, and my pride did not stand in my way, for I would gladly have asked and obtained their forgiveness for a fault in reality very venial, when the circumstances under which it was committed are taken into consideration.

“Or I might have represented the facts to the family; and while the mother mourned the death of her son, she must have felt some commiseration for myself.

“The officer asked me to live with him, and made the prospect he held out to me so glittering and fascinating that I yielded. He declared he would marry me with pleasure on the spot, but he would forfeit a large sum of money, that he must inherit in a few years if he remained single, and it would be folly not to wait until then. I have forgotten to mention that I had not any children. My constitution being very delicate, my child was born dead, which was a sad blow to me, although it did not seem to affect the man I regarded as my husband. We soon left Baden and returned to London, where I lived for a month very happily with my paramour, who was not separated from me, as his leave of absence had not expired. When that event occurred he reluctantly left me to go to Limerick, where his regiment was quartered. There in all probability he formed a fresh acquaintance, for he wrote to me in about a fortnight, saying that a separation must take place between us, for reasons that he was not at liberty to apprise me of, and he enclosed a cheque for fifty pounds, which he hoped would pay my expenses. It was too late now to go home, and I was driven to a life of prostitution, not because I had a liking for it, but as a means of getting enough money to live upon. For ten years I lived first with one man then with another, until at last I was infected with a disease, of which I did not know the evil effects if neglected. The disastrous consequence of that neglect is only too apparent now. You will be disgusted, when I tell you that it attacked my face, and ruined my features to such an extent that I am hideous to look upon, and should be noticed by no one if I frequented those places where women of my class most congregate; indeed, I should be driven away with curses and execrations.”

This recital is melancholy in the extreme. Here was a woman endowed with a very fair amount of education, speaking in a superior manner, making use of words that very few in her position would know how to employ, reduced by a variety of circumstances to the very bottom of a prostitute’s career. In reply to my further questioning, she said she lived in a small place in Westminster called Perkins’ Rents, where for one room she paid two shillings a week. The Rents were in Westminster, not far from Palace-yard. She was obliged to have recourse to her present way of living to exist; for she would not go to the workhouse, and she could get no work to do. She could sew, and she could paint in water-colours, but she was afraid to be alone. She could

not sit hours and hours by herself, her thoughts distracted her, and drove her mad. She added, she once thought of turning Roman Catholic, and getting admitted into a convent, where she might make atonement for her way of living by devoting the remainder of her life to penitence, but she was afraid she had gone too far to be forgiven. That was some time ago. Now she did not think she would live long, she had injured her constitution so greatly; she had some internal disease, she didn't know what it was, but a hospital surgeon told her it would kill her in time, and she had her moments, generally hours, of oblivion, when she was intoxicated, which she always was when she could get a chance. It she got ten shillings from a drunken man, either by persuasion or threats, and she was not scrupulous in the employment of the latter, she would not come to the Park for days, until all her money was spent ; on an average, she came three times a week, or perhaps twice; always on Sunday, which was a good day. She knew all about the Refuges. She had been in one once, but she didn't like the system; there wasn't enough liberty, and too much preaching, and that sort of thing; and then they couldn't keep her there always; so they didn't know what to do with her. No one would take her into their service, because they didn't like to look at her face, which presented so dreadful an appearance that it frightened people. She always wore a long thick veil, that concealed her features, and made her interesting to the unsuspecting and unwise. I gave her the money I promised her, and advised her again to enter a Refuge, which she refused to do, saying she could not live long, and she would rather die as she was. As I had no power to compel her to change her determination, I left her, lamenting her hardihood and obstinacy. I felt that she soon would be—

“One more unfortunate,
Weary of breath,
Rashly importunate,
Gone to her death.”

[Thomas Hood, “The Bridge of Sighs”]

In the course of my peregrinations I met another woman, commonly dressed in old and worn-out clothes; her face was ugly and mature; she was perhaps on the shady side of forty. She was also perambulating the Mall. I knew she could only be there for one purpose, and I interrogated her, and I believe she answered my queries faithfully. She said:—

“I have a husband, and seven small children, the oldest not yet able to do much more than cadge a penny or so by cater-wheeling and tumbling in the street for the amusement of gents as rides outside 'busses. My husband's bedridden, and can't do nothing but give the babies a dose of 'Mother's Blessing' (that's laudanum, sir, or some sich stuff) to sleep 'em when they's squally. So I goes out begging all day, and I takes in general one of the kids in my arms and one as runs by me, and we sell hartifishal flowers, leastways 'olds 'em in our 'ands, and makes believe cos of the police, as is nasty so be as you 'as nothink soever, and I comes hout in the Parks, sir, at night sometimes when I've 'ad a bad day, and ain't made above a few pence, which ain't enough to keep us as we should be kep. I mean, sir, the children should have a bit of meat, and my ole man and me wants some blue ruin to keep our spirits up; so I'se druv to it, sir, by poverty, and nothink on the face of God's blessed earth, sir, shou'dn't have druv me but that for the poor babes must live, and who 'as they to look to but their 'ard-working but misfortunate mother, which she is now talking to your honour, and won't yer give a poor woman a hap'ny, sir? I've seven small children at home, and my 'usban's laid with the fever. You won't miss it, yer honour, only a 'apny for a poor woman as ain't 'ad a bit of bread between her teeth since yesty morning. I ax yer parding,” she exclaimed,

interrupting herself—"I forgot I was talking to yourself. I's so used to this way of speaking when I meant to ax you for summut I broke off into the old slang, but yer honour knows what I mean: ain't yer got even a little sixpence to rejoice the heart of the widow?"

"You call yourself a widow now," I said, "while before you said you were married and had seven children. Which are you?"

"Which am I? The first I tell you's the true. But Lor', I's up to so many dodges I gets what you may call confounded; sometimes I's a widder, and wants me 'art rejoiced with a copper, and then I's a hindustrious needle-woman thrown out of work and going to be druv into the streets if I don't get summut to do. Sometimes I makes a lot of money by being a poor old cripple as broke her arm in a factory, by being blowed hup when a steam-engine blowed herself hup, and I bandage my arm and swell it out hawful big, and when I gets home, we gets in some lush and 'as some frens, and goes in for a reglar blow-hout, and how as I have told yer honour hall about it, won't yer give us an 'apny as I observe before?"

It is very proper that the Parks should be closed at an early hour, when such creatures as I have been describing exist and practise their iniquities so unblushingly. One only gets at the depravity of mankind by searching below the surface of society; and for certain purposes such knowledge and information are useful and beneficial to the community. Therefore the philanthropist must overcome his repugnance to the task, and draw back the veil that is thinly spread over the skeleton.

CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTES

The next division of our subject is clandestine prostitution, whose ramifications are very extensive. In it we must include: 1. Female operatives; 2. Maid-servants, all of whom are amateurs, as opposed to professionals, or as we have had occasion to observe before, more commonly known as "Dollymops"; 3. Ladies of intrigue, who see men to gratify their passions; and 4. Keepers of houses of assignation, where the last-mentioned class may carry on their amours with secrecy.

This in reality I regard as the most serious side of prostitution. This more clearly stamps the character of the nation. A thousand and one causes may lead to a woman's becoming a professional prostitute, but if a woman goes wrong without any very cogent reason for so doing, there must be something radically wrong in her composition, and inherently bad in her nature, to lead her to abandon her person to the other sex, who are at all times ready to take advantage of a woman's weakness and a woman's love.

There is a tone of morality throughout the rural districts of England, which is unhappily wanting in the large towns and the centres of particular manufactures. Commerce is incontestably demoralizing. Its effects are to be seen more and more every day. Why it should be so, it is not our province to discuss, but seduction and prostitution, in spite of the precepts of the Church, and the examples of her ministers, have made enormous strides in all our great towns within the last twenty years. Go through the large manufacturing districts, where factory-hands congregate, or more properly herd together, test them, examine them, talk to them, observe for yourself, and you will come away with the impression that there is room for much improvement. Then cast your eye over the statistics of births and the returns of the Registrar-General, and compare the number of legitimate with illegitimate births. Add up the number of infanticides and the number of death of infants of tender years—an item more alarming than any. Goldsmith

has said that "honour sinks when commerce long prevails," and a truer remark was never made, although the animus of the poet was directed more against men than women.

Female Operatives. —When alluding casually to this subject before, I enumerated some of the trades that supplied women to swell the ranks of prostitution, amongst which are milliners, dress-makers, straw bonnet-makers, furriers, hat-binders, silk-winders, tambour-workers, shoe-binders, slop-women, or those who work for cheap tailors, those in pasty-cook, fancy and cigar-shops, bazaars, and ballet-girls.

I have heard it asserted in more than one quarter, although of course such assertions cannot be authenticated, or made reliable, for want of data, that one out of three of all the female operatives in London are unchaste, and in the habit of prostituting themselves when occasion offers, either for money, or more frequently for their own gratification.

I met a woman in Fleet Street, who told me that she came into the streets now and then to get money not to subsist upon, but to supply her with funds to meet the debts her extravagance caused her to contract. But I will put her narrative into a consecutive form.

"Ever since I was twelve," she said, "I have worked in a printing office where a celebrated London morning journal is put in type and goes to press. I get enough money to live upon comfortably; but then I am extravagant, and spend a great deal of money in eating and drinking, more than you would imagine. My appetite is very delicate, and my constitution not at all strong. I long for certain things like a woman in the family way, and I must have them by hook or by crook. The fact is the close confinement and the night air upset me and disorder my digestion. I have the most expensive things sometimes, and when I can, I live in a sumptuous manner, comparatively speaking. I am attached to a man in our office, to whom I shall be married some day. He does not suspect me, but on the contrary believes me to be true to him, and you do not suppose that I ever take the trouble to undeceive him. I am nineteen now, and have carried on with my 'typo' for nearly three years now. I sometimes go to the Haymarket, either early in the evening, or early in the morning, when I can get away from the printing; and sometimes I do a little in the day-time. This is not a frequent practice of mine; I only do it when I want money to pay anything. I am out now with the avowed intention of picking up a man, or making an appointment with some one for to-morrow or some time during the week. I always dress well, at least you mayn't think so, but I am always neat, and respectable, and clean, if the things I have on ain't worth the sight of money that some women's things cost them. I have good feet too, and as I find they attract attention, I always parade them. And I've hooked many a man by showing my ankle on a wet day. I shan't think anything of all this when I'm married. I believe my young man would marry me just as soon if he found out I went with others as he would now. I carry on with him now, and he likes me very much. I ain't of any particular family; to tell the truth. I was put in the workhouse when I was young, and they apprenticed me. I never knew my father or my mother, although 'my father was, as I've heard say, a well-known swell of capers gay, who cut his last fling with great applause;' or, if you must know, I heard that he was hung for killing a man who opposed him when committing a burglary. In other words, he was 'a macing-cove what robs,' and I'm his daughter, worse luck. I used to think at first, but what was the good of being wretched about it? I couldn't get over for some time, because I was envious, like a little fool, of other people, but I reasoned, and at last I did recover myself, and was rather glad that my position freed me from certain restrictions. I had no mother whose heart I shou'd break by my conduct, or no father who could threaten me with bringing his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. I had a pretty good example to follow set before me, and I didn't scruple to argue that I

was not to be blamed for what I did. Birth is the result of accident. It is the merest chance in the world whether you're born a countess or a washerwoman. I'm neither one nor t'other; I'm only a mot who does a little typographing by way of variety. Those who have had good nursing, and all that, and the advantages of a sound education, who have a position to lose, prospects to blight, and relations to dishonour, may be blamed for going on the loose, but I'll be hanged if I think that priest or moralist is to come down on me with the sledge-hammer of their denunciation. You look rather surprised at my talking so well. I know I talk well, but you must remember what a lot has passed through my hands for the last seven years, and what a lot of copy I've set up. There is very little I don't know, I can tell you. It's what old Robert Owen would call the spread of education."

I had to talk some time to this girl before she was so communicative; but it must be allowed my assiduity was amply repaid. The common sense she displayed was extraordinary for one in her position; but, as she said, she certainly had had superior opportunities, of which she had made the most. And her arguments, though based upon fallacy, were exceedingly clever and well put. So much for the spread of education amongst the masses. Who knows to what it will lead?

The next case that came under my notice was one of a very different description. I met a woman in Leadenhall Street, a little past the India House, going towards Whitechapel. She told me, without much solicitation on my part, that she was driven into the streets by want. Far from such a thing being her inclination, she recoiled from it with horror, and had there been no one else in the case, she would have preferred starvation to such a life. I thought of the motto Vergniaud the Girondist wrote on the wall of his dungeon in his blood, "Potius mori quam foedari," and I admired the woman whilst I pitied her. It is easy to condemn, but even vice takes the semblance of virtue when it has a certain end in view. Every crime ought to be examined into carefully in order that the motive that urged to the commission may be elicited, and that should be always thrown into the scale in mitigation or augmentation of punishment.

Her father was a dock labourer by trade, and had been ever since he came to London, which he did some years ago, when there was great distress in Rochdale, where he worked in a cotton factory; but being starved out there after working short time for some weeks, he tramped with his daughter, then about fourteen, up to town, and could get nothing to do but work in the docks, which requires no skill, only a good constitution, and the strength and endurance of a horse. This however, as every one knows, is a precarious sort of employment, very much sought after by strong, able-bodied men out of work. The docks are a refuge for all Spitalfields and the adjacent parishes for men out of work, or men whose trade is slack for a time. Some three weeks before I met her, the girl's father had the misfortune to break his arm and to injure his spine by a small keg of spirits slipping from a crane near to which he was standing. They took him to the hospital, where he then was. The girl herself worked as a hat-binder, for which she was very indifferently paid, and even that poor means of support she had lost lately through the failure of the house she worked for. She went to see her father every day, and always contrived to take him something, if it only cost twopence, as a mark of affection on her part, which he was not slow in appreciating, and no doubt found his daughter's kindness a great consolation to him in the midst of his troubles. She said, "I tried everywhere to get employment, and I couldn't. I ain't very good with my needle at fine needlework, and the slopsellers won't have me. I would have slaved for them though, I do assure you, sir; bad as they do pay you, and hard as you must work for them to get enough to live upon, and poor living, God knows, at that. I feel very miserable for what I've done, but I was driven to it; indeed I was, sir. I daren't tell father, for he'd curse me

at first, though he might forgive me afterwards: for though he's poor, he's always been honest, and borne a good name; but now—I can't help crying a bit, sir. I ain't thoroughly hardened yet, and it's a hard case as ever was. I do wish I was dead and there was an end of everything, I am so awfully sad and heart-broken. If it don't kill me, I suppose I shall get used to it in time. The low rate of wages I received has often put it into my head to go wrong; but I have always withstood the temptation and nothing but so many misfortunes and trials coming together could ever have induced me to do it."

This, I have every reason to believe, was a genuine tale of distress told with all simplicity and truth, although everything that a woman of loose morals says must be received with caution, and believed under protest.

Ballet-girls have a bad reputation, which is in most cases well deserved. To begin with their remuneration—it is very poor. They get from nine to eighteen shillings. Columbine in the pantomime gets five pounds a week, but then hers is a prominent position. Out of these nine to eighteen shillings they have to find shoes and petticoats, silk stockings, etc., so that the pay is hardly adequate to their expenditure, and quite insufficient to fit them out and find them in food and lodging. Can it be wondered at, that while this state of things exists, ballet-girls should be compelled to seek a livelihood by resorting to prostitution?

Many causes may be enumerated to account for the lax morality of our female operatives. Among the chief of which we must class—

1. Low wages inadequate to their sustenance.
2. Natural levity and the example around them.
3. Love of dress and display, coupled with the desire for a sweetheart.
4. Sedentary employment, and want of proper exercise.
5. Low and cheap literature of an immoral tendency.
6. Absence of parental care and the inculcation of proper precepts. In short, bad bringing up.

Maid-Servants.—Maid-servants seldom have a chance of marrying, unless placed in a good family, where, after putting by a little money by pinching and careful saving, the housemaid may become an object of interest to the footman, who is looking out for a public-house, or when the housekeeper allies herself to the butler, and together they set up in business. In small families, the servants often give themselves up to the sons, or to the policeman on the beat, or to soldiers in the Parks; or else to shopmen, whom they may meet in the streets. Female servants are far from being a virtuous class. They are badly educated and are not well looked after by their mistresses as a rule, although every dereliction from the paths of propriety by them will be visited with the heaviest displeasure, and most frequently be followed by dismissal of the most summary description, without the usual month's warning, to which so much importance is usually attached by both employer and employed.

Marylebone was lately characterised by one of its vestrymen as being one of the seven black parishes in London. Half the women it is asserted who are sent from the workhouse, and have situations procured for them by the parochial authorities, turn out prostitutes. I have no means of corroborating the truth of this declaration, but it has been made and sent forth to the world through the medium of the public press, though I believe it has been partially contradicted by one of the workhouse authorities; however this may be, there can be no doubt that the tone of morality among servant-maids in the metropolis is low. I will not speak in the superlative—I

merely characterise it as low. I had an opportunity of questioning a maid-of-all-work, a simple-minded, ignorant, uneducated, vain little body, as strong physically as a donkey, and thoroughly competent to perform her rather arduous duties, for the satisfactory performance of which she received the munificent remuneration of eight pounds annually, including her board and lodging.

She said: "I came from Berkshire, sir, near Windsor; father put me to service some years ago, and I've been in London ever since. I'm two and twenty now. I've lived in four or five different situations since then. Are followers allowed? No, sir, missus don't permit no followers. No, I ain't got no perleeceman. Have I got a young man? Well, I have; he's in the army, not a hoffisser, but a soldier. I goes out along of him on Sundays, leastways on Sunday afternoons, and missus she lets me go to see a aunt of mine, as I says lives at Camberwell, only between you and me, sir, there ain't no aunt, only a soldier, which he's my sweetheart, as I says to you before, sir."

Maid-servants in good families have an opportunity of copying their mistress's way of dressing, and making themselves, attractive to men of a higher class. It is a voluntary species of sacrifice on their part. A sort of suicidal decking with flowers, and making preparations for immolation on the part of the victim herself. Flattered by the attention of the eldest son, or some friend of his staying in the house, the pretty lady's maid will often yield to soft solicitation. Vanity is at the bottom of all this, and is one of the chief characteristics of a class not otherwise naturally vicious. The housemaids flirt with the footmen, the housekeeper with the butler, the cooks with the coachmen, and so on; and a flirtation often begun innocently enough ends in something serious, the result of which may be to blight the prospect of the unfortunate woman who has been led astray.

There are book-hawkers, who go about the country, having first filled their wallets from the filthy cellars of Holywell Street, sowing the seeds of immorality; servants in country houses will pay, without hesitation large prices for improper books. This denomination of evil, I am glad to say, is much on the decrease now, since the Immoral Publications Act has come into operation.

Maid-servants live well, have no care or anxiety, no character worth speaking about to lose, for the origin of most of them is obscure, are fond of dress, and under these circumstances it cannot be wondered that they are as a body immoral and unchaste.

Ladies of Intrigue and Houses of Assignment.—The reader will find more information about "ladies of intrigue" in the annals of the Divorce Court and the pages of the Causes Célèbres than it is in my power to furnish him with. By ladies of intrigue we must understand married women who have connection with other men than their husbands, and unmarried women who gratify their passion secretly.

There is a house in Regent Street, I am told, where ladies, both married and unmarried, go in order to meet with and be introduced to gentlemen, there to consummate their libidinous desires. This sort of clandestine prostitution is not nearly so common in England as in France and other parts of the Continent, where chastity and faithfulness among married women are remarkable for their absence rather than their presence. As this vice is by no means common or a national characteristic, but rather the exception than the rule, it can only expect a cursory notice at our hands.

An anecdote was told me illustrative of this sort of thing that may not be out of place here.

A lady of intrigue, belonging to the higher circles of society, married to a man of considerable property, found herself unhappy in his society, and after some time unwillingly came to the conclusion that she had formed an alliance that was destined to make her miserable. Her

passions were naturally strong, and she one day resolved to visit a house that one of her female acquaintances had casually spoken about before her some little time before. Ordering a cab, she drove to the house in question, and went in. There was no necessity for her to explain the nature of her business, or the object with which she called. That was understood. She was shown into a handsome drawing-room, beautifully fitted up, for the house was situated in one of the best streets in May Fair, there to await the coming of her unknown paramour. After waiting some little time the door opened, and a gentleman entered. The curtains of the room were partially drawn round the windows, and the blinds were pulled down, which caused a "dim religious light" to pervade the apartment, preventing the lady from seeing distinctly the features of her visitor. He approached her, and in a low tone of voice commenced a conversation with her about some indifferent subject.

She listened to him for a moment, and then with a cry of astonishment, recognized her husband's voice. He, equally confused, discovered that he had accidentally met in a house of ill-fame the wife whom he had treated with unkindness and cruelty, and condemned to languish at home while he did as he chose abroad. This strange rencontre had a successful termination, for it ended in the reconciliation of husband and wife, who discovered that they were mutually to blame.

From the Divorce Court emanate strange revelations, to which the press gives publicity. It reveals a state of immorality amongst the upper and middle classes that is deplorable; but although this unveils the delinquencies of ladies of intrigue, they are not altogether the class we have under discussion. Those who engross our attention are ladies who, merely to satisfy their animal instincts, intrigue with men whom they do not truly love. But though we could multiply anecdotes and stories, it is not necessary to do more than say, they are a class far from numerous, and scarcely deserve to form a distinctive feature in the category of prostitution in London.

COHABITANT PROSTITUTES

The last head in our classification is "Cohabitant Prostitutes," which phrase must be understood to include—

1. Those whose paramours cannot afford to pay the marriage fees. This is a very small and almost infinitesimal portion of the community, as banns now cost so very little, that it is next to an absurdity to say "a man and woman" cannot get married because they have not money enough to pay the fees consequent upon publishing the banns, therefore this class is scarcely deserving of mention.

2. Those whose paramours do not believe in the sanctity of the ceremony.

There may be a few who make their religious convictions an object to marriage, but you may go a very long journey before you will be able to discover a man who will conscientiously refuse to marry a woman on this ground. Consequently we may dismiss these with a very brief allusion.

3. Those who have married a relative forbidden by law. We know that people will occasionally marry a deceased wife's sister, notwithstanding the anathemas of mother church are sure to be hurled at them. Yet ecclesiastical terrors may have weight with a man who has conceived an affection for a sister-in-law, for whom he will have to undergo so many penalties.

Perhaps parliamentary agitation may soon legitimize these connections, and abolish this heading from our category of Cohabitant Prostitution.

4. Those who would forfeit their income by marrying,—as officers' widows in receipt of pensions and those who hold property only while unmarried.

This class is more numerous than any of those we have yet mentioned, but it offers nothing sufficiently striking or peculiar to induce us to dwell longer upon it, as it explains itself.

5. Those whose paramours object to marry them for pecuniary or family reasons. This is a subject upon which it has been necessary to dilate; for it includes all the lorettes in London, and the men by whom they are kept. By lorettes I mean those I have before touched upon as prima donnas, who are a class of women who do not call going to night-houses in Panton Street walking the Haymarket, and feel much insulted if you so characterize their nocturnal wanderings. The best women go to three or four houses in Panton Street, where the visitors are more select than in the other places, where the door porters are less discriminating. Sometimes women who are violent, and make a disturbance, are kept out of particular houses for months.

Of course, the visits of kept women are made by stealth, as the men who keep them would not countenance their going to such places. Perhaps their men are out of town, and they may then go with comparative safety.

Women who are well kept, and have always been accustomed to the society of gentlemen, have an intense horror of the Haymarket women, properly so called, who promenaded the pavement in order to pick up men.

And in reality there is a greater distinction between the two classes than would at first appear. Even if a good sort of woman has been thrown over by her man, and is in want of money, she will not pick up any one at a night-house who may solicit her; on the contrary, she will select some fellow she has a liking for: while, on the other hand, the Haymarket women will pick up any low wretch who she thinks will pay her. She will not even object to a foreigner, though all the best women have a great dislike to low foreigners.

Were I to dwell longer upon this subject it is clear I should merely be recapitulating what I have already said in a former portion of this work.

The following narrative was given me by a girl I met in the Haymarket, when in search of information regarding the prostitution of the West-end of London. Her tale is the usual one of unsuspecting innocence and virtue, seduced by fraud and violence. The victim of passion became in time the mistress of lust, and sank from one stage to another, until she found herself compelled to solicit in the streets to obtain a livelihood. She was about twenty-one years of age, beneath the ordinary height, and with a very engaging countenance. She appeared to be a high-spirited intelligent girl, and gave her sad tale with unaffected candour and modesty.

Narrative of a Gay Woman at the West End of the Metropolis

"I was born in the county of—, in England, where my father was an extensive farmer, and had a great number of servants. I have three brothers and one younger sister. I was sent to a boarding school at B—, where I was receiving a superior education, and was learning drawing, music, and dancing. During the vacations, and once every quarter, I went home and lived with my parents, where one of my chief enjoyments was to ride out on a pony I had, over the fields, and in the neighbourhood, and occasionally to go to M—, a few miles distant. On these occasions we often had parties of ladies and gentlemen; when some of the best people in the district visited us. I had one of the happiest homes a girl could have.

“When I was out riding one day at M—, in passing through the town my pony took fright, and threatened to throw me off, when a young gentleman who was near rode up to my assistance. He rode by my side till we came to a hotel in town, when we both dismounted. Leaving the horses wit the hostlers, we had some refreshment. I took out my purse to pay the expenses, but he would not let me and paid for me. We both mounted and proceeded towards my home. On his coming to the door of the house, I invited him to come in, which he did. I introduced him to my papa and mamma, and mentioned the kind service he had done to me. His horse was put up in our stables, and he remained for some time, and had supper with us, when he returned to M—. He was very wealthy, resided in London, and only visited M— occasionally with his servants.

“I was then attending a boarding-school at B—, and was about fifteen years of age. A few days after this I left home and returned to B—. We corresponded by letter for nearly twelve months.

“From the moment he rode up to me at M— I was deeply interested in him, and the attachment increased by the correspondence. He also appeared to be very fond of me. He sometimes came and visited me at home during my school holidays for the next twelve months. One day in the month of May—in summer—he came to our house in his carriage, and we invited him to dinner. He remained with us for the night, and slept with one of my brothers. We were then engaged to each other, and were to be married, so soon as I was eighteen years of age.

“The next day he asked my parents if I might go out with him in his carriage. My mamma consented. She asked if any of our servants would go with us, but he thought there was no occasion for this, as his coachman and footman went along with us. We proceeded to B— Railway Station. He left his carriage with the coachman and footman and pressed me to go with him to London. He pretended to my parents he was only going out for a short drive. I was very fond of him, and reluctantly consented to go with him to London.

“He first brought me to Simpson’s hotel in the Strand, where we had dinner, then took me to the opera. We went to Scott’s supper rooms in the Haymarket. On coming out we walked up and down the Haymarket. He then took me to several of the cafés, where we had wine and refreshments. About four o’clock in the morning he called a Hansom, and drove me to his house; and there seduced me by violence in spite of my resistance. I screamed out, but none of the servants in the house came to assist me. He told his servants I was his young wife he had just brought up from the country.

“I wanted to go home in the morning, and began to cry, but he would not let me go. He said I must remain in London with him. I still insisted on going home, and he promised to marry me. He then bought me a watch and chain, rings and bracelets, and presented me with several dresses. After this I lived with him in his house as though I had been his wife, and rode out with him in his brougham. I often insisted upon being married. He promised to do so, but delayed from time to time. He generally drove out every day over the finest streets, thoroughfares, and parks of the metropolis; and in the evenings he took me to the Argyle Rooms and to the Casino at Holborn. I generally went there very well dressed, and was much noticed on account of my youthful appearance. We also went to the fashionable theatres in the West-end, and several subscription balls.

“I often rode along Rotten Row with him, and along the drives in Hyde Park. We also went to the seaside, where we lived in the best hotels.

"This lasted for two years, when his conduct changed towards me.

"One evening I went with him to the Assembly Rooms at Holborn to a masked ball. I was dressed in the character of a fairy queen. My hair was in long curls hanging down my back.

"He left me in the supper-room for a short time, when a well-dressed man came up to me. When my paramour came in he saw the young sitting by my side speaking to me. He told him I was his wife, and inquired what he meant by it, to which he gave no reply. He then asked me if I knew him. I replied no. He asked the gentleman to rise, which he did, apologising for his seating himself beside me, and thereby giving offence. On the latter showing him his card, which I did not see, they sat down and had wine together.

"We came out of the supper-room, and we had a quarrel about the matter. We walked up and down the ball-room for some time, and at last drove home.

"When we got home he quarrelled again with me, struck me, and gave me two black eyes. I was also bruised on other parts of the body, and wanted to leave him that night, but he would not let me.

"In the morning we went out as usual after breakfast for a drive.

"Next evening we went to the Casino at Holborn. Many of the gentlemen were staring at me, and he did not like it. I had on a thick Maltese veil to conceal my blackened eyes.

"The gentleman who had accosted me the previous night came up and spoke to me and my paramour (whom we shall call S.), and had some wine with us. He asked the reason I did not raise my veil. S. said because I did not like to do it in this place. The gentleman caught sight of my eyes, and said they did not look so brilliant as the night before.

"S. was indignant, and told him he took great liberty in speaking of his wife in this manner. The other remarked that no one could help noticing such a girl, adding that I was too young to be his wife, and that he should not take me to such a place if he did not wish me to be looked at. He told him he ought to take better care of me than to bring me there.

"When we got home we had another quarrel, and he struck me severely on the side.

"We did not sleep in the same bed that night. On coming downstairs to breakfast next morning I was taken very ill, and a medical man was sent for. The doctor said I was in a fever, and must have had a severe blow or a heavy fall. I was ill and confined to my bed for three months. He went out every night and left me with a nurse and the servants, and seldom returned till three or four o'clock in the morning. He used to return home drunk; generally came into my bedroom and asked if I was better; kissed me and went downstairs to bed.

"When I got well he was kind to me, and said I looked more charming than ever. For three or four months after he took me out as usual.

"The same gentleman met me again in the Holborn one night while S. had gone out for a short time, leaving me alone. He came up and shook hands with me, said he was happy to see me, and wished me to meet him. I told him I could not. S. was meanwhile watching our movements. The gentleman asked me if I was married, when I said that I was. He admired my rings. Pointing to a diamond ring on his finger, he asked me if I would like it. I said no. He said your rings are not so pretty. I still refused it; but he took the ring off his finger and put it on one of mine, and said, 'See how well it looks,' adding, 'Keep it as a memento; it may make you think of me when I am far away.' He told me not to mention it to my husband.

"Meantime S. was watching me, and came up when the man had gone away, and asked what he had been saying to me. I told him the truth, that the same man had spoken to me again. He asked me what had passed between us, and I told him all, with the exception of the ring.

“He noticed the ring on my finger, and asked me where I had got it. I declined at first to answer. He then said I was not true to him, and if I would not tell him who gave me the ring he would leave me. I told him the man had insisted on my having it.

“He thereupon rushed along the room after him, but did not find him. On coming back he insisted on my going home without him.

“He took me outside to his brougham, handed me in it, and then left me. I went home and sat in the drawing-room till he returned, which was about three o'clock in the morning. He quarrelled with me again for not being true to him. I said I was and had never left his side for a moment from the time I rose in the morning till I lay down at night.

“I then told him I would go home and tell my friends all about it, and he was afraid.

“Soon after he said to me he was going out of town for a week, and wished me to stop at home. I did not like to remain in the house without a woman, and wished to go with him. He said he could not allow me, as he was to be engaged in family matters.

“He was absent for a week. I remained at home for three nights, and was very dull and wearied, having no one to speak to. I went to my bedroom, washed and dressed, ordered the carriage to be got ready, and went to the Holborn. Who should I see there but this gentleman again. He was astonished to see me there alone; came up and offered me his arm.

“I told him I was wearied at home in the absence of S., and came out for a little relaxation. He then asked to see me home, which I declined. I remained till the dancing was nearly over. He got into the brougham with me and drove to Sally's, where we had supper, after which he saw me home. He bade me 'good-bye,' and said he hoped to see me at the Holborn again some other night.

“Meantime S. had been keeping watch over me, it appears, and heard of this. When he came home he asked me about it. I told him. He swore the gentleman had connexion with me. I said he had not. He then hit me in the face and shook me, and threatened to lock me up. After breakfast he went out to walk, and I refused to go with him.

“When he had gone away I packed up all my things, told the servant to bring a cab, wrote a note and left it on the table. I asked the cabman if he knew any nice apartments a long way off from C——, where I was living. He drove me to Pimlico, and took me to apartments in—— where I have ever since resided.

“When I went there I had my purse full of gold, and my dresses and jewellery, which were worth about 300 £.

“One evening soon after I went to the Holborn and met my old friend again, and told him what had occurred. He was astonished, and said he would write to my relations, and have S. pulled up for it.

“After this he saw me occasionally at my lodgings, and made me presents.

“He met S. one day in the City, and threatened to write to my friends to let them know how I had been treated.

“I still went to the Holborn occasionally. One evening I met S., who wished me to go home with him again, but I refused, after the ill-usage he had given me.

“I generally spent the day in my apartments, and in the evening went to the Argyle, until my money was gone. I now and then got something from the man who had taken my part; but he did not give me so much as I had been accustomed to, and I used to have strange friends against my own wish.

“Before I received them I had spouted most of my jewellery, and some of my dresses. When I lived with S. he allowed me 10 £ a week, but when I went on the loose I did not get so much.

"After I had parted with my jewellery and most of my clothes I walked in the Haymarket, and went to the Turkish divans, 'Sally's,' and other cafés and restaurants.

"Soon after I became unfortunate and had to part with the remainder of my dresses. Since then I have been more shabby in appearance, and not so much noticed."

TRAFFIC IN FOREIGN WOMEN

One of the most disgraceful, horrible and revolting practices (not even eclipsed by the slave-trade), carried on by Europeans is the importation of girls into England from foreign countries to swell the ranks of prostitution. It is only very recently that the attention of Mr. Tyrwhit, at the Marlborough Police Court, was drawn to the subject by Mr. Dalbert, agent to the "Society for the Protection of Women and Children."

It is asserted that women are imported from Belgium, and placed in houses of ill-fame, where they are compelled to support their keepers in luxury and idleness by the proceeds of their dishonour. One house in particular was mentioned in Marylebone; but the state of the law respecting brothels is so peculiar that great difficulty is experienced in extricating these unfortunate creatures from their dreadful position. If it were proved beyond the suspicion of a doubt, that they were detained against their will, the Habeas Corpus Act might be of service to their friends, but it appears they are so jealously guarded, that all attempts to get at them have hitherto proved futile, although there is every reason to believe that energetic measures will be taken by the above-mentioned Society to mitigate the evil and relieve the victims.

As this traffic is clandestine, and conducted with the greatest caution, it is impossible to form any correct idea of its extent. There are numbers of foreign women about, but it is probable that many of them have come over here of their own free-will, and not upon false pretences or compulsion. One meets with French, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, and other women.

The complaint made before the metropolitan magistrate a short while since was in favour of Belgian women. But the traffic is not confined to them alone. It would appear that the unfortunate creatures are deluded by all sorts of promises and cajolery, and when they arrive in this country are, in point of fact, imprisoned in certain houses of ill-fame, whose keepers derive considerable emolument from their durance. They are made to fetter themselves in some way or other to the trepanner, and they, in their simple-mindedness, consider their deed binding, and look upon themselves, until the delusion is dispelled, as thoroughly in the power of their keepers.

English women are also taken to foreign parts by designing speculators. The English are known to congregate at Boulogne, at Havre, at Dieppe, at Ostend, and other places. It is considered lucrative by the keepers of bawdy-houses at these towns to maintain an efficient supply of English women for their resident countrymen: and though the supply is inadequate to the demand, great numbers of girls are decoyed every year, and placed in the "Maisons de passé," or "Maisons de joie," as they are sometimes called, where they are made to prostitute themselves. And by the farm of their persons enable their procurers to derive considerable profit.

An Englishwoman told me how she was very nearly entrapped by a foreign woman. "I met an emissary of a French bawdy-house," she said, "one night in the Haymarket, and, after conversing with her upon various subjects, she opened the matter she had in hand, and, after a little manoeuvring and bush-beating, she asked me if I would not like to go over to France. She specified a town, which was Havre. 'You will get lots of money,' she added, and further represented 'that I should have a very jolly time of it.' 'The money you make will be equally divided between yourself

and the woman of the house, and when you have made as much as you want, you may come back to England and set up a café or night-house, where your old friends will be only too glad to come and see you. You will of course get lots of custom, and attain a better future than you can now possibly hope for. You ought to look upon me as the greatest friend you have, for I am putting a chance in your way that does not occur every day, I can tell you. If you value your own comfort, and think for a moment about your future, you cannot hesitate. I have an agreement in my pocket, duly drawn up by a solicitor, so you may rely upon its being all on the square, and if you sign this—

“‘To-night?’ I asked.

“‘Yes, immediately. If you sign this, I will supply you with some money to get what you want, and the day after to-morrow you shall sail for Havre. Madame—— is a very nice sort of person, and will do all in her power to make you happy and comfortable, and indeed she will allow you to do exactly as you please.’”

Fortunately for herself my informant refused to avail herself of the flattering prospect so alluringly held out to her. The bait was tempting enough, but the fish was too wary.

Now let us hear the recital of a girl who, at an early age, had been incarcerated in one of these “Maisons de passé.” She is now in England, has been in a refuge, and by the authorities of the charity placed in an occupation which enables her to acquire a livelihood sufficient to allow her to live as she had, up to that time, been accustomed to. Her story I subjoin:—

“When I was sixteen years’ old, my father, who kept a public-house in Bloomsbury, got into difficulties and became bankrupt. I had no mother, and my relations, such as they were, insisted upon my keeping myself in some way or other. This determination on their part thoroughly accorded with my own way of thinking, and I did not for an instant refuse to do so. It then became necessary to discover something by which I could support myself. Service suggested itself to me and my friends, and we set about finding out a situation that I could fill. They told me I was pretty, and as I had not been accustomed to do anything laborious, they thought I would make a very good lady’s maid. I advertised in a morning paper, and received three answers to my advertisement. The first I went to did not answer my expectations, and the second was moderately good; but I resolved to go to the third, and see the nature of it before I came to any conclusion. Consequently I left the second open, and went to the third. It was addressed from a house in Bulstrode-street, near Welbeck-street. I was ushered into the house, and found a foreign lady waiting to receive me. She said she was going back to France, and wished for an English girl to accompany her as she infinitely preferred English to French women. She offered me a high salary, and told me my duties would be light; in fact by comparing her statement of what I should have to do with that of the others I had visited, I found that it was more to my advantage to live with her than with them. So after a little consultation with myself, I determined to accept her offer. No sooner had I told her so than she said in a soft tone of voice—

“‘Then, my dear, just be good enough to sign this agreement between us. It is merely a matter of form—nothing more, *ma chère*.’

“I asked her what it was about, and why it was necessary for me to sign any paper at all?

“She replied, ‘Only for our mutual satisfaction. I wish you to remain with me for one year, as I shall not return to England until then. And if you hadn’t some agreement with me, to bind you as it were to stay with me, why, *mon Dieu!* you might leave me directly—oh! *c’est rien*. You may sign without fear or trembling.’

"Hearing this explanation of the transaction, without reading over the paper which was written on half a sheet of foolscap, (for I did not wish to insult or offend her by so doing.) I wrote my name.

"She instantly seized the paper, held it to the fire for a moment or two to dry, and folding it up placed it in her pocket.

"She then requested me to be ready to leave London with her on the following Thursday, which allowed me two days to make my preparations and to take leave of my friends, which I did in very good spirits, as I thought I had a very fair prospect before me. It remained for what ensued to disabuse me of that idea.

"We left the St. Katherine's Docks in the steamer for Boulogne, and instead of going to an hotel, as I expected, we proceeded to a private house in the Rue N—C—, near the Rue de l'Ecu. I have farther to tell you that three other young women accompanied us. One was a housemaid, one was a nursery governess, and the other a cook. I was introduced to them as people that I should have to associate with when we arrived at Madame's house. In fact they were represented to be part of the establishment; and they, poor things, fully believed they were, being as much deluded as myself. The house that Madame brought us to was roomy and commodious, and, as I afterwards discovered, well, if not elegantly, furnished. We were shown into very good bedrooms, much better than I expected would be allotted to servants; and when I mentioned this to Madame, and thanked her for her kindness and consideration, she replied with a smile:—

"Did I not tell you how well you would be treated? we do these things better in France than they do in England."

"I thanked her again as she was going away, but she said, '*Tâis toi, Tâis toi*,' and left me quite enchanted with her goodness."

I need not expatiate on what subsequently ensued. It is easy to imagine the horrors that the poor girl had to undergo. With some difficulty she was conquered and had to submit to her fate. She did not know a word of the language, and was ignorant of the only method she could adopt to insure redress. But this she happily discovered in a somewhat singular manner. When her way of living had become intolerable to her, she determined to throw herself on the generosity of a young Englishman who was in the habit of frequenting the house she lived in, and who seemed to possess some sort of affection for her.

She confessed her miserable position to him, and implored him to protect her or point out a means of safety. He at once replied, "The best thing you can do is to go to the British Consul and lay your case before him. He will in all probability send you back to your own country." It required little persuasion on her part to induce her friend to co-operate with her. The main thing to be managed was to escape from the house. This was next to impossible, as they were so carefully watched. But they were allowed occasionally, if they did not show any signs of discontent to go out for a walk in the town. The ramparts surrounding the "*Haute Ville*" were generally selected by this girl as her promenade, and when this privilege of walking out was allowed her, she was strictly enjoined not to neglect any opportunity that might offer itself. She arranged to meet her young friend there, and gave him notice of the day upon which she would be able to go out. If a girl who was so privileged chanced to meet a man known to the *Bonne* or attendant as a frequenter of the house, she retired to a convenient distance or went back altogether. The plot succeeded, the consul was appealed to and granted the girl a passport to return to England, also offering to supply her with money to pay her passage home. This necessity was obviated by the

kindness of her young English friend, who generously gave her several pounds, and advised her to return at once to her friends.

Arrived in England, she found her friends reluctant to believe the tale she told them, and found herself thrown on her own resources. Without a character, and with a mind very much disturbed, she found it difficult to do anything respectable, and at last had recourse to prostitution;—so difficult is it to come back to the right path when we have once strayed from it.

Perhaps it is almost impossible to stop this traffic; but at any rate the infamous wretches who trade in it may be intimidated by publicity being given to their acts, and the indignation of the public being roused in consequence. What can we imagine more dreadful than kidnapping a confiding unsuspecting girl, in some cases we may say child, without exaggeration, for a girl of fifteen is not so very far removed from those who come within the provisions of the Bishop of Oxford's Act? I repeat, what can be more horrible than transporting a girl, as it were, by false representations from her native land to a country of strangers, and condemning her against her will to a life of the most revolting slavery and degradation, without her having been guilty of any offence against an individual or against the laws of the land?

It is difficult to believe that there can be many persons engaged in this white slave trade, but it is undeniably true.

It is not a question for the legislature; for what could Parliament do? The only way to decrease the iniquity is to widely disseminate the knowledge of the existence of such infamy, that those whom it most nearly concerns, may be put upon their guard, and thus be enabled to avoid falling into the trap so cunningly laid for them.

Much praise is due to those benevolent societies who interest themselves in these matters, and especially to that which we have alluded to more than once—"The Society for the Protection of Women and Children," over which Lord Raynham presides.

Much good may be done by this means, and much misery prevented. The mines of Siberia, with all their terrors, would be preferred—even with the knout in prospective—by these poor girls, were the alternative proffered them, to the wretched life they are decoyed into leading. For all their hopes are blasted, all their feelings crushed, their whole existence blighted, and their life rendered a misery to them instead of a blessing and a means of rational enjoyment.

The idea of slavery of any kind is repulsive to the English mind; but when that slavery includes incarceration, and mental as well as physical subjection to the dominant power by whom that duration is imposed, it becomes doubly and trebly repugnant. If it were simply the deprivation of air and exercise, or even the performance of the most menial offices, it might be borne with some degree of resignation by the sufferer, however unmerited the punishment. But here we have a totally different case: no offence is committed by the victim, but rather by nature, for what is her fault, but being pretty and a woman? For this caprice of the genius of form who presided over her birth she is condemned to a life of misery, degradation, and despair; compelled to receive caresses that are hateful to her, she is at one moment the toy of senile sensuality, and at others of impetuous juvenility, both alike loathsome, both alike detestable. If blandishments disgust her, words of endearment only make her state of desolation more palpable; while profusions of regard serve to aggravate the poignancy of her grief, all around her is hollow, all artificial except her wretchedness. When to this is added ostracism—banishment from one's native country—the condition of the unfortunate woman is indeed pitiable, for there is some slight consolation in hearing one's native language spoken by those around us, and more especially to the class from

which these girls are for the most part taken. We must add "*pour comble d'injustice*," that there is no future for the girl, no reprieve, no hope of mercy, every hope is gone from the moment the prison tawdry is assumed. The condemnation is severe enough, for it is for life. When her beauty and her charms no longer serve to attract the libidinous, she sinks into the condition of a servant to others who have been ensnared to fill her place. Happiness cannot be achieved by her at any period of her servitude; there must always be a restless longing for the end, which though comparatively quick in arriving is always too tardy.

The mind in time in many cases becomes depraved, and the hardness of heart that follows this depravity often prevents the girl from feeling as acutely as she did at first. To these religion is a dead letter, which is a greater and additional calamity. But to be brief, the victim's whole life from first to last is a series of disappointments, combined with a succession of woes that excite a shudder by their contemplation, and which may almost justify the invocation of Death:—

"Death, Death, oh amiable lovely death!
 Thou odoriferous stench! sound rottenness!
 Arise forth from the couch of lasting night,
 Thou hate and terror to prosperity,
 And I will kiss thy detestable bones;
 And put my eyeballs in they vaulty brows;
 And ring these fingers with thy household worms;
 And stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust,
 And be a carrion monster like thyself;
 Come, grin on me; and I will think thou smil'st,
 And kiss thee as thy wife! Misery's love,
 O, come to me!
 SHAKESPERE. *King John*, Act iii. Scene 4.

2. "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" (1885)

By William Stead

"The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, I: The Report of our Secret Commission." *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 July 1885, pp. 1–6.

Stead worked with Josephine Butler, William Coote, and other abolitionists in Victorian London. The following is the first of four installments published in London; by the time the fourth installment was published, riots had been incited.

See also Butler, Josephine and "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in this text.

In ancient times, if we may believe the myths of Hellas, Athens, after a disastrous campaign, was compelled by her conqueror to send once every nine years a tribute to Crete of seven youths and seven maidens. The doomed fourteen, who were selected by lot amid the lamentations of the citizens, returned no more. The vessel that bore them to Crete unfurled black sails as the symbol

of despair, and on arrival her passengers were flung into the famous Labyrinth of Daedalus, there to wander about blindly until such time as they were devoured by the Minotaur, a frightful monster, half man, half bull, the foul product of an unnatural lust. "The labyrinth was as large as a town and had countless courts and galleries. Those who entered it could never find their way out again. If they hurried from one to another of the numberless rooms looking for the entrance door, it was all in vain. They only became more hopelessly lost in the bewildering labyrinth, until at last they were devoured by the Minotaur." Twice at each ninth year the Athenians paid the maiden tribute to King Minos, lamenting sorely the dire necessity of bowing to his iron law. When the third tribute came to be exacted, the distress of the city of the Violet Crown was insupportable. From the King's palace to the peasant's hamlet, everywhere were heard cries and groans and the choking sob of despair, until the whole air seemed to vibrate with the sorrow of an unutterable anguish. Then it was that the hero Theseus volunteered to be offered up among those who drew the black balls from the brazen urn of destiny, and the story of his self-sacrifice, his victory, and his triumphant return, is among the most familiar of the tales which since the childhood of the world have kindled the imagination and fired the heart of the human race.

The labyrinth was cunningly wrought like a house, says Ovid, with many rooms and winding passages, that so the shameful creature of lust whose abode it was to be should be far removed from sight.

Destinat hunc Minos thalamis removere pudorem,
 Multiplicique domo, caecisque includere tectis.
 Daedalus ingenio fabra celeberrimus artis
 Ponit opus: turbatque notas, et lumina flexura
 Ducit in errorera variarum ambage viarum.

And what happened to the victims—the young men and maidens—who were there interned, no one could surely tell. Some say that they were done to death; others that they lived in servile employments to old age. But in this alone do all the stories agree, that those who were once caught in the coils could never retrace their steps, so "inextricable" were the paths, so "blind" the footsteps, so "innumerable" the ways of wrong-doing. On the southern wall of the porch of the cathedral at Lucca there is a slightly traced piece of sculpture, representing the Cretan labyrinth, "out of which," says the legend written in straggling letters at the side, "nobody could get who was inside":—

Hic quem credicus edit Dedalus est laberinthus
 De quo nullus vadere quirit qui fuit intus.

The fact that the Athenians should have taken so bitterly to heart the paltry maiden tribute that once in nine years they had to pay to the Minotaur seems incredible, almost inconceivable. This very night in London, and every night, year in and year out, not seven maidens only, but many times seven, selected almost as much by chance as those who in the Athenian market-place drew lots as to which should be flung into the Cretan labyrinth, will be offered up as the Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon. Maidens they were when this morning dawned, but to-night their ruin will be accomplished, and to-morrow they will find themselves within the portals of the maze of London brotheldom. Within that labyrinth wander, like lost souls, the vast host of London prostitutes, whose numbers no man can compute, but who are probably not much below 50,000 strong. Many, no doubt, who venture but a little way within the maze make their escape.

But multitudes are swept irresistibly on and on to be destroyed in due season, to give place to others, who also will share their doom. The maw of the London Minotaur is insatiable, and none that go into the secret recesses of his lair return again. After some years' dolorous wandering in this palace of despair—for "hope of rest to solace there is none, nor éen of milder pang," save the poisonous anodyne of drink—most of those ensnared to-night will perish, some of them in horrible torture. Yet, so far from this great city being convulsed with woe, London cares for none of these things, and the cultured man of the world, the heir of all the ages, the ultimate product of a long series of civilizations and religions, will shrug his shoulders in scorn at the folly of any one who ventures in public print to raise even the mildest protest against a horror a thousand times more horrible than that which, in the youth of the world, haunted like a nightmare the imagination of mankind. Nevertheless, I have not yet lost faith in the heart and conscience of the English folk, the sturdy innate chivalry and right thinking of our common people; and although I am no vain dreamer of Utopias peopled solely by Sir Galahads and vestal virgins, I am not without hope that there may be some check placed upon this vast tribute of maidens, unwitting or unwilling, which is nightly levied in London by the vices of the rich upon the necessities of the poor. London's lust annually uses up many thousands of women, who are literally killed and made away with—living sacrifices slain in the service of vice. That may be inevitable, and with that I have nothing to do. But I do ask that those doomed to the house of evil fame shall not be trapped into it unwillingly, and that none shall be beguiled into the chamber of death before they are of an age to read the inscription above the portal—"All hope abandon ye who enter here." If the daughters of the people must be served up as dainty morsels to minister to the passions of the rich, let them at least attain an age when they can understand the nature of the sacrifice which they are asked to make. And if we must cast maidens—not seven, but seven times seven—nightly into the jaws of vice, let us at least see to it that they assent to their own immolation, and are not unwilling sacrifices procured by force and fraud. That is surely not too much to ask from the dissolute rich. Even considerations of self-interest might lead our rulers to assent to so modest a demand. For the hour of Democracy has struck, and there is no wrong which a man resents like this. If it has not been resented hitherto, it is not because it was not felt. The Roman Republic was founded by the rape of Lucrece, but Lucrece was a member of one of the governing families. A similar offence placed Spain under the domination of the Moors, but there again the victim of Royal licence was the daughter of a Count. But the fathers and brothers whose daughters and sisters are purchased like slaves, not for labour, but for lust, are now at last enrolled among the governing classes—a circumstance full of hope for the nation, but by no means without menace for a class. Many of the French Revolutionists were dissolute enough, but nothing gave such an edge to the guillotine as the memory of the *Pare aux Cerfs*; and even in our time the horrors that attended the suppression of the Commune were largely due to the despair of the *femme vengeresse*. Hence, unless the levying of the maiden-tribute in London is shorn of its worst abuses—at present, as I shall show, flourishing unchecked—resentment, which might be appeased by reform, may hereafter be the virus of a social revolution. It is the one explosive which is strong enough to wreck the Throne.

LIBERTY FOR VICE, REPRESSION FOR CRIME

To avoid all misapprehension as to the object with which I propose to set forth the ghastly and criminal features of this infernal traffic, I wish to say emphatically at the outset that, however

strongly I may feel as to the imperative importance of morality and chastity, I do not ask for any police interference with the liberty of vice. I ask only for the repression of crime. Sexual immorality, however evil it may be in itself or in its consequences, must be dealt with not by the policeman but by the teacher, so long as the persons contracting are of full age, are perfectly free agents, and in their sin are guilty of no outrage on public morals. Let us by all means apply the sacred principles of free trade to trade in vice, and regulate the relations of the sexes by the higgling of the market and the liberty of private contract. Whatever may be my belief as to the reality and the importance of a transcendental theory of purity in the relations between man and woman, that is an affair for the moralist, not for the legislator. So far from demanding any increased power for the police, I would rather incline to say to the police, "Hands off;" when they interfere arbitrarily with the ordinary operations of the market of vice. But the more freely we permit to adults absolute liberty to dispose of their persons in accordance with the principles of private contract and free trade, the more stringent must be our precautions against the innumerable crimes which spring from vice, as vice itself springs from the impure imaginings of the heart of man. These crimes flourish on every side, unnoticed and unchecked—if, indeed, they are not absolutely encouraged by the law, as they are certainly practised by some legislators and winked at by many administrators of the law. To extirpate vice by Act of Parliament is impossible; but because we must leave vice free that is no reason why we should acquiesce helplessly in the perpetration of crime. And that crime of the most ruthless and abominable description is constantly and systematically practised in London without let or hindrance, I am in a position to prove from my own personal knowledge—a knowledge purchased at a cost of which I prefer not to speak. Those crimes may be roughly classified as follows:—

- I. The sale and purchase and violation of children.
- II. The procuration of virgins.
- III. The entrapping and ruin of women.
- IV. The international slave trade in girls.
- V. Atrocities, brutalities, and unnatural crimes.

That is what I call sexual criminality, as opposed to sexual immorality. It flourishes in all its branches on every side to an extent of which even those specially engaged in rescue work have but little idea. Those who are constantly engaged in its practice naturally deny its existence. But I speak of that which I do know, not from hearsay or rumour, but of my own personal knowledge.

HOW THE FACTS WERE VERIFIED

When the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was talked out just before the defeat of the Ministry it became necessary to rouse public attention to the necessity for legislation on this painful subject. I undertook an investigation into the facts. The evidence taken before the House of Lords' Committee in 1882 was useful, but the facts were not up to date: members said things had changed since then, and the need for legislation had passed. It was necessary to bring the information up to date, and that duty—albeit with some reluctance—I resolutely undertook. For four weeks, aided by two or three coadjutors of whose devotion and self-sacrifice, combined with a rare instinct for investigation and a singular personal fearlessness, I cannot speak too highly, I have been exploring the London Inferno. It has been a strange and unexampled

experience. For a month I have oscillated between the noblest and the meanest of mankind, the saviours and the destroyers of their race, spending hours alternately in brothels and hospitals, in the streets and in refuges, in the company of procuresses and of bishops. London beneath the gas glare of its innumerable lamps became, not like Paris in 1793—"a naphtha-lighted city of Dis"—but a resurrected and magnified City of the Plain, with all the vices of Gomorrah, daring the vengeance of long-suffering Heaven. It seemed a strange, inverted world, that in which I lived those terrible weeks—the world of the streets and of the brothel. It was the same, yet not the same, as the world of business and the world of politics. I heard of much the same people in the house of ill-fame as those of whom you hear in caucuses, in law courts, and on Change. But all were judged by a different standard, and their relative importance was altogether changed. It was as if the position of our world had suddenly been altered, and you saw most of the planets and fixed stars in different combinations, and of altogether different magnitudes, so that at first it was difficult to recognize them. For the house of evil fame has its own ethics, and the best man in the world—the first of Englishmen, in the estimation of the bawd—is often one of whom society knows nothing and cares less. To hear statesmen reckoned up from the standpoint of the brothel is at first almost as novel and perplexing an experience as it is to hear judges and Queen's Counsel praised or blamed, not for their judicial acumen and legal lore, but for their addiction to unnatural crimes or their familiarity with obscene literature.

After a time the eye grows familiar with the foul and poisonous air, but at the best you wander in a Circe's isle, where the victims of the foul enchantress's wand meet you at every turn. But with a difference, for whereas the enchanted in olden time had the heads and the voices and the bristles of swine, while the heart of a man was in them still, these have not put on in outward form "the inglorious likeness of a beast," but are in semblance as other men, while within there is only the heart of a beast—bestial, ferocious, and filthy beyond the imagination of decent men. For days and nights it is as if I had suffered the penalties inflicted upon the lost souls in the Moslem hell, for I seemed to have to drink of the purulent matter that flows from the bodies of the damned. But the sojourn in this hell has not been fruitless. The facts which I and my coadjutors have verified I now place on record at once as a revelation and a warning—a revelation of the system, and a warning to those who may be its victims. In the statement which follows I give no names and I omit addresses. My purpose was not to secure the punishment of criminals but to lay bare the working of a great organization of crime. But as a proof of good faith, and in order to substantiate the accuracy of every statement contained herein, I am prepared after an assurance has been given me that the information so afforded will not be made use of either for purposes of individual exposure or of criminal proceedings, to communicate the names, dates, localities referred to, together with full and detailed explanations of the way in which I secured the information, in confidence to any of the following persons:—

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,
 The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster,
 Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P.,
 The Earl of Shaftesbury,
 The Earl of Dalhousie, as the author of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and
 Mr. Howard Vincent, ex-Director of the Criminal Investigation Department.

I do not propose to communicate this information to any member of the executive Government, as the responsibilities of their position might render it impossible for them to give the

requisite assurance as to the confidential character of my communication. More than this I could not do unless I was prepared (1) to violate the confidence reposed in me in the course of my investigation, and (2) to spend the next six weeks of my life as a witness in the Criminal Court. This I absolutely refuse to do. I am an investigator; I am not an informer.

THE VIOLATION OF VIRGINS

This branch of the subject is one upon which even the coolest and most scientific observer may well find it difficult to speak dispassionately in a spirit of calm and philosophic investigation. The facts, however, as they have been elucidated in the course of a careful and painstaking inquiry are so startling, and the horror which they excite so overwhelming, that it is doubly necessary to approach the subject with a scepticism proof against all but the most overwhelming demonstration. It is, however, a fact that there is in full operation among us a system of which the violation of virgins is one of the ordinary incidents; that these virgins are mostly of tender age, being too young in fact to understand the nature of the crime of which they are the unwilling victims; that these outrages are constantly perpetrated with almost absolute impunity; and that the arrangements for procuring, certifying, violating, repairing, and disposing of these ruined victims of the lust of London are made with a simplicity and efficiency incredible to all who have not made actual demonstration of the facility with which the crime can be accomplished.

To avoid misapprehension, I admit that the vast majority of those who are on the streets in London have not come there by the road of organized rape. Most women fall either by the seduction of individuals or by the temptation which well-dressed vice can offer to the poor. But there is a minority which has been as much the victim of violence as were the Bulgarian maidens with whose wrongs Mr. Gladstone made the world ring some eight years ago. Some are simply snared, trapped and outraged either when under the influence of drugs or after a prolonged struggle in a locked room, in which the weaker succumbs to sheer downright force. Others are regularly procured; bought at so much per head in some cases, or enticed under various promises into the fatal chamber from which they are never allowed to emerge until they have lost what woman ought to value more than life. It is to this department of the subject that I now address myself.

Before beginning this inquiry I had a confidential interview with one of the most experienced officers who for many years was in a position to possess an intimate acquaintance with all phases of London crime. I asked him, "Is it or is it not a fact that, at this moment, if I were to go to the proper houses, well introduced, the keeper would, in return for money down, supply me in due time with a maid—a genuine article, I mean, not a mere prostitute tricked out as a virgin, but a girl who had never been seduced?" "Certainly," he replied without a moment's hesitation. "At what price?" I continued. "That is a difficult question," he said. "I remember one case which came under my official cognizance in Scotland-yard in which the price agreed upon was stated to be £20. Some parties in Lambeth undertook to deliver a maid for that sum—to a house of ill fame, and I have no doubt it is frequently done all over London." "But," I continued, "are these maids willing or unwilling parties to the transaction—that is, are they really maidens, not merely in being each a *virgo intacta* in the physical sense, but as being chaste girls who are not consenting parties to their seduction?" He looked surprised at my question, and then replied emphatically: "Of course they are rarely willing, and as a rule they do not know what they are coming for." "But," I said in amazement, "then do you mean to tell me that in very truth actual rapes, in

the legal sense of the word, are constantly being perpetrated in London on unwilling virgins, purveyed and procured to rich men at so much a head by keepers of brothels?" "Certainly," said he, "there is not a doubt of it." "Why," I exclaimed, "the very thought is enough to raise hell." "It is true," he said; "and although it ought to raise hell, it does not even raise the neighbours." "But do the girls cry out?" "Of course they do. But what avails screaming in a quiet bedroom? Remember, the utmost limit of howling or excessively violent screaming, such as a man or woman would make if actual murder was being attempted, is only two minutes, and the limit of screaming of any kind is only five. Suppose a girl is being outraged in a room next to your house. You hear her screaming, just as you are dozing to sleep. Do you get up, dress, rush downstairs, and insist on admittance? Hardly. But suppose the screams continue and you get uneasy, you begin to think whether you should not do something? Before you have made up your mind and got dressed the screams cease, and you think you were a fool for your pains." "But the policeman on the beat?" "He has no right to interfere, even if he heard anything. Suppose that a constable had a right to force his way into any house where a woman screamed fearfully, policemen would be almost as regular attendants at childbed as doctors. Once a girl gets into such a house she is almost helpless, and may be ravished with comparative safety." "But surely rape is a felony punishable with penal servitude. Can she not prosecute?" "Whom is she to prosecute? She does not know her assailant's name. She might not even be able to recognize him if she met him outside. Even if she did, who would believe her? A woman who has lost her chastity is always a discredited witness. The fact of her being in a house of ill fame would possibly be held to be evidence of her consent. The keeper of the house and all the servants would swear she was a consenting party; they would swear that she had never screamed, and the woman would be condemned as an adventuress who wished to levy black mail." "And this is going on to-day?" "Certainly it is, and it will go on, and you cannot help it, as long as men have money, procuresses are skilful, and women are weak and inexperienced."

VIRGINS WILLING AND UNWILLING

So startling a declaration by so eminent an authority led me to turn my investigations in this direction. On discussing the matter with a well-known member of Parliament, he laughed and said: "I doubt the unwillingness of these virgins. That you can contract for maids at so much a head is true enough. I myself am quite ready to supply you with 100 maids at £25 each, but they will all know very well what they are about. There are plenty of people among us entirely devoid of moral scruples on the score of chastity, whose daughters are kept straight until they are sixteen or seventeen, not because they love virtue, but solely because their virginity is a realizable asset, with which they are taught they should never part except for value received. These are the girls who can be had at so much a head; but it is nonsense to say it is rape; it is merely the delivery as per contract of the asset virginity in return for cash down. Of course there may be some cases in which the girl is really unwilling, but the regular supply comes from those who take a strictly businesslike view of the saleable value of their maidenhead." My interlocutor referred me to a friend whom he described as the first expert on the subject, an evergreen old gentleman to whom the brothels of Europe were as familiar as Notre Dame and St. Paul's. This specialist, however, entirely denied that there was such a thing as the procuring of virgins, willing or unwilling, either here or on the Continent. Maidenheads, he maintained, were not assets that could be realized in the market, but he admitted that there were some few men whose taste led them to buy little

girls from their mothers in order to abuse them. My respect for this "eminent authority" diminished, however, on receiving his assurance that all Parisian and Belgian brothels were managed so admirably that no minors could be harboured, and that no English girls were ever sent to the Continent for immoral purposes. Still even he admitted that little girls were bought and sold for vicious purposes, and this unnatural combination of slave trade, rape, and unnatural crime seemed to justify further inquiry.

I then put myself into direct and confidential communication with brothel-keepers in the West and East of London and in the provinces. Some of these were still carrying on their business, others had abandoned their profession in disgust, and were now living a better life. The information which I received from them was, of course, confidential. I am not a detective, and much of the information which I received was given only after the most solemn pledge that I would not violate their confidence, so as to involve them in a criminal prosecution. It was somewhat unfortunate that this inquiry was only set on foot after the prosecution of Mrs. Jefferies. The fine inflicted on her has struck momentary awe into the heart of the thriving community of "introducers." They could accommodate no one but their old customers.

A new face, suggested Mr. Minahan, and an inquiry for virgins or little girls by one who had not given his proofs, excited suspicion and alarm. But, aided by some trustworthy and experienced friends, I succeeded after a time in overcoming the preliminary obstacle so as to obtain sufficient evidence as to the reality of the crime.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A BROTHEL-KEEPER

Here, for instance, is a statement made to me by a brothel keeper, who formerly kept a noted House in the Mile-end road, but who is now endeavouring to start life afresh as an honest man. I saw both him and his wife, herself a notorious prostitute whom he had married off the streets, where she had earned her living since she was fourteen:—

"Maids, as you call them—fresh girls as we know them in the trade—are constantly in request, and a keeper who knows his business has his eyes open in all directions, his stock of girls is constantly getting used up, and needs replenishing, and he has to be on the alert for likely "marks" to keep up the reputation of his house. I have been in my time a good deal about the country on these errands. The getting of fresh girls takes time, but it is simple and easy enough when, once you are in it. I have gone and courted girls in the country under all kinds of disguises, occasionally assuming the dress of a parson, and made them believe that I intended to marry them, and so got them in my power to please a good customer. How is it done? Why, after courting my girl for a time, I propose to bring her to London to see the sights. I bring her up, take her here and there, giving her plenty to eat and drink—especially drink. I take her to the theatre, and then I contrive it so that she loses her last train. By this time she is very tired, a little dazed with the drink and excitement, and very frightened at being left in town with no friends. I offer her nice lodgings for the night: she goes to bed in my house, and then the affair is managed. My client gets his maid, I get my £10 or £20 commission, and in the morning the girl, who has lost her character, and dare not go home, in all probability will do as the others do, and become one of my "marks"—that is, she will make her living in the streets, to the advantage of my house. The brothel keeper's profit is, first, the commission down for the price of a maid, and secondly, the continuous profit of the addition of a newly seduced, attractive girl to his establishment. That is a fair sample case of the way in which we recruit. Another very

simple mode of supplying maids is by breeding them. Many women who are on the streets have female children. They are worth keeping. When they get to be twelve or thirteen they become merchantable. For a very likely "mark" of this kind you may get as much as £20 or £40. I sent my own daughter out on the streets from my own brothel. I know a couple of very fine little girls now who will be sold before very long. They are bred and trained for the life. They must take the first step some time, and it is bad business not to make as much out of that as possible. Drunken parents often sell their children to brothel keepers. In the East-end, you can always pick up as many fresh girls as you want. In one street in Dalston you might buy a dozen. Sometimes the supply is in excess of the demand, and you have to seduce your maid yourself, or to employ some one else to do it, which is bad business in a double sense. There is a man called S—— whom a famous house used to employ to seduce young girls and make them fit for service when there was no demand for maids and there was a demand for girls who had been seduced. But as a rule the number seduced ready to hand is ample, especially among very young children. Did I ever do anything else in the way of recruiting? Yes. I remember one case very well. The girl, a likely "mark," was a simple country lass living at Horsham. I had heard of her, and I went down to Horsham to see what I could do. Her parents believed that I was in regular business in London, and they were very glad when I proposed to engage their daughter. I brought her to town and made her a servant in our house. We petted her and made a good deal of her, gradually initiated her into the kind of life it was; and then I sold her to a young gentleman for £15. When I say that I sold her, I mean that he gave me the gold and I gave him the girl, to do what he liked with. He took her away and seduced her. I believe he treated her rather well afterwards, but that was not my affair. She was his after he paid for her and took her away. If her parents had inquired, I would have said that she had been a bad girl and run away with a young man. How could I help that? I once sold a girl twelve years old for £20 to a clergyman, who used to come to my house professedly to distribute tracts. The East is the great market for the children who are imported into West-end houses, or taken abroad wholesale when trade is brisk. I know of no West-end houses, having always lived at Dalston or thereabouts, but agents pass to and fro in the course of business. They receive the goods, depart, and no questions are asked.

Mrs. S., a famous procuress, has a mansion at——, which is one of the worst centres of the trade, with four other houses in other districts, one at St. John's-wood. This lady, when she discovers ability, cultivates it—that is, if a comely young girl of fifteen falls into her net, with some intelligence, she is taught to read and write, and to play the piano."

THE LONDON SLAVE MARKET

This brothel-keeper was a smart fellow, and had been a commercial traveller once, but drink had brought him down. Anxious to test the truth of his statement, I asked him, through a trusty agent, if he would undertake to supply me in three days with a couple of fresh girls, maids, whose virginity would be attested by a doctor's certificate. At first he said that it would require a longer time. But on being pressed, and assured that money was no object, he said that he would make inquiries, and see what could be done. In two days I received from the same confidential source an intimation that for £10 commission he would undertake to deliver to my chambers, or to any other spot which I might choose to select, two young girls, each with a doctor's certificate of the fact that she was a *virgo intacta*. Hesitating to close with this offer, my agent received the

following telegram:—"I think all right. I am with parties. Will tell you all to-morrow about twelve o'clock." On calling H—— said:—

"I will undertake to deliver at your rooms within two days two children at your chambers. Both are the daughters of brothel keepers whom I have known and dealt with, and the parents are willing to sell in both cases. I represented that they were intended for a rich old gentleman who had led a life of debauchery for years. I was suspected of baby-farming—that is, peaching, at first, and it required all my knowledge of the tricks of the trade to effect my purpose. However, after champagne and liquors, my old friend G——, M—— lane, Hackney, agreed to hand over her own child, a pretty girl of eleven, for £5, if she could get no more. The child was *virgo intacta*, so far as her mother knew. I then went to Mrs. N——, of B—— street, Dalston, (B—— street is a street of brothels from end to end). Mrs. N—— required little persuasion, but her price was higher. She would not part with her daughter under £5 or £10, as she was pretty and attractive, and a virgin, aged thirteen, who would probably fetch more in the open market. These two children I could deliver up within two days if the money was right. I would, on the same conditions, undertake to deliver half a dozen girls, ages varying from ten to thirteen, within a week or ten days."

I did not deem it wise to carry the negotiations any further. The purchase price was to be paid on delivery, but it was to be returned if the girls were found to have been tampered with.

That was fairly confirmatory evidence of the existence of the traffic to which official authority has pointed; but I was not content. Making inquiries at the other end of the town, by good fortune I was brought into intimate and confidential communication with an ex-brothel keeper. When a mere girl she had been seduced by Colonel S——, when a maidservant at Petersfield, and had been thrown upon the streets by that officer at Manchester. She had subsequently kept a house of ill fame at a seaport town, and from thence had gravitated to the congenial neighbourhood of Regent's Park. There she had kept a brothel for several years. About a year ago, however, she was picked up, when in a drunken fit, by some earnest workers, and after a hard struggle was brought back to a decent and moral life. She was a woman who bore traces of the rigorous mill through which she had passed. Her health was impaired; she looked ten years older than her actual age, and it was with the greatest reluctance she could be prevailed upon to speak of the incidents of her previous life, the horror of which seemed to cling to her like a nightmare. By dint of patient questioning, however, and the assurance that I would not criminate either herself or any of her old companions, she became more communicative, and answered my inquiries. Her narrative was straightforward; and I am fully convinced it was entirely genuine. I have since made strict inquiries among those who see her daily and know her most intimately, and I am satisfied that the woman was speaking the truth. She had no motive to deceive, and she felt very deeply the shame of her awful confession, which was only wrung from her by the conviction that it might help to secure the prevention of similar crimes in the future.

HOW GIRLS ARE BOUGHT AND RUINED

Her story, or rather so much of it as is germane to the present inquiry, was somewhat as follows:—

"As a regular thing, the landlady of a bad house lets her rooms to gay women and lives on their rent and the profits on the drink which they compel their customers to buy for the good of the house. She may go out herself or she may not. If business is very heavy, she will have to

do her own share, but us a rule she contents herself with keeping her girls up to the mark, and seeing that they at least earn enough to pay their rent, and bring home sufficient customers to consume liquor enough to make it pay. Girls often shrink from going out, and need almost to be driven into the streets. If it was not for gin and the landlady they could never carry it on. Some girls I used to have would come and sit and cry in my kitchen and declare that they could not go out, they could not stand the life. I had to give them a dram and take them out myself, and set them agoing again, for if they did not seek gentlemen where was I to get my rent? Did they begin willingly? Some; others had no choice. How had they no choice? Because they never knew anything about it till the gentleman was in their bedroom, and then it was too late. I or my girls would entice fresh girls in, and persuade them to stay out too late till they were locked out, and then a pinch of snuff in their beer would keep them snug until the gentleman had his way. Has that happened often? Lots of times. It is one of the ways by which you keep your house up. Every woman who has an eye to business is constantly on the lookout for likely girls. Pretty girls who are poor, and who have either no parents or are away from home, are easiest picked up, How is it done? You or your decoy find a likely girl, and then you track her down. I remember I once went a hundred miles and more to pick up a girl. I took a lodging close to the board school, where I could see the girls go backwards and forwards every day. I soon saw one that suited my fancy. She was a girl of about thirteen, tall and forward for her age, pretty, and likely to bring business. I found out she lived with her mother. I engaged her to be my little maid at the lodgings where I was staying. The very next day I took her off with me to London and her mother never saw her again. What became of her? A gentleman paid me £13 for the first of her, soon after she came to town. She was asleep when he did it—sound asleep. To tell the truth, she was drugged. It is often done. I gave her a drowse. It is a mixture of laudanum and something else. Sometimes chloroform is used, but I always used either snuff or laudanum. We call it drowse or black draught, and they lie almost as if dead, and the girl never knows what has happened till morning. And then? Oh! then she cries a great deal from pain, but she is 'mazed, and hardly knows what has happened except that she can hardly move from pain. Of course we tell her it is all right; all girls have to go through it some time, that she is through it now without knowing it, and that it is no use crying. It will never be undone for all the crying in the world. She must now do as the others do. She can live like a lady, do as she pleases, have the best of all that is going, and enjoy herself all day. If she objects, I scold her and tell her she has lost her character, no one will take her in; I will have to turn her out on the streets as a bad and ungrateful girl. The result is that in nine cases out of ten, or ninety-nine out of a hundred, the child, who is usually under fifteen, frightened and friendless, her head aching with the effect of the drowse and full of pain and horror, gives up all hope, and in a week she is one of the attractions of the house. You say that some men say this is never done. Don't believe them; if these people spoke the truth, it might be found that they had done it themselves. Landladies who wish to thrive must humour their customers. If they want a maid we must get them one, or they will go elsewhere. We cannot afford to lose their custom; besides, after the maid is seduced, she fills up vacancies caused by disease or drink. There are very few brothels which are not occasionally recruited in that way. That case which I mentioned was by no means exceptional; in about seven years I remember selling two maids for £20 each, one at £16, one at £15, one at £13 and others for less. Of course, where I bought I paid less than that. The difference represented my profit, commission, and payment for risk in procuring, drugging, &c."

BUYING GIRLS AT THE EAST-END

This experienced ex-procuress assured me that if she were to return to her old trade she would have no difficulty in laying her hands, through the agency of friends and relatives still in the trade, upon as many young girls as she needed. No house begins altogether with maids, but steps are at once taken to supply one or two young girls to train in. She did not think the alarm of the Jefferies trial had penetrated into the strata where she used to work. But said I, "Will these children be really maids, or will it merely be a plant to get off damaged articles under that guise?" Her reply was significant. "You do not know how it is done. Do you think I would buy a maid on her word? You can soon find out, if you are in the business, whether a child is really fresh or not. You have to trust the person who sells, no doubt, to some extent, but if you are in the trade they would not deceive you in a matter in which fraud can be so easily detected. If one house supplied another with girls who had been seduced, at the price of maids, it would get out, and their reputation would suffer. Besides you do not trust them very far. Half the commission is paid down on delivery, the other half is held over until the truth is proved." "How is that done?" "By a doctor or an experienced midwife. If you are dealing with a house you trust, you take their doctor's certificate. If they trust you they will accept the verdict of your doctor." "Does the girl know why you are taking her away?" "Very seldom. She thinks she is going to a situation. When she finds out, it is too late. If she knew what it meant she either would not come or her readiness would give rise to a suspicion that she was not the article you wanted—that, in fact, she was no better than she should be." "Who are these girls?" "Orphans, daughters of drunken parents, children of prostitutes, girls whose friends are far away." "And their price?" "In the trade from £3 to £5 is, I should think, a fair thing. But if you doubt it I will make inquiries, if you like, in my old haunts and tell you what can be done next week."

As there is nothing like inquiry on the spot, I commissioned her to inquire as to the maids then in stock or procurable at short notice by a single bad house in the East of London, whose keeper she knew. The reply was businesslike and direct. If she wanted a couple of maids for a house in the country three would be brought to Waterloo railway station next Saturday at three, from whom two could be selected at £5 per head. One girl, not very pretty, about thirteen, could be had at only at £3. Offer to be accepted or confirmed by letter—which of course never arrived.

A GIRL ESCAPES AFTER BEING SOLD

Being anxious to satisfy myself as to the reality of these transactions, I instructed a thoroughly trustworthy woman to proceed with this ex-keeper to the house in question, and see if she could see any of the children whose price was quoted like that of lambs at so much a head. The woman of the house was somewhat suspicious, owing to the presence of a stranger, but after some conversation she said that she had one fresh girl within reach, whom she would make over at once if they could come to terms. The girl was sent for, and duly appeared. She was told that she was to have a good situation in the country within a few miles of London. She said that she had been brought up at a home at Streatham, had been in service, but had been out of a place for three weeks. She was a pleasant, bright-looking girl, who seemed somewhat nervous when she heard so many inquiries and the talk about taking her into the country. The bargain, however, was struck. The keeper had to receive £2 down, and another sovereign when the girl was proved a maid. The money was paid, the girl handed over, but something said had alarmed her, and she

solved the difficulty of disposing of her by making her escape. My friend who witnessed the whole transaction, and whose presence probably contributed something to the difficulty of the bargain, assures me that there was no doubt as to the sale and transfer of the girl. "Her escape," said the ex-keeper, "is one of the risks of the trade. If I had been really in for square business, I should never have agreed to take the girl from the house, partly in order to avoid such escape and partly for safety. It is almost invariably the rule that the seller must deliver the girl at some railway station. She is brought to you, placed in your cab or your railway carriage, and it is then your business, and an easy one, to see that she does not escape you. But the risks of delivery at a safe place are always taken by the seller."

A DREADFUL PROFESSION

When I was prosecuting these inquiries at the East-end, I was startled by a discovery made by a confidential agent at the other end of the town. This was nothing less than the unearthing of a house, kept apparently by a highly respectable midwife, where children were taken by procurers to be certified as virgins before violation, and where, after violation, they were taken to be "patched up," and where, if necessary, abortion could be procured. The existence of the house was no secret. It was well known in the trade, and my agent was directed thither without much ado by a gay woman with whom he had made a casual acquaintance. No doubt the respectable old lady has other business of a less doubtful character, but in the trade her repute is unrivalled, first as a certifier of virginity, and secondly for the adroitness and skill with which she can repair the laceration caused by the subsequent outrage.

That surely was sufficiently horrible. Yet there stood the house, imperturbably respectable in its outward appearance, apparently an indispensable adjunct of modern civilization, its experienced proprietress maintaining confidential relations with the "best houses" in the West-end. This repairer of damaged virgins is not a procuress. Her mission is remedial. Her premises are not used for purposes of violation. She knows where it is done, but she cannot prevent that. What she does is to minimize pain and repair as effectively as possible the ravages of the lust which she did not create, and which she cannot control. But she is a wise woman, whom great experience has taught many secrets, and if she would but speak! Not that she is above giving a hint to those who seek her advice as to where little children can best be procured. A short time ago, she says, there was no difficulty. "Any of these houses," mentioning several of the best known foreign and English houses in the West and North-west, "would, supply children, but at present they are timid. You need to be an old customer to be served. But, after all, it is expensive getting young girls for them. If you really have a fancy that way, why do you not do as Mr. ——— does? It is cheaper, simpler, and safer." "And how does Mr. ——— do, and who is Mr. ———?" "Oh, Mr. ——— is a gentleman who has a great penchant for little girls. I do not know how many I have had to repair after him. He goes down to the East-end and the City, and watches when the girls come out of shops and factories for lunch or at the end of the day. He sees his fancy and marks her down. It takes a little time, but he wins the child's confidence. One day he proposes a little excursion to the West. She consents. Next day I have another subject, and Mr. ——— is off with another girl." "And what becomes of the subjects on which you display your skill?" "Some go home, others go back to their situations, others again are passed on to those who have a taste for second-hand articles," and the good lady intimated that if my agent had such a taste, she was not without hopes that she might be able to do a little trade.

WHY THE CRIES OF THE VICTIMS ARE NOT HEARD

At this point in the inquiry, the difficulty again occurred to me how was it possible for these outrages to take place without detection. The midwife, when questioned, said there was no danger. Some of the houses had an underground room, from which no sound could be heard, and that, as a matter of fact, no one ever had been detected. The truth about the underground chambers is difficult to ascertain. Padded rooms for the purpose of stifling the cries of tortured victims of lust and brutality are familiar enough on the Continent. "In my house," said a most respectable lady, who keeps a villa in the west of London, "you can enjoy the screams of the girl with the certainty that no one else hears them but yourself." But to enjoy to the full the exclusive luxury of revelling in the cries of the immature child, it is not necessary to have a padded room, a double chamber, or an underground room. "Here," said the keeper of a fashionable villa, where in days bygone a prince of the blood is said to have kept for some months one of his innumerable sultanas, as she showed her visitor over the well-appointed rooms, "Here is a room where you can be perfectly secure. The house stands in its own grounds. The walls are thick, there is a double carpet on the floor. The only window which fronts upon the back garden is doubly secured, first with shutters and then with heavy curtains. You lock the door and then you can do as you please. The girl may scream blue murder, but not a sound will be heard. The servants will be far away in the other end of the house. I only will be about seeing that all is snug." "But," remarked her visitor, "if you hear the cries of the child, you may yourself interfere, especially if, as may easily happen, I badly hurt and in fact all but kill the girl." "You will not kill her," she answered, "you have too much sense to kill the girl. Anything short of that, you can do as you please. As for me interfering, do you think I do not know my business?"

Flogging, both of men and women, goes on regularly in ordinary rooms, but the cry of the bleeding subject never attracts attention from the outside world. What chance is there, then, of the feeble, timid cry of the betrayed child penetrating the shuttered and curtained windows, or of moving the heart of the wily watcher—the woman whose business it is to secure absolute safety for her client. When means of stifling a cry—a pillow, a sheet, or even a pocket handkerchief—lie all around, there is practically no danger. To some men, however, the shriek of torture is the essence of their delight, and they would not silence by a single note the cry of agony over which they gloat.

NO ROOM FOR REPENTANCE

Whether the maids thus violated in the secret chambers of accommodation houses are willing or unwilling is a question on which a keeper shed a flood of light by a very pertinent and obvious remark: "I have never had a maid seduced in my house," he said, "unless she was willing. They are willing enough to come to my house to be seduced, but when the man comes they are never willing." And she proceeded to illustrate what she meant by descriptions of scenes which had taken place in her house when girls, who according to her story had implored her to allow them to be seduced in her rooms, had when the supreme moment arrived repented their willingness, and fought tooth and nail, when too late, for the protection of their chastity. To use her familiar phrase, they made "the devil's own row," and on at least one occasion it was evident that the girl's resistance had only been overcome after a prolonged and desperate fight, in which, what with screaming and violence, she was too exhausted to continue the struggle.

That was in the case of a full-grown woman. Children of twelve and thirteen cannot offer any serious resistance. They only dimly comprehend what it all means. Their mothers sometimes consent to their seduction for the sake of the price paid by their seducer. The child goes to the introducing house as a sheep to the shambles. Once there, she is compelled to go through with it. No matter how brutal the man may be, she cannot escape. "If she wanted to be seduced, and came here to be seduced," says the keeper, "I shall see that she does not play the fool. The gentleman has paid for her, and he can do with her what he likes." Neither Rhadamanthus nor Lord Bramwell could more sternly exact the rigorous fulfilment of the stipulations of the contract. "Once she is in my house," said a worthy landlady, "she does not go out till the job is done. She comes in willingly, but no matter how willing she may be to go out, she stays here till my gentleman has done with her. She repents too late when she repents after crossing my threshold."

STRAPPING GIRLS DOWN

In the course of my investigations I heard some strange tales concerning the precautions taken to render escape impossible for the girl whose ruin, with or without her consent, has been resolved upon. One fact, which is of quite recent occurrence in a fashionable London suburb, the accuracy of which I was able to verify, is an illustration of the extent to which those engaged in this traffic are willing to go to supply the caprices of their customers. To oblige a wealthy customer who by riot and excess had impaired his vitality to such an extent that nothing could minister to his jaded senses but very young maidens, an eminently respectable lady undertook that whenever the girl was fourteen or fifteen years of age she should be strapped down hand and foot to the four posts of the bedstead, so that all resistance save that of unavailing screaming would be impossible. Before the strapping down was finally agreed upon the lady of the house, a stalwart woman and experienced in the trade, had volunteered her services to hold the virgin down by force while her wealthy patron effected his purpose. That was too much even for him, and the alternative of fastening with straps padded on the under side was then agreed upon. Strapping down for violation used to be a common occurrence in Half-moon-street and in Anna Rosenberg's brothel at Liverpool. Anything can be done for money, if you only know where to take it.

HOW THE LAW ABETS THE CRIMINAL

The system of procuration, as I have already explained, is reduced to a science. The poorer brothel-keeper hunts up recruits herself, while the richer are supported by their agents. No prudent keeper of an introducing house will receive girls brought by other than her accredited and trusted agents. The devices of these agents are innumerable. They have been known to profess penitence in order to gain access to a home for fallen women, where they thought some Magdalens repenting of their penitence might be secured for their house. They go into work-houses, to see what likely girls are to be had. They use servants' registries. They haunt the doors of gaols when girls in for their first offence are turned adrift on the expiry of their sentences. There are no subterfuges too cunning or too daring for them to resort to in the pursuit of their game. Against their wiles the law offers the child over thirteen next to no protection. If a child of fourteen is cajoled or frightened, or overborne by anything short of direct force or the threat of immediate bodily harm, into however an unwilling acquiescence in an act the nature of which she most imperfectly apprehends, the law steps in to shield her violator. If permission is given,

says "Stephen's Digest of the Criminal Law," "the fact that it was obtained by fraud, or that the woman did not understand the nature of the act is immaterial."

A CHILD OF THIRTEEN BOUGHT FOR £5

Let me conclude the chapter of horrors by one incident, and only one of those which are constantly occurring in those dread regions of subterranean vice in which sexual crime flourishes almost unchecked. I can personally vouch for the absolute accuracy of every fact in the narrative.

At the beginning of this Derby week, a woman, an old hand in the work of procuration, entered a brothel in — st. M—, kept by an old acquaintance, and opened negotiations for the purchase of a maid. One of the women who lodged in the house had a sister as yet untouched. Her mother was far away, her father was dead. The child was living in the house, and in all probability would be seduced and follow the profession of her elder sister. The child was between thirteen and fourteen, and after some bargaining it was agreed that she should be handed over to the procuress for the sum of £5. The maid was wanted, it was said, to start a house with, and there was no disguise on either side that the sale was to be effected for immoral purposes. While the negotiations were going on, a drunken neighbour came into the house, and so little concealment was then used, that she speedily became aware of the nature of the transaction. So far from being horrified at the proposed sale of the girl, she whispered eagerly to the seller, "Don't you think she would take our Lily? I think she would suit." Lily was her own daughter, a bright, fresh-looking little girl, who was thirteen years old last Christmas. The bargain, however, was made for the other child, and Lily's mother felt she had lost her market.

The next day, Derby Day as it happened, was fixed for the delivery of this human chattel. But as luck would have it, another sister of the child who was to be made over to the procuress heard of the proposed sale. She was living respectably in a situation, and on hearing of the fate reserved for the little one she lost no time in persuading her dissolute sister to break off the bargain. When the woman came for her prey the bird had flown. Then came the chance of Lily's mother. The brothel-keeper sent for her, and offered her a sovereign for her daughter. The woman was poor, dissolute, and indifferent to everything but drink. The father, who was also a drunken man, was told his daughter was going to a situation. He received the news with indifference, without even inquiring where she was going to. The brothel-keeper having thus secured possession of the child, then sold her to the procuress in place of the child whose sister had rescued her from her destined doom for £5—£3 paid down and the remaining £2 after her virginity had been professionally certified. The little girl, all unsuspecting the purpose for which she was destined, was told that she must go with this strange woman to a situation. The procuress, who was well up to her work, took her away, washed her, dressed her up neatly, and sent her to bid her parents good-bye. The mother was so drunk she hardly recognized her daughter. The father was hardly less indifferent. The child left her home, and was taken to the woman's lodging in A—street.

The first step had thus been taken. But it was necessary to procure the certification of her virginity—a somewhat difficult task, as the child was absolutely ignorant of the nature of the transaction which had transferred her from home to the keeping of this strange, but apparently kind-hearted woman. Lily was a little cockney child, one of those who by the thousand annually develop into the servants of the poorer middle-class. She had been at school, could read and

write, and although her spelling was extraordinary, she was able to express herself with much force and decision. Her experience of the world was limited to the London quarter in which she had been born. With the exception of two school trips to Richmond and one to Epping Forest, she had never been in the country in her life, nor had she ever even seen the Thames excepting at Richmond. She was an industrious, warm-hearted little thing, a hardy English child, slightly coarse in texture, with dark black eyes, and short, sturdy figure. Her education was slight. She spelled write "right," for instance, and her grammar was very shaky. But she was a loving, affectionate child, whose kindly feeling for the drunken mother who sold her into nameless infamy was very touching to behold. In a little letter of hers which I once saw, plentifully garlanded with kisses, there was the following ill-spelled childish verse:—

As I was in bed
Some little forths (thoughts) gave (came) in my head.
I forth (thought) of one, I forth (thought) of two;
But first of all I forth (thought) of you.

The poor child was full of delight at going to her new situation, and clung affectionately to the keeper who was taking her away—where, she knew not.

The first thing to be done after the child was fairly severed from home was to secure the certificate of virginity without which the rest of the purchase-money would not be forthcoming. In order to avoid trouble she was taken in a cab to the house of a midwife, whose skill in pronouncing upon the physical evidences of virginity is generally recognized in the profession. The examination was very brief and completely satisfactory. But the youth, the complete innocence of the girl, extorted pity even from the hardened heart of the old abortionist. "The poor little thing," she exclaimed. "She is so small, her pain will be extreme. I hope you will not be too cruel with her"—as if to lust when fully roused the very acme of agony on the part of the victim has not a fierce delight. To quiet the old lady the agent of the purchaser asked if she could supply anything to dull the pain. She produced a small phial of chloroform. "This," she said, "is the best. My clients find this much the most effective." The keeper took the bottle, but unaccustomed to anything but drugging by the administration of sleeping potions, she would infallibly have poisoned the child had she not discovered by experiment that the liquid burned the mouth when an attempt was made to swallow it. £1 1s. was paid for the certificate of virginity—which was verbal and not written—while £1 10s. more was charged for the chloroform, the net value of which was probably less than a shilling. An arrangement was made that if the child was badly injured Madame would patch it up to the best of her ability, and then the party left the house.

From the midwife's the innocent girl was taken to a house of ill fame, No.—, P—— street, Regent-street, where, notwithstanding her extreme youth, she was admitted without question. She was taken up stairs, undressed, and put to bed, the woman who bought her putting her to sleep. She was rather restless, but under the influence of chloroform she soon went over. Then the woman withdrew. All was quiet and still. A few moments later the door opened, and the purchaser entered the bedroom. He closed and locked the door. There was a brief silence. And then there rose a wild and piteous cry—not a loud shriek, but a helpless, startled scream like the bleat of a frightened lamb. And the child's voice was heard crying, in accents of terror, "There's a man in the room! Take me home; oh, take me home!"

And then all once more was still.

That was but one case among many, and by no means the worst. It only differs from the rest because I have been able to verify the facts. Many a similar cry will be raised this very night in the brothels of London, unheeded by man, but not unheard by the pitying ear of Heaven—

For the child's sob in the darkness curseth deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath.

3. "The Traffic in Women" (1910)

By Emma Goldman

From Emma Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 2nd rev. ed. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1911, pp. 183–200.

"The Traffic in Women" addressed the economic aspects of prostitution, then widely referred to as "trafficking."

OUR REFORMERS have suddenly made a great discovery—the white slave traffic. The papers are full of these "unheard of conditions," and lawmakers are already planning a new set of laws to check the horror.

It is significant that whenever the public mind is to be diverted from a great social wrong, a crusade is inaugurated against indecency, gambling, saloons, etc. And what is the result of such crusades? Gambling is increasing, saloons are doing a lively business through back entrances, prostitution is at its height, and the system of pimps and cadets is but aggravated.

How is it that an institution, known almost to every child, should have been discovered so suddenly? How is it that this evil, known to all sociologists, should now be made such an important issue?

To assume that the recent investigation of the white slave traffic (and, by the way, a very superficial investigation) has discovered anything new, is, to say the least, very foolish. Prostitution has been, and is, a widespread evil, yet mankind goes on its business, perfectly indifferent to the sufferings and distress of the victims of prostitution. As indifferent, indeed, as mankind has remained to our industrial system, or to economic prostitution.

Only when human sorrows are turned into a toy with glaring colors will baby people become interested—for a while at least. The people are a very fickle baby that must have new toys every day. The "righteous" cry against the white slave traffic is such a toy. It serves to amuse the people for a little while, and it will help to create a few more fat political jobs—parasites who stalk about the world as inspectors, investigators, detectives, and so forth.

What is really the cause of the trade in women? Not merely white women, but yellow and black women as well. Exploitation, of course; the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thousands of women and girls into prostitution. With Mrs. Warren these girls feel, "Why waste your life working for a few shillings a week in a scullery, eighteen hours a day?"

Naturally our reformers say nothing about this cause. They know it well enough, but it doesn't pay to say anything about it. It is much more profitable to play the Pharisee, to pretend an outraged morality, than to go to the bottom of things.

However, there is one commendable exception among the young writers: Reginald Wright Kauffman, whose work *The House of Bondage* is the first earnest attempt to treat the social evil—not from a sentimental Philistine viewpoint. A journalist of wide experience, Mr. Kauffman proves that our industrial system leaves most women no alternative except prostitution. The women portrayed in *The House of Bondage* belong to the working class. Had the author portrayed the life of women in other spheres, he would have been confronted with the same state of affairs.

Nowhere is woman treated according to the merit of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favors. Thus it is merely a question of degree whether she sells herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men. Whether our reformers admit it or not, the economic and social inferiority of woman is responsible for prostitution.

Just at present our good people are shocked by the disclosures that in New York City alone one out of every ten women works in a factory, that the average wage received by women is six dollars per week for forty-eight to sixty hours of work, and that the majority of female wage workers face many months of idleness which leaves the average wage about \$280 a year. In view of these economic horrors, is it to be wondered at that prostitution and the white slave trade have become such dominant factors?

Lest the preceding figures be considered an exaggeration, it is well to examine what some authorities on prostitution have to say:

“A prolific cause of female depravity can be found in the several tables, showing the description of the employment pursued, and the wages received, by the women previous to their fall, and it will be a question for the political economist to decide how far mere business consideration should be an apology on the part of employers for a reduction in their rates of remuneration, and whether the savings of a small percentage on wages is not more than counterbalanced by the enormous amount of taxation enforced on the public at large to defray the expenses incurred on account of a system of vice, *which is the direct result, in many cases, of insufficient compensation of honest labor.*”¹

Our present-day reformers would do well to look into Dr. Sanger’s book. There they will find that out of 2,000 cases under his observation, but few came from the middle classes, from well-ordered conditions, or pleasant homes. By far the largest majority were working girls and working women; some driven into prostitution through sheer want, others because of a cruel, wretched life at home, others again because of thwarted and crippled physical natures (of which I shall speak later on). Also it will do the maintainers of purity and morality good to learn that out of two thousand cases, 490 were married women, women who lived with their husbands. Evidently there was not much of a guaranty for their “safety and purity” in the sanctity of marriage.²

Dr. Alfred Blaschko, in *Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*, is even more emphatic in characterizing economic conditions as one of the most vital factors of prostitution.

“Although prostitution has existed in all ages, it was left to the nineteenth century to develop it into a gigantic social institution. The development of industry with vast masses of people in

1. Dr. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution*.

2. It is a significant fact that Dr. Sanger’s book has been excluded from the U.S. mails. Evidently the authorities are not anxious that the public be informed as to the true cause of prostitution.

the competitive market, the growth and congestion of large cities, the insecurity and uncertainty of employment, has given prostitution an impetus never dreamed of at any period in human history.”

And again Havelock Ellis, while not so absolute in dealing with the economic cause, is nevertheless compelled to admit that it is indirectly and directly the main cause. Thus he finds that a large percentage of prostitutes is recruited from the servant class, although the latter have less care and greater security. On the other hand, Mr. Ellis does not deny that the daily routine, the drudgery, the monotony of the servant girl’s lot, and especially the fact that she may never partake of the companionship and joy of a home, is no mean factor in forcing her to seek recreation and forgetfulness in the gaiety and glimmer of prostitution. In other words, the servant girl, being treated as a drudge, never having the right to herself, and worn out by the caprices of her mistress, can find an outlet, like the factory or shopgirl, only in prostitution.

The most amusing side of the question now before the public is the indignation of our “good, respectable people,” especially the various Christian gentlemen, who are always to be found in the front ranks of every crusade. Is it that they are absolutely ignorant of the history of religion, and especially of the Christian religion? Or is it that they hope to blind the present generation to the part played in the past by the Church in relation to prostitution? Whatever their reason, they should be the last to cry out against the unfortunate victims of today, since it is known to every intelligent student that prostitution is of religious origin, maintained and fostered for many centuries, not as a shame, but as a virtue, hailed as such by the Gods themselves.

“It would seem that the origin of prostitution is to be found primarily in a religious custom, religion, the great conservator of social tradition, preserving in a transformed shape a primitive freedom that was passing out of the general social life. The typical example is that recorded by Herodotus, in the fifth century before Christ, at the Temple of Mylitta, the Babylonian Venus, where every woman, once in her life, had to come and give herself to the first stranger, who threw a coin in her lap, to worship the goddess. Very similar customs existed in other parts of western Asia, in North Africa, in Cyprus, and other islands of the eastern Mediterranean, and also in Greece, where the temple of Aphrodite on the fort at Corinth possessed over a thousand hierodules, dedicated to the service of the goddess.

“The theory that religious prostitution developed, as a general rule, out of the belief that the generative activity of human beings possessed a mysterious and sacred influence in promoting the fertility of Nature, is maintained by all authoritative writers on the subject. Gradually, however, and when prostitution became an organized institution under priestly influence, religious prostitution developed utilitarian sides, thus helping to increase public revenue.

“The rise of Christianity to political power produced little change in policy. The leading fathers of the Church tolerated prostitution. Brothels under municipal protection are found in the thirteenth century. They constituted a sort of public service, the directors of them being considered almost as public servants.”³

To this must be added the following from Dr. Sanger’s work:

“Pope Clement II. issued a bull that prostitutes would be tolerated if they pay a certain amount of their earnings to the Church.

3. Havelock Ellis, *Sex and Society*.

“Pope Sixtus IV. was more practical; from one single brothel, which he himself had built, he received an income of 20,000 ducats.”

In modern times the Church is a little more careful in that direction. At least she does not openly demand tribute from prostitutes. She finds it much more profitable to go in for real estate, like Trinity Church, for instance, to rent out death traps at an exorbitant price to those who live off and by prostitution.

Much as I should like to, my space will not admit speaking of prostitution in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and during the Middle Ages. The conditions in the latter period are particularly interesting, inasmuch as prostitution was organized into guilds, presided over by a brothel Queen. These guilds employed strikes as a medium of improving their condition and keeping a standard price. Certainly that is more practical a method than the one used by the modern wage-slave in society.

It would be one-sided and extremely superficial to maintain that the economic factor is the only cause of prostitution. There are others no less important and vital. That, too, our reformers know, but dare discuss even less than the institution that saps the very life out of both men and women. I refer to the sex question, the very mention of which causes most people moral spasms.

It is a conceded fact that woman is being reared as a sex commodity, and yet she is kept in absolute ignorance of the meaning and importance of sex. Everything dealing with that subject is suppressed, and persons who attempt to bring light into this terrible darkness are persecuted and thrown into prison. Yet it is nevertheless true that so long as a girl is not to know how to take care of herself, not to know the function of the most important part of her life, we need not be surprised if she becomes an easy prey to prostitution, or to any other form of a relationship which degrades her to the position of an object for mere sex gratification.

It is due to this ignorance that the entire life and nature of the girl is thwarted and crippled. We have long ago taken it as a self-evident fact that the boy may follow the call of the wild; that is to say, that the boy may, as soon as his sex nature asserts itself, satisfy that nature; but our moralists are scandalized at the very thought that the nature of a girl should assert itself. To the moralist prostitution does not consist so much in the fact that the woman sells her body, but rather that she sells it out of wedlock. That this is no mere statement is proved by the fact that marriage for monetary considerations is perfectly legitimate, sanctified by law and public opinion, while any other union is condemned and repudiated. Yet a prostitute, if properly defined, means nothing else than “any person for whom sexual relationships are subordinated to gain.”⁴

“Those women are prostitutes who sell their bodies for the exercise of the sexual act and make of this a profession.”⁵

In fact, Banger goes further; he maintains that the act of prostitution is “intrinsicly equal to that of a man or woman who contracts a marriage for economic reasons.”

Of course, marriage is the goal of every girl, but as thousands of girls cannot marry, our stupid social customs condemn them either to a life of celibacy or prostitution. Human nature asserts itself regardless of all laws, nor is there any plausible reason why nature should adapt itself to a perverted conception of morality.

4. Guyot, *La Prostitution*.

5. Bangert, *Criminalité et Condition Economique*.

Society considers the sex experiences of a man as attributes of his general development, while similar experiences in the life of a woman are looked upon as a terrible calamity, a loss of honor and of all that is good and noble in a human being. This double standard of morality has played no little part in the creation and perpetuation of prostitution. It involves the keeping of the young in absolute ignorance on sex matters, which alleged "innocence," together with an over-wrought and stifled sex nature, helps to bring about a state of affairs that our Puritans are so anxious to avoid or prevent.

Not that the gratification of sex must needs lead to prostitution; it is the cruel, heartless, criminal persecution of those who dare divert from the beaten track, which is responsible for it.

Girls, mere children, work in crowded, over-heated rooms ten to twelve hours daily at a machine, which tends to keep them in a constant over-excited sex state. Many of these girls have no home or comforts of any kind; therefore the street or some place of cheap amusement is the only means of forgetting their daily routine. This naturally brings them into close proximity with the other sex. It is hard to say which of the two factors brings the girl's over-sexed condition to a climax, but it is certainly the most natural thing that a climax should result. That is the first step toward prostitution. Nor is the girl to be held responsible for it. On the contrary, it is altogether the fault of society, the fault of our lack of understanding, of our lack of appreciation of life in the making; especially is it the criminal fault of our moralists, who condemn a girl for all eternity, because she has gone from the "path of virtue"; that is, because her first sex experience has taken place with out the sanction of the Church.

The girl feels herself a complete outcast, with the doors of home and society closed in her face. Her entire training and tradition is such that the girl herself feels depraved and fallen, and therefore has no ground to stand upon, or any hold that will lift her up, instead of dragging her down. Thus society creates the victims that it afterwards vainly attempts to get rid of. The meanest, most depraved and decrepit man still considers himself too good to take as his wife the woman whose grace he was quite willing to buy, even though he might thereby save her from a life of horror. Nor can she turn to her own sister for help. In her stupidity the latter deems herself too pure and chaste, not realizing that her own position is in many respects even more deplorable than her sister's of the street.

"The wife who married for money, compared with the prostitute," says Havelock Ellis, "is the true scab. She is paid less, gives much more in return in labor and care, and is absolutely bound to her master. The prostitute never signs away the right over her own person, she retains her freedom and personal rights, nor is she always compelled to submit to man's embrace."

Nor does the better-than-thou woman realize the apologist claim of Lecky that "though she may be the supreme type of vice, she is also the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, happy homes would be polluted, unnatural and harmful practice would abound."

Moralists are ever ready to sacrifice one-half of the human race for the sake of some miserable institution which they can not outgrow. As a matter of fact, prostitution is no more a safeguard for the purity of the home than rigid laws are a safeguard against prostitution. Fully fifty per cent. of married men are patrons of brothels. It is through this virtuous element that the married women—nay, even the children—are infected with venereal diseases. Yet society has not a word of condemnation for the man, while no law is too monstrous to be set in motion against the helpless victim. She is not only preyed upon by those who use her, but she is also absolutely at the mercy of every policeman and miserable detective on the beat, the officials at the station house, the authorities in every prison.

In a recent book by a woman who was for twelve years the mistress of a "house," are to be found the following figures: "The authorities compelled me to pay every month fines between \$14.70 to \$29.70, the girls would pay from \$5.70 to \$9.70 to the police." Considering that the writer did her business in a small city, that the amounts she gives do not include extra bribes and fines, one can readily see the tremendous revenue the police department derives from the blood money of its victims, whom it will not even protect. Woe to those who refuse to pay their toll; they would be rounded up like cattle, "if only to make a favorable impression upon the good citizens of the city, or if the powers needed extra money on the side. For the warped mind who believes that a fallen woman is incapable of human emotion it would be impossible to realize the grief, the disgrace, the tears, the wounded pride that was ours every time we were pulled in."

Strange, isn't it, that a woman who has kept a "house" should be able to feel that way? But stranger still that a good Christian world should bleed and fleece such women, and give them nothing in return except obloquy and persecution. Oh, for the charity of a Christian world!

Much stress is laid on white slaves being imported into America. How would America ever retain her virtue if Europe did not help her out? I will not deny that this may be the case in some instances, any more than I will deny that there are emissaries of Germany and other countries luring economic slaves into America; but I absolutely deny that prostitution is recruited to any appreciable extent from Europe. It may be true that the majority of prostitutes of New York City are foreigners, but that is because the majority of the population is foreign. The moment we go to any other American city, to Chicago or the Middle West, we shall find that the number of foreign prostitutes is by far a minority.

Equally exaggerated is the belief that the majority of street girls in this city were engaged in this business before they came to America. Most of the girls speak excellent English, are Americanized in habits and appearance,—a thing absolutely impossible unless they had lived in this country many years. That is, they were driven into prostitution by American conditions, by the thoroughly American custom for excessive display of finery and clothes, which, of course, necessitates money,—money that cannot be earned in shops or factories.

In other words, there is no reason to believe that any set of men would go to the risk and expense of getting foreign products, when American conditions are overflowing the market with thousands of girls. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the export of American girls for the purpose of prostitution is by no means a small factor.

Thus Clifford G. Roe, ex-Assistant State Attorney of Cook County, Ill., makes the open charge that New England girls are shipped to Panama for the express use of men in the employ of Uncle Sam. Mr. Roe adds that "there seems to be an underground railroad between Boston and Washington which many girls travel." Is it not significant that the railroad should lead to the very seat of Federal authority? That Mr. Roe said more than was desired in certain quarters is proved by the fact that he lost his position. It is not practical for men in office to tell tales from school.

The excuse given for the conditions in Panama is that there are no brothels in the Canal Zone. That is the usual avenue of escape for a hypocritical world that dares not face the truth. Not in the Canal Zone, not in the city limits,—therefore prostitution does not exist.

Next to Mr. Roe, there is James Bronson Reynolds, who has made a thorough study of the white slave traffic in Asia. As a staunch American citizen and friend of the future Napoleon of America, Theodore Roosevelt, he is surely the last to discredit the virtue of his country. Yet we are

informed by him that in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama, the Augean stables of American vice are located. There American prostitutes have made themselves so conspicuous that in the Orient "American girl" is synonymous with prostitute. Mr. Reynolds reminds his countrymen that while Americans in China are under the protection of our consular representatives, the Chinese in America have no protection at all. Every one who knows the brutal and barbarous persecution Chinese and Japanese endure on the Pacific Coast, will agree with Mr. Reynolds.

In view of the above facts it is rather absurd to point to Europe as the swamp whence come all the social diseases of America. Just as absurd is it to proclaim the myth that the Jews furnish the largest contingent of willing prey. I am sure that no one will accuse me of nationalistic tendencies. I am glad to say that I have developed out of them, as out of many other prejudices. If, therefore, I resent the statement that Jewish prostitutes are imported, it is not because of any Judaistic sympathies, but because of the facts inherent in the lives of these people. No one but the most superficial will claim that Jewish girls migrate to strange lands, unless they have some tie or relation that brings them there. The Jewish girl is not adventurous. Until recent years she had never left home, not even so far as the next village or town, except it were to visit some relative. Is it then credible that Jewish girls would leave their parents or families, travel thousands of miles to strange lands, through the influence and promises of strange forces? Go to any of the large incoming steamers and see for yourself if these girls do not come either with their parents, brothers, aunts, or other kinsfolk. There may be exceptions, of course, but to state that large numbers of Jewish girls are imported for prostitution, or any other purpose, is simply not to know Jewish psychology.

Those who sit in a glass house do wrong to throw stones about them; besides, the American glass house is rather thin, it will break easily, and the interior is anything but a gainly sight.

To ascribe the increase of prostitution to alleged importation, to the growth of the cadet system, or similar causes, is highly superficial. I have already referred to the former. As to the cadet system, abhorrent as it is, we must not ignore the fact that it is essentially a phase of modern prostitution,—a phase accentuated by suppression and graft, resulting from sporadic crusades against the social evil.

The procurer is no doubt a poor specimen of the human family, but in what manner is he more despicable than the policeman who takes the last cent from the street walker, and then locks her up in the station house? Why is the cadet more criminal, or a greater menace to society, than the owners of department stores and factories, who grow fat on the sweat of their victims, only to drive them to the streets? I make no plea for the cadet, but I fail to see why he should be mercilessly hounded, while the real perpetrators of all social iniquity enjoy immunity and respect. Then, too, it is well to remember that it is not the cadet who makes the prostitute. It is our sham and hypocrisy that create both the prostitute and the cadet.

Until 1894 very little was known in America of the procurer. Then we were attacked by an epidemic of virtue. Vice was to be abolished, the country purified at all cost. The social cancer was therefore driven out of sight, but deeper into the body. Keepers of brothels, as well as their unfortunate victims, were turned over to the tender mercies of the police. The inevitable consequence of exorbitant bribes, and the penitentiary, followed.

While comparatively protected in the brothels, where they represented a certain monetary value, the girls now found themselves on the street, absolutely at the mercy of the graft-greedy police. Desperate, needing protection and longing for affection, these girls naturally proved an easy prey for cadets, themselves the result of the spirit of our commercial age. Thus the cadet

system was the direct outgrowth of police persecution, graft, and attempted suppression of prostitution. It were sheer folly to confound this modern phase of the social evil with the causes of the latter.

Mere suppression and barbaric enactments can serve but to embitter, and further degrade, the unfortunate victims of ignorance and stupidity. The latter has reached its highest expression in the proposed law to make humane treatment of prostitutes a crime, punishing any one sheltering a prostitute with five years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. Such an attitude merely exposes the terrible lack of understanding of the true causes of prostitution, as a social factor, as well as manifesting the Puritanic spirit of the *Scarlet Letter* days.

There is not a single modern writer on the subject who does not refer to the utter futility of legislative methods in coping with the issue. Thus Dr. Blaschko finds that governmental suppression and moral crusades accomplish nothing save driving the evil into secret channels, multiplying its dangers to society. Havelock Ellis, the most thorough and humane student of prostitution, proves by a wealth of data that the more stringent the methods of persecution the worse the condition becomes. Among other data we learn that in France, "in 1560, Charles IX. abolished brothels through an edict, but the numbers of prostitutes were only increased, while many new brothels appeared in unsuspected shapes, and were more dangerous. In spite of all such legislation, *or because of it*, there has been no country in which prostitution has played a more conspicuous part."⁶

An educated public opinion, freed from the legal and moral hounding of the prostitute, can alone help to ameliorate present conditions. Wilful shutting of eyes and ignoring of the evil as a social factor of modern life, can but aggravate matters. We must rise above our foolish notions of "better than thou," and learn to recognize in the prostitute a product of social conditions. Such a realization will sweep away the attitude of hypocrisy, and insure a greater understanding and more humane treatment. As to a thorough eradication of prostitution, nothing can accomplish that save a complete transvaluation of all accepted values especially the moral ones—coupled with the abolition of industrial slavery.

4. "Hikite-jaya" ("Introducing Tea-Houses") (1899)¹

By J. E. de Becker De Becker, J. E. "Hikite-jaya" ("Introducing Tea-houses"). In *The Nightless City or the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku*. Yokohama, Japan: Z. P. Maruya & Co., 1899.

Yoshiwara was an area of the old city of Edo (which became Tokyo), Japan. For three centuries, from the 1600s until the late 1800s, it was a center of prostitution, theater, and art. In the late 19th century, J. E. De Becker wrote a description of the brothel system of Edo Era Japan.

The business of *hikite-jaya* is to act as a guide to the various brothels, and to negotiate introductions between guests and courtesans. There are seven of these introducing houses within the enclosure (*kuruwa*), fifty in *Naka-naga-ya*, *Suidō-jiri*, and outside of the *O-mon* (great gate).

Besides these there are many houses in *Yedo-chō*, *Sumi-chō*, *Kyō-machi* (*It-chō-me* and *Ni-chō-me*) *Ageya-machi*, etc. The first-mentioned seven houses are first-class, those in *Nakanaga-*

6. *Sex and Society*.

1. "Leading-by-the-hand tea-houses."

ya second-class, while those at Suidō-jiri and Gō-jik-ken are very inferior indeed. The reception of guests, and arranging affairs for them, is attended to by servant maids, three or four of whom are generally employed in each *hikite-jaya*. As, of course, the reputation of the house depends on these servant maids, their employers generally treat them very considerately, well knowing that if the girls attend to their duties satisfactorily the number of guests will continue to increase.

When a visitor arrives before the entrance of a *hikite-jaya*, the mistress of the house and her maid-servants run to welcome him with cries of "*irrasshai*" (you are very welcome!), and on entering the room to which he is conducted (in case of his being a stranger) the attendant will ask him the name of the brothel to which he desires to go, as well as that of the particular lady he wishes to meet. Then the attendant will guide him to the brothel selected, act as a go-between in negotiating for the courtesan's favours, and after all preliminaries have been settled will wait assiduously upon the guest throughout the banquet which inevitably follows, taking care to keep the *saké* bottles moving and the cups replenished. By and by, when the time comes for retiring, the attendant conducts the guest to his sleeping apartment, waits until his "lady friend" arrives, and then discreetly slips away and leaves the brothel. When one of these servant maids takes charge of a visitor she becomes, for the time being, the actual personal servant of such guest and attends to everything he requires. To perform the services rendered by her is professionally spoken of as "*mawasu*" (to turn round, to move round) because she goes bustling round in order to arrange a hundred and one matters for the guest she is in attendance upon. If the guest calls *geisha* (dancing and singing girls) the maid carries (supposing it to be night-time) the *geisha's samisen* (guitar) and the guest's night-dress in the left hand, and a "*Kamban chōchin*"² and a white porcelain *saké* bottle in the right³—a performance which requires considerable experience to achieve successfully.

With the exception of the guests, no persons are allowed to wear *zōri* (sandals) inside the brothels.

Of late it has become a rule that the office which manages all affairs in the Yoshiwara shall distribute to the various tea-houses registration books, of a uniform style, in which are to be minutely recorded the personal appearance of visitors, status and place of registration, profession, general figure and build, aspect, style of clothes, personal effects (i.e. rings, chains, watches, etc., etc.). The books are carefully off in columned blanks headed:—"Nose, Ears, Mouth, Status, Place of registration," etc., etc.; and the descriptions have to be written in under the respective headings. In short, these books (for which, by the way, a charge of 20/30 sen is made) are something like the usual Japanese hotel registers but more complex and detailed, and when the blanks are faithfully filled up an exceedingly good description of guests is secured. In all brothels similar books are kept, and the duty of comparing the entries in these with the entries in those of the *hikite-jaya* devolves on the staff of the Yoshiwara office. In addition to these duties there are a good many harassing and vexatious police regulations to be observed by the introducing

2. Literally a "sign-board lantern" so called because the lantern bears the name of the *hikite-jaya*. It is the custom for the maid to carry a lighted lantern (even inside the brothel) as far as the door of the room of the courtesan to whom the visitor is introduced. This lantern serves as a token to identify the *hikite-jaya* to which the maid belongs. On arriving before the door of the room the lantern is extinguished by shaking it, and not by blowing out the light in the usual way. A superstition exists against blowing out the light with one's lips:—it is supposed to be unlucky.

3. The *haku-chō* or white porcelain *saké* bottles used on these occasions hold about one *shō*, or say about 3 pints.

houses. Should any *hikite-jaya* keeper or employé secretly introduce a guest who is in possession of explosives, a sword, or poison, he is severely punished and caused no end of trouble. The payment of the guest's bill is made through the *hikite-jaya* on his return to the introducing house in the morning: the guest pays his total bill to the *hikite-jaya* and the latter squares up his accounts with the brothel. The rule is for the *hikite-jaya* to settle up these accounts daily with the brothels, but it has become a custom with the majority to balance accounts only twice a month—viz:—on the 14th and 30th day of each month. In case of a frequent visitor being without money, and unable to pay his bill, the *hikite-jaya* will not refuse him credit in consideration of the patronage he has extended to the house and in anticipation of future visits. Sometimes, however, it happens that a regular customer becomes heavily indebted to a certain house, and turning his back on this establishment he seeks for new pastures and fresh credit; but here the extraordinary secret intelligence system upsets his calculation. Among these tea-houses exists a kind of "honor among thieves" *esprit de corps*, and besides, self-protection has forced the houses to give secret information to each other where their mutual interests are threatened, so when a party is in debt to one of the *hikite-jaya* he will be boycotted by the others. A smart hand may successfully pretend to be a new arrival in the Yoshiwara once or twice, but his trick is sure to be discovered ere long. Faithful service of employés is ensured in Yoshiwara in a similar manner. In case of a servant-maid employed in one house being desirous to enter the service of another establishment, she must first obtain the consent of her employer, and the master of the house to which she wishes to go will certainly confer with the master of the establishment she wishes to leave. In ordering food from a *dai-ya* (a cook-house where food is cooked and sent out to order), or in making purchases from storekeepers in the Yoshiwara, a maid-servant belonging to any of the *hikite-jaya* requires no money with her because the dealers all place confidence in the house from which she has come, and this they know at once by the inscription on the lantern she carries. Immediately an order is given by a maid-servant the goods are handed over without the slightest hesitation, so under these circumstances an evil-minded woman might resort to fraud without any difficulty; but should she once be detected she would never again be able to get employment in the Yoshiwara.

The fifty tea-houses outside the *Oo-mon* (great gate) were in former times called "*Kitte-jaya*" (ticket tea-houses) or "*Kitte-mise*" (ticket shops); they were also colloquially termed in *Yedo* slang—"Yoshiwara no go-ju-mai kitte" (the fifty "tickets" of the Yoshiwara) because they had the monopoly of issuing tickets or passes for the Yoshiwara. In a book called the "*Hyōkwa Manroku*" it is recorded that in the 3rd year of *Keian* (1650) one of the tea-houses named "*Kikuya*" issued tickets—or rather passes—for the passage of women through the great gate. On one of these old passes was written:—

I certify that these six ladies belong to the household of a gentleman who patronizes my establishment.

January 26th—.

Ticket-shop,

(signed) Kikuya Hambei,

To

The keepers of the great gate.

It appears from this that every lady who wished to enter the precincts for the purpose of sightseeing, or for any other reason, had to obtain a pass from the tea-houses above-mentioned. Afterwards,

the “*Midzu-chaya*” (rest houses) began to be built on the *Nihon-dsutsumi* (Dyke of Japan) and as they gradually increased and prospered they at length encroached on the *Naka-no-chō* where the tradesmen of the quarter were living. This continued until the street came to be monopolized by the *Midzu-chaya*, and from the latter the present *hikite-jaya* were finally evolved. It is recorded that since the era of *Genroku* (1688–1703) the keepers of *funa-yado* (a sort of tea-house where pleasure boats are kept and let out on hire for excursions and picnics) used to arrange for guests to go and come in their river-boats, “and among the sights of Yedo were the long lines of boats floating up and down the river with gaily-dressed courtesans and the *jeunesse dorée* of the city in them.” During the 8th years of Kwambun (1668) all the unlicensed prostitutes in Yedo city were pounced upon by the authorities and placed in the Yoshiwara, and about this time the inconvenient custom of being obliged to visit brothels through an *ageya* was abolished. The tea-houses, which had their origin on the banks of the *Nihon-dsutsumi*, now acted as guides (*tebiki*) to intending visitors to brothels, the old custom of the place was broken, and the name of *hikite-jaya* come into existence. [The tea-houses belonging to the *Ageya* that were removed from the old Yoshiwara and the “*Amigasa-jaya*” (see this heading further on) that sprang into existence while the brothels were temporarily situated at Sanya, after the *Furisode-kwaji* (fire) of the era of Meireki, are separate establishments.] In this way the newly evolved tea-houses prospered greatly, and their influence grew apace until the older houses in *Ageya-machi* began to lose their trade. No doubt but the decadence of the older institutions is attributable to the superior facilities afforded to guests by the new houses. In the old days, the tea-houses in *Ageya-machi* were allowed to construct balconies on the second stories of their establishments for the convenience of those guests who desired to witness the processions of the courtesans (*Yuujo no dôchuu*) that formed one of the most interesting features in the life of the Yoshiwara. Prior to the fire of the Meiwa era (1764–1761) the second stories of all the tea-houses in *Naka –no- chō* were fitted with open lattice-work in front, but subsequent to that memorable conflagration this restriction was removed and the houses were built so as to render them convenient for sight-seeing from the upper floor. This freedom did not prove of much advantage to many of the houses, however, as it was decided that the processions should thenceforward be confined to the *Naka –no- chō*. In the 10th year of Hōreki (1760) the “*Ageya*” completely disappeared, and the receiving of and arranging matters for guests became the monopoly of the tea-houses. Taking advantage of the position attained, the tea-houses abused their prosperity and influence and allowed their establishments to be used by courtesans, *geisha*, *taiko-mochi*, and various guests, for the purpose of carrying on illicit intrigues and advancing amours between men and women of loose morals. Not only this, but the houses allowed their accounts with the brothels to fall into arrears, or made payment in an unpunctual and perfunctory manner, and for these reasons many were suspended from exercising their business. In the era of Tempō (1830–1843) all food served to the guests in *hikite-jaya* was prepared on the premises by professional cooks in the service of the houses.

At present, a first customer to a tea-house is called “*shōkwai*” (first meeting): the second time he comes “*ura*” (behind the scenes) and the third time “*najimi*” (on intimate terms). According to prevalent custom, guests have to pay a certain sum of money as “footing” on their second and third visits, and persons who are anxious to pass as “in the swim” are often willing to pay both these fees (*ura-najimi-kin* and *najimi-kin*) down at once. Ordinarily, the *najimi-kin* is fixed at from 2 1/2 *yen* or 3 *yen*, according to the brothels to which a visitor wishes to go, and the tea-houses do not guide visitors who do not patronize either a first (*ō-mise*) or second (*naka-mise*) class establishment. In addition to other small fees the visitor is expected to give a tip of 20 or 30 *sen* to the maid who acts as his guide, but if he does not hand it over voluntarily it is carefully included in his bill under the heading of “*o-tomo*” (your attendant). *Jinrikisha* fares advanced will also appear in the bill (*tsuké* = contraction of “*kakitsuke*” = an

account, writing, or memo) under the title of “*o-tomo*” (your attendant). Experience of *hikite-jaya* will convince visitors that these establishments never fail to charge up every possible or impossible item in their accounts: when a man is returning home in the morning with a “swollen head” after a night’s debauch his ideas of checking a bill are generally somewhat mixed up.

The expenses of planting flowers in the streets in Spring, setting up street lanterns (*tōrō*) in Autumn, and maintaining street dancing (*niwaka*) are defrayed by the tea-houses.

The profits of the *hikite-jaya* are chiefly derived from return commissions on the fees paid to courtesans and dancing girls, and percentages levied on the food and *saké* consumed by guests. (A large profit is made upon *saké*, as this is kept in stock by tea-houses themselves). Besides, they draw a handsome revenue from visitors in the shape of “*chadai*” (tea money) which rich prodigals bestow upon them in return for fulsome flattery and cringing servility. The guests will also often give a *sōbana* (present to all the inmates of the house) when they are well treated, and at special seasons of the year, festivals, and occasions of rejoicing, the liberality of visitors brings quite a shower of dollars, all nett [*sic*] profit into the coffers of the *chayai* proprietor.

It is one of the many curious customs of the Yoshiwara that the expression “*fukidasu*” (to blow out) is disliked, as also is the blowing out of the ground cherry (*hozuki*).⁴

I must not omit to state that there is a low class of tea-houses which resort to extortion and barefaced robbery in dealing with strangers to the Yoshiwara. These houses are known by the general term of “*bori-jaya*” and their *modus operandi* is to detail their rascally employés to prowl about outside the quarter and inveigle uninitiated visitors to the *kuruwa*. Under various pretexts, inexperienced persons are guided to *bori-jaya* by their touters, welcomed effusively, and pestered with the most fulsome flattery and attention. *Saké* and food is served to them, including a number of dishes never even ordered by the guest, and by and by *geisha* are called in to sing and dance, although the visitors have not requisitioned their services. Later on, when the guests are primed with liquor, they are urged to visit a brothel on the condition that the expenditure shall be kept as low as possible, but, one within the low stews to which they are taken, they are persuaded to squander money on *geisha* and other things. If meanwhile the visitor, fearing heavy expenses, should desire to settle his bill, the keeper of the house will put off the matter and invent various plausible excuses for delaying the making up of the account. Time flies and morning succeeds the night, but no bill is rendered, and every artifice and trick is employed to detain the guest, until the latter, overcome with *saké* and fatigue, rolls over on the floor in a drunken sleep. Meanwhile the pockets of the unfortunate victim are surveyed in order to discover the extent of his means, and as soon as it is evident that there is no more money left to be sucked he is allowed to depart. Sometimes however, the visitors prove too smart to be successfully swindled, but in these cases the houses afford them a very cold reception indeed. Sometimes it happens that the *bori-jaya* proprietors overestimate the pecuniary resources of guests who have fallen a prey to their wiles, and find that their purses are not lined sufficiently well to meet the bills run up against them. In such a case the proprietors will allow the guest to depart under the escort

4. As these places depend upon the custom of persons entering them, it is considered as unlucky to speak about blowing anything out. The *hozuki* is bitter or acid, and as a pregnant woman is supposed to like sour or acid things courtesans think that to blow the winter cherry is most ominous as it may presage pregnancy and injure their profession. The ordinary *geisha* (dancing girl) in Japan delights to sit making a squeaking noise by means of blowing and squeezing between her lower lip and teeth the dried and salted berry of the winter-cherry, from which the pulp has been deftly extracted at the stem. This practice seems as pleasant to the *geisha* as that of chewing gum does to some foreigners.

of one of the employés of the house. This man exercises strict surveillance over the guest, and follows him like grim death wherever he goes until the bill is settled. He is known [sic] as a *tsuki-uma* (an attendant—or “following”—horse) and if payment is not made he will inflict the disgrace of his presence upon the luckless wight he follows, tracking the latter home to his very doorstep and there making a noisy demand for the money owing. It is only fair to add, however, that such low tea-houses are not to be found in the *Naka-no-chô*.

APPENDIX B: POEMS AND LYRICS

Many poems feature references to or descriptions of prostitutes. Here is a small selection of some of the most famous poems and songs about prostitution.

5. “*Le Crépuscule du Soir*” (“Evening Twilight,” 1861)

By Charles Baudelaire From *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 1857.

Baudelaire (1821–1867) wrote this evocative poem of a Paris neighborhood of vice and prostitution. The French original is followed by an English translation by Angus McIntyre.

Voici le soir charmant, ami du criminel;
Il vient comme un complice, à pas de loup; le ciel
Se ferme lentement comme une grande alcôve,
Et l’homme impatient se change en bête fauve.
Ô soir, aimable soir, désiré par celui
Dont les bras, sans mentir, peuvent dire: Aujourd’hui
Nous avons travaillé!—C’est le soir qui soulage
Les esprits que dévore une douleur sauvage,
Le savant obstiné dont le front s’alourdit,
Et l’ouvrier courbé qui regagne son lit.
Cependant des démons malsains dans l’atmosphère
S’éveillent lourdement, comme des gens d’affaire,
Et cognent en volant les volets et l’auvent.
À travers les lueurs que tourmente le vent
La Prostitution s’allume dans les rues;
Comme une fourmilière elle ouvre ses issues;

Partout elle se fraye un occulte chemin,
 Ainsi que l'ennemi qui tente un coup de main;
 Elle remue au sein de la cité de fange
 Comme un ver qui dérobe à l'Homme ce qu'il mange.
 On entend çà et là les cuisines siffler,
 Les théâtres glapir, les orchestres ronfler;
 Les tables d'hôte, dont le jeu fait les délices,
 S'emplissent de catins et d'escrocs, leurs complices,
 Et les voleurs, qui n'ont ni trêve ni merci,
 Vont bientôt commencer leur travail, eux aussi,
 Et forcer doucement les portes et les caisses
 Pour vivre quelques jours et vêtir leurs maîtresses.
 Recueille-toi, mon âme, en ce grave moment,
 Et ferme ton oreille à ce rugissement.
 C'est l'heure où les douleurs des malades s'agrippent!
 La sombre Nuit les prend à la gorge; ils finissent
 Leur destinée et vont vers le gouffre commun;
 L'hôpital se remplit de leurs soupirs.—Plus d'un
 Ne viendra plus chercher la soupe parfumée,
 Au coin du feu, le soir, auprès d'une âme aimée.
 Encore la plupart n'ont-ils jamais connu
 La douceur du foyer et n'ont jamais vécu!

“Evening Twilight”

Behold the charming evening, friend of the criminal,
 Come on with stealthy steps, like an accomplice;
 The sky closes slowly like a huge alcove,
 And the impatient man becomes a wild beast.
 Evening, sweet evening, desired by he
 Whose arms, in truth, can say: Today
 We have worked! It is the evening that relieves
 Those souls devoured by a savage pain
 The stubborn scholar with his furrowed brow,
 And the stooped worker who regains his bed.
 But then unhealthy demons in the atmosphere
 Wake heavily, like business men, take wing
 And beat in passing on the shutters and the shades.
 Prostitution kindles in the streets;
 Like an anthill, opens up her gates
 And everywhere she makes her secret way
 Like an enemy who tries his master stroke;
 Deep in the city's filth she writhes
 Like a worm that steals from Man the food he eats.
 Here and there you hear the kitchen's whistle,
 The theatre's baying and the concert's drone;

The tables where gambling works its charm
 Fill up with whores and con-men, their accomplices,
 And thieves, who know no truce or pity,
 Will soon begin their work as well
 And softly force your doors and safes
 To eat a few days more and clothe their mistresses.
 Draw back, my soul, in this grave moment
 And stop your ears against this roar.
 It is the time when sick men's pains grow sharper!
 Dark Night takes them by the throat; they end
 Their destiny and go towards the common pit;
 The hospital fills with their sighs.—More than one
 Will come no more to seek the scented broth,
 Beside the fire, next to a loved one.
 And the greater part have never known
 The sweetness of the hearth and never lived.

6. "Jenny" (1870)

By Dante Gabriel Rossetti

Rossetti (1828–1882) was a gifted English painter as well as poet and a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in arts and literature in England. In the poem, a philosophical lover reflects for his prostitute lover.

"Vengeance of Jenny's case! Fie on her! Never name her, child!"

Lazy laughing languid Jenny,
 Fond of a kiss and fond of a guinea,
 Whose head upon my knee to-night
 Rests for a while, as if grown light
 With all our dances and the sound
 To which the wild tunes spun you round:
 Fair Jenny mine, the thoughtless queen
 Of kisses which the blush between
 Could hardly make much daintier;
 Whose eyes are as blue skies, whose hair
 Is countless gold incomparable:
 Fresh flower, scarce touched with signs that tell
 Of Love's exuberant hotbed:—Nay,
 Poor flower left torn since yesterday
 Until to-morrow leave you bare;
 Poor handful of bright spring-water
 Flung in the whirlpool's shrieking face;
 Poor shameful Jenny, full of grace
 Thus with your head upon my knee;—

Whose person or whose purse may be
 The lodestar of your reverie?
 This room of yours, my Jenny, looks
 A change from mine so full of books,
 Whose serried ranks hold fast, forsooth,
 So many captive hours of youth,—
 The hours they thief from day and night
 To make one's cherished work come right,
 And leave it wrong for all their theft,
 Even as to-night my work was left:
 Until I vowed that since my brain
 And eyes of dancing seemed so fain,
 My feet should have some dancing too:—
 And thus it was I met with you.
 Well, I suppose 'twas hard to part,
 For here I am. And now, sweetheart,
 You seem too tired to get to bed.
 It was a careless life I led
 When rooms like this were scarce so strange
 Not long ago. What breeds the change,—
 The many aims or the few years?
 Because to-night it all appears.
 Something I do not know again.
 The cloud's not danced out of my brain,—
 The cloud that made it turn and swim
 While hour by hour the books grew dim.
 Why, Jenny, as I watch you there,—
 For all your wealth of loosened hair,
 Your silk ungirdled and unlac'd
 And warm sweets open to the waist,
 All golden in the lamplight's gleam,—
 You know not what a book you seem,
 Half-read by lightning in a dream!
 How should you know, my Jenny? Nay,
 And I should be ashamed to say:—
 Poor beauty, so well worth a kiss!
 But while my thought runs on like this
 With wasteful whims more than enough,
 I wonder what you're thinking of.

 If of myself you think at all,
 What is the thought?—conjectural
 On sorry matters best unsolved?—
 Or inly is each grace revolved
 To fit me with a lure?—or (sad

To think!) perhaps you're merely glad
That I'm not drunk or ruffianly
And let you rest upon my knee.

For sometimes, were the truth confess'd,
you're thankful for a little rest,—
Glad from the crush to rest within,
Form the heart-sickness and the din
Where envy's voice at virtue's pitch
Mocks you because your gown is rich;
And from the pale girl's dumb rebuke,
Whose ill-clad grace and toil-worn look
Proclaim the strength that keeps her weak
And other nights than yours bespeak;
And from the wise unchildish elf,

To schoolmate lesser than himself
Pointing you out, what thing you are:—
Yes, from the daily jeer and jar,
From shame and shame's outbraving too,
Is rest not sometimes sweet to you?—
But most from the hatefulnes of man
Who spares not to end what he began,
Whose acts are ill and his speech ill,
Who, having used you at his will,
Thrusts you aside, as when I dine
I serve the dishes and the wine.

Well, handsome Jenny mine, sit up,
I've filled our glasses, let us sup,
And do not let me think of you,
Lest shame of yours suffice for two.
What, still so tired? Well, well then, keep
Your head there, so you do not sleep;
But that the weariness may pass
And leave you merry, take this glass.
Ah! lazy lily hand, more bless'd
If ne'er in rings it had been dress'd
Nor ever by a glove conceal'd!
Behold the lilies of the field,
They toil not neither do they spin;
(So doth the ancient text begin,—
Not of such rest as one of these
Can share.) Another rest and ease
Along each summer-sated path
From its new lord the garden hath,

Than that whose spring in blessings ran
 Which praised the bounteous husbandman,
 Ere yet, in days of hankering breath,
 The lilies sickened unto death.

What, Jenny, are your lilies dead?
 Aye, and the snow-white leaves are spread
 Like winter on the garden-bed.
 But you had roses left in May,—

They were not gone too, Jenny, nay,
 But must your roses die, and those
 Their purpled buds that should uncloze?
 Even so; the leaves are curled apart,
 Still red as from the broken heart,
 And here's the naked stem of thorns.
 Nay, nay, mere words. Here nothing warns
 As yet of winter. Sickness here
 Or want alone could waken fear,—
 Nothing but passion wrings a tear.
 Except when there may rise unsought
 Haply at times a passing thought
 Of the old days which seem to be
 Much older than any history
 That is written in any book;
 When she would lie in fields and look
 Along the ground through the blown grass,
 And wonder where the city was,
 Far out of sight, whose broil and bale
 They told her then for a child's tale.

Jenny, you know the city now.
 A child can tell the tale there, how
 Some things which are not yet enroll'd
 In market-lists are bought and sold
 Even till the early Sunday light,
 When Saturday night is market-night
 Everywhere, be it dry or wet,
 And market-night in the Haymarket.
 Our learned London children know,
 Poor Jenny, all your mirth and woe;
 Have seen your lifted silken skirt
 Advertize dainties through the dirt;
 Have seen your coach-wheels splash rebuke
 On virtue; and have learned your look
 When, wealth and health slipped past, you stare

Along the streets alone, and there,
 Round the long park, across the bridge,
 The cold lamps at the pavement's edge
 Wind on together and apart,
 A fiery serpent for your heart.

Let the thoughts pass, an empty cloud!
 Suppose I were to think aloud,—
 What if to her all this were said?
 Why, as a volume seldom read
 Being opened halfway shuts again,
 So might the pages of her brain
 Be parted at such words, and thence
 Close back upon the dusty sense.
 For is there hue or shape defin'd
 In Jenny's desecrated mind,
 Where all contagious currents meet,
 A lethe of the middle street?
 Nay, it reflects not any face,
 Nor sound is in its sluggish pace,
 But as they coil those eddies clot,
 And night and day remember not.

Why, Jenny, you're asleep at last!—
 Asleep, poor Jenny, hard and fast,—
 So young and soft and tired; so fair,
 With chin thus nestled in your hair,
 Mouth quiet, eyelids almost blue
 As if some sky of dreams shone through!

Just as another woman sleeps!
 Enough to throw one's thoughts in heaps
 Of doubt and horror,—what to say
 Or think,—this awful secret sway,
 The potter's power over the clay!
 Of the same lump (it has been said)
 For honour and dishonour made,
 Two sister vessels. Here is one.
 My cousin Nell is fond of fun,
 And fond of dress, and change, and praise,
 So mere a woman in her ways:
 And if her sweet eyes rich in youth
 Are like her lips that tell the truth,
 My cousin Nell is fond of love.
 And she's the girl I'm proudest of.
 Who does not prize her, guard her well?

The love of change, in cousin Nell,
 Shall find the best and hold it dear:
 The unconquered mirth turn quieter
 Not through her own, through others' woe
 The conscious pride of beauty glow
 Beside another's pride in her,
 One little part of all they share.
 For Love himself shall ripen these
 In a kind soil to just increase
 Through years of fertilizing peace.

Of the same lump (as it is said)
 For honour and dishonour made,
 Two sister vessels. Here is one.
 It makes a goblin of the sun.

So pure,—so fall'n! How dare to think
 Of the first common kindred link?
 Yet, Jenny, till the world shall burn
 It seems that all things take their turn;
 And who shall say but this fair tree
 May need, in changes that may be,
 Your children's children's charity?
 Scorned then, no doubt, as you are scorn'd!
 Shall no man hold his pride forewarn'd
 Till in the end, the Day of Days,
 At Judgment, one of his own race,
 As frail and lost as you, shall rise,—
 His daughter, with his mother's eyes?

How Jenny's clock ticks on the shelf!
 Might not the dial scorn itself
 That has such hours to register?
 Yet as to me, even so to her
 Are golden sun and silver moon,
 In daily largesse of earth's boon,
 Counted for life-coins to one tune.
 And if, as blindfold fates are toss'd,
 Through some one man this life be lost,
 Shall soul not somehow pay for soul?

Fair shines the gilded aureole
 In which our highest painters place
 Some living woman's simple face.
 And the stilled features thus descried
 As Jenny's long throat droops aside,—
 The shadows where the cheeks are thin,

And pure wide curve from ear to chin,—
 With Raffael's or Da Vinci's hand
 To show them to men's souls, might stand,
 Whole ages long, the whole world through,
 For preachings of what God can do.
 What has man done here? How atone,
 Great God, for this which man has done?
 And for the body and soul which by
 Man's pitiless doom must now comply
 With lifelong hell, what lullaby
 Of sweet forgetful second birth
 Remains? All dark. No sign on earth
 What measure of god's rest endows
 The many mansions of his house.

If but a woman's heart might see
 Such erring heart unerringly
 For once! But that can never be.

Like a rose shut in a book
 In which pure women may not look,
 For its base pages claim control
 To crush the flower within the soul;
 Where through each dead rose-leaf that clings,
 Pale as transparent psyche-wings,
 To the vile text, are traced such things
 As might make lady's cheek indeed
 More than a living rose to read;
 So nought save foolish foulness may
 Watch with hard eyes the sure decay;
 And so the life-blood of this rose,
 Puddled with shameful knowledge, flows
 Through leaves no chaste hand may uncloze:
 Yet still it keeps such faded show
 Of when 'twas gathered long ago,
 That the crushed petals' lovely grain,
 The sweetness of the sanguine stain,
 Seen of a woman's eyes, must make
 Her pitiful heart, so prone to ache,
 Love roses better for its sake:—
 Only that this can never be:—
 Even so unto her sex is she.

Yet, Jenny, looking long at you,
 The woman almost fades from view.
 A cipher of man's changeless sum
 Of lust, past, present, and to come,

Is left. A riddle that one shrinks
 To challenge from the scornful sphinx.
 Like a toad within a stone
 Seated while time crumbles on;
 Which sits there since the earth was curs'd
 For Man's transgression at the first;
 Which, living through all centuries,
 Not once has seen the sun arise;
 Whose life, to its cold circle charmed,
 The earth's whole summers have not warmed;
 Which always—whitherso the stone
 Be flung—sits there, deaf, blind, alone;—
 Aye, and shall not be driven out
 Till that which shuts him round about
 Break at the very Master's stroke,
 And the dust thereof vanish as smoke,
 And the seed of Man vanish as dust:—
 Even so within this world is Lust.

Come, come, what use in thoughts like this?
 Poor little Jenny, good to kiss,—
 You'd not believe by what strange roads
 Thought travels, when your beauty goads
 A man to-night to think of toads!
 Jenny, wake up... Why, there's the dawn!

And there's an early waggon drawn
 To market, and some sheep that jog
 Bleating before a barking dog;
 And the old streets come peering through
 Another night that London knew;
 And all as ghostlike as the lamps.

So on the wings of day decamps
 My last night's frolic. Glooms begin
 To shiver off as lights creep in
 Past the gauze curtains half drawn-to,
 And the lamp's doubled shade grows blue,—
 Your lamp, my Jenny, kept alight,
 Like a wise virgin's, all one night!

And in the alcove coolly spread
 Glimmers with dawn your empty bed;
 And yonder your fair face I see
 Reflected lying on my knee,
 Where teems with first foreshadowings
 Your pier-glass scrawled with diamond rings.

And now without, as if some word
 Had called upon them that they heard,
 The London sparrows far and nigh
 Clamour together suddenly;
 And Jenny's cage-bird grown awake
 Here in their song his part must take,
 Because here too the day doth break

And somehow in myself the dawn
 Among stirred clouds and veils withdrawn
 Strikes greyly on her. Let her sleep.
 But will it wake her if I heap
 These cushions thus beneath her head
 Where my knee was? No,—there's your bed,
 My Jenny, while you dream. And there
 I lay among your golden hair
 Perhaps the subject of your dreams,
 These golden coins.
 For still one deems

That Jenny's flattering sleep confers
 New magic on the magic purse,—
 Grim web, how clogged with shrivelled flies!
 Between the threads fine fumes arise
 And shape their pictures in the brain.
 There roll no streets in glare and rain,
 Nor flagrant man-swine whets his tusk;
 But delicately sighs in musk
 The homage of the dim boudoir;
 Or like a palpitating star
 Thrilled into song, the opera-night
 Breathes faint in the quick pulse of light;
 Or at the carriage-window shine
 Rich wares for choice; or, free to dine,
 Whirls through its hour of health (divine
 For her) the concourse of the Park.
 And though in the discounted dark
 Her functions there and here are one,
 Beneath the lamps and in the sun
 There reigns at least the acknowledged belle
 Apparalled beyond parallel.
 Ah Jenny, yes, we know your dreams.

For even the Paphian Venus seems
 A goddess o'er the realms of love,

When silver-shrined in shadowy grove:
 Aye, or let offerings nicely placed
 But hide Priapus to the waist,
 And whoso looks on him shall see
 An eligible deity.

Why, Jenny, waking here alone
 May help you to remember one,
 Though all the memory's long outworn
 Of many a double-pillowed morn.
 I think I see you when you wake,
 And rub your eyes for me, and shake
 My gold, in rising, from your hair,
 A Danae for a moment there.

Jenny, my love rang true! for still
 Love at first sight is vague, until
 That tinkling makes him audible.
 And must I mock you to the last,
 Ashamed of my own shame,—aghast
 Because some thoughts not born amiss
 Rose at a poor fair face like this?

Well, of such thoughts so much I know:
 In my life, as in hers, they show,
 By a far gleam which I may near,
 A dark path I can strive to clear.

Only one kiss. Goodbye, my dear.

7. "To a Common Prostitute" (1900)

By Walt Whitman

From *Leaves of Grass*. Philadelphia: D. McKay, 1900.

Whitman's (1819–1892) direct, natural, and figurative language addresses the prostitute in this poem.

Be composed—be at ease with me—I am Walt Whitman, liberal and lusty as Nature;
 Not till the sun excludes you, do I exclude you;
 Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you, and the leaves to rustle for you, do my words
 refuse to glisten and rustle for you.

My girl, I appoint with you an appointment—and I charge you that you make preparation to
 be worthy to meet me,

And I charge you that you be patient and perfect till I come.
 Till then, I salute you with a significant look, that you do not forget me.

8. "The Ruined Maid" (1901)

By Thomas Hardy

*This poem by Hardy (1840–1928), who was also well known for his novels such as *Jude the Obscure* and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, is actually a satirical look at the concept of women being ruined by sexual experience. Here a young English woman who has become a city prostitute in fact appears to be better off than if she had stayed a poor girl at home in a rural area.*

"O Melia, my dear, this does everything crown!
 Who could have supposed I should meet you in Town?
 And whence such fair garments, such prosperi-ty?"—
 "O didn't you know I'd been ruined?" said she.
 "You left us in tatters, without shoes or socks,
 Tired of digging potatoes, and spudding up docks;
 And now you've gay bracelets and bright feathers three!"—
 "Yes: that's how we dress when we're ruined," said she.

—"At home in the barton you said thee' and 'thou,'
 And 'thik oon,' and 'theäs oon,' and 'tother'; but now
 Your talking quite fits 'ee for high compa-ny!"—
 "Some polish is gained with one's ruin," said she.

—"Your hands were like paws then, your face blue and bleak
 But now I'm bewitched by your delicate cheek,
 And your little gloves fit as on any la-dy!"—
 "We never do work when we're ruined," said she.

—"You used to call home-life a hag-ridden dream,
 And you'd sigh, and you'd sock; but at present you seem
 To know not of megrims or melancho-ly!"—
 "True. One's pretty lively when ruined," said she.

—"I wish I had feathers, a fine sweeping gown,
 And a delicate face, and could strut about Town!"—
 "My dear—a raw country girl, such as you be,
 Cannot quite expect that. You ain't ruined," said she.

9. "Frankie and Johnnie" (early 1900s)

*This graphic and bawdy version of the folksong "Frankie and Johnnie" was printed in *Immortalia: American Ballads, Sailors' Songs, Cowboy Songs, College Songs, Parodies, Limericks, and Other Humorous Verses and Doggerel*, printed privately in 1927 by "a gentleman about town" (From Thomas R. Smith [New York: Macy-Masius; later Jacob Baker, Vanguard Press], iii, 184 pp., 4to. Signatures gathered in eight leaves). It is most likely based on the story of the 1899 death of Albert Britt, a teenage piano player, who was shot and killed by Frankie Baker, a 23-year-old prostitute, in St. Louis.*

Frankie and Johnnie were lovers;
 Goodness, Oh God! How they'd love—
 Swore to be true to each other,
 True as the stars above.
 For he was her man,
 But he done her wrong!
 Frankie was a good girl,
 Most everybody knows,
 She gave a hundred dollars
 To Johnnie for a suit of clothes,
 Cause he was her man,
 But he done her wrong!

Frankie worked in a crib-joint,
 A place that's got two doors;
 Gave all her money to Johnnie;
 Who spent it on parlor-house whores.
 God-damn his soul,
 He done her wrong!

Frankie was a fucky hussy—
 That's what all the pimps said—
 And they kept her so damn busy,
 She never had time to get out of bed.
 But he done her wrong,
 God-damn his soul!

Frankie hung a sign on her door,
 "No more fish for sale."
 Then she went looking for Johnnie
 To give him all her kale.
 He was a-doin' her wrong,
 God-damn his soul!

Frankie went down Fourth Street
 To get a glass of steam-beer;
 Said to the man called bartender,
 "Has my lovin' Johnnie been here?
 God-damn his soul,
 He's a-doin' me wrong!"

"I couldn't tell you no story,
 I couldn't tell you no lie,
 I saw your Johnnie an hour ago
 With a coon called Alice Bly.
 God-damn his soul,
 He was a-doin' you wrong!"

Frankie ran back to the crib-joint,
 Took the oilcloth off the bed,
 Took out a bindle of coke
 And snuffed it right up her head;
 God-damn his soul.
 He was a-doin' her wrong!

Then she put on her red kimona, [*sic*]
 This time it wasn't for fun;
 Cause right underneath it
 Was a great big forty-four gun.
 She went huntin' her man,
 Who was a-doin' her wrong!
 She ran along Fish Alley,
 And look in a window high,
 And she saw her lovin' Johnnie
 Finger-frigging Alice Bly.
 He was a-doing' her wrong,
 God-damn his soul!

Frankie went to the hop-joint,
 Frankie rang the hop-joint bell:
 "Stand back you pimps and whores,
 Or I'll blow you straight to hell.
 I'm huntin' my man,
 Who's a-doin' me wrong!"

Frankie ran up the stairway—
 Johnnie hollered, "Please don't shoot!"
 But Frankie raised the forty-four
 And went five times, root-ti-toot.
 She shot her man,
 'Cause he done her wrong!

"Turn me over Frankie,
 Turn me over slow;
 A bullet got me on my right side,
 Oh Gawd! It hurts me so.
 You've killed your man,
 But I done you wrong!"

Then came the scene in the courthouse:
 Frankie said, as bold as brass,
 "Judge, I didn't shoot him in the third degree,
 I shot him in his big fat ass;
 'Cause he was my man,
 An' he was a-doin' me wrong!"

Bring out your rubber-tired hearse.
 Bring out your rubber-tired hacks.
 Hearse to take Johnnie to the cemetery;
 Hacks to bring all the whores back:
 For he's dead and gone,
 'Cause he done her wrong!

They brought a rubber-tired hearse,
 And brought out rubber-tired hacks:
 Thirteen pimps went to the cemetery
 But only twelve came back.
 He's dead and gone,
 He was a-doin' her wrong!

The sergeant said to Frankie,
 "It may all be for the best,
 He always chased 'round parlor-house whores,
 He sure was an awful pest; Now he's dead and gone, He was a-doin' her wrong!"
 Three little pieces of crepe
 Hanging on the crib-joint door,
 Signifies that Johnnie
 Will never be a pimp no more.
 God-damn his soul,
 He done her wrong!

10. "The House of the Rising Sun" (1937)

The music for "The House of the Rising Sun" comes from a traditional English ballad of long ago, but these lyrics, by Georgia Turner and Bert Martin (both from Kentucky), were recorded by Alan Lomax in 1937.

There is a house in New Orleans
 They call the Rising Sun.
 It's been the ruin of many a poor girl,
 and me, O God, for one.
 If I had listened what Mamma said,
 I'd a' been at home today.
 Being so young and foolish, poor boy,
 let a rambler lead me astray.

Go tell my baby sister
 never do like I have done
 to shun that house in New Orleans
 they call the Rising Sun.

My mother she's a tailor;
 she sold those new blue jeans.

My sweetheart, he's a drunkard, Lord, Lord,
drinks down in New Orleans.

The only thing a drunkard needs
is a suitcase and a trunk.

The only time he's satisfied
is when he's on a drunk.

Fills his glasses to the brim,
passes them around
only pleasure he gets out of life
is hoboin' from town to town.

One foot is on the platform
and the other one on the train.

I'm going back to New Orleans
to wear that ball and chain.

Going back to New Orleans,
my race is almost run.

Going back to spend the rest of my days
beneath that Rising Sun.

APPENDIX C: DOCUMENTS BY SEX WORKERS

11. World Charter for Prostitutes' Rights (1985)

The World Charter For Prostitutes' Rights was drafted in 1985 by sex workers from around the world at a meeting in Amsterdam.

From the International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights (ICPR), Amsterdam, 1985. Published in *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*, ed. G. Pheterson. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989, p. 40.

LAWS

- Decriminalize all aspects of adult prostitution resulting from individual decision.
- Decriminalize prostitution and regulate third parties according to standard business codes. It must be noted that existing standard business codes allow abuse of prostitutes. Therefore special clauses must be included to prevent the abuse and stigmatization of prostitutes (self-employed and others).
- Enforce criminal laws against fraud, coercion, violence, child sexual abuse, child labor, rape, racism everywhere and across national boundaries, whether or not in the context of prostitution.
- Eradicate laws that can be interpreted to deny freedom of association, or freedom to travel, to prostitutes within and between countries. Prostitutes have rights to a private life.

HUMAN RIGHTS

- Guarantee prostitutes all human rights and civil liberties, including the freedom of speech, travel, immigration, work, marriage, and motherhood and the right to unemployment insurance, health insurance and housing.

- ✦ Grant asylum to anyone denied human rights on the basis of a “crime of status,” be it prostitution or homosexuality.

WORKING CONDITIONS

- ✦ There should be no law which implies systematic zoning of prostitution. Prostitutes should have the freedom to choose their place of work and residence. It is essential that prostitutes can provide their services under the conditions that are absolutely determined by themselves and no one else.
- ✦ There should be a committee to insure the protection of the rights of the prostitutes and to whom prostitutes can address their complaints. This committee must be comprised of prostitutes and other professionals like lawyers and supporters.
- ✦ There should be no law discriminating against prostitutes associating and working collectively in order to acquire a high degree of personal security.

HEALTH

- ✦ All women and men should be educated to periodical health screening for sexually transmitted diseases. Since health checks have historically been used to control and stigmatize prostitutes, and since adult prostitutes are generally even more aware of sexual health than others, mandatory checks for prostitutes are unacceptable unless they are mandatory for all sexually active people.

SERVICES

- ✦ Employment, counseling, legal, and housing services for runaway children should be funded in order to prevent child prostitution and to promote child well-being and opportunity.
- ✦ Prostitutes must have the same social benefits as all other citizens according to the different regulations in different countries.
- ✦ Shelters and services for working prostitutes and re-training programs for prostitutes wishing to leave the life should be funded.

TAXES

- ✦ No special taxes should be levied on prostitutes or prostitute businesses.
- ✦ Prostitutes should pay regular taxes on the same basis as other independent contractors and employees, and should receive the same benefits.

PUBLIC OPINION

- ✦ Support educational programs to change social attitudes which stigmatize and discriminate against prostitutes and ex-prostitutes of any race, gender or nationality.
- ✦ Develop educational programs which help the public to understand that the customer plays a crucial role in the prostitution phenomenon, this role being generally ignored. The customer, like the prostitute, should not, however, be criminalized or condemned on a moral basis.
- ✦ We are in solidarity with workers in the sex industry.

ORGANIZATION

- ✦ Organizations of prostitutes and ex-prostitutes should be supported to further implementation of the above charter.

12. Sex Workers' Manifesto (1997)

This Sex Workers' Manifesto was a product of the First National Conference of Sex Workers in India, which took place November 14–16, 1997, in Kolkata.

A new spectre seems to be haunting the society. Or maybe those phantom creatures who have been pushed into the shades for ages are taking on human form—and that is why there is so much fear. The sex workers' movement for last few years have made us confront many fundamental questions about social structures, life sexuality, moral rights and wrongs. We think an intrinsic component of our movement is to go on searching for the answers to these questions and raise newer ones.

WHAT IS THE SEX WORKERS' MOVEMENT ALL ABOUT?

We came together as a collective community through our active involvement as health workers, the Peer Educators, in a HIV/STD Control Project which has been running in Sonagachhi since 1992. The Project provided the initial space for building mutual support, facilitating reflection and initiating collective action among us, sex workers. Very early in the life of the Sonagachhi Project, we, with the empathetic support of those who had started the Project, clearly recognised that even to realise the very basic Project objectives of controlling transmission of HIV and STD it was crucial to view us in our totality—as complete persons with a range of emotional and material needs, living within a concrete and specific social, political and ideological context which determine the quality of our lives and our health, and not see us merely in terms of our sexual behaviour.

To give an example, while promoting the use of condoms, we soon realised that in order to change the sexual behaviour of sex workers it was not enough to enlighten them about the risks of unprotected sex or to improve their communication and negotiation skills. How will a sex worker who does not value herself at all think of taking steps to protect her health and her life? Even when fully aware of the necessity of using condoms to prevent disease transmission, may not an individual sex worker feel compelled to jeopardise her health in fear of losing her clients to other sex workers in the area unless it was ensured that all sex workers were able to persuade their clients to use condoms for every sexual act? Some sex workers may not even be in a position to try negotiate safer sex with a client as they may be too closely controlled by exploitative madams or pimps. If a sex worker is starving, either because she does not have enough custom or because most of her income goes towards maintaining a room or meeting the demands of madams, local power-brokers or the police, can she be really in a position to refuse a client who can not be persuaded to use condoms?

And what about the client? Is a man likely to be amenable to learn anything from a woman, particularly an uneducated 'fallen' woman? For him does not coming to a prostitute necessarily involve an inherent element of taking risk and behaving irresponsibly? In which case are not notions of responsibility and safety completely contradict his attitude towards his relationship with a prostitute? Does not a condom represent an unnecessary impediment in his way to 'total' pleasure?

In most case this male client himself may be a poor, displaced man. Is he in a position to value his own life or protect his health?

Then again why does not a sex worker who is ready to use condom with her client, would never have protected sex with her lover or husband? What fine balance between commercial

transaction and love, caution and trust, safety and intimacy engender such behaviour? How do ideologies of love, family, motherhood influence our every sexual gesture?

Thus, thinking about such an apparently uncomplicated question—whether a sex worker can insist on having safe sex, made us realise that the issue is not at all simple. Sexuality and the lives and the movement of sex workers are intrinsically enmeshed in the social structure we live within and dominant ideology which shapes our values.

Like many other occupations, sex work is also an occupation, and it is probably one of the ‘oldest profession’ in the world because it meets an important social demand. But the term ‘prostitute’ is rarely used to refer to an occupational group who earn their livelihood through providing sexual services, rather it is deployed as a descriptive term denoting a homogenised category, usually of women, who poses threats to public health, sexual morality, social stability and civic order. Within this discursive boundary we systematically find ourselves to be targets of moralising impulses of dominant social groups, through missions of cleansing and sanitising, both materially and symbolically. If and when we figure in political or developmental agenda, we are enmeshed in discursive practices and practical projects which aim to rescue, rehabilitate, improve, discipline, control or police us. Charity organisations are prone to rescue us and put us in ‘safe’ homes, developmental organisations are likely to ‘rehabilitate’ us through meagre income generation activities, and the police seem bent upon to regularly raid our quarters in the name of controlling ‘immoral’ trafficking. Even when we are inscribed less negatively or even sympathetically within dominant discourses we are not exempt from stigmatisation or social exclusion. As powerless, abused victims with no resources, we are seen as objects of pity. Otherwise we appear as self-sacrificing and nurturing supporting cast of characters in popular literature and cinema, ceaselessly ready to give up our hard earned income, our clients, our ‘sinful’ ways and finally our lives to ensure the well-being of the hero or the society he represents. In either case we are refused enfranchisement as legitimate citizens or workers, and are banished to the margins of society and history.

The kind of oppression that can be meted out to a sex worker can never be perpetrated against a regular worker. The justification given is that sex work is not real work—it is morally sinful. As prostitution is kept hidden behind the facade of sexual morality and social order, unlike other professions there is no legitimacy or scope for any discussion about the demands and needs of the workers of the sex industry.

People who are interested in our welfare, and many are genuinely concerned, often can not think beyond rehabilitating us or abolishing prostitution altogether. However, we know that in reality it is perhaps impossible to ‘rehabilitate’ a sex worker because the society never allows to erase our identity as prostitutes. Is rehabilitation feasible or even desirable?

In a country where unemployment is in such gigantic proportions, where does the compulsion of displacing millions of women and men who are already engaged in an income earning occupation which supports themselves and their extended families, come from? If other workers in similarly exploitative occupations can work within the structures of their profession to improve their working conditions, why can not sex workers remain in the sex industry and demand a better deal in their life and work?

WHAT IS THE HISTORY OF SEXUAL MORALITY?

Like other human propensities and desires, sexuality and sexual need are fundamental and necessary to the human condition. Ethical and political ideas about sexuality and sexual prac-

tices are socially conditioned and historically and contextually specific. In the society as we know it now, ideologies about sexuality are deeply entrenched within structures of patriarchy and largely misogynist mores. The state and social structures only acknowledge a limited and narrow aspect of our sexuality. Pleasure, happiness, comfort and intimacy find expression through sexuality. On one hand we weave narratives around these in our literature and art. But on the other hand our societal norms and regulations allow for sexual expression only between men and women within the strict boundaries of marital relations within the institution of the family.

WHY HAVE WE CIRCUMSCRIBED SEXUALITY WITHIN SUCH A NARROW CONFINES, IGNORING ITS MANY OTHER EXPRESSIONS, EXPERIENCES AND MANIFESTATIONS?

Ownership of private property and maintenance of patriarchy necessitates a control over women's reproduction. Since property lines are maintained through legitimate heirs, and sexual intercourse between men and women alone carry the potential for procreation, capitalist patriarchy sanctions only such couplings. Sex is seen primarily, and almost exclusively, as an instrument for reproduction, negating all aspects of pleasure and desire intrinsic to it. Privileging heterosexuality, homosexuality is not only denied legitimacy, it is considered to be undesirable, unnatural, and deviant. Thus sex and sexuality are given no social sanction beyond their reproductive purpose.

Do we then not value motherhood? Just because our profession or our social situation does not allow for legitimate parenthood, are we trying to claim motherhood and bearing children is unworthy and unimportant for women? That is not the case. We feel that every woman has the right to bear children with if she so wishes. But we also think that through trying to establish motherhood as the only and primary goal for a woman the patriarchal structures try to control women's reproductive functions and curb their social and sexual autonomy. Many of us sex workers are mothers—our children are very precious to us. By social standards these children are illegitimate—bastards. But at least they are ours and not mere instruments for maintaining some man's property or continuing his genealogy. However, we too are not exempt from the ideologies of the society we live in. For many of us the impossible desire for family, home and togetherness is a permanent source of pain.

DO MEN AND WOMEN HAVE EQUAL CLAIMS TO SEXUALITY?

Societal norms about sex and sexuality do not apply similarly to men and women. If sexual needs are at all acknowledged beyond procreation, it is only for men. Even if there are minor variations from community to community and if in the name of modernity certain mores have changed in some place, it is largely men who have had enjoyed the right to be polygamous or seek multiple sexual partners. Women have always been expected to be faithful to a single man. Beyond scriptural prohibitions too, social practices severely restricts the expression of female sexuality. As soon as a girl reaches her puberty her behaviour is strictly controlled and monitored so as not to provoke the lust of men. In the name of 'decency' and 'tradition' a woman teacher is prohibited from wearing the clothes of her choice to the University. While selecting a bride for the son, the men of the family scrutinise the physical attributes of a potential bride. Pornographic representations of women satisfy the voyeuristic pleasures of millions of men. From shaving cream to bathroom fittings are sold through attracting men by advertisements depicting women as sex objects.

In this political economy of sexuality there is no space for expression of women's own sexuality and desires. Women have to cover up their bodies from men and at the same time bare themselves for male gratification. Even when women are granted some amount of subjecthood by being represented as consumers in commercial media, that role is defined by their ability to buy and normed by capitalist and patriarchal strictures.

IS OUR MOVEMENT ANTI-MEN?

Our movement is definitely against patriarchy, but not against all individual men. As it so happens, apart from the madams and landladies almost all people who profit from the sex trade are men. But what is more important is that their attitudes towards women and prostitution are biased with strong patriarchal values. They generally think of women as weak, dependent, immoral or irrational—who need to be directed and disciplined. Conditioned by patriarchal gender ideologies, both men and women in general approve of the control of sex trade and oppression of sex workers as necessary for maintaining social order. The power of this moral discourse is so strong that we prostitutes too tend to think of ourselves as morally corrupt and shameless. The men who come to us as clients are victims of the same ideology too. Sometimes the sense of sin adds to their thrill, sometimes it leads to perversion and almost always it creates a feeling of self loathing among them. Never does it allow for confident, honest sexual interchange.

It is important to remember that there is no uniform category as 'men'. Men, like women are differentiated by their class, caste, race and other social relations. For many men adherence to the dominant sexual norm is not only impracticable but also unreal. The young men who look for sexual initiation, the married men who seek the company of 'other' women, the migrant labourers separated from their wives who try to find warmth and companionship in the red light area can not all be dismissed as wicked and perverted. To do that will amount to dismissing a whole history of human search for desire, intimacy and need. Such dismissal creates an unfulfilled demand for sexual pleasure, the burden of which though shared by men and women alike, ultimately weighs more heavily on women. Sexuality—which can be a basis of an equal, healthy relationship between men and women, between people, becomes the source of further inequality and stringent control. This is what we oppose.

Next to any factory, truckers check points, market there has always been red light areas. The same system of productive relations and logic of profit maximisation, which drives men from their homes in villages to towns and cities, make women into sex workers for these men.

What is deplorable is that this patriarchal ideology is so deeply entrenched, and the interest of men as a group is so solidly vested in it, that women's question hardly ever find a place in mainstream political or social movements. The male workers who organise themselves against exploitation rarely address the issues of gender oppression, let alone the oppression of sex workers. Against the interest of women these radical men too defend the ideology of the family and patriarchy.

ARE WE AGAINST THE INSTITUTION OF FAMILY?

In the perception of society we sex workers and in fact all women outside the relation of conjugality are seen as threats to the institution of family. It is said that enticed by us, men stray from the straight and narrow, destroy the family. All institutions from religion to formal educa-

tion reiterate and perpetuate this fear about us. Women and men too, are the victims of this all pervasive misogyny.

We would like to stress strongly that the sex workers movement is not against the institution of family. What we challenge is the inequity and oppression within the dominant notions of an 'ideal' family which support and justify unequal distribution of power and resources within the structures of the family. What our movement aims at is working towards a really humanitarian, just and equitable structure of the family which is perhaps yet to exist.

Like other social institutions the family too is situated within the material and ideological structures of the state and society. The basis of a normative ideal family is inheritance through legitimate heirs and therefore sexual fidelity. Historically, the structures of families in reality have gone through many changes. In our country, by and large joint families are being replaced by nuclear ones as a norm. In fact, in all societies people actually live their lives in many different ways, through various social and cultural relations—which deviate from this norm, but are still not recognised as the ideal by the dominant discourses.

If two persons love each other, want to be together, want to raise children together, relate to the social world it can be a happy, egalitarian, democratic arrangement. But does it really happen like that within families we see, between couple we know? Do not we know of many, many families where there is no love, but relations are based on inequality and oppression. Do not many legal wives virtually live the life of sex slaves in exchange for food and shelter? In most cases women do not have the power or the resources to opt out of such marriages and families. Sometimes men and women both remain trapped in empty relations by social pressure. Is this situation desirable? Is it healthy?

THE WHORE AND THE MADONNA—DIVIDE AND RULE

Within the oppressive family ideology it is women's sexuality that is identified as the main threat to conjugal relationship of a couple. Women are pitted against each other as wife against the prostitute, against the chaste and the immoral—both represented as fighting over the attention and lust of men. A chaste wife is granted no sexuality, only a de-sexed motherhood and domesticity. At the other end of the spectrum is the 'fallen' woman—a sex machine, unfettered by any domestic inclination or 'feminine' emotion. A woman's goodness is judged on the basis of her desire and ability to control and disguise her sexuality. The neighbourhood girl who dresses up can not be good, models and actresses are morally corrupt. In all cases female sexuality is controlled and shaped by patriarchy to reproduce the existing political economy of sexuality and safeguard the interest of men. A man has access to his docile home-maker wife, the mother of his children and the prostitute who sustain his wildest sexual fantasies. Women's sexual needs are not only considered to be important enough, in most cases its autonomy is denied or even its existence is erased.

Probably no one other than a prostitute really realises the extent of loneliness, alienation, desire and yearning for intimacy that brings men to us. The sexual need we meet for these men is not just about mechanical sexual act, not an momentary gratification of 'base' instincts. Beyond the sex act, we provide a much wider range of sexual pleasure which is to do with intimacy, touch and companiability—a service which we render without any social recognition of its significance. At least men can come to us for their sexual needs—however prurient or shameful the system of prostitution may be seen as. Women hardly have such recourse. The autonomy of women's sexuality is completely denied. The only option they have is to be prostitutes in the sex industry.

WHY DO WOMEN COME TO PROSTITUTION?

Women take up prostitution for the same reason as they may take up any other livelihood option available to them. Our stories are not fundamentally different from the labourer from Bihar who pulls a rickshaw in Calcutta, or the worker from Calcutta who works part time in a factory in Bombay. Some of us get sold into the industry. After being bonded to the madam who has bought us for some years we gain a degree of independence within the sex industry. A whole of us end up in the sex trade after going through many experiences in life,— often unwillingly, without understanding all the implications of being a prostitute fully.

But when do most of us women have access to choice within or outside the family? Do we become casual domestic labourer willingly? Do we have a choice about who we want to marry and when? The 'choice' is rarely real for most women, particularly poor women.

Why do we end up staying in prostitution? It is after all a very tough occupation. The physical labour involved in providing sexual services to multiple clients in a working day is no less intense or rigorous than ploughing or working in a factory. It is definitely not fun and frolic. Then there are occupational hazards like unwanted pregnancy, painful abortions, risk of sexually transmitted diseases. In almost all red light areas housing and sanitation facilities are abysmal, the localities are crowded, most sex workers quite poor, and on top of it there is police harassment and violence from local thugs. Moreover, to add to the material condition of deprivation and distress, we have to take on stigmatisation and marginalisation,— the social indignity of being 'sinful', being mothers of illegitimate children, being the target of those children's frustrations and anger.

DO WE ADVOCATE 'FREE SEX'?

What we advocate and desire is independent, democratic, non-coercive, mutually pleasurable and safe sex. Somehow 'free sex' seems to imply irresponsibility and lack of concern for other's well-being, which is not what we are working towards. Freedom of speech, expression or politics all come with obligations and need to acknowledge and accommodate other's freedom too. Freedom of sexuality should also come with responsibility and respect for other's needs and desires. We do want the freedom to explore and shape a healthy and mature attitude and practice about sex and sexuality—free from obscenity and vulgarity.

We do not yet know what this autonomous sexuality will be like in practice—we do not have the complete picture as yet. We are working people not soothsayers or prophets. When for the first time in history when workers agitated for class equity and freedom from capitalist exploitation, when the blacks protested against white hegemony, when feminist rejected the subordination of women they too did not know fully what the new system they were striving for would exactly be like. There is no exact picture of the 'ideal' future—it can only emerge and be shaped through the process of the movement.

All we can say in our imagination of autonomous sexuality men and women will have equal access, will participate equally, will have the right to say 'yes' or 'no', and there will be no space for guilt or oppression.

We do not live in an ideal social world today. We do not know when and if ever an ideal social order will come into place. In our less than ideal world if we can accept the immorality of commercial transaction over food, or health why is sex for money so unethical and unacceptable. Maybe in an ideal world there will be no need for any such transactions—where material, emotional,

intellectual and sexual needs of all will be met equitably and with pleasure and happiness. We do not know. All we can do now is to explore the current inequalities and injustices, question their basis and confront, challenge and change them.

WHICH WAY IS OUR MOVEMENT GOING?

The process of struggle that we, the members of Mahila Samanwaya Committee are currently engaged in has only just begun. We think our movement has two principal aspects. The first one is to debate, define and re-define the whole host of issues about gender, poverty, sexuality that are being thrown up within the process of the struggle itself. Our experience of Mahila Samanwaya Committee shows that for a marginalised group to achieve the smallest of gains, it becomes imperative to challenge an all encompassing material and symbolic order that not only shapes the dominant discourses outside but, and perhaps more importantly, historically conditions the way we negotiate our own locations as workers within the sex industry. This long term and complex process will have to continue.

Secondly, the daily oppression that is practised on us with the support of the dominant ideologies, have to be urgently and consistently confronted and resisted. We have to struggle to improve the conditions of our work and material quality of our lives, and that can happen through our efforts towards us, sex workers, gaining control over the sex industry itself. We have started the process—today in many red light areas in cities, towns and villages, we sex workers have come to organise our own forums to create solidarity and collective strength among a larger community of prostitutes, forge a positive identity for ourselves as prostitutes and mark out a space for acting on our own behalf.

MALE PROSTITUTES ARE WITH US TOO

The Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee was originally formed by women sex workers of Sonagachhi and neighbouring red light areas, and initially for women prostitutes. However, within two years of our coming into existence male sex workers have come and joined as at their own initiative. These male sex workers provide sexual services to homosexual men primarily. As our society is strongly homophobic, and in fact, penetrative sexual act even between consenting adult men can still be legally penalised, the material and ideological status of male sex workers is even more precarious. We therefore had welcomed them in our midst as comrades in arms and strongly believe that their participation will make the sex workers' movement truly representative and robust.

Sex workers movement is going on—it has to go on. We believe the questions about sexuality that we are raising are relevant not only to us sex workers but to every men and women who question subordination of all kinds—within the society at large and also within themselves. This movement is for everyone who strives for an equal, just, equitable, oppression free and above all a happy social world. Sexuality, like class and gender after all makes us what we are. To deny its importance is to accept an incomplete existence as human beings. Sexual inequality and control of sexuality engender and perpetuate many other inequalities and exploitation too. We're faced with situation to shake the roots of all such injustice through our movement. We have to win this battle and the war too—for a gender just, socially equitable, emotionally fulfilling, intellectually stimulating and exhilarating future for men, women and children.

13. Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers Code of Practice for Working with Peer Educators (2004)

The Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers developed this Code of Practice for Working with Peer Educators in December of 2004 in Cambodia. It is based on a similar document developed by Helping Individual Prostitutes Survive (HIPS), an organization in Washington, DC.

Preamble: Peer education programs utilise relationships between members of the sex work community to distribute health-related information and are a key strategy for HIV prevention. Peer educators perform activities ranging from the informal distribution of condoms amongst co-workers, to formal programs in which the sex worker acts as a representative of the host organisation to conduct a formal health education program.

Some peer education programs misuse the good will of sex workers and their desire to promote good health within the community. Amongst other things, these programs do not provide adequate training, place sex workers in dangerous situations and fail to provide decent working conditions.

This Code of Practice identifies core minimum standards for the engagement of sex workers as peer educators and is written with the intention of supporting NGOs to ensure that peer education programs are a success.

The Code of Practice outlined on the following pages is based on the notion of parity—that is, that peer educators should be given the same rights and working conditions as the staff of the organisations they work with.

WORK CONTRACTS:

- ♦ Any organisation that works with peer educators must write a legal contract outlining the terms and conditions of the peer educators' relationship with the host organisation and details of the policies of the host organisation. These terms and conditions must meet the minimum employment standards of the relevant country, and must be comparable to the standards offered to the staff of the host organisation. This work contract must also include a job description that clearly states the roles and responsibilities of the peer educator and the exact requirements of the position. It must also specify grievance procedures as well as other workplace procedures and rights.
- ♦ In order for this contract to be binding on the host organisation, it is not necessary for the peer educator to sign this contract or to be officially enrolled with the host organisation. It is sufficient that the peer educator is involved in a relationship with the host organisation and carries out the tasks of a peer educator on behalf of the host organisation.
- ♦ The host organisation must offer a confidentiality agreement to all peer educators and respect their confidentiality at all times. Peer educators must not be required to make public any personal or professional information such as occupation, ethnicity, HIV status or immigration status.

WORKING CONDITIONS:

- ♦ The host organisation must fully research the conditions in which the peer educators will be working and provide all peer educators with appropriate training and on-going support that suits these conditions. In particular, peer educators working in dangerous

circumstances must be provided with additional training and support for example, a mobile phone, proof that they are working on behalf of an organisation in a format that is recognised by the police, and out of hours contact for host organisation.

- ✦ No peer educator should be expected to work in conditions that are below the conditions considered acceptable for the staff of the host organisation.
- ✦ The host organisation must ensure that peer educators are engaged under flexible working conditions, and that the host organisation builds an awareness of the personal and professional circumstances of peer educators into their program.

Remuneration: Peer educators must be provided with adequate remuneration. If the peer educator works set hours carrying out activities for the host organisation then they must be provided with remuneration in line with that received by paid staff of the host organisation. If the peer educator is a volunteer, then this remuneration can take the form of a stipend to cover expenses. Host organisations must also provide peer educators with training that provides skills, experiences and new opportunities both within and outside the host organisation.

Training: Peer educators must be provided with thorough training that covers all tasks that the peer educators are expected to perform and all circumstances in which they will work. This must include training on issues that are the subject of the peer education program. This must also include training necessary to ensure effective work by the peer educator such as, but not limited to, outreach strategies, counselling methods, conflict mediation, and personal safety. If peer educators require it, the host organisation must also provide basic literacy and/or numeracy training.

Information and Equipment: The host organisation must provide peer educators with all information and equipment necessary for the peer educator to meet the responsibilities of their role.

Assistance and Counselling: The host organisation must provide supervision to the peer educator as well as regular opportunities for the peer educator to provide feedback on their progress and to raise any problems that may have arisen. The host organisation must also provide peer educators with counselling services that recognise the conflicts that might occur between the identity of the peer educator as a health care professional, their identity as a professional sex worker, and their personal lives.

Decision-Making and Program Development: The host organisation must ensure that peer educators are meaningfully involved in the decision-making processes of the peer education program. This involvement should be tailored to the individual needs of the peer educators involved with the host organisation. The host organisation must also institute formal and informal mechanisms through which peer educators can comment on the peer education program and assist in program development. The host organisation must also provide peer educators with the opportunity for promotion, as well as methods to pursue a career path within the organisation and with other organisations.

Present Work: The host organisation will not place any restrictions on the other work peer educators engage in. In particular, the host organisation will respect the choice of peer educators to continue to work as sex workers, and not discourage this choice in any way.

Anti-Discrimination Policy: Any organisation that works with peer educators must have an anti-discrimination policy in place that ensures that the peer educators are not marginalised in the workplace or subject to discrimination in their dealings with host organisation staff. The host organisation must also ensure that all staff complete anti-discrimination training that deals specifically with working with peer educators.

Future Work: The host organisation must provide written and oral references for peer educators whenever required.

Insurance: The host organisation must provide health care and comprehensive worker or volunteer insurance including provision for loss of earnings.

14. Documents from the European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration (2005)

Documents elaborated and endorsed by 120 sex workers from 26 countries at the European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration, on October 15–17, 2005, in Brussels, Belgium, include the following:

- *Recommendations of the European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration, Brussels, 2005*
- *Sex Workers in Europe Manifesto*
- *The Declaration of the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe*

Edited versions are included below. The original versions can be found online at <http://www.sexworkeurope.org>.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SEX WORK, HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOUR AND MIGRATION, BRUSSELS, 2005

The following is a summary of the main recommendations formulated by sex workers and their allies at the European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration, held 15 to 17 October in Brussels, Belgium. These relate to: state policies; human rights; labour rights; migration and trafficking; and violence. The full list of recommendations will be included in our report and used to advocate and lobby for sex workers' rights in Europe.

Prostitution policies

Policies that aim to make sex work invisible and that exclude sex workers from public places serve to add to the stigma associated with sex work, the social exclusion of sex workers, and sex workers' vulnerability.

We reject the double standard that allows prostitution only when it is hidden. All laws and measures that undermine the dignity and self-determination of sex workers should be abolished. Sex workers have the right to represent themselves. They should be part of any debate on laws, policies and measures that affect their lives. Self-organization of sex workers should be supported.

Sex Workers Rights are Human Rights

Governments should protect the basic human and social rights of all sex workers: female, male and transgender, migrant and domestic. These are common and accepted rights that apply to every citizen and that governments have already agreed to protect, yet they are denied to sex workers.

Sex Work is Work

Sex work is a profession. Sex workers are workers, and must be recognized as such.

Governments should protect sex workers' labour rights just as they do the rights of other workers. In particular, sex workers have the right to social security, health care and minimum wages.

Sex workers, including migrant workers, should be able to work legally.

Governments should ensure safe and healthy working conditions for sex workers, similar to those enjoyed by other workers. Mandatory medical checks and mandatory police registration-to which only sex workers are submitted- and other discriminatory measures should be abolished.

Migrants' rights are human rights

The EU should integrate a human rights impact assessment in all anti-trafficking and migration policies and programmes in order to protect and promote the rights of migrant sex workers and trafficked persons.

The EU should protect the human rights of migrant sex workers and trafficked persons, and in particular their right to a legal remedies and to effective access to justice. To this end, it should provide them with appropriate residency permits.

Migrant sex workers and trafficked persons, regardless of their immigration status, should have access to support services, including housing, education, vocational training, psychosocial counseling and legal assistance.

Violence against sex workers

Sex workers should have the right to unite and to work together to protect themselves from violence. Laws that prohibit sex workers to work together should be abolished.

Sex workers should have the right to support and protection when they are faced with violence, irrespective of their immigration status.

SEX WORKERS IN EUROPE MANIFESTO

Introduction

Although European sex workers come from many different countries and many different backgrounds, we have discovered that we face many of same problems in our work and in our lives.

In this document we explore the current inequalities and injustices in our lives and in the sex industry; we question their origin; we confront and challenge them; and we put forward our vision of the changes needed to create a more equitable society – one that acknowledges and values sex workers, our rights and our labour.

Background

In response to increasingly repressive legislations, policies and practices across Europe, a small group of sex workers and sex workers' allies in the Netherlands got together in 2002 to organise a conference to give sex workers a voice. They began by putting out a call across Europe, inviting sex workers, sex work projects and sex workers' organizations to join them. An Organising Committee (OC) was formed, composed mainly of sex workers, and created the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe, with the purpose of raising funds for, and hosting, the conference.

The OC decided that the conference should not only give sex workers a voice, but also put in place tool for defending our rights across Europe and to creating alliances with human rights, labour and migrants' organisations. One of the tool the OC decided to develop was a Sex Workers'

Manifesto—created by sex workers, for sex workers - setting out a shared vision of an equitable society.

The committee undertook a year long consultation with sex workers across Europe, the results of which were then collated. It proceeded to create a draft manifesto, based on views shared by a majority of participants. The European Conference on Sex Work, Human Rights, Labour and Migration was held in Brussels, Belgium, 15 to 17 October 2005. There, 120 sex workers from 26 countries elaborated on the draft to create the Sex Workers in Europe Manifesto, which they then unanimously endorsed. On 17 October, they presented the Manifesto to the European Parliament, at the invitation of Monica Frassoni, Italian Member of European Parliament (Greens—European Free Alliance).

Beyond Tolerance and Compassion for the Recognition of Rights

We live in a society where services are bought and sold. The provision of sexual pleasure is one of these services. Sex work should not be criminalised.

Sacrificing sex workers' rights on the grounds of religious convictions or sexual mores is unacceptable. All people have the right to hold their own views on such matters, but these views should never be imposed on any individual, nor should they determine any political decision.

We wish to see a society in which sex workers are not denied social power.

We condemn the hypocrisy whereby our society uses our services while making our profession/businesses illegal. Legislation that criminalizes sex work results in abuse and in sex workers' lack of control over our work and lives.

We oppose the criminalisation of those identifying themselves as sex workers; their partners, clients, managers; and everyone else working in the sex industry. Such criminalisation denies sex workers of equal protection of the law.

Migration plays an important role in meeting the demands of the labour market. We demand our governments acknowledge and apply fundamental human, labour and civil rights for migrants.

The right to be free from discrimination

We demand an end to discrimination and abuse of power by the police and other public authorities. Offering sexual services is not an invitation to any kind of violence. The credibility of sex workers must be respected.

We demand that crimes against us and our testimonies be taken seriously by the justice system. Sex workers should, to the same extent as anyone else, be presumed innocent until guilt is proven.

Defamation of sex workers incites discrimination and hatred. We demand that sex workers be protected by anti-discrimination legislation.

The right to our bodies

Sex work is by definition consensual sex. Non consensual sex is not sex work; it is sexual violence or slavery.

We demand our right as human beings to use our bodies in any way that we do not find harmful be respected. This includes the right to establish consensual sexual relations, no matter the gender or ethnicity of our partners; regardless of whether they are paying.

The right to be heard

We assert our right to participate in public forums and policy debates where our working and living conditions are being discussed and determined.

We demand that our voices be heard, listened to and respected. Our experiences are diverse, but all are valid, and we condemn those who steal our voices and say that we do not have the capacity to make decisions or articulate our needs.

The right to associate and gather

We assert our right to associate with others of our choice. This includes the right to join and form professional associations and unions; formal and informal business partnerships; political parties; and social-reform and community projects.

We assert our right to be in any public space, and our right to demonstrate publicly.

Abuse in sex work

It is true that abuse happens in sex work. However, abuse does not *define* sex work.

Any discourse that defines sex work as violence is a simplistic one that denies our diversity and experience and reduces us to helpless victims. Such approaches undermine our autonomy and our right to self-determination.

Recognizing the rights of sex workers would allow us to report infringements of those rights.

We demand protection from those who threaten us and our families for exposing their abuse.

We demand that mechanisms be developed to allow us to remain anonymous when reporting grievances and crimes against us.

Young people in sex work

It is essential that education focus on empowering young people to have sexual autonomy. We demand that support, services and outreach be provided to young people, in order that they may have real choice in their lives, including the possibility of alternative work. Young people should have a voice in legislation and policies that affect them.

Our Lives*Being a sex worker*

The 'identity' and 'social role' imposed on us by society defines us as intrinsically unworthy and a threat to moral, public, and social order. Labelling us sinners, criminals, or victims creates stigma that separates us from 'good' and 'decent' citizens – in fact, from the rest of society.

This stigma leads to an exclusively negative and stereotyped view of 'whores'. To protect ourselves, and to ensure we have a place within society, most sex workers hide means of our livelihood. Many absorb the societal stigma of shame and unworthiness, and live in fear of being exposed. For this reason, many sex workers accept abusive treatment. The social exclusion that results from the stigmatisation of sex workers leads to our being denied access to health, to hous-

ing, and to alternative work. It often enforces separation from our children and isolation from our families and communities.

Societal prejudices promote divisions within the sex industry, based on such factors as migrant status, race, ethnic origin, gender, age, sexuality, drug use, work sector, and services provided. This exacerbates the social exclusion and stigma experience by certain groups of sex workers.

We condemn such moralistic and prejudiced distinctions, and assert that *all* sex workers, and all forms of sex work, are equally valid and valuable.

We recognise stigma is the commonality that links all of us as sex workers, despite the enormous diversity in our realities at work and in our lives. We have come together to confront and challenge this stigma and the injustices it creates.

We assert that sex work is a sexual/economic activity, implying nothing about our identity, value, or participation in society.

Active citizenship

Sex workers should not be perceived as victims to be assisted, criminals to be arrested, or targets for public health interventions. We are members of society, with needs and aspirations, who have the potential to make real and valuable contributions to our communities.

We demand that existing mechanisms for representation and consultation be opened up to sex workers.

Privacy & family

We assert our right to establish personal relationships, and to have self-determination within those relationships, without judgement.

The labelling of our partners as pimps, exploiters, and/or abusers, simply because they are our partners, presupposes that we have no autonomy and implies we are not worthy of love or being in a relationship, thus denying us the possibility of a private life.

We demand an end to legislation that criminalises our partners, children and other family members for associating with us and living off our earnings.

The threat of losing our children We demand an end to the unjustifiable practice of social service agencies and courts removing our children simply because we provide sexual services.

Media and education

Our voices and experiences are often manipulated by the media; we are seldom given the right to reply; and our complaints in this regard are routinely dismissed.

The portrayal of sex workers in the mass media perpetuates the stereotypical image of us as unworthy, as victims, and/or as a threat to moral, public and social order. In particular, the xenophobic portrayal of migrant sex workers increases the stigma and vulnerability they already face. Such portrayals of sex workers give legitimacy to those within our society who seek to harm us and violate our rights.

Furthermore, our clients are represented in the media as being violent, perverted or psychologically disturbed. Paying for sexual services is not an intrinsically violent or problematic behaviour. Such stereotyping silences discussion about the reality of the sex industry. It perpetuates our isolation and obscures the violence perpetrated by people posing as clients. Moreover, it

prevents us from addressing the behaviour of the small, but significant, number of clients who *do* cause problems.

Since mass media perpetuates stigma that does us harm, we require that our governments support us and our clients in educating and informing public officials and the general public, in order that we may participate fully in our society.

Combating violence against sex workers

Sex workers experience disproportionate levels of violence and crime. The stigmatisation of sex workers has led to society and public authorities condoning violence and crime against us, because such practices are seen as inherent to our work.

We demand that our governments recognise that violence against sex workers is a crime, whether perpetrated by local residents or other members of the public, by clients, by managers, by our partners, or by persons in positions of authority.

We require that our governments publicly condemn those who perpetrate actual violence against us. We demand that they take action in combating the actual violence we experience, rather than the perceived violence of prostitution, as put forward by abolitionists seeking to eradicate all forms of sex work.

Time and resources now spent arresting and prosecuting sex workers and non-violent clients should be redirected towards dealing with rape and other violent crimes against us.

Mechanisms must be developed to encourage and support sex workers in reporting crimes, including early warning systems amongst sex workers themselves about potentially violent clients.

Health and well being

No-one, least of all sex workers, denies there are health risks attached to sex work. However, it is a myth that we are 'dirty' or 'unclean'. In reality we are more knowledgeable about our sexual health, and practice safe sex more skillfully, than the general population. Moreover, most of us act as sexual health educators for our clients.

We call for the recognition of our role within society as a valuable resource for sexual well-being and health promotion.

Stigma remains a barrier to health care for sex workers. Prejudice and discrimination occur within healthcare settings: some health care workers subject sex workers to degrading and humiliating treatment. We demand that *all* health care workers treat us with respect and dignity, and that our complaints of discriminatory treatment are taken seriously.

In furtherance of the goal of the health and well-being of all sex workers, we demand our governments provide:

- ♦ health services for *all* migrant sex workers
- ♦ needle exchange and drug-treatment options for dependent drug users
- ♦ transition treatment for people living with HIV, without which many may die unnecessarily
- ♦ transitional treatment for transgender persons who desire it

Registration and mandatory testing

Registration and mandatory testing of sex workers are not effective measures for preventing disease, particularly when there is no requirement for clients to be tested. Where mandatory

testing still exists, one of the consequences is that clients assume sex workers are 'healthy' and so resist the use of condoms, since they do not see themselves as threats to sex workers in this regard.

Registration and mandatory sexual health and HIV testing are a violation of sex workers' human rights. Such practices reinforce the stigmatisation of sex workers as a threat to public health, and promote the stereotypical view that only sex workers can transmit infections.

We demand an end to registration and mandatory testing.

Entitlement to travel, migration, asylum

The lack of opportunities to migrate can put our health, and indeed our very lives, in danger. We assert our right to travel and to work in any country. Information about working in the sex industry and its different sectors should be made available.

We assert the right of *all* people to move within and between countries for personal and financial reasons, including seeking gainful employment and residence in the area of their choice.

We demand that the education and qualifications of migrant workers in all fields be recognised on a basis of equality.

Violence, coercion and exploitation related to migration and sex work must be understood and tackled within a framework that recognises the worth, and the fundamental rights, of migrants.

Restrictive migration legislation and anti-prostitution policies must be identified as contributing factors to the violation of migrants' rights. Focussing discussion on 'trafficking' obscures the issues of migrants' rights.

Many trades are subject to the imposition of forced labour or practices resembling slavery. However, if a trade is legal and the labour of its workers recognised, there is far more potential for preventing abuse and for exposing and stopping the violation of workers' rights.

We demand our governments priorities [sic] and protect the human rights of victims of forced labour and of practices resembling slavery, regardless of how they came to be in their situations, and regardless of their ability, or willingness, to cooperate, or testify, in criminal justice proceedings.

We demand the right to asylum for sex workers who are subjected to state and/or community violence because they sell sexual services.

We demand the right to asylum for anyone denied human rights on the basis of a 'crime of status', such as sex work, health status, gender or sexual orientation.

Our Labour

The body and mind are economic resources that people use in many different ways. We view all forms of sex work as equally valid. These include dancing, stripping, engaging in street or indoor prostitution, providing escort services, engaging in remunerated phone sex, and performing in pornography.

For some, the exchange of sex for money is part of their private lives. These individuals do not define remunerated sex as work.

For many others, sex becomes work. Some work independently, others work collectively. Many are 'employed' by third parties. For all of us, remunerated sex is an income generating activity and, as such, must be recognised as labour.

Alienation, exploitation, abuse and coercion do exist in the sex industry, as in any other industry, but they do not define us or our industry. It is possible to limit such problems when the workers within an industry are formally recognised, accepted by society at large, and supported by trade unions. The establishment of labour rights enables workers to use labour regulations to report abuses, and to organise against exploitation and unacceptable working conditions.

The lack of recognition of sex work as labour, and the criminalisation of activities within and around the sex industry, results in sex workers being treated like criminals, even when we do not break any laws. Many laws treat us as legal 'minors,' as though we were unable to make informed decisions. Such treatment alienates us from the rest of society and, by preventing us from working collectively and safely, reduces our ability to control our work and our lives.

Treating sex workers like criminals creates greater possibilities for uncontrolled exploitation, abuse and coercion. Many of us are forced to tolerate unacceptable working hours, unsanitary working conditions, unfair division of income, and unreasonable restrictions on freedom of movement. Certain groups of sex workers, such as migrants, are disproportionately affected by unacceptable working conditions.

We demand that legislation ensuring just and favourable conditions of work, remuneration and protection against unemployment be extended to include sex workers.

We demand that sex work be recognised as gainful employment, enabling migrants to apply for work and residence permits, and that both documented and undocumented migrants be entitled to full labour rights.

We demand the creation of a European Commission Ombudsman to oversee national legislation on the sex industry. This can be a newly created post or can be added to the work of an existing ombudsman.

Professional and personal development

We assert our right to join and form unions.

As sex workers, we require the same possibilities for professional development as other workers. We assert our right to be able to develop vocational training and advice services, including offering support to those who wish to establish their own businesses.

We call for support to be provided to sex workers who wish to further their education or look for alternative employment.

We demand that anti-discrimination legislation be applied within the sex industry. We further demand that, given the specific difficulties sex workers face as a consequence of stigma, anti-discrimination legislation be applied to sex workers seeking alternative employment.

Taxes and welfare

We acknowledge every citizen's obligations to financially support the society in which they live. However, given that sex workers do not receive the same benefits as other citizens, and given that our right to equal protection under the law is denied, some sex workers do not feel this obligation.

We demand that we have access to social insurance, including the right to unemployment and sickness benefits, pensions and health care.

Sex workers should pay taxes on the same basis as other employees and independent contractors, and should receive the same benefits. Taxation schemes should not be used as a means to register sex workers, and should prioritise [sic] efforts to remove stigma and protect

confidentiality. Information on taxes must be accessible and easy to understand, and must be provided in many languages for migrant workers. Tax collection schemes should be transparent and easily understood by workers in order to avoid exploitation and abuse by employers.

The purchase of appropriate goods and services—including health services, where paid for—should be tax deductible.

Health and safety at work

Our bodies are our business. In order to maintain our health, we require free or affordable safe-sex products and access to health services.

We demand our governments prohibit the confiscation of condoms and other safe-sex products from sex workers and sex-work establishments.

We demand that our governments provide free or affordable access to sexual health care for all sex workers, including access to vaccinations for preventable diseases.

We demand that the health care needs of sex workers be included in all health insurance schemes and that, as with other occupations, sick pay be available for work-related illness.

Violence within any workplace is a health and safety issue. Our employers have an obligation to protect us and to take action against those who violate our safety while we're engaged in work.

We demand that our governments take our health and safety seriously. We demand that they promote safe working environments in which violence and abuse will not be tolerated. To this end, we urge governments to establish emergency telephone advice lines through which sex workers can anonymously seek advice and report abuses.

Working conditions

The fact that we engage in sexual activities for a living does not preclude our right to decide whom we have sex with, which sexual services we provide, and the conditions under which we provide those services.

We assert the right to engage in sex work without coercion; to move within the sex industry; and to leave it, if we choose.

No other person must be allowed to determine the nature of the services we provide or the conditions under which we provide them, whether we are employees or 'self-employed'. We reserve the right to refuse any client and to refuse to provide any service.

We demand the right to fair conditions of work, including entitlement to the minimum wage, to work breaks, to minimum rest periods, and to annual leave. Such conditions should also apply to those who are nominally 'self-employed' within a collective workplace.

We demand an end to unacceptable practices such as requiring sex workers to consume alcohol and/or drugs at work, to pay excessive costs for food, drink, services, and/or clothing in the workplace.

We demand that health and safety be prioritised in our workplaces and, for those who work independently in public places, that their health and safety also be protected. We demand that employers comply with data-protection legislation; that our personal information be treated confidentially; and that any abuse of such personal information be taken seriously by relevant authorities.

Legislation regulating working hours and conditions is complex. It is important that clear and accurate information be provided to sex workers, and displayed within our workplaces,

about our rights. Such information must be provided in many different languages to ensure that all migrants have access to it.

To improve our working conditions, it is important that we have opportunities to self-organise, and advocate for our rights. We call upon trade unions to support us in our self-organizing efforts and in our struggle for fair working conditions.

We call for the establishment of designated areas for street prostitution. Such areas must be designated in consultation with, and agreement from, sex workers. This is necessary in order to enable those who work in public places to do so safely, without compromising any individual's choice of work venue. Such areas will enable us to work collectively and facilitate appropriate services. Within them, the police can ensure that we are free from the interference of criminals and other undesirables.

Decriminalisation of sex work

As we have already stated, the criminalization of activities related to sex work and the *de facto* criminalization of sex workers are unacceptable. We have also already specified a number of areas where law reform is required, including our rights to the use of our earnings to support our family and loved ones; to freedom of association, to freedom of movement within and between countries; and to designated public areas where sex workers and clients may meet one another (which designations must not infringe on individuals' rights to work where they choose). The following demands identify other specific areas where law reform is required: We demand the repeal of all legislation that criminalises us; our clients; our families; those we work with; and any employer, organiser or managers who follows fair practices.

We demand that our right to work individually or collectively; as either independent workers or as employees, with the full protection of labour rights, be respected.

We demand the right to rent premises from which to work, to advertise our services, and to pay those who carry out services for us be respected.

We demand that sex-work businesses be regulated by standard business codes, and that, under such codes, businesses, rather than sex workers, be registered.

In order to make sex work safe for all, we demand that criminal laws be enforced against those who perpetrate fraud, coercion, child sexual abuse, child labour, violence, rape, or murder upon sex workers.

THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF SEX WORKERS IN EUROPE

Why do we need a Declaration of the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe?

Europe has adopted a variety of approaches to the sex industry and to female, male and transgendered sex workers—including migrant sex workers. While some countries have accepted sex work as labour and even introduced labour rights for sex workers, others have criminalised a wide range of practices associated with sex work. In certain countries, sex workers' partners and/or clients have at times been criminalized, and being a sex worker has been made a 'status crime'.

The recent proliferation, at local, national and international levels, of legislative measures that restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of sex workers, has been rationalised as a means of combating organised crime and promoting public health. However, UNAIDS and the World Health Organisation have explicitly stated that repressive legislation restricting the rights of sex

workers actually undermines public health policies. It does so, they explain, by using practices central to safe sex (such as possession of condoms as evidence of criminal activity, and by driving the sex industry underground. Such measures fly in the face of the European Parliament's 1986 *Resolution on Violence Against Women* [Document A2-44/86]. This Resolution called for the decriminalisation of prostitution; a guarantee of equal rights for prostitutes; and the protection of prostitutes' independence, health and safety. Moreover, many anti-prostitution measures violate the obligation of states, under international human rights legislation, to respect, promote and protect the human rights of all persons within their territories; without discrimination.

There is strong evidence that migrant workers in all sectors face ever-growing levels of abuse and exploitation. Yet European responses to increasing international migration have focussed on restrictive legislation, with little attention paid to protecting migrants' rights and freedoms. As of October 2005, Bosnia and Turkey are the only European countries to have ratified the *UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*, which came into force 1 July 2003.

Sex workers' organisations—and projects providing services to sex workers—in Europe have accumulated substantial evidence that discriminatory legislation and behaviour occur throughout health and social care, housing, employment, education, administrative law and criminal justice systems. There is no country within Europe—regardless of the legal status of sex work—where sex workers have not reported discrimination and violations of their human rights.

Examples of discriminatory legislation

In Austria sex workers are subjected to mandatory sexual health controls, but other sexually active citizens are not. This discriminatory practice promotes the stereotyping of sex workers as 'unclean'.

In Finland, sex workers who work together for their mutual protection may be prosecuted for 'pimping' one another. This violates their rights to peaceful assembly and association and favourable conditions of work.

In France, a sex worker's child, upon reaching the age of majority, may be prosecuted with 'living off' the sex worker's earnings. This violates sex workers' right to respect for their private and family lives.

In Greece, where sex work is legal and sex workers are registered, sex workers who marry are not allowed to continue to work legally; their licenses are withdrawn. Sex workers are therefore forced to choose between the enjoyment of their right to marry and found a family, and their right to livelihood and to the practice of a profession. No person should be forced to make such a choice.

In Italy, police confiscate and throw away or burn sex workers' possessions with impunity. This violates sex workers' rights to property, to equal protection under the law, and to protection from discrimination.

In the Netherlands, where sex work is legal - unless one is a migrant sex worker. Such workers constitute the *only* category of employees excluded from getting legal work permits. All other non-nationals can obtain legal work permits, as long as they meet the conditions laid out in the *Law on Migrant Workers*.) This violates migrant sex workers' right to be free from discrimination.

In Portugal (and many other countries) sex workers may lose custody of their children in the absence of any specific evidence of harm or incapacity to parent. This violates their right to be free from arbitrary interference with their family life and non-discrimination.

In Romania, sex work is illegal. As a result of pressure from the Romanian government, the Austrian government has terminated the permits of Romanian sex workers. Thus women who have worked *legally* in Austria may face retribution on their return to Romania. This violates their right to seek gainful employment in a country other than their own.

In Russia, police have subjected sex workers to threats of being sold into slavery, and have forced them to have sex without payment. These practices violate sex workers' rights to security of the person and equal protection under the law.

In Slovakia, health care workers have discriminated against sex workers with impunity. They have refused medical care to sex workers, and have made discriminatory comments to pregnant sex workers, alleging that they are not fit to bear children. This violates sex workers' right to protection by the state of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health care, as well as their right to found families.

In Spain, sex workers in brothels are not only required to undergo sexual health checks conducted by the brothel owners, but also to pay excessive fees for these checks. Moreover, test results are not kept confidential. In condoning these violations of medical codes, the state is failing to uphold sex workers' right to privacy and to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health care.

In Sweden, politicians and policy makers have threatened to withdraw from public debates in which sex workers are permitted to participate. This violates sex workers' right to freedom of expression and opinion.

The United Kingdom, where street-based sex workers are criminalised, employs Anti-Social Behaviour Orders to restrict sex workers' freedom of movement. In some cities, posters bearing the names and photographs of sex workers have been printed and distributed. This violates sex workers' rights to privacy and to participation in public life, and exposes sex workers to discrimination and violence.

Under international law it is a fundamental human right that 'all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law'. Yet the examples above, and many other recorded violations, clearly demonstrate that sex workers in Europe are routinely denied equal access to legal protections. These workers have compelling reasons to avoid using the judicial system to challenge discrimination, violence and other abuses.

History of the Declaration

The process leading to the creation of this Declaration began with the formation of the Sexwork Initiative Group Netherlands (SIGN), a network of Dutch sex workers and sex workers' rights activists interested in organising a conference and advocating for the rights of sex workers in Europe. In June 2003 SIGN members solicited participation from sex workers and sex worker organisations across Europe to join them in planning a conference. In January 2004 an international Organisation Committee (OC) was established, consisting of 15 individuals. Most were current or former sex workers—including migrants—from several European countries. The OC, which is still in place, does not have representation from all countries or groups in Europe. However, it is supported by a large number of sex workers, sex workers' rights activists, and organisations working with sex workers across Europe and beyond.

The OC decided that a Declaration of the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe would provide a framework for organising the conference; would meet the ongoing need to raise awareness of sex workers' human rights; and would serve as a tool with which to examine and challenge the undermining and violation of these rights.

The OC established the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) to both coordinate the conference and undertake future initiatives.

In addition to producing the Declaration, the ICRSE has committed itself to developing strategies for seeking public and political recognition and acceptance of the principles contained therein.

The Declaration outlines the rights to which all persons in Europe, including sex workers, are under international law. It then sets out measures for ensuring that sex workers in Europe be accorded these rights.

The Declaration is based on the following 17 documents:

- ♦ *The United Nations (UN) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966*
- ♦ *The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966*
- ♦ *The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979*
- ♦ *The UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990*
- ♦ *The UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951*
- ♦ *The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour (no. 29), 1930 and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (no. 105), 1957*
- ♦ *The ILO Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (no. 87), 1948*
- ♦ *The ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention (no. 143), 1975²*
- ♦ *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950*
- ♦ *The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948*
- ♦ *The UN Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, 1999*
- ♦ *The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993*
- ♦ *The UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, 1985*
- ♦ *The ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at work, 1998*
- ♦ *The ILO Recommendation Migrant Workers (no. 151), 1975*
- ♦ *The European Social Charter, 1961 & 1996*
- ♦ *The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, 2000*

To reiterate: This Declaration is not a demand for special rights to be given to sex workers. Rather, it is based on the principle that the act of selling sexual services does not constitute grounds for the denial of the fundamental rights to which all human beings are entitled under international law.

Solidarity

This Declaration is based on an extensive consultation process conducted across Europe. The bringing together of individuals and groups with widely differing experiences and perspectives

1. NB: Art. 2 of the Migrant Workers Convention, 1990, defines a migrant worker as any person 'who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national'.

has served to emphasise the many factors common to sex workers and other marginalised groups whose rights are not always respected. Furthermore, the Declaration assists sex workers in Europe to make connections in other parts of the world. Although specific to Europe, the Declaration, furnishes a shared language—the language of rights—comprehensible to the peoples of all countries.

Use of the Declaration

Information is a powerful force. Knowing one's rights is the first step in being able to stand up for them. By stating existing rights, the Declaration can serve as a tool for empowering sex workers to defend themselves from abuses, with authority and justice on their side.

Beyond this, the Declaration aims to act as a benchmark by which sex workers can judge what has been achieved so far, what progress is currently being made, and where to direct future efforts. It provides a basis for organisations and groups to lobby for the upholding of universally accepted rights, and to advocate for sex workers in particular cases where their rights might be in dispute.

Moreover, the Declaration offers guidance to organisations and institutions seeking to achieve equitable, non-discriminatory policies and practices.

Finally, it is hoped that this Declaration will help in the long-term aim of winning public recognition that respect for the human rights of *all persons* is integral to a healthy society.

If you wish to be included as a supporter or if you are able to provide evidence of successes or failures in promoting human rights for sex workers, please contact the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe at declaration@sexworkeurope.org

THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF SEX WORKERS IN EUROPE

All individuals within Europe, including sex workers, are entitled to certain rights under international human rights law. All European Governments are obliged to respect, protect and fulfil [*sic*]:

They include

- ♦ The right to life, liberty and security of the person
- ♦ The right to be free from slavery, forced labour and servitude
- ♦ The rights to be free from torture and from inhumane or degrading treatment
- ♦ The right to be protected against violence, physical injury, threats and intimidation
- ♦ The right to privacy and protection of family life, including the right to marry and found a family, and the right to be free from arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence
- ♦ The right to be free from attacks on honour and reputation
- ♦ The right to marry and found a family
- ♦ The right to liberty of movement and residence
- ♦ The right to leave any country, including one's own, and to return to one's own country.
- ♦ The right to seek asylum and not to be returned to a dangerous or otherwise unacceptable situation.
- ♦ The right to equal protection of the law, including the right to a fair trial
- ♦ The right to protection from discrimination and from any incitement to discrimination
- ♦ The right to freedom of opinion and expression

- ♦ The right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, and protection against unemployment
- ♦ The right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health
- ♦ The right to peaceful assembly and to freedom of association
- ♦ The right to organise and, in particular, the right to form and join a union
- ♦ The right of documented and undocumented migrants to information
- ♦ The right to effective remedies against injustice
- ♦ The right to participate in the cultural and public life of the society
- ♦ The right to benefit from states' obligation to combat prejudices and practices, customary or otherwise, based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes, or on stereotyped gender roles

These human rights are established in international treaties that European Governments have agreed to uphold. Moreover, most treaties contain a clause stipulating that these rights should be upheld without discrimination on. Specifically, there must be no discrimination based on a person's as [sic] race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth, or *other status*. Moreover, the United Nations Human Rights Committee has stated [in General comment 15] that '*each one of the rights of the Covenant must be guaranteed without discrimination between citizens and aliens*'.

Although these rights apply to all human beings, the experience of sex workers all over Europe is that states do not respect, protect, fulfil and promote their rights on a basis of equality with other nationals.

This signatories of this declaration hereby declare the rights of sex workers in Europe, and urge European Governments to enforce these rights.

I. Life, Liberty and Security

Sex workers have the right to life, to liberty, and to security of the person, including the right to determine their own sexuality. In respect of this right:

- 1 No person should be forced to provide sexual services against her or his will, or under conditions to which she or he does not consent.
- 2 Condoms are vital for the protection of life and security. Therefore, the confiscation of condoms from sex workers should be prohibited.
- 3 The governments of all countries should investigate murders of sex workers and other violent crimes against sex workers, and should punish all perpetrators of such crimes, including law enforcement officials who commit such crimes.

II. Privacy & family life

Sex workers have the right to be free from arbitrary interference with respect to their private and family lives, their homes and their correspondence, and from attacks on their honour and reputation. In respect of this right:

- 4 No person should be denied the right to establish and develop relationships.² The labelling of sex workers' partners and adult children as 'pimps' is discriminatory and implies that it is not appropriate for sex workers to have a private and family life and for other persons to establish or develop relationships. [sic]
- 5 Sex workers have the right to determine the number and spacing of their children. Current or former engagement in sex work should not be considered grounds for challenging a person's fitness to be a parent or have custody of his or her children.

III. Health

Sex workers, regardless of immigration status, have the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, including sexual and reproductive health. In respect of this right:

- 6 No person should be subjected to mandatory sexual health and HIV screening. All health tests should be conducted with the primary goal of promoting the health and rights of the person affected.
- 7 Information about sexual health and HIV status should be kept confidential.

IV. Freedom of Movement

Sex workers have the right to freedom of movement and residence. In respect of this right,

- 8 No restrictions should be placed on the free movement of individuals between states on the grounds of their engagement in sex work .
- 9 No restrictions should be placed on the freedom of movement of individuals within states, or within their own communities. All regulation, at any level, that seeks to control sex workers must not infringe upon their rights to freedom of movement, including the freedom to leave and return to one's residence, visit family or access services.

V. Freedom from Slavery and Forced Labour

Sex workers have the right to be free from slavery, forced labour and servitude. In respect of this right

- 10 Measures should be taken to ensure that sex workers enjoy full labour rights, are fully informed of such rights, and have access to the full range of measures and standards intended to end exploitive working conditions.
- 11 Measures should be taken to provide appropriate assistance and protection to victims of trafficking, forced labour, and any practice resembling slavery, with full respect for

2. In accordance with a judgement of the European Court of Human Rights, the right to privacy includes the right to establish and develop relationships with other human beings, especially in the emotional sphere, for the development and fulfilment of one's own personality.' *Dudgeon v. United Kingdom*, Judgement of the European Court of Human Rights (1981) 4 EHRR 149.

the protection of these persons' human rights. Residency permits should be provided to ensure effective access to justice and legal remedies, including compensation, irrespective of willingness to collaborate with law enforcement. Trafficked persons must not be returned to situations that will result in further harms.

VI. Equal Protection of the Law, and Protection from Discrimination

Sex workers have the right to equal protection under the law, including access to effective remedies. They also have the right to protection from discrimination and from any incitement to discrimination. In respect of this right,

- 12 Where a sex worker has not committed an offence and the selling of sexual services is not illegal, law enforcement officers must be prohibited from abusing their authority by interfering with or harassing this worker. When engaged in criminal investigation or arrest, officers must respect the rights of all accused and defendants, regardless of their status as sex workers.
- 13 States are responsible for investigating, prosecuting and adjudicating crimes committed against persons, regardless of involvement in sex work and of immigration status. Measures should be taken to ensure that the criminal justice system are able and willing to properly respond to crimes reported by sex workers. Law enforcement officers, prosecutors and judiciary must be adequately trained, and their work must be overseen in an appropriate manner. Moreover, evidence submitted by sex workers in the course of criminal proceedings should not be dismissed on the basis of their profession.
- 14 No person should have her or his legal belongings arbitrarily confiscated or destroyed by law enforcement agencies.

In respect to the right to protection from discrimination,

- 15 No person should be discredited in civil and family courts because of her or his current or former engagement in sex work.
- 16 Measures should be taken to protect sex workers and their dependents from discrimination in the areas of employment; housing; legal services; childcare; and the provision of medical, social and welfare services; and services provided by private insurance companies.
- 17 There should be public and professional education whose specific objective is the elimination of discrimination against sex workers.

VII. Marriage and Family

Sex workers have the right to marry and to found a family. In respect of this right,

- 18 Current or former engagement in sex work should not restrict or prohibit sex workers from marrying the partner of her or his choice, or from founding a family and raising children.
- 19 Governments should ensure that current or former engagement in sex work does not prevent any person, or her or his families, from accessing health care. Governments should ensure that public authorities and health services do not discriminate

against sex workers and their families, and that they respect sex workers' rights to privacy and to family life.

VIII. Work and Working Conditions

Sex workers have the right to work; to free choice of employment; to just and favourable conditions of work; and to protection from unemployment. In respect of this right,

- 20 Governments should recognize sex work as work. The lack of acknowledgement of sex work as labour, or as a profession, has adverse consequences on the working conditions of sex workers, and denies them access to protection provided by national and European labour legislation.
- 21 Sex workers should be able to determine, without interference or pressure from others, the nature and conditions of the sexual services they provide.
- 22 Sex workers are entitled to safe and healthy workplaces. Accurate and up-to-date information about health and safety should be available to sex workers, whether self-employed or employed by others. No sex worker should be required to consume alcohol or other drugs as a condition of employment.
- 23 All persons are entitled to be treated respectfully within their workplaces, and to be free from sexual harassment. Sex industry workplaces, like all other workplaces, should promote respectful treatment, and freedom from abuse and harassment.
- 24 Sex workers should be entitled to equitable employment and social security benefits, including paid sick leave; paid pregnancy and parental leave; holidays; and the right to unemployment benefits in the event that their employment is terminated or they decide to leave sex work.
- 25 Sex workers should not have to pay inflated rates for rentals or for essential items - such as food or services - within the workplace on the grounds of its being a sex work venue.
- 26 No person should be barred from employment or dismissed from alternative forms of employment on the grounds of having previously engaged in sex work.

IX. Peaceful Assembly & Association

Sex workers have the right to peaceful assembly and association. In respect of this right,

- 27 Engagement in sex work should not be considered grounds for limiting sex workers' ability to cooperate, unite and create associations to express their opinions; engage in collective bargaining; and advocate for their rights.

X. Freedom of Movement

Sex workers have the right to leave any country, including their own, and to return to their own country. In respect of this right,

- 28 Engagement in sex work should not be considered grounds for limiting any person's right to leave or return to her or his own country, and any return must be conducted with full regard for her or his safety and security.

XI. Asylum

Sex workers have the right to seek asylum and cannot be returned to situations of inhuman and degrading treatment or torture. In respect of this right,

- 29 Governments should take measures to ensure that participation in sex work does not create barriers to the right to seek asylum, and not to be returned to situations entailing unacceptable treatment.

XII. Public Participation

Sex workers have the right to participate in the cultural and public life of their society. In respect of this right,

- 30 Sex workers should have the right to participate in the formulation of the laws and policies affecting their working and living environments.

15. Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry (2000)

Excerpts from *A Guide to Best Practice: Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry*. Produced by the Scarlet Alliance and the Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations, 2000. <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/pub/>

Australia was the first nation to develop occupational safety and health standards for the sex industry. These standards were produced by the Scarlet Alliance and the Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations in 2000.

8. PUBLIC HEALTH LAWS

In NSW, public health laws make it an offence to sell or buy sex when you are aware you have a sexually transmissible medical condition. It is also an offence for a person who has a sexually transmissible condition to have sex without revealing the fact to their potential partner. SWOP the local sex worker organization will be able to provide more detailed information on legislation in NSW. In other states and territories these offences fall under prostitution laws and other areas of the criminal code. Some state and territory laws provide for penalties against an employer who allows an employee to work with a sexually transmissible medical condition.

10. SEXUAL HEALTH ASSESSMENT FOR EMPLOYEES IN THE SEX INDUSTRY

Sex workers should attend a sexual health centre, Family Planning Association clinic or private doctor for regular sexual health assessment, counselling and education appropriate to the individual's needs. Sexual health screening should adhere to the guidelines for sexual health of sex workers developed by the National Venereology Council of Australia. Frequency of assessment is a matter for determination by the individual sex worker in consultation with his/her clinician and must be voluntary.

Sexual health certificates do not guarantee freedom from sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and must not be presented to clients as such. Nor can they be used as an alternative to strict adherence to safe sex practices.

Employers should encourage employees to monitor their own sexual health. They may request that employees present a certificate which indicates attendance for regular sexual health assessment but which does not disclose results of this assessment. These certificates are the property of the employee and must not be displayed anywhere in the sex industry establishment.

It is recommended that sex workers be immunised against Hepatitis B and in areas of high prevalence Hepatitis A, following consultation with their medical practitioner or sexual health service.

Examination of all clients for visible signs of STIs before service should be enforced as standard practice (see fact sheet 5). Local sex worker organizations can recommend information in printed and video format to assist in training employees on carrying out client examinations.

10.3. Sex work and lifetime sexually transmissible conditions

Some sex workers (and indeed their clients) have lifelong conditions such as HIV infection, Hepatitis and Herpes. There is no reason for excluding sex workers with these conditions from working in the sex industry. Workplace health and safety should emphasise maintaining the health and well being of the person with a lifelong condition in the workplace, as well as undertaking all necessary measures to avoid transmitting the condition to others. Further information about these conditions can be obtained from sex worker organizations and sexual health clinics in each state and territory. See section 8 regarding public health laws concerning sex work and sexually transmissible medical conditions.

14. SECURITY AND SAFETY FROM VIOLENCE

14.1 Violence in the workplace is never acceptable.

Violence can take many forms. It can be abusive communication, intimidation or bullying, as well as physical abuse, sexual harassment or stalking. Abusive or violent situations may arise through working with clients, and in some cases from co-workers or management.

Being on the receiving end of any form of abuse can affect different people in different ways. Physical and emotional reactions to violence or abuse may appear some time after the actual event. Additionally, other employees may be adversely affected by the abuse of one of their co-workers.

Employees performing escort work have particular issues in relation to security and safety from violence (see fact sheet 8 for security and safety guidelines for escort workers and their employers).

14.2 Responsibilities of employer

Employers, owners or managers are responsible for eliminating potentially abusive situations, violence or intimidation from their workplace whatever the source. Employers carry out this responsibility by:

- ♦ identifying tasks or circumstances where employees may possibly be exposed to some form of abuse or violence;

- ♦ communication skills training as part of employee induction;
- ♦ working with employees to develop strategies to eliminate risks;
- ♦ developing and documenting procedures to be followed at times when potentially dangerous situations arise. (see example below of steps to include in development of a procedure);
- ♦ ensuring all existing and new employees are made aware of these procedures;
- ♦ organising training for employees on how to identify potentially dangerous situations and how to protect themselves;
- ♦ installing safety devices such as accessible alarm buttons in all rooms, and ensuring that everyone is aware of the procedure to follow if the alarm sounds;
- ♦ enforcing a strict policy of ejecting and not readmitting clients who are behaving unacceptably, for example clients who are verbally or physically threatening or abusive;
- ♦ providing appropriate training and procedures for employees taking bookings, staffing phones or reception areas;
- ♦ supporting and encouraging employees to report all incidents of violence to the employer and/or the police; this may be done with the assistance of the local sex worker organization.
- ♦ ensuring an employee who has experienced a violent or abusive work situation receives any medical, legal, support and counselling services that they require;
- ♦ acknowledging that employees have the right to refuse particular clients on the basis of prior violent, abusive or threatening behaviour by that client.
- ♦ provide secure lockable facilities in which employees may leave their clothes, valuables etc while they are working.

Example

A procedure to follow when an employee is with a client, and the client begins to threaten the employee, should include:

- a. How the employee should extricate himself or herself safely from the client's presence.
- b. What measures to take to alert others to the situation.
- c. Instructions as to how the receptionist is expected to act in the situation.
- d. Advice as to how other staff should respond.
- e. Advice on the circumstances in which the police must be called.
- f. What follow up needs to be done to ensure that the client is not admitted or booked again.
- g. Ensuring the local sex worker organization is given information about the client for inclusion in their "ugly mug" publication.
- h. Identifying what support mechanisms are provided for the worker.

In some states and territories, particularly where law reform has yet to occur, contacting the police, who in many cases may have previously prosecuted sex work businesses and harassed sex work employees, may not be a useful thing to do.

Some state and territory police forces, both in places where law reform has occurred and where it has not, have appointed sex worker liaison officers to assist sex workers in accessing the protection of the law, and in prosecuting those who commit crimes against sex workers.

Your local sex worker organization can advise you about any contact you may have, or consider having, with the police.

FACT SHEET 5: EXAMINATION OF CLIENTS PRIOR TO PROVISION OF SERVICE

Regardless of the service to be provided all clients should first be examined to detect any visible signs of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)

As a client may have an STI and not be displaying any visible signs checking of clients should not be seen as an alternative to or lessening the need for workers to undergo regular Sexual Health monitoring and maintenance of safe sex practice.

Ideally the client should be checked before he has a shower/wash or urinates as this can remove discharge from the penis that would indicate an STI.

Before providing any service the worker should, using a strong direct light source, such as a lamp with a 100-watt globe, examine the client for

- ♦ any sores, ulcers, lumps, warts or blisters on the genitals or surrounding area.
- ♦ pubic lice (crabs) or their eggs in the pubic hair
- ♦ any signs of itching or rashes in the genital or anal area
- ♦ cold sores on the mouth
- ♦ any discharges from the genital or anal area
- ♦ unpleasant odours

After visually inspecting the client gently squeeze along the shaft of the client's penis to see if a discharge emerges. A thick discharge yellow or grey in colour, which may have an odour, is a sign of a possible STI. A clear sticky discharge would be pre-cum and nothing to be concerned about. If unsure about a possible STI ask another experienced worker to have a look.

Workers doing outcalls should carry a small torch to be used in the event of there being unsatisfactory lighting for a thorough examination of a client in the clients home, hotel room, car etc. The sex worker has the right to refuse to engage in any sexual practice with a client

- ♦ whom the worker suspects of having an STI
- ♦ who will not allow an examination
- ♦ who will not agree to safe sexual practice

Any client who displays signs of a possible STI should be referred for medical consultation at a Sexual Health clinic or private General Practitioner.

For further information or advice on checking clients for STIs contact the sex worker organization in your state or territory.

FACT SHEET 8: SAFETY AND SECURITY GUIDELINES FOR ESCORT WORKERS

Introduction:

Sex Industry workers performing escort work have issues of safety and security particular to this form of sex work. Employers in an escort service also have added responsibilities to ensure the safety of their employees whilst working.

Having an established Escort Work Safety Procedure is essential; as is adhering to it. The following guidelines are designed to assist escort workers maximise their health, safety and wellbeing.

Bookings:

Whoever is taking bookings for escort work, either the receptionist or the escort themselves should follow the following steps:

- ✦ When a client calls, take their name, address and phone number and tell the client you will call them back to take the booking. Call (013) and verify the name matches the name and address given.
- ✦ Keep the Ugly Mug Reports from your local sex worker organization on hand to check the client is not on record.
- ✦ When calling the client back, the caller should ascertain whether the client is alone. The caller should explain that the escort will not stay if the client has misrepresented how many people are there.
- ✦ Establish clearly with the client that the escort will only provide services that conform to safer sex practices.
- ✦ Receptionists should keep all potentially necessary emergency phone numbers up to date and close to the phone.

Getting To The Job:

- ✦ Drivers must be provided with training in their role by the employer and be clear as to their responsibilities.
- ✦ On arrival, the escort should note whether the house is well lit and listen as (s)he approaches the front door for voices that may indicate more than one person. If the client is not alone, then the escort may require the driver to accompany her inside. The escort should try and ascertain whether the client is too intoxicated. If the escort feels uncomfortable or endangered at any stage, (s)he should leave immediately.
- ✦ The escort should always get the payment first. (S)he should give it to the driver or put it straight into a discreet pocket or bag. The money/bag should be kept within sight at all times, even when the escort goes to the bathroom.
- ✦ The escort should phone in on arrival. Repeating the address, the booking in and out time and having a pre-arranged code word or phrase that represents a dangerous situation is strongly advised.
- ✦ If the escort is working alone, (s)he should still make the phone call to a friend. Even calling his/her own number is better than nothing, so that the client believes that someone is aware of her/his location at all times.

Doing The Job:

- ✦ The escort should always carry a 'work kit' containing condoms, lubricant, dams, gloves and any other tools of the trade with them at all times.
- ✦ Checking the client for visible signs of sexually transmitted infections is strongly advised. A lamp with a 100-watt globe or a strong pocket torch should be used for the check.

Employers' Responsibility For Escort Workers' Safety:

- ♦ Employers must ensure that escorts are aware of, understand and follow any safety guidelines and policies.
- ♦ Escort service employers should provide employees with a mobile phone and personal alarm while working, at no cost to the escort.
- ♦ Employers provide training in procedures and responsibilities to all employees carrying out escort work, reception staff and drivers.
- ♦ Employers must ensure that drivers have adequate driving skills, do not indulge in intoxicating substances whilst working and interact with escorts in a respectful and supportive manner.
- ♦ Employers must provide training to new employees on all aspects of escort work including safer sex practices. Local sex work organizations can assist with training provision.
- ♦ Employers must provide secure lockable facilities for use by escorts to store clothing, valuables etc.

APPENDIX D: LEGAL DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY

16. The Mann Act (1910)

The Mann Act of 1910, the U.S. federal law also called the White Slave Traffic Act, was selectively enforced until it was limited by the Meese Commission in 1986. Here is the original text with the limitations. The act was passed in 1910 during a white slavery panic. It is a federal law, meaning that it is in force throughout the United States and its territory. This Act initially prohibited women and girls, but not men and boys, from traveling across state lines for unspecified “immoral purposes” and for prostitution, debauchery, or inducement to become a prostitute or debauched. The Mann Act was passed in the name of protecting women from “white slavery,” but the people prosecuted under the Mann Act were overwhelmingly women, many of whom were arrested for traveling to meet boyfriends and fiancés. This is the full text of the WhiteSlave Traffic Act, as passed by the Sixty-First U.S. Congress on June 25, 1910, with 1986 Limitations.

CHAP. 395—An Act to further regulate interstate commerce and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation therein for immoral purposes of women and girls, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the term “interstate commerce,” as used in this Act, shall include transportation from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, and the term “foreign commerce,” as used in this Act, shall include transportation from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to any foreign country and from any foreign country to any State or Territory or the District of Columbia.

SEC. 2. That any person who shall knowingly transport or cause to be transported, or aid or assist in obtaining transportation for, or in transporting, in interstate or foreign commerce, or in

any Territory or in the District of Columbia, any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent and purpose to induce, entice, or compel such woman or girl to become a prostitute or to give herself up to debauchery, or to engage in any other immoral practice; or who shall knowingly procure or obtain, or cause to be procured or obtained, or aid or assist in procuring or obtaining, any ticket or tickets, or any form of transportation or evidence of the right thereto, to be used by any woman or girl in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, in going to any place for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent or purpose on the part of such person to induce, entice, or compel her to give herself up to the practice of prostitution, or to give herself up to the practice of debauchery, or any other immoral practice, whereby any such woman or girl shall be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment of not more than five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. That any person who shall knowingly persuade, induce, entice, or coerce, or cause to be persuaded, induced, enticed, or coerced, or aid or assist in persuading, inducing, enticing or coercing any woman or girl to go from one place to another in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent and purpose on the part of such person that such woman or girl shall engage in the practice of prostitution or debauchery, or any other immoral practice, whether with or without her consent, and who shall thereby knowingly cause or aid or assist in causing such woman or girl to go and be carried or transported as a passenger upon the line or route of any common carrier or carriers in interstate or foreign commerce, or any Territory or the District of Columbia, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or by both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 4. That any person who shall knowingly persuade, induce, entice or coerce any woman or girl under the age of eighteen years from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, with the purpose and intent to induce or coerce her, or that she shall be induced or coerced to engage in prostitution or debauchery, or any other immoral practice, and shall in furtherance of such purpose knowingly induce or cause her to go and to be carried or transported as a passenger in interstate commerce upon the line or route of any common carrier or carriers, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and in conviction there of shall be punished by a fine of not more than ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 5. That any violation of any of the above sections two, three, and four shall be prosecuted in any court having jurisdiction of crimes within the district in which said violation was committed, or from, through, or into which any such woman or girl may have been carried or transported as a passenger in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, contrary to the provisions of any of said sections.

SEC. 6. That for the purpose of regulating and preventing the transportation in foreign commerce of alien women and girls for purposes of prostitution and debauchery, and in pursuance of and for the purpose of carrying out the terms of the agreement of project of arrangement

for the suppression of the white-slave traffic, adopted July twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and two, for submission to their respective governments by the delegates of various powers represented at the Paris conference and confirmed by a formal agreement signed at Paris on May eighteenth, nineteen hundred and four, and adhered to by the United States on June sixth, nineteen hundred and eight, as shown by the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated June fifteenth, nineteen hundred and eight, the Commissioner-General of Immigration is hereby designated as the authority of the United States to receive and centralize information concerning the procurement of alien women and girls with a view to their debauchery, and to exercise supervision over such alien women and girls, receive their declarations, establish their identity, and ascertain from them who induced them to leave their native countries, respectively; and it shall be the duty of said Commissioner-General of Immigration to receive and keep on file in his office the statements and declarations which may be made by such alien women and girls, and those which are hereinafter required pertaining to such alien women and girls engaged in prostitution and debauchery in this country, and to furnish receipts for such statements and declarations provided for in this act to the persons, respectively, making and filing them.

Every person who shall keep, maintain, control, support or harbor in any house or place for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, any alien woman or girl within three years after she shall have entered the United States from any country, party to the said arrangement for the suppression of the white-slave traffic, shall file with the Commissioner-General of Immigration a statement in writing setting forth the name of such alien woman or girl, the place at which she is kept, and all facts as to the date of her entry into the United States, the port through which she entered, her age, nationality, and parentage, and concerning her procurement to come to this country within the knowledge of such person, and any person who shall fail within thirty days after such person shall commence to keep, maintain, control, support, or harbor in any house or place for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, any alien woman or girl within three years after she shall have entered the United States from any of the countries, party to the said arrangement for the suppression of the white-slave traffic, to file such statement concerning such alien woman or girl with the Commissioner-General of Immigration, or who shall knowingly and willfully state falsely or fail to disclose in such statement any fact within his knowledge or belief with reference, to the age, nationality, or parentage of any such alien woman or girl, or concerning her procurement to come to this country, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than two thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

In any prosecution brought under this section, if it appear that any such statement required is not on file in the office of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the person whose duty it shall be to file such statement shall be presumed to have failed to file said statement, as herein required, unless such person or persons shall prove otherwise. No person shall be excused from furnishing the statement, as required by this section, on the ground or for the reason that the statement so required by him, or the information therein contained, might tend to criminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture, but no person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture under any law of the United States for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing, concerning which he may truthfully report in such statement, as required by the provisions of this section.

SEC. 7. That the term "Territory," as used in this Act, shall include the district of Alaska, the insular possessions of the United States, and the Canal Zone. The word "person," as used in this Act, shall be construed to import both the plural and the singular, as the case demands, and shall include corporations, companies, societies, and associations. When construing and enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any officer, agent, or other person, acting for or employed by any other person or by any corporation, company, society, or association, within the scope of his employment or office, shall in every case be also deemed to be the act, omission, or failure of such other person, or of such company, society, or association as well of that of the person himself.

SEC. 8. That this Act shall be known and referred to as the "White-slave traffic Act."

Approved, Sixty-First Congress, June 25, 1910.

The Mann Act was amended to apply only to acts that are criminal in the location in which they were committed:

18 USCS @ 2421 (1994) @ 2421.

*** THIS SECTION IS CURRENT THROUGH PL. 103-321, APPROVED
8/26/94 ***

TITLE 18. CRIMES AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE PART I. CRIMES
CHAPTER 117. TRANSPORTATION FOR ILLEGAL SEXUAL ACTIVITY AND
RELATED CRIMES @ 2421.

Transportation generally

Whoever knowingly transports any individual in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or Possession of the United States, with intent that such individual engage in prostitution, or in any sexual activity for which any person can be charged with a criminal offense, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than five years, or both

17. The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others

United Nations Document Resolution 317(IV) of 2 December 1949

The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others at the United Nations was really not about trafficking but instead only about prostitution. This convention document never defines trafficking. Nations that signed and ratified the 1949 Convention were obligated to reform their national laws to be in accord with this document. This law was part of the motivation for the closure of brothels in Venice and elsewhere, given that managing a brothel would be defined under this resolution as exploitation of the prostitution of others.

Approved by General Assembly resolution 317(IV) of 2 December 1949 entry into force 25 July 1951, in accordance with article 24 status of ratifications, reservations and declarations.

PREAMBLE

Whereas prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community, Whereas, with respect to the

suppression of the traffic in women and children, the following international instruments are in force:

- (1) International Agreement of 18 May 1904 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, as amended by the Protocol approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 3 December 1948,
- (2) International Convention of 4 May 1910 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, as amended by the above-mentioned Protocol,
- (3) International Convention of 30 September 1921 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, as amended by the Protocol approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 October 1947,
- (4) International Convention of 11 October 1933 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, as amended by the aforesaid Protocol,

Whereas the League of Nations in 1937 prepared a draft Convention extending the scope of the above-mentioned instruments, and

Whereas developments since 1937 make feasible the conclusion of a convention consolidating the above-mentioned instruments and embodying the substance of the 1937 draft Convention as well as desirable alterations therein:

Now therefore

The Contracting parties

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

ARTICLE 1

The Parties to the present Convention agree to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another:

- (1) Procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person;
- (2) Exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person.

ARTICLE 2

The Parties to the present Convention further agree to punish any person who:

- (1) Keeps or manages, or knowingly finances or takes part in the financing of a brothel;
- (2) Knowingly lets or rents a building or other place or any part thereof for the purpose of the prostitution of others.

ARTICLE 3

To the extent permitted by domestic law, attempts to commit any of the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2, and acts preparatory to the commission thereof, shall also be punished.

ARTICLE 4

To the extent permitted by domestic law, intentional participation in the acts referred to in articles 1 and 2 above shall also be punishable.

To the extent permitted by domestic law, acts of participation shall be treated as separate offences whenever this is necessary to prevent impunity.

ARTICLE 5

In cases where injured persons are entitled under domestic law to be parties to proceedings in respect of any of the offences referred to in the present Convention, aliens shall be so entitled upon the same terms as nationals.

ARTICLE 6

Each Party to the present Convention agrees to take all the necessary measures to repeal or abolish any existing law, regulation or administrative provision by virtue of which persons who engage in or are suspected of engaging in prostitution are subject either to special registration or to the possession of a special document or to any exceptional requirements for supervision or notification.

ARTICLE 7

Previous convictions pronounced in foreign States for offences referred to in the present Convention shall, to the extent permitted by domestic law, be taken into account for the purposes of:

- (1) Establishing recidivism;
- (2) Disqualifying the offender from the exercise of civil rights.

ARTICLE 8

The offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention shall be regarded as extraditable offences in any extradition treaty which has been or may hereafter be concluded between any of the Parties to this Convention.

The Parties to the present Convention which do not make extradition conditional on the existence of a treaty shall henceforward recognize the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention as cases for extradition between themselves.

Extradition shall be granted in accordance with the law of the State to which the request is made.

ARTICLE 9

In States where the extradition of nationals is not permitted by law, nationals who have returned to their own State after the commission abroad of any of the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention shall be prosecuted in and punished by the courts of their own State.

This provision shall not apply if, in a similar case between the Parties to the present Convention, the extradition of an alien cannot be granted.

ARTICLE 10

The provisions of article 9 shall not apply when the person charged with the offence has been tried in a foreign State and, if convicted, has served his sentence or had it remitted or reduced in conformity with the laws of that foreign State.

ARTICLE 11

Nothing in the present Convention shall be interpreted as determining the attitude of a Party towards the general question of the limits of criminal jurisdiction under international law.

ARTICLE 12

The present Convention does not affect the principle that the offences to which it refers shall in each State be defined, prosecuted and punished in conformity with its domestic law.

ARTICLE 13

The Parties to the present Convention shall be bound to execute letters of request relating to offences referred to in the Convention in accordance with their domestic law and practice.

The transmission of letters of request shall be effected:

- (1) By direct communication between the judicial authorities; or
- (2) By direct communication between the Ministers of Justice of the two States, or by direct communication from another competent authority of the State making the request to the Minister of Justice of the State to which the request is made; or
- (3) Through the diplomatic or consular representative of the State making the request in the State to which the request is made; this representative shall send the letters of request direct to the competent judicial authority or to the authority indicated by the Government of the State to which the request is made, and shall receive direct from such authority the papers constituting the execution of the letters of request.

In cases 1 and 3 a copy of the letters of request shall always be sent to the superior authority of the State to which application is made.

Unless otherwise agreed, the letters of request shall be drawn up in the language of the authority making the request, provided always that the State to which the request is made may require a translation in its own language, certified correct by the authority making the request.

Each Party to the present Convention shall notify to each of the other Parties to the Convention the method or methods of transmission mentioned above which it will recognize for the letters of request of the latter State.

Until such notification is made by a State, its existing procedure in regard to letters of request shall remain in force.

Execution of letters of request shall not give rise to a claim for reimbursement of charges or expenses of any nature whatever other than expenses of experts.

Nothing in the present article shall be construed as an undertaking on the part of the Parties to the present Convention to adopt in criminal matters any form or methods of proof contrary to their own domestic laws.

ARTICLE 14

Each Party to the present Convention shall establish or maintain a service charged with the co-ordination and centralization of the results of the investigation of offences referred to in the present Convention.

Such services should compile all information calculated to facilitate the prevention and punishment of the offences referred to in the present Convention and should be in close contact with the corresponding services in other States.

ARTICLE 15

To the extent permitted by domestic law and to the extent to which the authorities responsible for the services referred to in article 14 may judge desirable, they shall furnish to the authorities responsible for the corresponding services in other States the following information:

- (1) Particulars of any offence referred to in the present Convention or any attempt to commit such offence;
- (2) Particulars of any search for any prosecution, arrest, conviction, refusal of admission or expulsion of persons guilty of any of the offences referred to in the present Convention, the movements of such persons and any other useful information with regard to them.

The information so furnished shall include descriptions of the offenders, their fingerprints, photographs, methods of operation, police records and records of conviction.

ARTICLE 16

The Parties to the present Convention agree to take or to encourage, through their public and private educational, health, social, economic and other related services, measures for the prevention of prostitution and for the rehabilitation and social adjustment of the victims of prostitution and of the offences referred to in the present Convention.

ARTICLE 17

The Parties to the present Convention undertake, in connection with immigration and emigration, to adopt or maintain such measures as are required, in terms of their obligations under the present Convention, to check the traffic in persons of either sex for the purpose of prostitution.

In particular they undertake:

- (1) To make such regulations as are necessary for the protection of immigrants or emigrants, and in particular, women and children, both at the place of arrival and departure and while en route;
- (2) To arrange for appropriate publicity warning the public of the dangers of the aforesaid traffic;
- (3) To take appropriate measures to ensure supervision of railway stations, airports, seaports and en route, and of other public places, in order to prevent international traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution;
- (4) To take appropriate measures in order that the appropriate authorities be informed of the arrival of persons who appear, prima facie, to be the principals and accomplices in or victims of such traffic.

ARTICLE 18

The Parties to the present Convention undertake, in accordance with the conditions laid down by domestic law, to have declarations taken from aliens who are prostitutes, in order to establish their identity and civil status and to discover who has caused them to leave their State. The information obtained shall be communicated to the authorities of the State of origin of the said persons with a view to their eventual repatriation.

ARTICLE 19

The Parties to the present Convention undertake, in accordance with the conditions laid down by domestic law and without prejudice to prosecution or other action for violations thereunder and so far as possible:

- (1) Pending the completion of arrangements for the repatriation of destitute victims of international traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution, to make suitable provisions for their temporary care and maintenance;
- (2) To repatriate persons referred to in article 18 who desire to be repatriated or who may be claimed by persons exercising authority over them or whose expulsion is ordered in conformity with the law. Repatriation shall take place only after agreement is reached with the State of destination as to identity and nationality as well as to the place and date of arrival at frontiers. Each Party to the present Convention shall facilitate the passage of such persons through its territory.

Where the persons referred to in the preceding paragraph cannot themselves repay the cost of repatriation and have neither spouse, relatives nor guardian to pay for them, the cost of repatriation as far as the nearest frontier or port of embarkation or airport in the direction of the State of origin shall be borne by the State where they are in residence, and the cost of the remainder of the journey shall be borne by the State of origin.

ARTICLE 20

The Parties to the present Convention shall, if they have not already done so, take the necessary measures for the supervision of employment agencies in order to prevent persons seeking employment, in particular women and children, from being exposed to the danger of prostitution.

ARTICLE 21

The Parties to the present Convention shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations such laws and regulations as have already been promulgated in their States, and thereafter annually such laws and regulations as may be promulgated, relating to the subjects of the present Convention, as well as all measures taken by them concerning the application of the Convention. The information received shall be published periodically by the Secretary-General and sent to all Members of the United Nations and to non-member States to which the present Convention is officially communicated in accordance with article 23.

ARTICLE 22

If any dispute shall arise between the Parties to the present Convention relating to its interpretation or application and if such dispute cannot be settled by other means, the dispute shall, at the request of any one of the Parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

ARTICLE 23

The present Convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other State to which an invitation has been addressed by the Economic and Social Council.

The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The States mentioned in the first paragraph which have not signed the Convention may accede to it.

Accession shall be effected by deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

For the purposes of the present Convention the word "State" shall include all the colonies and Trust Territories of a State signatory or acceding to the Convention and all territories for which such State is internationally responsible.

ARTICLE 24

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the second instrument of ratification or accession.

For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the second instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force ninety days after the deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE 25

After the expiration of five years from the entry into force of the present Convention, any Party to the Convention may denounce it by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Such denunciation shall take effect for the Party making it one year from the date upon which it is received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 26

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all Members of the United Nations and non-member States referred to in article 23:

- (a) Of signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article 23;
- (b) Of the date on which the present Convention will come into force in accordance with article 24;
- (c) Of denunciations received in accordance with article 25.

ARTICLE 27

Each Party to the present Convention undertakes to adopt, in accordance with its Constitution, the legislative or other measures necessary to ensure the application of the Convention.

ARTICLE 28

The provisions of the present Convention shall supersede in the relations between the Parties thereto the provisions of the international instruments referred to in subparagraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the second paragraph of the Preamble, each of which shall be deemed to be terminated when all the Parties thereto shall have become Parties to the present Convention.

FINAL PROTOCOL

Nothing in the present Convention shall be deemed to prejudice any legislation which ensures, for the enforcement of the provisions for securing the suppression of the traffic in persons and of the exploitation of others for purposes of prostitution, stricter conditions than those provided by the present Convention.

The provisions of articles 23 to 26 inclusive of the Convention shall apply to the present Protocol.

18. International Human Rights Standards and the Rights of Sex Workers (2005)

Sex Workers Project
 Urban Justice Center
 New York, New York
<http://www.sexworkersproject.org>
 June 2005

International Human Rights Standards and the Rights of Sex Workers describes how specific international documents address prostitution.

INTRODUCTION

The body of international human rights law is useful in advocating on behalf of the human rights of sex workers (even though it may not carry the force of local and federal law). A number of United Nations Conventions and other relevant documents can be used to identify violations of sex workers' rights and the duties of government, including local, state, and federal, in preventing and addressing these violations.¹

1. In looking for international law applicable to sex workers' rights, it is helpful to keep in mind that sex workers are not defined by one single trait—there is no U.N. Convention on the Rights of Sex Workers. Instead, a more appropriate framework is to understand a sex worker as an intersection of many different traits; his or her rights are more effectively and holistically addressed at this intersection. For example, sex workers are not simply “women,” or “trafficking victims,” or “a minority race,” but often possess several such variables that simultaneously implicate different international laws and standards. A useful discussion of “framework of intersectionality” is found in Margaret L. Satterthwaite, *Crossing Borders, Claiming Rights: Using Human Rights Law to Empower Women Migrant Workers*, 8 Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal 1 (2005).

International human rights treaties, such as United Nations Conventions or other formal instruments, impose a duty on states to follow and ensure respect for human rights law, including a duty to prevent and investigate violations, take appropriate action against violators and afford remedies and reparation to those who have been injured as a consequence of violations. Specifically, United Nations Treaties, Conventions, and Covenants² are binding on the countries that ratify them.³ A state that only signs, but does not ratify, a Treaty is bound to refrain from doing something that proactively violates the document. States that have ratified the Treaty have the positive obligation to *prevent* and *provide remedy* for human rights violations committed not only by the state, but also by private actors. As the International Committee for Human Rights notes, “An act by a private individual and therefore not directly imputable to a State can generate international responsibility of the State, not because of the act itself, but because of the lack of due diligence to prevent the violation or for not taking the necessary steps to provide the victims with reparation.”⁴

In addition to Treaties, U.N. General Comments and Recommendations are authoritative interpretations of international agreements. U.N. Resolutions may be understood as documents of political consensus. U.N. Standards and other such rules are often developed by experts but are less authoritative. Finally, certain practices can become binding law (customary international law) where there is evidence of uniform and consistent usage among the states based on recognition that a legal norm exists.⁵

A Note about Case Studies in this Document:

Throughout this document, case studies are used to highlight the real-life relevance of international human rights for sex workers. Some specific details and all names in these case studies have been changed to protect the privacy of the people involved.

U.N. DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the ICCPR and the ICESCR (see below) are together known as the International Bill of Rights. The Declaration is the foundation for international human rights law, and it “marked the first time that the rights and freedoms of individuals were set forth in such detail.” Articles 3–21 set out civil and political rights for all, including the right to life, liberty, and personal security. Articles 22–27 touch on economic, social, and cultural rights. “The cornerstone of these rights is Article 22, acknowledging that, as a member of society, everyone has the right to social security and is therefore entitled to the realization of the economic, social and cultural rights ‘indispensable’ for his or her dignity and free and full personal development.”⁶

2. Treaties, Conventions, and Covenants all refer to the same thing and hold the same status.

3. Though further action may be necessary to make them part of national law, this does not change the fact that these Treaties are binding international law nor does it give a country an excuse to ignore or violate Treaty obligations.

4. International Committee for Human Rights, *Non State Actors and Corporate Responsibility* (visited October 15, 2004) <http://www.ichr-law.org/english/expertise/areas/non_state.htm>.

5. National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, *Homelessness in the United States and the Human Right to Housing*, at 25 (2004).

6. United Nations, *A United Nations Priority* (visited October 8, 2004) <<http://www.un.org/rights/HRToday/declar.htm>>.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR)

The ICCPR expands upon many civil and political rights originally laid out in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. The United States has ratified this Covenant, but with some reservations, because the United States asserts that some of the substantive standards delineated in the ICCPR are equivalent to our own constitutional standards.⁷ Despite these reservations, the ICCPR remains quite useful in understanding the rights of sex workers and is binding on the U.S. as a matter of international law.

Article 7 sets out the right to be free of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, whether by the government or individuals.⁸ Related to this, Article 9 states that everyone is entitled to the right to liberty and security of person, and that a person shall not be arbitrarily arrested.⁹ Article 10 builds upon this, guaranteeing those who are detained the right to humane treatment.¹⁰ Article 14 guarantees that everyone is equal before the court, and, in addition, provides for adequate understanding of criminal charges and access to legal assistance.¹¹ These Articles are useful in addressing sex workers' experience with police violence, the lack of police response to violence, and the overall criminal justice system.

- *Samantha deals with police harassment and threats of violence on a regular basis. Because she sometimes works from the streets and other times works out of a local massage parlor, local police officers know who she is and often threaten her with arrest (and several times have arrested her) even when she is not engaging in sex work—for example, when she goes*

7. For example, governmental distinctions based on race, birth, etc., prohibited by the ICCPR in Articles 2 and 26 are understood by the U.S. to be acceptable distinctions if they are “at minimum, rationally related to a legitimate governmental objective ...”

8. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (hereinafter ICCPR), G.A. res. 2200A (XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 52, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 999 U.N.T.S. 171, entered into force Mar. 23, 1976, article 7. General Comment No. 28 states, “To assess compliance with article 7 of the Covenant ... the Committee needs to be provided information on national laws and practice with regard to domestic and other types of violence against women, including rape ... The information provided by States parties on all these issues should include measures of protection, including legal remedies, for women whose rights under article 7 have been violated.” *General Comment 28, Equality of Rights between Men and Women*, U.N. Human Rights Committee, 68th Sess. (2000), para. 11.

9. ICCPR, article 9. General Comment No. 8 interprets the applicability of this right broadly, applying much of the article to deprivations of liberty for reasons other than criminal cases, such as “mental illness, vagrancy, drug addiction, educational purposes, immigration control, etc.” *General Comment 8, Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, U.N. Human Rights Committee, 16th Sess. (1982), U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 130 (2003), para. 1.

10. ICCPR, article 10. General Comment No. 21 states that, “Treating all persons deprived of their liberty with humanity and with respect for their dignity is a fundamental and universally applicable rule. Consequently, the application of this rule, as a minimum, cannot be dependent on the material resources available in the State party. This rule must be applied without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” The Comment also invites states to utilize the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners when officially reporting on how they treat prisoners, and states that the role of the penitentiary system should never be only retributory, but “should essentially seek the reformation and social rehabilitation of the prisoner.” *General Comment 21, Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, U.N. Human Rights Committee, 44th Sess. (1992), U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 153 (2003), paras. 4 and 10.

11. ICCPR, article 14.

to the local store or to visit a friend. Officers have physically abused her or threatened her with physical abuse on several occasions. Twice, an officer has demanded a sexual act in exchange for letting her go. Samantha has not reported these incidents to the police because she is frightened of them and is worried that it will get back to the officers who committed the crimes, with whom she deals on an almost daily basis. When she experiences violence or robbery at the hands of customers or in her own personal life, she also does not bother reporting this to the police. The one time she attempted to report a beating and robbery, officers told her that she should expect as much in her line of work and that she was lucky that they did not arrest her. Her experiences with the criminal justice system have left her confused as to what her criminal record is and what her legal rights are. She is usually told by her public defense attorney to plead guilty in order to be released quickly, but is often unsure what the ultimate conviction is for and if she has any outstanding warrants for missed community service sentences.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS (ICESCR)

Like the ICCPR, the ICESCR spells out in more detail the economic, social, and cultural rights originally recognized in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. The United States has signed, but not ratified, the ICESCR. The Covenant is useful in exploring the connection between specific problems facing sex workers and their right under the ICESCR to enjoy a standard of living that provides for food, housing, health, and education. Whether it is in accessing the services that sex workers need while engaged in sex work, or those services necessary to successfully leave sex work, the ICESCR highlights the failures of our social service system in providing a safety net for sex workers.

Article 6 recognizes the right to work, elaborating that states should take steps that “include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.”¹² Article 11 guarantees “the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions.”¹³ These Articles relate to the frustration that many sex workers express with respect to difficulty in finding a job that pays them a living wage.

12. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereinafter ICESCR), G.A. res. 2200A (XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 49, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 U.N.T.S. 3, entered into force Jan. 3, 1976, article 6.

13. ICESCR, article 11. General Comment No. 4 states that the human right to adequate housing is imperative for the “enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights.” It is not simply a right to basic shelter, but a right to live in “security, peace and dignity.” Particularly of importance for sex workers and their need for stable and secure housing, the Comment highlights the right to be free of “forced eviction, harassment and other threats” that “endanger the legal security of tenure.” *General Comment 4, The right to adequate housing*, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16th Sess. (1997), para. 1, 7, and 8(a).

Article 12 sets out the right to the “highest attainable standard of physical and mental health” including “the creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.”¹⁴ Finally, Article 13 describes the right to education.¹⁵

- *Maria grew up in a poor neighborhood and did not complete high school. She worked numerous jobs in the service industries, ranging from waiting tables to clerical work, but was unable to make a living wage. She has suffered from severe depression for most of adulthood and has recently been battling diabetes, but has not had health insurance to access treatment. Since the depression and diabetes has worsened, she has started using drugs and alcohol quite seriously. Maria had been living doubled-up with a friend, but become homeless when the friend was evicted. She began engaging in sex work when she realized she could not get by on service industry salaries, though she wanted to go to school to become a medical assistant. She has since become increasingly involved in street-based sex work and her drug and alcohol problems have worsened. She has not been able to access treatment programs because subsidized programs are in short supply and she does not know who to talk to about finding a program. She stays in Single Room Occupancy hotels some nights, but often sleeps on the streets.*
- *Lydia lives in a working class neighborhood and began working in a massage business (where she occasionally engages in sex work) when she could not afford rent and money to feed and support her children on her secretary’s salary. She occasionally works for a local escort service. Lydia has a chronic disease that is exacerbated by her lack of health insurance and regular health care. Last month she visited the emergency room and was given emergency surgery to save her life. Lydia now owes the hospital more than eighty thousand dollars. She is afraid to apply for Medicaid, due to her illegal sources of income. She also assumes correctly that she will not qualify, given that the income eligibility for Medicaid is very low, and her unlawful income is higher than this Medicaid threshold. After her landlord found out about Lydia’s recent arrest for practicing massage without a license, she is at risk of losing her housing.*

CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT (CAT)¹⁶

The Convention against Torture (CAT), ratified by the United States in 1994, is concerned with torture by government agents or agents acting with government sanction; importantly, it interprets state agents engaged in misconduct (e.g., physical abuse by the police, including sexual

14. ICESCR, article 12. This right is subject to its own lengthy General Comment that interprets the right to health broadly and in connection to the needs of particularly vulnerable groups. *General Comment 14, The right to the highest attainable standard of health*, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 22nd Sess. (2000).

15. ICESCR, article 13. General Comment No. 13 recognizes this right as “an indispensable means of realizing other human rights. As an empowerment right, education is the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities.” Education, the Comment notes, is key to empowering women and to helping prevent sexual exploitation of children. *General Comment 13, The right to education*, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 21st Sess. (1999), para. 1.

16. Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (hereinafter CAT), G.A. res. 39/46, annex, 39 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 51) at 197, U.N. Doc. A/39/51 (1984), entered into force June 26, 1987, article 1.

assault)¹⁷ to be subject to the CAT. Article 10 of the CAT ensures that states correctly educate state agents, such as law enforcement personnel, as to the prohibition against torture.¹⁸

The U.N. Committee against Torture addressed some of the issues relevant to sex workers' experience with police abuse in an official reaction to a United States' report on its CAT progress. The Committee expressed ongoing concern for "the number of cases of police ill-treatment of civilians," and "alleged cases of sexual assault upon female detainees and prisoners by law enforcement officers and prison personnel." It continued, "Female detainees are also very often held in humiliating and degrading circumstances," and recommended that the U.S. "take such steps as are necessary to ensure that those who violate the Convention are investigated, prosecuted and punished, especially those who are motivated by discriminatory purposes or sexual gratification."¹⁹

- *Jamie was raped by a police officer while in custody for a prostitution arrest. None of the few officers to whom she reported the rape took the situation seriously or reported the incident. Jamie still sees the officer working in her neighborhood regularly.*
- *Satoko, who is a transgender male-to-female sex worker, was recently arrested. When she was brought into the police station for processing, officers argued over who would be forced to search Satoko's person, complaining that the "she-male" was disgusting. Officers placed Satoko in the male holding cell, even though Satoko identifies and dresses as a female and is designated a female on her driver's license. She was harassed by other incarcerated males and police officers; one officer grabbed Satoko's genitals and made degrading remarks about her transgender status.*

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)²⁰

As stated by Human Rights Watch, "CEDAW defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets a framework for national action to end such discrimination."²¹ The United States has signed, but failed to ratify, CEDAW, to the great chagrin of many human rights and women's rights organizations.²² Some cities, including San Francisco, have enacted

17. Conclusions and Recommendations of the Committee against Torture, United States of America, U.N. Doc. A/55/44, paras. 175–80, (2000).

18. CAT, article 10.

19. *Supra*, note 18.

20. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (hereinafter CEDAW), G.A. res. 34/180, 34 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, U.N. Doc. A/34/46, entered into force Sept. 3, 1981.

21. Human Rights Watch, *CEDAW: The Women's Treaty*, (last modified on Oct. 1, 2003) <<http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/cedaw/>>. It also is important to note that discrimination against women under the CEDAW includes discriminatory impact without intent, which runs counter to the current legal treatment of discrimination against women in the United States.

22. The United States and Monaco are the only countries in Europe and North America who have not ratified CEDAW. Human Rights Watch writes, "Although the United States has long claimed to be at the forefront of the women's rights movement, failing to ratify CEDAW hurts women in the U.S. and diminishes the U.S.'s credibility when it critiques other countries' records on women's rights. By ratifying CEDAW, the U.S. would send a strong message that it is serious about the protection of women's human rights around the world. Ratification would also enable the U.S. to nominate experts to the CEDAW Committee, and thereby be in a position to take part in interpreting CEDAW." *Id.*

local ordinances to enact CEDAW. In New York City, the New York City Human Rights Initiative has proposed legislation that draws from broad human rights principles as well as from the two key international treaties addressing gender and race discrimination—CEDAW and CERD (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination), respectively.²³

The U.N. Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, a committee of experts that oversees the progress of women in countries that are the States Parties to the CEDAW, authored General Recommendation No.19 in regards to violence against women. This Recommendation interprets discrimination under CEDAW to include gender-based violence²⁴, which is defined as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty.”

Article 6 of the CEDAW requires states to take measures to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of the prostitution of women.²⁵ General Recommendation No. 19 elaborates on the specific dangers of prostitution and the impetus behind it.²⁶

The CEDAW Committee’s Conclusions and Recommendations in response to a report by Germany on its progress under CEDAW highlights the CEDAW’s relevance for sex workers. Specifically, in response to Germany’s Act Regulating the Legal Situation of Prostitutes, which gave prostitutes in Germany more access to social insurance and the actionable right to an agreed wage, the Committee was concerned that, “although they are legally obliged to pay taxes, prostitutes still do not enjoy the protection of labour and social law. The Committee recommends that the Government improve the legislative situation affecting these women so as to render them less vulnerable to exploitation and increase their social protection.”

To help effectuate implementation of the CEDAW and further define violence against women, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence

23. The New York City Human Rights Initiative is a coalition coordinated by the Human Rights Project at the Urban Justice Center, Legal Momentum, ACLU Women’s Rights Project, Amnesty International USA Women’s Human Rights Program, and the Women of Color Policy Network/Roundtable of Institutions of People of Color. The legislation would give the city practical tools to better assess how its policies affect New Yorkers, promote equality by stopping discrimination before it happens, and give city residents a greater say in solving the problems facing their communities. The legislation was introduced in New York City Council on December 7, 2004 as Intro 512. The New York City Human Rights Initiative is a citywide coalition of community-based organizations, legal advocacy groups, policymakers and human rights activists and educators, working to address systemic problems of inequality in New York City using the vision and tools of the human rights system.

24. General Recommendation 19, Violence against Women, Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, 11th Sess. (1992), paras. 6 and 7. The Recommendation notes that gender-based violence is discriminatory under Article 1 of CEDAW if it impairs or nullifies the women’s enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms under international law or human rights conventions that include the right to life, the right not to be subject to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the right to liberty and security of person, the right to equal protection, the right to highest standard attainable of phys and mental health, and the right to just and favorable conditions of work.

25. CEDAW, article 6.

26. General Recommendation No. 19 states, “Poverty and unemployment force many women, including young girls, into prostitution. Prostitutes are especially vulnerable to violence because their status, which may be unlawful, tends to marginalize them. They need the equal protection of laws against rape and other forms of violence.” *Supra*, note 25, para. 14.

against Women. This Declaration states that violence against women encompasses physical, sexual, and psychological violence like rape or intimidation, and also “trafficking in women and forced prostitution.”²⁷ Also relevant to sex workers is the Declaration’s recommendation that states ensure that law enforcement officers and public officials who are responsible for preventing, investigating, and punishing violence against women “receive training to sensitize them to the needs of women,”²⁸ and that states focus in general on eliminating “violence against women who are especially vulnerable to violence.”²⁹

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (ICERD)

The ICERD, which was ratified by the United States in 1994, requires that States Parties to the Convention condemn racial discrimination and pursue policies that would eliminate all forms of racial discrimination based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin. Many sex workers are of minority race or ethnicity or foreign birth; roughly half of the sex workers in this study are non-white and roughly one-third were not born in the United States. Article 5 guarantees that all are equal in their rights before the law, and specifically guarantees equality in regards to the civil, political, economic and social rights discussed in above sections.³⁰ In addition, while ICERD allows states to draw distinctions between citizens and non-citizens, this is not meant as a tool to restrict the rights of aliens protected under other treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Migrant Worker’s Convention.³¹

U.N. PROTOCOL TO PREVENT, SUPPRESS AND PUNISH TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS, ESPECIALLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN (TRAFFICKING PROTOCOL)

Some people who engage in sex work have been the victims of trafficking.³² The Trafficking Protocol is a supplement to the U.N. Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, which the United States has signed, but not ratified. Together these two documents include standards relevant to people who are trafficked.³³

27 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, G.A. res. 48/104, 48 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49) at 217, U.N. Doc. A/48/49 (1993), article 2.

28. *Id.*, article 4(i).

29. *Id.*, article 4(l).

30. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (hereinafter ICERD), 660 U.N.T.S. 195, *entered into force* Jan. 4, 1969, article 5.

31. Satterthwaite, *supra* note 1, at 36.

32. Whether they knew that they were being trafficked for the purpose of sex work and were subject to treatment or conditions they did not expect, or whether they were totally misled as to the type of work for which they were being trafficked—both cases fall under the Trafficking Protocol.

33. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, G.A. res. 55/25, annex II, 55 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49) at 60, U.N. Doc. A/45/49 (Vol.I) (2001). For more information on the Trafficking Protocol, see Global Rights (formerly the Human Rights International Law Group), *Annotated Guide to the Complete U.N. Trafficking Protocol*, (visited Oct. 8, 2004) <http://www.globalrights.org/site/DocServer/Traff_AnnoProtocol.pdf?docID = 203>.

While the U.S. has created its own specific domestic trafficking legislation (the TVPA), the main emphasis of both the U.S. legislation and the U.N. Trafficking Protocol is as a law enforcement instrument focused on combating perpetrators, and less as a guarantee of the human rights of trafficking victims.³⁴ However, the *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking*,³⁵ promulgated by the U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights emphasize that “the human rights of trafficked persons shall be at the centre of all efforts to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims.” These Principles and Guidelines give important context to a reading of the Trafficking Protocol. Generally, the Guidelines state that a government should not adopt measures that violate the human rights of trafficking victims in its efforts to combat trafficking.³⁶

- *Alicia came to the United States from Mexico two years ago. Through her boyfriend, Carlos, she found work in a brothel, where she earns \$30 for every customer. However, instead of keeping her half of these earnings, Carlos takes all of the money and “holds it” for her. Whenever Alicia demands her share of the money or threatens to leave him and go off on her own, Carlos reminds her that if she disobeys him, she will not be allowed to see her son, who lives with Carlos’ mother in Mexico. One day, the brothel is raided by immigration agents, and Alicia is held in an immigration detention center while the government interviews her to decide whether she has been trafficked, or whether she is working on a voluntary basis. This detention center houses people who have been convicted of violent crimes and Alicia is scared. Alicia is afraid to tell the immigration agents that she may never see her son again if she gives them any information. She is held in the federal detention center for a month before she is deported by the government because she is not a cooperative witness and will not admit to being trafficked.*

U.N. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL MIGRANT WORKERS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES (MIGRANT WORKERS CONVENTION, OR MWC)

The Migrant Workers Convention is also useful in addressing the rights of non-citizens engaging in sex work in the United States. It recognizes the right to leave any state, the right of the individual to return to his or her state of origin, and the right to move freely within a state when he or she is there legally.³⁷ The Migrant Workers Convention notes the vulnerability of these workers and recognizes, among other rights, their right to liberty and security of person and their right to “effective protection by the State against violence, physical injury, threat and intimidation, whether by public officials or by private individuals, groups or institutions.”³⁸

34. However, Section II, Articles 6–8, deal specifically with *Protection of victims of trafficking in persons*. *Id.* articles 6–8.

35. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Trafficking*, E/2002/68/Add.1 (2002). Guideline No. 6 concentrates on the specific protection and support for trafficking victims that states must ensure.

36. The Principles and Guidelines notably state that “States shall ensure that trafficked persons are protected from further exploitation and harm and have access to adequate physical and psychological care. Such protection and care shall not be made condition upon the capacity or willingness of the trafficked person to cooperate in legal proceedings.” *Id.*, para. 8.

37. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, G.A. res. 45/158, annex, 45 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49A) at 262, U.N. Doc. A/45/49 (1990), entered into force July 1, 2003, article 8.

38. *Id.*, article 16, para. 2.

- *Sara came to the United States from Russia on a student visa ten years ago, which has long since expired. Because she is now here illegally and lacks proper working papers, Sara took an under-the-table housecleaning job, where she is subject to long hours and consistent under-payment. One of her bosses recently threatened to fire her and report her to INS if she did not begin providing entertainment at his parties for a little extra cash; this has included sex acts. Sara feels that she cannot risk deportation by reporting or refusing his demands.*

STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

These Standards address states' treatment of people deprived of their liberty in both a criminal or a civil context.³⁹ While these standards are not binding, U.N. Committees have looked to them for guidance in interpreting U.N. treaties. Thus, these Standards are seen as persuasive, and may be considered a source of international customary law.⁴⁰ Many sex workers experience multiple arrests and some experience longer-term incarceration.

The Standards note that the "purpose and justification of a sentence of imprisonment ... is to protect society against crime. This can only be achieved if the period of imprisonment is used to ensure, so far as possible, that upon his return to society the offender is not only willing but able to lead a law-abiding and self-supporting life." Thus, the institution should utilize all the "remedial, educational, moral, spiritual and other forces and forms of assistance which are appropriate and available, and should seek to apply them according to the individual treatment needs of prisoners." In order for treatment to "encourage self-respect and develop a sense of responsibility ... all appropriate means shall be used ... including education, vocational guidance and training, social casework, employment counseling, physical development and strengthening of moral character," which should be tailored to individual needs of the prisoner. In addition, special attention should be paid to a prisoner's future after release, e.g. maintaining a relationship with family and establishing relationships with agencies outside of the institution that might provide the best help for family and social rehabilitation.

- *Renee has been arrested multiple times for different offenses relating to sex work. Most recently, she was arrested in a raid on the strip club in which she worked. Renee appeared before the New York Midtown Community Court, which is supposed to use arrest as a gateway to services for people like Renee. She suffers from substance dependency, homelessness, racial discrimination, and a lack of education and marketable job skills. She has been funneled through the Midtown court several times and released back onto the streets, where she is often arrested shortly thereafter for another sex work-related offense. The only service Renee has ever been offered by the Midtown Court system was a two-hour health class focusing on sexual health and STD prevention.*

39. Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted Aug. 30, 1955, by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, U.N. Doc. A/CONF/611, annex I, E.S.C. res. 663C, 24 U.N. ESCOR Supp. (No. 1) at 11, U.N. Doc. E/3048 (1957), amended E.S.C. res. 2076, 62 U.N. ESCOR Supp. (No. 1) at 35, U.N. Doc. E/5988 (1977), para. 4.

40. "In subsequent resolutions in 1971 and 1973, the United Nations urged its members to adopt and incorporate these rules into their national legislation and to make all possible efforts to implement the Standards.' These standards, while non-binding, are a source of international customary law." Taken from Martin A. Greer, *Human Rights and Wrongs in Our Own Backyard: Incorporating International Human Rights Protections Under Domestic Civil Rights Law—A Case Study of Women in United States Prisons*, 13 Harvard Human Rights Journal 71 (2000). Some U.S. Courts have looked to the Standard Rules as instructive in evaluating treatment of prisoners. See, e.g., *Lareau v. Manson*, 651 F.2d 96, 106–107 (2nd Cir. 1981).

- *Paula received a longer jail sentence after her most recent arrest for prostitution. While incarcerated, she lost custody of her daughter and has fallen out with her family. She has not received any job training or counseling that addresses a possible transition out of sex work. Paula has no plans regarding where to go or what to do once she is released.*

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, G.A. res. 39/46, annex, 39 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 51) at 197, U.N. Doc. A/39/51 (1984), *entered into force* June 26, 1987.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, G.A. res. 34/180, 34 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, U.N. Doc. A/34/46, *entered into force* Sept. 3, 1981.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 660 U.N.T.S. 195, *entered into force* Jan. 4, 1969.

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, G.A. res. 45/158, annex, 45 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49A) at 262, U.N. Doc. A/45/49 (1990), *entered into force* July 1, 2003.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, G.A. res. 2200A (XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 52, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 999 U.N.T.S. 171, *entered into force* Mar. 23, 1976.

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, G.A. res. 2200A (XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 49, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 U.N.T.S. 3, *entered into force* Jan. 3, 1976.

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, G.A. res. 55/25, annex II, 55 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 49) at 60, U.N. Doc. A/45/49 (Vol. I) (2001).

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted Aug. 30, 1955, by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, U.N. Doc. A/CONF/611, annex I, E.S.C. res. 663C, 24 U.N. ESCOR Supp. (No. 1) at 11, U.N. Doc. E/3048 (1957), amended E.S.C. res. 2076, 62 U.N. ESCOR Supp. (No. 1) at 35, U.N. Doc. E/5988 (1977).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, G.A. res. 217A (III), U.N. Doc A/810 at 71 (1948).

19. On Laws Affecting Sex Workers (2003, 2005)

International Human Rights Standards and the Rights of Sex Workers is a legal resource from the Sex Workers Project in New York City. This is accompanied by excerpts from Melissa Ditmore, "Trafficking and Prostitution: A Problematic Conflation." PhD dissertation, Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 2003 and Juhu Thukral, Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy, *Behind Closed Doors* (New York: Sex Workers Project, 2005).

These items address the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 and New York State laws pertaining to prostitution.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS AND THE RIGHTS OF SEX WORKERS

The body of international human rights law is useful in advocating on behalf of the human rights of sex workers (even though it may not carry the force of local and federal law.) A number of United Nations Conventions and other relevant documents can be used to identify violations of sex workers' rights and the duties of government, including local, state, and federal, in preventing and addressing these violations.¹

For further analysis of specific international standards that are applicable to the human rights of sex workers, please see Appendix documents 16-18, which discuss: the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT); the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); the U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Trafficking Protocol); the U.N. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Migrant Workers Convention, or MWC); and the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners....

U.S. Anti-Trafficking Law

In recent years, the United States government has turned its attention to the issue of human trafficking with renewed vigor. This focus has culminated in national legislation, the Trafficking Victims Protect Act (TVPA) of 2000.² The TVPA aims to “combat trafficking in persons, a contemporary manifestation of slavery whose victims are predominantly women and children, to ensure just and effective punishment of traffickers, and to protect their victims.”³ The law offers strong but flawed protections for trafficked persons, including the possibility of obtaining a nonimmigrant visa; access to healthcare; and services such as mental health counseling, job training, and English as a Second Language classes.

1. In looking for international law applicable to sex workers' rights, it is helpful to keep in mind that sex workers are not defined by one single trait—there is no U.N. Convention on the Rights of Sex Workers. Instead, a more appropriate framework is to understand a sex worker as an intersection of many different traits; his or her rights are more effectively and holistically addressed at this intersection. For example, sex workers are not simply “women,” or “trafficking victims,” or “a minority race,” but often possess several such variables that simultaneously implicate different international laws and standards. A useful discussion of a “framework of intersectionality” is found in Margaret L. Satterthwaite, *Crossing Borders, Claiming Rights: Using Human Rights Law to Empower Women Migrant Workers*, 8 Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal (2005).

2. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Pub. L. No. 106–386 Division A, 114 Stat. 1464 (2000) (codified as amended in scattered sections of the U.S.C.) [*hereinafter* TVPA]. The TVPA was amended and reauthorized in December 2003 by the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003, Pub. L. No. 108–193, 117 Stat. 2875 (2003) (codified as amended in scattered sections of the U.S.C.) [*hereinafter* TVPA Reauthorization].

3. TVPA § 102(a). The legislation does not explain its source or methodology in asserting that victims of human trafficking are predominantly women and children.

The TVPA requires that trafficked persons over the age of 18 who seek legal status or government-sponsored benefits be willing to cooperate with reasonable requests from law enforcement in the investigation or prosecution of acts of trafficking.⁴ This requirement applies to persons who have been trafficked into the sex industry, and who have been the focus of much of the legal response to trafficking in persons. While this legislation has helped a number of formerly trafficked prostitutes, it is still very difficult for many people who have been trafficked into the sex industry to benefit from the new law, especially in cases involving people who do not fit the stereotype of an innocent girl forced into prostitution. The difficulty stems from the fact that this cooperation requirement necessarily includes contact with law enforcement and questioning by police and immigration authorities.

However, immigrant sex workers are often afraid to come forward and trust that law enforcement will assist them. Many people who have been trafficked are afraid of police and immigration agencies because they have engaged in unlawful behavior (for example, they may be in the U.S. unlawfully); they have been arrested in the past; or they have been told that they will be deported if they come forward with their complaints. These difficulties are compounded for people in the sex industry, even those who are involved against their will, for the fact that prostitution is unlawful and not all trafficked persons are duped into prostitution. Additionally, law enforcement officers do not always recognize trafficked persons as victims of crime. With continued education in both immigrant communities and among law enforcement about the reality of human trafficking, it is possible that the TVPA will be utilized to its fullest potential to protect such victims.

FROM “TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION: A PROBLEMATIC CONFLATION”

Victims Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTVPA)

Section 103 (3) says “The term ‘commercial sex act’ means any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.” Section 103 (8) defines severe forms of trafficking in persons as

- (A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.

Section 103 (9) defines sex trafficking as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for a commercial sex act.”

Section 112 strengthens laws addressing prosecution and punishment of traffickers, in some cases by amending existing laws. This includes adding separate sections, numbered 1589–1594, to Chapter 77 of title 18, U.S. Code. Section 1592 (a) (3), “Unlawful conduct with respect to documents in furtherance of trafficking, peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor” makes it a crime punishable by up to five years imprisonment or a fine to confiscate, destroy or otherwise deprive a person of their travel documents “to prevent or restrict or to attempt to prevent or restrict, without

4. TVPA § 107(e)(1)(C); TVPA Reauthorization § 4(b)(1)(A).

lawful authority, the person's liberty to move or travel, in order to maintain the labor or services of that person...." This makes it a crime to withhold or destroy a person's passport or other documents. This is an aggravated form of theft and should be so treated. However this statute specifically refers to situations in which a person is not allowed to leave, situations in which a person's mobility is intentionally restricted. In some cases this would be akin to kidnapping. The statute goes further and links this restriction to the purpose of servitude and forced labor—in other words, slavery. This language, including "purpose" means that the "mens rea" or intent to force labor must be proven in court as well as the acts themselves.

Such action is more than appropriate to the crime of trafficking, which is often reported to involve the attempt to gain control over another by limiting their movements including theft or destruction of travel papers. It is the single most important aspect of this anti-trafficking legislation, as the serious forms of trafficking are already defined by other crimes, i.e. kidnapping, fraud and slavery.

Section 1593, "Mandatory restitutions," provides restitution to trafficked persons by payment of wages or losses incurred. This is an extremely important provision, but by specifying wages this excludes prostitutes, which is ironic in the light of the Act's focus on the sex industry. As previously discussed, prostitution is not recognized as labor and therefore not subject to payment of wages under the law. The Department of Justice has sought damages for trafficked prostitutes in the Northern Mariana Islands.⁵ It remains to be seen whether this will still be possible in light of this new legislation.

FROM "LAWS AFFECTING SEX WORKERS" IN *BEHIND CLOSED DOORS*

Prostitution Laws in New York State

New York, like the overwhelming majority of the rest of the United States, uses a prohibitionist model in relation to prostitution. This is not the case with other aspects of the sex industry, including stripping, pornography and its production, and internet-based adult-oriented businesses.

Criminal Law

In New York State, the five main subcategories of prostitution-related offenses are: prostitution, New York State Penal Law (NYPL) Section 230.00; patronizing a prostitute (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th degree) NYPL Sections 230.03–230.07; promoting prostitution (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th degree) NYPL Sections 230.15, 230.20, 230.20, 230.32, 230.35; permitting prostitution, NYPL Section 230.40; and loitering for the purpose of engaging in a prostitution offense, NYPL Section 240.37.

Prostitution as defined in the New York statute occurs when a "person engages or agrees or offers to engage in sexual conduct with another person in return for a fee." Sexual conduct is not defined within the statute. This essentially grants courts the discretion to decide what amounts to sexual conduct on a case-by-case basis. Most recent court decisions cite *People v. Costello*,⁶ where the court found that the purpose of NYPL Section 230.00 was to "prohibit commercial exploitation of sexual gratification." The court in *Costello* reasoned that the "common understanding of prostitution" comprises three specific prongs: sexual intercourse, deviate

5. Human Rights Caucus meeting with the Department of Justice, 2000.

6. *People v. Costello*, 90 Misc. 2d 431, 395 N.Y.S.2d 139 (N.Y. Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co. 1977).

sexual intercourse and masturbation. Although the ruling in *Costello* has not been overturned, other courts, as in *People v. Hinzman*,⁷ have expanded its definition to include “conduct done to satisfy a sexual desire.” A more recent decision in *People v. Medina*⁸ opted for a less restrictive definition: “inasmuch as the *Costello* court derived its definition of ‘sexual conduct’ not from the statute but from ‘common understanding’ which is subject to change, this court is not persuaded that it should accept the categories of sexual activity offered there.” The court based its decision on a present-day “common understanding” of sexual conduct, again allowing for case-specific determinations of what constitutes sexual conduct for the purpose of prostitution.

Patronizing a prostitute involves: providing payment in compensation for having engaged in sexual conduct with another person; providing payment with the understanding that such person or a third party will later engage in sexual conduct with the purchaser; or soliciting or requesting that another person engage in sexual conduct with the purchaser for a fee (NYPL Section 230.02). There are varying degrees of this offense based on the ages of both the person patronizing and the person providing the sexual service. The most severe of these can be found in Section 230.06 where it is a Class D felony to patronize a prostitute who is less than 11 years old.

Promoting prostitution is defined both as “advancing prostitution” and “profiting from prostitution” (NYPL Section 230.15). It too has varying degrees of severity depending in large part on the age of the prostitutes involved and the methods used to advance prostitution, such as force or coercion. When the owner of property that is being used for the purposes of prostitution does not make a reasonable effort to “halt or abate such use,” he or she can be charged with permitting prostitution under NYPL Section 230.40.

Loitering for the purposes of engaging in prostitution is a separate offense defined in NYPL Section 240.37 of the New York Penal Code. This statute prohibits remaining in and/or wandering about a public place in order to engage in prostitution. Beckoning to cars and pedestrians, conversing or trying to converse with people walking by or blocking the sidewalk for the purpose of engaging in prostitution is a criminal offense separate from the crime of prostitution itself. It applies to those acting as prostitutes, those patronizing prostitutes and those who promote prostitution. Loitering for the purposes of prostitution is a violation at the first offense and thereafter, a misdemeanor offense.

Although not specific to prostitution, criminal solicitation in the fifth degree defined in NYPL Section 100.00 occurs when “with intent that another person engage in conduct constituting a crime, he solicits, requests, commands, importunes or otherwise attempts to cause such other person to engage in such conduct,” and may additionally be used to charge those accused of engaging in prostitution.

Civil Law

Housing Law

Prostitution-related offenses may also be found in the civil (non-criminal) law of New York. Sections 2320–2334 of the New York Public Health Law, for instance, define “houses of prostitution” as a public nuisance and detail legal action that may be taken against the owners of such houses as well as the penalties that will result from conviction. A “house of prostitution” is

7. *People v. Hinzman*, 177 Misc. 2d 531, 534, 677 N.Y.S.2d 440, 442 (N.Y. Crim. Ct., Bx. Co. 1998).

8. *People v. Medina*, 179 Misc. 2d 617, 621, 685 N.Y.S.2d 599, 602 (N.Y. Crim. Ct., N.Y. Co. 1999).

formally defined in the statute as “any building, erection, or place used for the purpose of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution” and qualifies as a “nuisance.” Anyone who “erect(s), establish(s), continue(s), maintain(s), use(s), own(s), or lease(s)” a house of prostitution may be charged under the statute.

There are also regulations that entitle the landlord of a multiple dwelling to terminate the lease or the owner of a multiple dwelling to repossess such dwelling if it is being used as a house of prostitution in any way (New York Multiple Dwelling Law Sections 352–360). These laws would be particularly applicable to those who engage in sex work in their homes or on properties that they share with others and are currently leasing.

For those persons not necessarily living in a multiple dwelling but who are party to a lease or occupancy agreement, New York Real Property Law Section 231 stipulates that the lease or occupancy agreement made with any person or persons convicted two or more times in one year for prostitution-related offenses that occurred on the premises, will be void. This then grants the owner or lessor of the premises the right to re-enter the property. For procedure regulations and the grounds for repossessing property “illegally used,” see New York Real Property Actions and Proceedings Law Section 715.

Education Law

New York Education Law addresses legal “massage therapy.” Section 7801 of New York Education Law defines the practice of massage therapy as “engaging in applying a scientific system of activity to the muscular structure of the human body by means of stroking, kneading, tapping and vibrating with the hands or vibrators for the purpose of improving muscle tone and circulation.” In order to legally advertise and practice massage therapy, and legally use the title “masseur,” “masseur,” or “massage therapist,” a person must be licensed and authorized by the State (Section 7802).

To become licensed and authorized (Section 7804), an individual must be a high school graduate of at least eighteen years of age, and must have graduated from a “school or institute of massage therapy” with a registered program (or its substantial equivalent). The individual must also be a U.S. citizen or a lawful alien admitted for permanent residence in the U.S. He or she must file an application with the appropriate department, pass an examination, and pay a series of fees. Finally, an individual must be of good moral character, as determined by the State.

Violation of New York Education Law, Sections 7801–04, is a Class A misdemeanor. However, there is also a broader statute regulating the practice of any profession for which a license is prerequisite (New York Education Law, Section 6512). Violation of this law is a Class E Felony and it has been applied to those who offer to practice, hold themselves out as able to practice, or practice “massage therapy” without a license.

Sex Workers as Victims of Sex Offenses

Although not directly related to the criminal prosecution of prostitution-related offenses, the New York Criminal Procedure Law (NYCPL) poses a particular challenge to sex workers who have been the victims of a sex offense, including rape. NYCPL Section 60.42(2) states that evidence of a victim’s sexual conduct is not admissible in a prosecution unless it “proves or tends to prove that the victim has been convicted of an offense under section 230.00 (Prostitution) of the penal law within three years prior to the sex offense which is the subject of the prosecution.”

20. "Crime, Sex, Money and Migration: The Negotiations on the United Nations Protocol on Trafficking in Persons" (2003)

Melissa Ditmore and Marjan Wijers

During its meeting of 15 November 2000 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a new Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. The purpose of this new international instrument is to prevent and combat criminal offences of a transnational nature committed by organized criminal groups. The Convention is supplemented by two Optional Protocols, one of which addresses smuggling of persons and the other trafficking in persons.¹ The Convention and the Protocols were negotiated at a series of eleven meetings of a special intergovernmental Ad-hoc Committee under the auspices of the UN Crime Commission, which were held in Vienna from January 1999 until October 2000 and in which more than 100 countries took part. They were opened for signature in December 2000 at a high level meeting in Palermo, Italy. While all countries, without exception, signed the Convention, eighty countries, among which the Netherlands, also signed the Trafficking Protocol.²

This article focuses on the Trafficking Protocol—in full: United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime—and in particular on the NGO-lobby and the dynamics of the negotiations at the UN International Crime Commission. Both authors attended (part of) these negotiations as members of the Human Rights Caucus, an alliance of NGOs working in the field of human rights, trafficking and prostitutes' rights.³ One author has an anti-trafficking background, the other is a sex workers' rights activist.

One of the most controversial and hotly debated issues during the negotiations concerned the first major lobbying goal of the participating NGOs, namely the definition of trafficking. This is not surprising, as one of the fundamental problems in combating trafficking until then had been the lack of international consensus on a definition and thus on precisely which practices should be combated. Underlying this lack of consensus are two diametrically opposed views on sex work. The depth of this controversy was reflected in the presence of two opposed NGO-lobbying blocs, representing two types of feminist response to sex work and, consequently, the issue of how to define trafficking in persons. One sees all sex work as trafficking *per se*. The other view holds that conditions of (forced) labour in all industries, including the sex industry, should be addressed.

The debate whether prostitution *per se* is slavery and therefore equivalent to trafficking in persons was related most directly and vehemently to the definition of trafficking in the Protocol, but

1. A third protocol, dealing with the trade in firearms and weapons, was adopted the year after at the General Assembly meeting 8 June 2001 (Res. 55/255).

2. The Convention, the Protocols and the countries that signed them can be found at the UN website http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/crime_cicp_convention_.html. The Travaux Préparatoires can be found at http://www.unodc.org/unodc/crime_cicp_convention_documents.html.

3. For this article use has been made of the many documents that the Caucus produced during the negotiations, a.o. *Recommendations and Commentary on the draft Protocol* (July 1999), *Commentary on proposals made by States* (October 1999), *Recommendations and Commentary Articles 1–3, 5–7, 8,10 and 13* (January 2000), *UN Trafficking Protocol: lost opportunity to protect the rights of trafficked persons* (October 23, 2000), and of the *Annotated Guide to the complete UN Trafficking Protocol*, made by the International Human Rights Law Group (May 2002, updated August 2002). These documents can be found on the following websites: <http://www.hrlawgroup.org>, <http://www.stoptraffic.org/news.html>, <http://www.thai.net/gaatw>, <http://www.nswp.org>.

permeated the whole negotiating process. In order to understand why this was so, it is important to have some insight in the dynamics of the negotiation process.

THE POWER DYNAMICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION PROCESS

The negotiations that led to the formulation of the Protocol were carried out by government representatives, the vast majority of whom were male, and NGO lobbyists, who were almost uniformly female. This stereotypical divide between the male embodiment of political authority and the female embodiment of day-to-day experience was complicated by the necessity to discuss prostitution. This introduced a moral element in the debate, whereby the women taking part were in a position of 'moral authority', while the men were morally on the defensive. One might say the male political authority was nagged by a female conscience. This factor was most evidently present in the debates on addressing 'the demand side of prostitution', but more generally acted as an undercurrent during all debates. However, while one might assume that the female lobbyists' moral edge would have given them an advantage at the negotiating table, in actual fact it made any difference of opinion among themselves concerning the nature of prostitution highly painful and emotionally charged.

On the level of the general negotiations, preoccupation with the morality of prostitution deflected from the more general issue of human rights and migrant labour. Migration is actually the heart of international traffic in persons, as trafficked persons are (usually undocumented) migrants seeking work elsewhere who find themselves in untenable working conditions. It is these conditions, achieved by deception or outright enslavement, that distinguish between trafficked and smuggled persons. A smuggled person, like many (but not all) trafficked person, has clandestinely crossed a border or been transported, but unlike trafficking, smuggling is not linked to work. Whereas the illegal crossing of borders is the aim of smuggling, the aim of trafficking is the exploitation of one's labour. In other words, the issue of smuggling concerns the protection of the state against illegal migrants, while the issue of trafficking concerns the protection of individual persons against violence and abuse.

At the NGO level, the debate concerning the role that prostitution should play in the definition of trafficking became so highly charged that cooperation appeared to be impossible even on the issue on which both factions could in principle have been in agreement, notably the need to include adequate protection and assistance provisions for trafficked persons in the Protocol. As a result the NGOs were ill-equipped to counter the natural tendency of government representatives to focus on repressive measures against illegal migration and organized crime, rather than on strengthening migrants' human rights.

After an introduction of the two NGO lobbying blocs who attended the negotiations, we will discuss how their distinct approaches to sex work were reflected in the more general debates on the definition of trafficking. Subsequently we will show how, through lack of a concerted lobbying strategy to promote the inclusion of human rights protections, the Protocol in the end mostly provided Western states with a broader scope for repressive measures. Improvements in the protection of migrant workers against exploitation were marginal at best.

THE TWO NGO LOBBYING BLOCS

At the beginning of the negotiations, only one of the two NGO lobbying blocs—operating under the name of Human Rights Caucus—was engaged in the lobbying process. The Human

Rights Caucus consisted of an alliance of human rights, anti-trafficking and sex workers' rights organisations and activists, with a leading role for the International Human Rights Law Group (IHRLG) and the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW).⁴ The very composition of this alliance was significant, in that for the first time these three distinct movements worked together in a joint lobby. In particular, the combination of anti-trafficking and pro sex workers' rights groups can be considered radical, bridging an historical gap between these two movements caused by the traditional and persistent conflation of 'trafficking' and 'prostitution'.⁵ Historically, anti-trafficking measures have been more concerned with protecting women's 'purity' than with ensuring the human rights of those working in the sex industry.⁶ This has led—and still leads—to a history of abuse of anti-trafficking measures to police and punish female (migrant) sex workers and to restrict their freedom of movement rather than protect them. Examples are the confiscation of passports of 'alleged' female prostitutes in order to prevent them from crossing borders 'so that they cannot become victims of trafficking' and the singling out of young female migrants as 'possible' prostitutes at the border to refuse them entry.⁷

Lobbying efforts by the Human Rights Caucus focused on the definition of trafficking in persons, advocating a broad and inclusive definition to cover all trafficking into forced labour, slavery and servitude, irrespective of the nature of the work or services provided or the sex of the trafficked person, and clearly excluding voluntary, non-coercive prostitution or other sex work. This would mean that sex work and trafficking are different issues, whereby trafficking is defined by the presence of coercion, deception, debt bondage, abuse of authority or any other form of abuse in relation to the conditions of recruitment and/or the conditions of work. It also means that a distinction is made between adults and children, whereby, to qualify as trafficking, an element of coercion is not required in the case of children as their legal status is different from that of adults. Additionally, the Caucus worked to include human rights protections for trafficked persons, regardless of their willingness to act as witnesses for the prosecution and including the right to a safe shelter, social, medical and legal assistance, the ability to sue for back wages and damages, as well as residency

4. During the first part of the negotiations GAATW was represented by the Dutch Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, for which one of the authors then worked. The following organisations were part of the Human Rights Caucus: International Human Rights Law Group (IHRLG, US), Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW, Thailand), Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV, the Netherlands), Asian Women's Human Rights Council (AWHRC, Philippines, India), La Strada (Poland, Ukraine, Czech Republic), Fundacion Esperanza (Colombia, Netherlands, Spain), Ban-Ying (Germany), Foundation for Women (Thailand), KOK-NGO Network Against Trafficking in Women (Germany), Women's Consortium of Nigeria, Women, Law and Development in Africa (Nigeria).

5. The Netherlands have always formed an exception in that from its start in 1987 the Dutch Foundation Against Trafficking in Women has worked together with the Red Thread, the Dutch prostitutes' rights organisation, based on the view that anti-violence and pro-rights strategies were two sides of the same coin.

6. See *Commentary on the Draft Protocol To Combat International Trafficking in Women and Children*, Network of Sex Work Projects, January 1999 (available at <http://www.nswp.org/mobility/untoc-comment.html>). See for a historical description of how efforts to combat trafficking have ended up justifying repressive measures against prostitutes themselves in the name of protection for women and children also Jo Doezema (2002).

7. These examples stem from contemporary anti-trafficking measures of respectively Hungary and Great Britain. They are, however, not 'new': already in 1912 Greece fought 'white slavery' by passing legislation forbidding women under 21 to travel abroad without a special permit (Doezema 2002).

and working permits during judicial proceedings. Finally, an important goal was the inclusion of an anti-discrimination clause to ensure that trafficked persons are not subjected to discriminatory treatment in law or in practice.⁸

Having discovered the relevance of what happened in Vienna, the second bloc, led by the originally American based Coalition Against Trafficking in Persons (CATW), stepped in after the first meeting of the Crime Commission. Contrary to the Caucus, the Coalition and its partners, among which the European Women's Lobby (EWL) and the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF),⁹ regard the institution of prostitution itself as a violation of human rights, akin to slavery. While the Caucus took a sex workers' rights stance, that sex work is a form of labour and should be addressed as such, outside criminality and deviance, the CATW-led Network took a victim's stance, that sex work is inherently a human rights violation and should be abolished and punished, without punishing prostitutes themselves as this would constitute blaming and punishing the victim. Within their view any distinction which refers to the will or consent of the women concerned is meaningless, as no person, not even an adult, is believed to be able to give genuine consent to engage in prostitution. Neither do the conditions of recruitment or work bear any relevance as a criterion of 'force'. Any distinction between 'forced' and 'free' prostitution is considered to be a false one as prostitution is by definition 'forced'.¹⁰ For the same reasons, the term 'sex work' is rejected as legitimating the sex industry. Consequently the Network sought to include all prostitution as well as other sex work in the definition of trafficking in the Protocol, irrespective of conditions of consent or force. As negotiations progressed, both groups brought larger numbers of representatives in order to have greater impact.

In this context, it is imperative to note that sex workers' rights advocates acknowledge that sex work is hard work and that conditions in the sex industry vary from relatively good to extremely exploitative and abusive, the latter often facilitated by the exclusion of (migrant) sex workers from the rights and legal protection granted to others as citizens and workers.¹¹ Consequently, they seek to correct these abuses by improving conditions and affording legal recognition to the sex industry, in contrast to the 'abolitionists' who seek to make the sex industry more illegal than it currently is and to prosecute and punish men involved as clients or otherwise.

8. For an extensive discussion of the definition of trafficking and human rights protections for trafficked persons as advocated by the Caucus, see also the *Human Rights Standards for the treatment of trafficked persons*, drafted by the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (STV), the International Human Rights Law Group and the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (1999). The standards are found in several languages on the GAATW website: <http://www.thai.net/gaatw>.

9. Abolition here stands for the abolition of prostitution. Other members of the CATW-faction were Soroptimist International, the International Human Rights Federation and Equality Now. Documents explaining their position can be found at the CATW website <http://www.catwinternational.org>

10. In fact the terms 'forced' vs. 'free' prostitution are misleading, because they suggest that force refers only to the conditions of recruitment, i.e. to force somebody into prostitution. 'Forced' in this interpretation does not address coercive working conditions but only the way a woman came to be a prostitute: as a result of her own decision or forced by others, thus reinforcing the distinction between 'innocent' women who are deserving of protection and 'guilty' ones who can be abused with impunity because it is their own fault. From this perspective, once a woman works as a prostitute, the conditions under which she is working are of no importance. Therefore, it would be preferable to speak of abusive or coerced conditions of recruitment and work vs. conditions based on mutual agreement.

11. See e.g. Sprinkle and Leigh, both in Nagle (1997). See also 'Addressing Sex Work as Labour', presented by one of the authors to the UN Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery during the June 1999 NGO Consultation (available at www.swimw.org).

THE DEBATES SURROUNDING THE DEFINITION OF TRAFFICKING IN THE PROTOCOL

Art. 3 of the Protocol defines trafficking in persons. Given the fundamental differences in the approaches taken, consensus was extremely difficult to achieve. The definition was discussed at all eleven sessions and was hotly contested every step of the way. Informal meetings and specially scheduled lunchtime meetings were held almost daily by a (closed) working group of governmental delegates devoted to discussing proposed definitions and trying to find middle ground after no headway was made during the plenary meetings. The frequency of special meetings not only demanded much time from the delegates concerned but also demonstrated the difficulty of achieving consensus. New definitions with slight but significant changes were circulated regularly. Central issues in the debate concerned women's agency—i.e. whether or not women can actually choose to work in the sex industry—and, in relation to this, the question if trafficking should be defined by the nature of the work involved or by the use of deceit and coercion. To provide more insight in the dynamics of the negotiations, we will describe two of the more contentious points of debate in more detail: the concept of agency and the issue of consent.

Men, women and children: the concept of agency

The two Optional Protocols, on smuggling and trafficking in persons, each address movement of persons, but with different levels of agency. Trafficking in persons defines a victim of crime rather than an agent, while smuggling necessarily implicates the person who has engaged the services of a smuggler: a smuggled person is not a victim but a criminal, an illegal immigrant, an undocumented alien, while a trafficked person is assumed to be an innocent victim.

This conception of agency divides in the imagination if not in reality along gender lines, as reflected in the title of the Trafficking Protocol: 'Optional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, *Especially Women and Children*' (emphasis added). This language was explicitly sought by the CATW-led Network, which initially argued in favour of the original title 'Trafficking in Women and Children', leaving men out of the equation entirely. The Smuggling Protocol has no such coda and no specific emphasis on gender. Smuggled migrants are assumed to be men seeking work elsewhere without proper documentation, while trafficked persons are assumed to be duped victims, usually women. In these documents trafficking is something that happens to women while smuggling is the province of men. This gendered distinction follows long-standing stereotypes of women as victims and men as less able to be victimised.

Contrary to the CATW-Network, the Caucus advocated the protocol to address trafficking in all persons, women and men, and the use of the term 'trafficked persons' rather than 'victims of trafficking'. Apart from the evident fact that men can be trafficked as well,¹² the historical linkage of 'women and children' has proven problematic in many ways. Often this linkage entails the treatment of women as if they were children and denies women the rights attached to adulthood, such as the right to have control over one's own body and life. When laws target typically 'female' occupations, they tend to be overly protective and prevent women from making the same type of decisions that adult men are able

12. Although trafficking in women in the context of the sex industry has received most attention, women, men and children are trafficked for a variety of work and services, including domestic labour, marriage, sweatshop labour and agriculture.

to make. This is reflected in the position that prostitution is 'forced' by definition, which effectively places women on the same level as children and denies them the agency to make their own decision to engage in sex work among the options available to them. Examples of corresponding strategies are 'anti-trafficking measures' which aim to prohibit or prevent women from migrating for (sex) work¹³ and the type of 'prevention campaigns' which predominantly aim to scare women from going abroad by 'warning them about the dangers of being trafficked', up to the use of (semi-pornographic) illustrations of women held in cages or hung up on meat hooks.¹⁴ Moreover, the linkage of women with children emphasises a single role for women as caretakers of children and obscures women's increasing role as the sole supporter of dependent family members and, consequently, as economic migrants in search of work.

For similar reasons the Caucus advocated the term 'trafficked person' rather than 'victim' because of its lack of gender ideology and the agency reflected in this term. Consistent use of the term 'victim' in the context of trafficking often results in policies and laws aimed more at 'protection' than at 'empowering'. Moreover, it tends to reduce the identity of, in particular, women to that of passive victim, rather than recognising that someone is only a victim in relation to a particular crime and for a particular period of time, and that trafficked persons are not only victims of a crime, but also, and more importantly, persons having rights under international human rights law.

Another objection to the term 'victim' is that it does not reflect the complexity of the issue or the experiences of all people who have undertaken to leave their homes and families to pursue a better future via economic migration (Finkel 2001b, Human Rights Watch 2000, Skrobaneck et al 1997). Trafficked persons are often the go-getters of their home communities. It is ironic that the ambitious and industrial poor who undertake migration are unrewarded in this legislation, while 'innocent victims' garner greater sympathy. The insistence on the title of 'victim' from an anti-sexual feminist camp has historic precedent. Dubois and Gordon (1984) write that feminists of earlier eras 'consistently exaggerated the coerciveness of prostitution. In their eagerness to identify the social structural forces encouraging prostitution, they denied the prostitute any role other than that of passive victim. They insisted that the women involved were sexual innocents, women who 'fell' into illicit sex. They assumed that prostitution was so degraded that no woman could freely choose it, not even with the relative degree of freedom with which she could choose to be a wife or a wage earner' (p. 33).

The issue of consent

A second recurring issue regarded the inclusion in the definition of language like 'irrespective of the consent of the person' or 'with or without her consent'. An argument put forward by the CATW-led network was that without this phrase the consent of the victim could be used as a defence by traffickers to escape punishment. This argument in turn was used to defend the position that all sex work should be defined as trafficking without regard to the means used. The Caucus took the position that trafficking should not be defined by the nature of the work but by the use of deceptive or coercive means and/or purposes,

13. In 1996, the Indonesian government e.g. announced that its citizens would no longer be allowed to work overseas as maids by the year 2000 after reports of maltreatment of Indonesian domestic workers (Asian Migrant Bulletin, Vol. IV, nr. 2, April–June 1996).

14. See e.g. the IOM 'prevention campaign' for the Baltic states (<http://www.focus-on-trafficking.net/index.php?ln=en>). Of course this is also inspired by increasingly repressive immigration policies, especially by the rich Western states.

that is, the conditions of recruitment and work. Moreover, it argued that while people can consent to migrate or to work in prostitution, they cannot consent to forced labour, slavery or servitude:

'Obviously, by definition, no one consents to abduction or forced labour, but an adult woman is able to consent to engage in an illicit activity (such as prostitution, where this is illegal or illegal for migrants). If no one is forcing her to engage in such an activity, then trafficking does not exist. (...) The Protocol should distinguish between adults, especially women, and children. It should also avoid adopting a patronising stance that reduces women to the level of children, in the name of 'protecting' women. Such a stance historically has 'protected' women from the ability to exercise their human rights' (Human Rights Caucus 1999).

In fact the issue of consent is more a matter of evidence and not of definition. Once the existence of forced labour, slavery or servitude is established, 'consent' actually is irrelevant. The fact that force or deception is not always easy to prove is not solved by penalising a specific type of labour or services. If that were so, the Protocol should penalise all work or services to be effective, as it addresses trafficking and forced labour in all industries and not just the sex industry.¹⁵ Ultimately, agreement was reached on art. 3 (b), stating that

'The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used'.¹⁶

Art. 3 (a) defines as the means that determine the occurrence of trafficking

'... the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability¹⁷ or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person....'

These means essentially require the use of force and/or deception. The elimination of this clause would define all sex work as trafficking in persons, while the inclusion of this clause still enables signatory states to address sex work as they see fit in their domestic law, including further reaching criminalisation than the Protocol requires. The fact that so much discussion revolved around whether or not the use of coercive or deceptive means was a nec-

15. In fact this argument was successfully used in the Netherlands by the then minister of Justice to include in the article on trafficking in the Penal Code a subsection criminalising any recruitment for prostitution across borders, irrespective of the use of deception or coercion. See Roelof Haveman & Marjan Wijers (1992) and Eke Gerritsma & Marjan Wijers (2003).

16. UN interpretative note: 'The *Travaux Préparatoires* should indicate that subparagraph (b) should not be interpreted as imposing any restriction on the right of accused persons to a full defence and to the presumption of innocence. The *Travaux Préparatoires* should also indicate that it should not be interpreted as imposing on the victim the burden of proof. As in any criminal case, the burden of proof is on the State or public prosecutor, in accordance with domestic law. Further, the *Travaux Préparatoires* will refer to article 11, paragraph 6, of the Convention, which preserves applicable legal defences and other related principles of the domestic laws of States parties.'

17. UN interpretative note: 'The *Travaux Préparatoires* should indicate that the reference to the abuse of a position of vulnerability is understood to refer to any situation in which the person involved has no real and acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved'

essary constituent of the crime of trafficking, reflected the exclusive focus on trafficking for prostitution, as nobody would want to argue that any recruitment *per se* for e.g. domestic or agricultural labour is trafficking, irrespective of the means used. States that were so focused included the Philippines, the Holy See and South Africa, while Belgium changed position more than once during the discussion. South Africa led one bloc of African nations. Others such as the Netherlands, Germany and Australia were adamantly opposed to a formulation of trafficking that would essentially define all prostitution or any sex work as trafficking in persons, because it would require them to alter their national domestic law upon ratification of the Protocol.

A similar problem arose over the description of the purposes of trafficking, in particular the use of the terms ‘exploitation of the prostitution of others’ and ‘sexual exploitation’. Arguments against the inclusion of ‘sexual exploitation’ were that this term is undefined, imprecise and emotive when used in connection with adults and would undermine consensus, as countries that have laws decriminalising or regulating prostitution would be unable or unwilling to sign the Protocol if it forced them to change their prostitution policies. This position was supported by the High Commissioner for Human Rights,¹⁸ the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women¹⁹ and the International Labour Organisation,²⁰ which all proposed a definition concentrating on forced and/or bonded labour and servitude. A similar position was taken by the Netherlands, which submitted a written proposal to this aim.

For the same reasons, the inclusion of the term ‘exploitation of the prostitution of others’ was problematic as this is defined as all prostitution, with or without the consent of the person, in the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic on Persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others, the only international instrument dealing with trafficking and prostitution until the adoption of the Protocol.²¹ Ultimately, on the suggestion of the Caucus, a compromise was reached in the final stages of the negotiations to retain these two terms, but to leave them undefined, thus allowing individual governments to interpret these phrases according to their domestic legal regime. The final text of the Protocol reads:

‘Trafficking in persons shall mean [...] for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual

18. See Informal note by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (A/AC.254/16), Fourth session, 28 June–9 July 1999, available at <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/4session/16e.pdf>.

19. A/AC.254/CRP.13. This document is not available anymore on the website of the Crime Commission, but can be asked for through the contact address of the Centre for International Crime Prevention: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/contact_us.html.

20. A/AC.254/CRP.14. Ibid.

21. The 1949 Convention defines prostitution as ‘incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person’ and obliges states to penalise all recruitment for and exploitation of prostitution, even with the consent of that person. Although this convention is ratified by very few states, prostitution policies of the majority of countries are based on an abolitionist view. In practice, prohibitions often not only aim at the ‘profit making third parties’ but also at prostitutes—like those that prohibit soliciting, loitering or advertising -, and/or their non-profit making associates—like partners and adult children of sex workers-, thus severely limiting not only the space for a professional life but also for a private life. For a discussion of the various legal regimes regarding prostitution and trafficking see Marjan Wijers & Lin Lap-Chew 1999.

exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs²²

with an UN interpretative note, reading:

‘The *Travaux Préparatoires* should indicate that the Protocol addresses the exploitation of the prostitution of others and other forms of sexual exploitation only in the context of trafficking in persons. The terms ‘exploitation of the prostitution of others’ or ‘other forms of sexual exploitation’ are not defined in the Protocol, which is therefore without prejudice to how States Parties address prostitution in their respective domestic laws.’

Irreconcilable differences

The issues addressed in the Protocol were serious and have strong emotional appeal. This fact led to great tension and argument between the NGO blocs. This is significant because it demonstrates the bitterness between ideologies both in such fora and in feminism more generally. Examples of bad behaviour, bitter arguing and accusations demonstrated both how emotionally charged these issues are and the rancour and bad blood between the feminist factions addressing trafficking in persons. Especially the issue whether to define prostitution as trafficking *per se* evoked extremely emotional responses.

This malice was neither new nor unique to the Crime Commission meetings. For example, earlier CATW-publications referred to a number of members of the Caucus (among whom the authors of this article) as ‘pro-prostitution’ advocates ‘paid by pimps’. This language is akin to the use of the term ‘pro-abortion’ rather than ‘pro-choice’ by activists who seek to ban abortion. Alice Echols, in her article about the sexuality debates in the larger feminist movement, described similar discrediting and silencing tactics when she wrote:

‘Anti-pornography feminists have tried to silence their intra-movement critics with the same red-baiting tactics of feminist capitalism. Recently, Kathy Barry characterised the feminist opposition to the anti-pornography movement as a cabal of leftist lesbian and heterosexual women who want to destroy the movement so that ‘male leftists can continue their sexual abuse of women without fear of censure.’ (Echols 1984, p. 54)

In the same way, rumour had it—as reported to a Caucus lobbyist by a government delegate—that the Human Rights Caucus was funded by the ‘European prostitution mafia’. When confronting the CATW-bloc with this accusation, it was asserted that the positions put forward by the Caucus were those which traffickers wanted and therefore the Caucus was essentially advocating for traffickers, to which was added that the Caucus could not deny working with traffickers. Other examples included the taking away of Caucus documents from the desks of government delegates and the CATW-block dubbing their coalition the Human Rights Network and duplicating the format and font of the Caucus documents distributed earlier in a move seemingly intended to confuse government delegates.

One of the most detrimental effects, however, was that on the issue of human rights protections, cooperation became well-nigh impossible.

22. The inclusion of ‘the removal of organs’ seems incongruous, but numerous delegates repeatedly requested to include the trade in organs and the issue evoked relatively little debate. See for more information on the trade in organs Finkel (2001a) and Donovan (2001).

HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTIONS FOR TRAFFICKED PERSONS

The second important lobbying goal was the inclusion of strong human rights protections for trafficked persons in the Protocol, separate and distinct from their value as witnesses for the prosecution. At a minimum, assistance and protection provisions should meet basic international human rights standards, which clearly provide that victims of human rights violations, such as trafficking, should be provided with access to adequate and appropriate remedies. Core issues were the access to adequate housing, health care, legal assistance and other necessary support facilities; protection of trafficked persons against immediate deportation and/or detention or prosecution for offences related to their status of being trafficked (including violation of immigration law, prostitution, etc.); respect for the right to privacy, including confidentiality of legal proceedings; the right to information with regard to court and administrative proceedings; access to a temporary and, if needed, permanent residence; guarantees on safe and voluntary return; and access to appropriate and adequate remedies, including compensation for damages. The inclusion of such protections would not only be in the interest of trafficked persons and in line with international human rights law, but would also be in the interest of prosecution as it would encourage trafficked persons to co-operate with the authorities and thereby contribute to achieving the law enforcement goals of the Protocol.

However, while the Caucus succeeded in its goal to achieve a broad definition, covering all forms of trafficking into slavery, forced labour and servitude and leaving out voluntary, non-coerced (migrant) sex work, it did not accomplish this second goal. Whereas the Protocol contains strong law enforcement provisions, its few protection and assistance provisions are all discretionary.

Delegates were not keen to commit their countries to protecting the rights of non-nationals and managed to avoid a serious debate on the need for mandatory protections due to lack of time created by the protracted debate on the definition. In discussing the need for mandatory protections, there was a clear division between countries which perceived themselves as 'sending states', those countries whose nationals were expected to be trafficked and who were interested in protecting the rights of their nationals in other states, and countries which perceived themselves as receiving states, who expected trafficked persons to arrive, perhaps illegally, within their jurisdiction and whom they expected to prosecute or deport or offer protections as required. This division is not obvious as many state[s] are both sending and receiving countries, as well as 'transit' countries where people pass through and may work to earn money to continue moving. Working while in transit is not unusual in long-distance migration and has long precedent in history, both in migration and nomadic movement and even pilgrimage.

Moreover, many delegates came from a law enforcement background and were not trained in human rights issues, which meant that especially in the beginning of the negotiations, a great number of them did not even see the connection between combating the crime of trafficking and the need to provide assistance to trafficked persons and protect their rights. Insofar as the need for assistance of trafficked persons was recognised in the course of the negotiations, this was viewed as a prosecution tool rather than a state obligation. Numerous delegates expressed the view that trafficked persons were valuable as witnesses and, therefore, deserving of protections during trials but that they should be deported immediately after the trial. One delegate even wanted assurances that the Protocol would not prevent his government from 'prosecuting the victims'. Whereas the developed countries were mostly concerned with according rights to 'illegal migrants', the developing countries

were especially concerned about the financial costs of taking up obligations to provide such protections and assistance. This meant that both types of countries had their own—be it different—interests in keeping such provisions discretionary.

A serious additional problem was the lack of co-operation between the NGO-blocs. Although the issue of human rights protections was not related to the definition of trafficking and therefore not in dispute between NGO factions, the Network refused to make any efforts to address anything but the definition of trafficking or even to support the protection language proposed by the Caucus. A concerted lobby could—and probably would—have made a difference here, but appeared to be impossible to achieve.

Support, however, did come from e.g. the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights²³, UNICEF and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM)²⁴ which stated their objection to the discretionary nature of the provisions as unnecessarily restrictive and not in accordance with international human rights law. Although this helped to include at least a number of human rights inspired provisions, it did not succeed in making these protections mandatory. Almost all provisions contained in art. 6–8 regarding assistance and protection, the status of trafficked persons in receiving states and repatriation are phrased in terms as ‘in appropriate cases,’ ‘to the extent possible under its domestic law,’ ‘shall consider,’ ‘shall take into account,’ ‘shall give appropriate consideration’ etc. rather than in terms of ‘shall’ or ‘shall ensure,’ meaning that basically there is no obligation for states to implement these provisions. In this sense the Protocol represents a regression in international human rights law and undermines commitments in other international human rights instruments, because it transforms rights into privileges that can be conferred or withheld by governments for any reason. Moreover, under the present Protocol trafficked persons appear to gain very little from co-operating with national authorities.

INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AT PREVENTION AND CO-OPERATION

Specific law enforcement measures such as border control, control of documents and sharing of information internationally as well as preventive efforts are delineated in art. 9–13. These issues include information sharing among law enforcement, immigration or other relevant authorities—a.o. to determine whether individuals illegally (attempting to) cross an international border are ‘perpetrators or victims’-, legal paperwork including actual documents and who may receive them, as well as the socio-economic roots of trafficking in persons.

Measures intended to ‘prevent and combat trafficking in persons’ and to protect trafficked persons, ‘especially women and children’ from re-victimisation are listed in art. 9. Significant is para. 5 of art. 9, which encourages states to take measures ‘to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.’ Apart from its focus on prostitution, this ambiguous ‘demand’ language is mostly strategic, not to enable multiple efforts, but illustrates the appeal to shame for men that visit prostitutes that permeated the debate. This ‘demand’ essentially defines all sex work as trafficking and as immoral. In this lexicon, the reference to sex allows one to condemn trafficking as immoral rather than condemning slave-like conditions. This language would allow states to prosecute clients of prostitutes as traffickers. Most clients certainly do not merit such treatment, especially when they are

23. Informal Note of the UNHCHR.

24. Note of the OHCHR, UNICEF and IOM (A/AC.254/27), available at <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/8session/27e.pdf>.

the people most likely to bring prostitutes in coercive situations to the attention of those who can help them.

Another risk of 'preventive' anti-trafficking measures is that they, as formulated by the High Commissioner on Human Rights, can be and have been used to discriminate against women and other groups in a manner that amounts to a denial of their basic right to leave a country and to migrate legally.²⁵ Therefore, the inclusion of a provision was advocated to the effect that actions aimed at preventing trafficking should not have discriminatory effects or infringe upon the right of an individual to leave her or his country or legally migrate to another. This proposal failed, but a reminiscence of it is found in the article dealing with 'border measures' (art. 11), which states that measures to strengthen border control to prevent and detect trafficking, should be 'without prejudice to international commitments in relation to the free movement of people'. Additionally a savings clause was included in art. 14 (1), which reads 'Nothing in this Protocol shall affect the rights, obligations and responsibilities of States and individuals under international law, including international humanitarian law and international human rights law and, in particular, where applicable, the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and the principle of non-refoulement as contained therein'.

NON-DISCRIMINATION CLAUSE

For similar reasons the inclusion of a broad non-discrimination clause was advocated. Not only is this a fundamental principle of international human rights law, it is also particularly relevant in this framework given the vulnerable and often marginalised situation of the groups the Protocol deals with. As a model the non-discrimination clause of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of Justice was proposed, which prohibits discrimination on a wide number of grounds, such as gender, age, race, colour, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, wealth, birth or other status.²⁶ Again, however, delegates appeared not to be willing to include strong human rights protections. The final clause in art. 14 (2) of the Trafficking Protocol is a pale shadow of the ICC provision:

'The measures set forth in this Protocol shall be interpreted and applied in a way that is not discriminatory to persons on the ground that they are victims of trafficking in persons. The interpretation and application of those measures shall be consistent with internationally recognised principles of non-discrimination.'

CONCLUSIONS

Negotiations in international law occur between government delegates, not non-governmental organisations. This was especially true in this case because contact between the two blocs of NGOs was almost entirely hostile and accompanied by covert malicious behaviour. The rancour resembled interactions between pro-choice and anti-abortion advocates. Even common ground was unable to

25. See the Informal Note of the UNHCHR.

26. Art. 21 (3) of the Rome Statute reads 'The application and interpretation of law pursuant to this article must be consistent with internationally recognised human rights, and be without any adverse distinction founded on grounds such as gender as defined in article 7, paragraph 3, age, race, colour, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, wealth, birth or other status.'

be pursued. This schism is seen whenever trafficking is discussed²⁷ and mirrored the delegates' deliberations over the definition of trafficking. The debates reflected two opposing positions. One position is that sex work is work and that trafficking is a grievous violation of human rights. The other position views prostitution itself as a human rights violation and trafficking a vehicle to use to address this violation. A third view, neatly summarised by Meillón (2001, p. 156–157), describes the realisation by many at the United Nations Beijing + 5 conference that this debate will not be resolved in the near future and that therefore these conferences are not the place to come to conclusions about whether sex work is *per se* trafficking. This third view has emerged in other discussions of trafficking, including the Crime Commission negotiations, and led to the compromise in the final definition, in which each nation legislates its own view of prostitution. The Protocol thus recognises the existence of both coerced and non-coerced participation in sex work and takes no position on the legal treatment of adult, non-coerced sex work.

The division between NGOs, however, had serious consequences, the most disturbing of which that it effectively blocked a concerted advocacy to protect the rights of trafficked persons. The preoccupation with the morality of prostitution and the unwillingness to compromise made cooperation even on the issue upon which both factions could be supposed to agree—the need for more and stronger protections for trafficked persons—impossible. This enabled government delegates to avoid any serious debate on the human rights dimensions of trafficking and turned the Protocol into a lost opportunity to strengthen migrants' human rights. For local NGOs it means that they will keep encountering enormous obstacles in advocating for mandatory protections in their domestic trafficking laws since the Protocol fails to contain any obligation for governments to treat trafficked persons differently from undocumented migrants. Ultimately, however, not NGOs but the migrants concerned will suffer the consequences of this inability to overcome an exclusive focus on prostitution in the interest of a common goal. This seems to be too high a price and underlines the need to find more sensible and productive ways of dealing with differences of views, if only in the interest of a more effective human rights advocacy in international decision making processes.

The fact that trafficking is a complex issue is demonstrated both by its long definition and the specific views of trafficking described above. Although lobbying literature addresses difficult issues and includes complex recommendations, simpler analysis is tempting. Some delegates may have preferred shorter documents with less analysis, even at the expense of specificity and accuracy. While simplifying issues may help some people understand them, this is to the detriment of complex problems—an overly simplistic solution is not a solution but a seed for new problems. The anti-prostitution stance also represents an overly simple and inefficient analysis that claims moral high ground while eclipsing not only the plight of many trafficked people in other industries and trafficked men, but also the potentially harmful consequences for a group that already find themselves in a marginalised position. An additional concern is that policies that restrict travel, and especially women's travel, actually encourage the practice of trafficking in persons by closing legal avenues of migration, which promotes the use of the services of traffickers and smugglers by would-be migrants (Meillón 2001, Kwong 1997).

The definition finally agreed upon necessarily allows a certain interpretative leeway for its enforcement by signatory nations in order to achieve consensus in such a large meeting. While

27. This has been the case at other meetings, such as Beijing + 5 (Mitchell 2000) and the United Nations Working group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery.

the Protocol leaves governments free to treat sex work as legitimate work, it also does not prevent them from further criminalisation of sex work and sex workers in the name of combating trafficking. In addition, the Protocol does little to protect the rights of trafficked persons, leaving it to the discretion of the signatory countries whether to arrest, prosecute and deport them or provide them with protection and assistance. However, despite these comments, there are reasons for optimism in light of this document. As Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, has rightly stated, this definition of trafficking is a 'breakthrough'²⁸ because of its establishment of trafficking as a crime that extends beyond the realm of prostitution and of which both women and men are possible victims. The inclusion of force or deception as an essential element of trafficking signifies an important departure from the abolitionist perspective of the 1949 Convention and has an emancipatory potential. This was enabled by the move to actual conditions and crimes against persons as opposed to sexuality and morality.

REFERENCES

- Ditmore, Melissa, *Addressing Sex Work as Labor*, 1999, <http://www.swimw.org>.
- Ditmore, Melissa (forthcoming), 'Feminists and Sex Workers: Working Together', in: *Feminist Visions for the Twenty-first Century*, Amy Elaine Wakeland (ed.), New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Doezema, Jo, *Who gets to choose? Coercion, consent and the UN Trafficking Protocol*, available at www.walnet.org/csis/papers/doezema-choose.html. A later version of this paper was published in *Gender and Development*, Volume 10, Number 1, March 2000.
- Donovan, Pamela, *Crime Legends in Old and New Media* (dissertation), New York: Graduate Center of the City University of New York 2001.
- DuBois, Ellen Carol and Linda Gordon, 'Seeking Ecstasy on the Battlefield: Danger and Pleasure in Nineteenth-century Feminist Sexual Thought', in: *Pleasure and Danger*, Carole Vance (ed.), Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1984, p. 31–49.
- Echols, Alice (1984). "The Taming of the Id," in Vance, Carole, editor (1984). *Pleasure and Danger* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 50–72.
- Finkel, Michael (2001a), 'For Sale, Used Kidneys: Buyer Beware', *The New York Times Magazine*, May 27, 2001, reproduced May 31, 2001 at <http://www.iht.com/articles/21515.htm>.
- Finkel, Michael (2001b), 'Is Youssef Male a Slave?', *The New York Times Magazine*, November 18, 2001, p. 43–47, 62.
- Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, International Human Rights Law Group, Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, *Human Rights Standards for the treatment of trafficked persons*, Bangkok 1999 (available at <http://www.thai.net/gaatw>).
- Gerritsma, Eke & Marjan Wijers, 'Vrijwillige werving van prostituees over de grens. Economische activiteit of misdrijf?', *Nemesis* 2003 nr. 3.
- Haveman, Roelof & Marjan Wijers, 'Vrouwenhandel als politiek spel', *Nemesis* 1992 nr. 5.
- Human Rights Caucus, *Recommendations and Commentary on the draft Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against International organized Crime*, July 1999 (A/AC.254/4/Add.3/Rev.2).
- Human Rights Watch, *Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan*, New York: Human Rights Watch 2000.

28. Talk delivered at Columbia University Law School, April 2001.

- Jordan, Ann D., *Annotated Guide to the complete UN Trafficking Protocol*, Washington: International Human Rights Law Group May 2002, updated August 2002 (available at <http://www.hrlawgroup.org>).
- Kwong, Peter, *Forbidden Workers*, New York: New Press 1997.
- Meillón, Cynthia (ed.) in collaboration with Charlotte Bunch, *Holding on to the Promise: Women's Human Rights and the Beijing + 5 Review*, New Brunswick: Rutgers 2001.
- Mitchell, Grace, *Disputed Subjects in the Global Movement for Sex Workers' Rights*, unpublished paper 2000.
- Nagle, Jill (ed.), *Whores and Other Feminists*, New York: Routledge 1997.
- Rubin, Gayle, 'Thinking Sex,' in: *Pleasure and Danger*, Carole Vance (ed.), Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1984, p. 267–319.
- Skrobanek, Siriporn, Nattaya Boonpakdi, Chutima Janthakeero, *The Traffic in Women*, London and New York: Zed Books 1997.
- Wijers, Marjan & Lin Lap-Chew, *Trafficking in Women, Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution*, Utrecht/ Bangkok: Foundation Against Trafficking in Women/ Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women 1997/1999 (revised edition).

21. What Is "Demand" in the Context of Trafficking in Persons?

Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center, Network of Sex Work Projects, and Prostitutes of New York, March 2005, for Beijing + 10.

"Demand" is a current buzzword among some anti-trafficking activists, in which they argue that demand for sex work drives trafficking in persons, and that arresting clients who patronize sex workers will reduce the problem. However, demand for sex work is not a predominant driving factor for trafficking, which is driven by poverty, race, and gender inequities.

The term "demand" can, in one sense, refer to the legitimate concerns raised by migrants and labor rights advocates who address the issues relating to the need in the global north for exploitable labor and services. However, this new narrow focus of the term represents a dangerous slippage into an anti-sex work, anti-male and homophobic mindset which, under the guise of protecting sex workers, is another way of undermining sex workers' autonomy and causing more harm to them. To trivialize this issue by sexualizing it in voyeuristic ways by appealing to male shame and female chastity is a travesty.

How can anti-trafficking policy effectively address "demand"?

- Anti-trafficking policies must focus on the full scope of the problem. The Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children ("Special Rapporteur"), has recently affirmed that "significant numbers of human beings are trafficked for labour exploitation."¹
- A recent IOM report suggests that "the notion of 'demand' for the labour/services of a 'trafficked' person ... can refer to an employer's need for cheap and docile labour, or to consumer demand for cheap goods and/or services, or for household labour or

1. Report of the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, E/CN.4/2005/71 (22 December 2004) at 2.

subsistence labour, or to any or all of these.”² Proponents addressing “demand” focus on sex workers’ clients as perpetrators of violence against women. However, there are a number of flaws with this approach:

- ✦ Sex workers around the world point not to their clients but to the state and its agents as the prime violators of their human rights. Extending the powers of law enforcement into yet another sphere of the lives of sex workers presents a great threat to the human rights of sex workers.
- ✦ Sex workers are most vulnerable to violence in situations where sex work is criminalized or stigmatized and they are treated as outsiders or are not encouraged to avail themselves of legal protections.
- ✦ The Special Rapporteur has expressed concerns that “trafficking continues to be treated as mainly a ‘law and order’ problem” and expresses her intent to focus on human rights protections.³
- ✦ The IOM has pointed out that increased border security exacerbates markets for trafficking and smuggling of migrants.⁴ “Victims of cross-border trafficking are criminalized and prosecuted as illegal aliens, undocumented workers or irregular migrants, rather than as victims of a crime.”⁵ Efforts to address trafficking will be ineffective with a narrow focus on demand for sex work. Instead, anti-trafficking efforts must address effective labor and migration policies that recall the basic principle set forth by the Special Rapporteur: “that the human rights of trafficked persons shall be at the centre of all efforts to combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to those affected by trafficking.”⁶

2. International Organization for Migration, *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven? A Multi-Country Pilot Study* (2003) at 10.

3. Report of the Special Rapporteur, E/CN.4/2005/71 at 56.

4. International Organization for Migration, *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven?* at 7-8.

5. Report of the Special Rapporteur, E/CN.4/2005/71 at ¶ 10.

6. Report of the Special Rapporteur, E/CN.4/2005/71 at ¶ 11.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramovich, E. "Childhood Sexual Abuse as a Risk Factor for Subsequent Involvement in Sex Work: A Review of Empirical Findings." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 131–46.
- Abrams, Kathryn. "Sex Wars Redux: Agency and Coercion in Feminist Legal Theory." *Columbia Law Review* 95 (1995): 304–76.
- Achebe, Nwando. "The Road to Italy: Nigerian Sex Workers at Home and Abroad." *Women's Labors*, Special Issue of *Journal of Women's History* 15 (2004): 177–84.
- Ackerly, J. R. *My Father and Myself*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1968.
- Adams, J. N. "Words for 'Prostitute' in Latin." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 126 (1983): 321–58.
- Adams, Simon, and Raelene Frances. "Lifting the Veil: The Sex Industry, Museums and Galleries." *Labour History* 85 (2003): 36 pars. <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/85/adams.html>.
- Addams, Jane. *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Addams, Jane. "Twenty Years at Hull-House." In *Written by Herself*, ed. Jill Ker Conway. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Aderinto, Saheed. "Demobilization and Repatriation of Undesirables: Prostitutes, Crime, Law and Reformers in Colonial Nigeria" and "Prostitution: A Social Legacy of Colonialism in Nigeria." In *Urban History of Nigeria: Past and Present*, ed. Hakeem Tijani. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005.
- Adler, Polly. *A House Is Not a Home*. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1950.
- Aggleton, Peter, ed. *Men Who Sell Sex: International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and HIV/AIDS*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.
- Aguiar, Sarah Appleton. *The Bitch Is Back: Wicked Women in Literature*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001.
- Agustín, Laura. "The Disappearing of a Migration Category: Migrants Who Sell Sex." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (2006). <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue10/agustin.htm>.
- . *La Industria del Sexo y "Las Migrantes"*. [http://www.geocities.com/litertulia/0041\)_agustin.htm](http://www.geocities.com/litertulia/0041)_agustin.htm).

- . "A Migrant World of Services." *Social Politics* 10 (2003): 377–96.
- . "The Plight of Migrant Women: They Speak, but Who's Listening?" In *Women@Internet: Creating New Cultures in Cyberspace*, ed. Wendy Harcourt. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- . *Sex Work and Migrations/Trabajo Sexual y Migraciones*. <http://www.swimw.org/agustin.html>.
- . "Trabajar en la industria del sexo." *OFRIM/Suplementos*, Madrid, June 2000. <http://www.nodo50.org/mujeresred/laura/agustin-1.html>.
- Agustín, Laura, and Jo Weldon. "The Sex Sector: A Victory for Diversity." *Global Reproductive Rights Newsletter* 66/67 (2003): 31–34. <http://www.nswp.org/mobility/agustin-sector.html>.
- Ahmed, Julia. "Health Impacts of Prostitution: Experience of Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition." *Research for Sex Work* 4 (2001): 8–9. <http://www.med.vu.nl/hcc/artikelen/ahmed.htm>.
- Aihara, Kyoko. *Geisha*. London: Carlton Books, 1999.
- Albert, Alexa E. *Brothel*. New York: Random House, 2001.
- Alegría, M., M. Vera, D. H. Freeman, R. Robles, M. C. Santos, and C. L. Rivera. "HIV Infection, Risk Behaviors, and Depressive Symptoms among Puerto Rican Sex Workers." *American Journal of Public Health* 84, no. 12 (1994): 2000–2002.
- Alexander, M. Jacqui. "Imperial Desire/Sexual Utopias: White Gay Capital and Transnational Tourism." In *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*, ed. Ella Shohat. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998, pp. 281–305.
- Alexander, Priscilla. "Bathhouses and Brothels: Symbolic Sites in Discourse and Practice." In *Policing Public Sex*, ed. Ephren Glenn Colter, Wayne Hoffman, Eva Pendleton, Alison Redick, and David Serlin. Boston: South End Press, 1996.
- . "A Chronology, of Sorts: Scapegoating Sex Workers for the Epidemic." In *AIDS: The Women*, ed. Ines Rieder and Patricia Ruppelt. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1988, pp. 169–72.
- . "Feminism, Sex Workers, and Human Rights." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 83–97.
- . "Health Care for Sex Workers Should Go Beyond STD Care." *Research for Sex Work* 2 (1999): 14–15.
- . "(In)visible Workers: Sex Workers." Unpublished paper, 2001. <http://www.swimw.org/isw.html>.
- . "Making a Living: Women Who Go Out." In *Women's Experiences with AIDS*, ed. E. Maxine Ankrah and Lynel Long. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- . "Prostitution: Still a Difficult Issue for Feminists." In *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*, ed. Frederique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1987, 1998.
- . "Sex Industry." In *Encyclopedia of Occupational Health and Safety*, ed. Jeanne Mager Stellman. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1997.
- . "Sex Work and Health: A Question of Safety in the Workplace." *Journal of the American Medical Woman's Association* 53 (1998): 77–82.
- . "Sex Workers Fight against AIDS: An International Perspective." In *Women Resisting AIDS: Strategies of Empowerment*, ed. Beth E. Schneider and Nancy Stoller. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Allen, Robert C. *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Allison, Anne. *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Almodovar, Norma Jean. *Cop to Call Girl: Why I Left the LAPD to Make an Honest Living as a Beverly Hills Prostitute*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.

- Altink, Sietske. *Stolen Lives: Trading Women into Sex and Slavery*. London: Scarlet Press; New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995.
- Altink, Sietske, Martine Groen, and Ine Vanwesenbeeck. *Sekswerk: Ervaringen van Vrouwen in de Prostitutie*. Amsterdam: Sua Amsterdam, 1991.
- Anarfi, John K. *Female Migration and Prostitution in West Africa: The Case of Ghanaian Women in Côte d'Ivoire*. Accra, Ghana: GTZ Regional AIDS Programme for West and Central Africa, 1995.
- Anbinder, Tyler. *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. New York: Plume, 2002.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson. "From Temporary Wife to Prostitute: Sexuality and Economic Change in Early Modern Southeast Asia." *Journal of Women's History* 9 (1998): 11–35.
- Anderson, Amanda. *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Anderson, Leslie. *Restavek: Child Domestic Labor in Haiti*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee, 1990.
- Andros, Phil. *My Brother, the Hustler*. San Francisco: Gay Parisian Press, 1970.
- . *San Francisco Hustler*. San Francisco: Gay Parisian Press, 1970.
- Andrushchak, L. I., and L. N. Khodakhevich. "The Reduction of the HIV Vulnerability of Women Involved in the Sex Business in Ukraine through Social Mobilization and the Creation of Self Support Networks." *Zhurnal Mikrobiologii, Epidemiologii i Immunobiologii* 4 (2000): 118–19.
- Anonymous. *The Pretty Women of Paris*. Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 1996.
- . *Sins of the Cities of the Plain; or Confessions of a Mary-Anne*. 1881. Reprint, New York: Masquerade Books, 1992.
- . *Teleny: The Reverse of the Medal*. Edited by H. Montgomery Hyde. 1893. Reprint, London: Icon, 1966.
- Anthony, Jane. "Prostitution as 'Choice.' *Ms. magazine*, January/February 1992, pp. 86–87.
- Arceneaux, Pamela. "Guidebooks to Sin: The Blue Books of Storyville." *Louisiana History* 28 (1987): 397–405.
- Armstrong, Carol. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Asbury, Herbert. *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2001.
- . *Gem of the Prairie*. New York: Knopf, 1940.
- Asia Foundation East West. "Summary Report of Baseline Characteristics of NGO Counterparts in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan." Prepared under the Drug Demand Reduction Programme in Central Asia. Moscow: AFEW, 2003.
- Asia Watch Women's Rights Project. *Contemporary Forms of Slavery in Pakistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997.
- . *A Modern Form of Slavery Trafficking of Burmese Women and Girls into Brothels in Thailand*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993.
- . *Rape for Profit*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997.
- Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22 de Junio" de El ORO en Fundación Quimera. "Trabajadoras del sexo. Memorias Vivas." Machala, Ecuador: MamaCash, 2002.
- Assante, Julia. "The *kar.kid/harimtu*, Prostitute or Single Woman?" *Ugarit Forschungen* 30 (1998): 5–96.
- Atchison, Chris, Laura Fraser, and John Lowman. "Men Who Buy Sex: Preliminary Findings of an Exploratory Study." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.

- Auerbach, Nina. *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Auriant. *La Véritable Histoire de "Nana."* Paris: Mercure de France, 1942.
- Bailey, Beth, and David Farber. *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War Two Hawaii*. New York: Free Press, 1992.
- Bakwesegha, Christopher J. *Profiles of Urban Prostitution: A Case Study from Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1982.
- Banach, Linda, and Sue Metznerath. *Model Principles for Sex Industry Law Reform*. Sydney, Australia: Scarlet Alliance/AFAO, 2000.
- Barabas, SuzAnne, and Gabor Barabas. *Gunsmoke: A Complete History and Analysis of the Legendary Broadcast Series*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990.
- "Barbara." "It's a Pleasure Doing Business with You." *Social Text* 37 (1993): 11–22.
- Barlow, Caroline. "A Brothel Owner's View." In *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, ed. Roberta Perkins. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press, 1991.
- Barmé, Scot. *Woman, Man, Bangkok Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Barnard, Marina A. "Violence and Vulnerability: Conditions of Work for Streetworking Prostitutes." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 15 (1993): 683–705.
- Barnhart, Jacqueline Baker. *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco 1849–1900*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986.
- Barrett, Gregory. *Archetypes in Japanese Film: The Sociopolitical and Religious Significance of the Principal Heroines and Heroines*. Toronto: Associate Universities Press, 1989.
- Barrows, Sydney B., and William Novak. *Mayflower Madam*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1986.
- Barry, Kathleen. *Female Sexual Slavery*. New York: New York University Press, 1979.
- . *The Prostitution of Sexuality: The Global Exploitation of Women*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- , Charlotte Bunch, and Shirley Castley. "International Feminism: Networking against Female Sexual Slavery." Report presented at the Global Feminist Workshop to Organize against Traffic in Women, Rotterdam, Netherlands, 6–15 April 1983.
- Bartley, Paula. *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Barzaghi, Antonio. *Donne o Cortigiane? La Prostituzione a Venezia. Documenti di Costume dal XV al XVIII secolo*. Verona: Bertani Editore, 1980.
- Basch, Françoise. *Relative Creatures: Victorian Women in Society and the Novel*. New York: Schocken, 1974.
- Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*. London: 1954. Reprint, Calcutta: Rupa, 1981.
- Basinger, Jeanine. *A Woman's View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women, 1930–1960*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.
- Bassermann, Lujo. *The Oldest Profession: A History of Prostitution*. New York: Dorset Press, 1965, 1967.
- Baston, Lewis. *Sleaze: The State of Britain*. London: Macmillan, 2000.
- Bastow, Karen. "Prostitution and HIV/AIDS." *HIV/AIDS Policy and Law Newsletter* 2 (1995). <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/bastow-aidslaw.html>.
- Baumeister, Roy F., and Kathleen D. Vohs. "Sexual Economics: Sex as Female Resource for Social Exchange in Heterosexual Interactions." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 8, no. 4 (2004): 339–63.
- Beard, Mary, and John Henderson. "With This Body I Thee Worship: Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity." In *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. M. Wyke. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

- Beck, Stephen V. "Syphilis: The Great Pox." In *Plague, Pox and Pestilence: Disease in History*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1997.
- Becker, Charles, Jean-Pierre Dozon, Christine Obbo, and Mouriba Touré, eds., *Experiencing and Understanding AIDS in Africa*. Paris: Codesria, 1998.
- Begg, Paul, Martin Fido, and Keith Skinner. *The Jack the Ripper A-Z*. Terra Alta, WV: Headline, 1996.
- Beith-Halahmi, Esther Yael. *Angell Fayre or Strumpet Lewd: Jane Shore as an Example of Erring Beauty in Sixteenth-Century Literature*. 2 vols. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1974.
- Bell, Laurie, ed., *Good Girls/Bad Girls: Feminists and Sex Trade Workers Face to Face*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1987.
- Bell, Shannon. *Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- . *Whore Carnival*. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 1995.
- Bellanger, Marguerite. *Confessions: Mémoires anecdotiques*. Paris: Librairie Populaire, 1882.
- Belle, Jennifer. *Going Down: A Novel*. New York: Riverhead Books, 1996.
- Benotsch, E., A. M. Somlai, S. D. Pinkerton, J. A. Kelly, D. Ostrovski, C. Gore-Felton, and A. P. Kozlov. "Drug Use and Sexual Risk Behaviors among Female Russian IDUs Who Exchange Sex for Money or Drugs." *International Journal of STD & AIDS* 15 (2004): 343–47.
- Berer, Marge, with Sunanda Ray. *Women and HIV/AIDS*. London: Pandora, 1993.
- Bericht der Österreichischen Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels über das Vereinsjahr*. Vienna: Privately printed, 1908.
- Berlin, Jennifer V. "Bahnhof Boys: Policing Male Prostitution in Post-Nazi Berlin." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12 (2003): 605–37.
- Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth. *Temporarily Yours: Sexual Commerce in Post-Industrial Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in press.
- . "The Meaning of the Purchase: Desire, Demand and the Commerce of Sex." *Ethnography* 2, no. 3 (2001): 389–420.
- . "What's Wrong with Prostitution? What's Right with Sex Work? Comparing Markets in Female Sexual Labor." *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 10, no. 1 (1999): 91–117.
- Bernstein, Laurie. *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Bignamini, Ilaria, and Martin Postle. *The Artist's Model: Its Role in British Art from Lely to Etty*. Exh. Cat. Nottingham, England: Nottingham University Art Gallery, 1991.
- Bindman, Jo, and Jo Doezema. "Redefining Prostitution as Sex Work on the International Agenda." London: Anti-Slavery International, 1997. <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/redefining.html>.
- Bird, Kristina D. "The Use of Spermicide Containing Nonoxynol-9 in the Prevention of HIV Infection." *AIDS* 5 (1991): 791–96.
- Bird, Phyllis. *Missing Persons and Mistaken Identities*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.
- . "'To Play the Harlot': An Inquiry into an Old Testament Metaphor." In *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy Day. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.
- Bishop, Ryan, and Lillian S. Robinson. *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Blain, Roxy. "A Female Sex Worker's View." In *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*, ed. Roberta Perkins. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press, 1991.
- Bland, Lucy. 1992. "'Purifying' the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England." *Women's History Review* 1 (1992): 397–412.

- Bleuel, Hans Peter. *Sex and Society in Nazi Germany*. New York: J. P. Lippincott, 1973.
- Bock, Gisela. "Keine Arbeitskräfte in diesem Sinne: Prostituierte im Nazi-Staat." In *Wir sind Frauen wie andere auch!": Prostituierte und ihre Kämpfe*, ed. Pieke Biermann. Hamburg: Reinbek, 1980.
- Boles, Jacqueline, and Kirk Elifson. "Out of CASH: The Rise and Demise of a Male Prostitutes' Rights Organization." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Bolt, Christine. *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.
- Bond, Katherine C., David D. Celentano, and Chayan Vaddhanaphuti. "'I'm Not Afraid of Life or Death': Women in Brothels in Northern Thailand." In *Women's Experiences with AIDS: An International Perspective*, ed. Lynellyn Long and Maxine E. Ankrah. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Booth, Karen M. "Technical Difficulties: Experts, Women and the State in Kenya's AIDS Crisis." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995.
- Bornoff, Nicholas. *Pink Samurai: Love, Marriage, and Sex in Contemporary Japan*. New York: Pocket Books, 1991.
- Borzello, Frances. *The Artist's Model*. London: Junction Books, 1982.
- Bourgeois, P. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Bowers, Jane, and Judith Tick, eds. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Boyle F. M., M. P. Dunne, J. M. Najman, J. S. Western, C. Wod Turrell, and S. Glennon. "Psychological Distress among Female Sex Workers." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 21 (1997): 643–46.
- Brame, William, Gloria Brame, and Jon Jacobs. *Different Loving: The World of Sexual Domination and Submission*. New York: Random House, 1993.
- Brandt, Allan M. "AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy." In *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- . "A Historical Perspective." In *AIDS and the Law: A Guide for the Public*, ed. Harlon L. Dalton and Scott Burriss. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.
- . *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Brants, Chrisje. "The Fine Art of Regulated Tolerance: Prostitution in Amsterdam." *Journal of Law and Society* 25, no. 4 (1998): 621–35.
- Brennan, Denise. "Selling Sex for Visas: Sex Tourism as a Stepping-Stone to International Migration." In *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, ed. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Rochschild. New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books, 2002.
- . *What's Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Brents, Barbara G., and Kathryn Hausbeck. "State-Sanctioned Sex: Negotiating Formal and Informal Regulatory Practices in Nevada Brothels." *Sociological Perspectives* 44 (2001): 307–32.
- . "Violence and Legalized Brothel Prostitution in Nevada: Examining Safety, Risk, and Prostitution Policy." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20, no. 3 (2005): 270–95.
- Brewer, T. H., J. Hasbun, C. A. Ryan, S. E. Hawes, S. Martinez, J. Sanchez, M. Butler De Lister, J. Castanzo, J. Lopez, and K. K. Holmes. "Migration, Ethnicity and Environment: HIV Risk Factors for Women on the Sugar Cane Plantations of the Dominican Republic." *AIDS* 12 (1998): 1879–87.
- Bristow, Edward J. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery 1870–1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

- . *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.
- Broberg, G., and N. Roll-Hansen, eds. *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996.
- Brock, Debi. *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- . "Prostitutes Are Scapegoats in the AIDS Panic." *Resources for Feminist Research* 18 (1989): 13–17.
- Bromberg, Sara. "Feminist Issues in Prostitution." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Broude, Norma. "Degas's Misogyny." In *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982.
- , and Mary D. Garrard. *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.
- Broun, Heywood. *Anthony Comstock, Roundsmen of the Lord*. New York: Boni, 1927. Reprint, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004.
- Brown, Larry K. *The Hog Ranches of Wyoming: Liquor, Lust and Lies under Sagebrush Skies*. Glendo, WY: High Plains Press, 1995.
- Browne, Jan, and Victor Minichiello. "Promoting Safer Sex in the Male Sex Work Industry: A Professional Responsibility." *AIDS Patient Care* 11 (1997): 353–58.
- . "The Social and Work Context of Commercial Sex between Men: A Research Note." *Australian and New England Journal of Sociology* 32 (1996): 86–92.
- Bruckert, Chris, Colette Parent, and Pascale Robitaille. "Erotic Service/Erotic Dance Establishments: Two Types of Marginalized Labour." Ottawa: Law Commission of Canada, 2003. http://www.lcc.gc.ca/research_project/03_erotic_1-en.asp?lang_update=1.
- Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- . "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (1975): 825–45.
- Brussa, Licia, ed. *Health, Migration and Sex Work: The Experience of TAMPEP*. Amsterdam: TAMPEP International, 1999.
- Buchwald, Emilie, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth, eds. *Transforming a Rape Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 1993.
- Buckner, Margaret. "Village Women as Town Prostitutes: Cultural Factors Relevant to Prostitution and HIV Epidemiology in Guinea Bissau." In *Social Sciences and AIDS in Africa: Review and Prospects; Experiencing and Understanding AIDS in Africa*. Paris: Karthala, 1999.
- Budin, Stephanie L. "Pallakai, Prostitutes, and Prophetesses." *Classical Philology* 98 (2003): 148–59.
- . "Sacred Prostitution in the First Person." In *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, ed. Laura McClure and Christopher Faraone. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.
- Bujra, J. M. "Production, Property, Prostitution—Sexual Politics in Atu." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 17 (1977): 13–39.
- . "Proleterianization and the 'Informal Economy': A Case Study from Nairobi." *African Urban Studies* 3 (1978–79): 47–66.
- Bullough, Vern L. *The History of Prostitution*. New York: University Books, 1954.
- , and Bonnie Bullough. *Sexual Attitudes: Myths and Realities*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1995.
- , and Bonnie Bullough. *Sin, Sickness, and Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes*. New York: New American Library, 1977.

- , and Bonnie Bullough. *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*. New York: Crown Books, 1987.
- Burris S., and D. Villena. "Adapting to the Reality of Difficult HIV Policy Choices in Russia, China, and India." *Human Rights* (Winter 2002). <http://www.abanet.org/irr/hr/fall04/reality.htm>.
- Burtt, Shelley. "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England." In *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660–1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Butcher, Kate. "Feminists, Prostitutes and HIV." In *AIDS: Setting a Feminist Agenda*, ed. Lesley Doyal, Jennie Naidoo, and Tamsin Wilton. London: Taylor and Francis, 1994.
- Butler, Anne M. *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West 1865–1890*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Butler, Anne. "Military Myopia: Prostitution on the Frontier." *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* 13, no. 4 (1981): 233–50.
- Butler, Josephine. "The Double-Standard of Morality." *Philanthropist*, October 1886.
- Cabezas, Amalia. "Discourses of Prostitution: The Case of Cuba." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Calandrucio, Giuseppe. "A Review of Recent Research on Human Trafficking in the Middle East." *International Migration* 43, nos. 1/2 (2005): 267–99.
- Califia, Pat. *Public Sex: The Culture of Radical Sex*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1994.
- Callen, Anthea. *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Cameron, Liz. "Research: Empowering or Exploitative?" In *Partnership for Prevention: A Report of a Meeting between Women's Health Advocates, Program Planners, and Scientists*. Washington, DC: Program Council for Women's Health and the International Women's Health Coalition, 1994. www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/ebert/partprev.pdf.
- Campbell, Carole A. "Prostitution, AIDS, and Preventive Health Behavior." *Social Science Medicine* 32 (1991): 1367–78.
- Campbell, Maria. *Halfbreed*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.
- Campbell, Rosie. "Invisible Men: Making Visible Male Clients of Female Prostitutes in Merseyside." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Campbell, Russell. "Fallen Woman' Prostitute Narratives in Cinema." <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1199/rcfr8b.htm>.
- Canosa, Romano, and Isabella Colonnello. *Storia della prostituzione in Italia dal quattrocento alla fine del settecento*. Rome: Sapere 2000.
- Carby, Hazel. "It Just Be's Dat Way Sometime: The Sexual Politics of Women's Blues." *Radical America* 20 (1986): 9–22.
- Carlton, Charles. *Royal Mistresses*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Carmen, Arlene, and Howard Moody. *Working Women: The Subterranean World of Street Prostitution*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.
- Casillo, Charles. *Outlaw: The Lives and Careers of John Rechy*. Los Angeles: Advocate Books, 2002.
- Castillo, D. A., M.G.R. Gomez, and B. Delgado. "Border Lives: Prostitute Women in Tijuana." *Signs* 24 (1999): 387–422.
- Caukins, S., and N. Coombs. "The Psychodynamics of Male Prostitution." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 30 (1975): 441–52.
- Cavan, Sherri. *Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior*. Chicago: Aldine, 1966.
- Centers for Disease Control. "The CDC Tuskegee Syphilis Study Page." <http://www.cdc.gov/nchstp/od/tuskegee/index.html>.

- Central and Eastern Europe Harm Reduction Network. *Sex Work, HIV/AIDS and Human Rights in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. Vilnius, Lithuania: CEEHRN, 2005.
- Chancer, L. "Prostitution, Feminist Theory, and Ambivalence: Notes from the Sociological Underground." *Social Text* 37 (1993):143–72.
- Chancer, Lynn. *Reconcilable Differences*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Chang, Kang-i Sun, and Haun Saussy, eds. *Women Writers of Traditional China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Chapkis, Wendy. *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- . "Power and Control in the Commercial Sex Trade." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald John Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- . "Trafficking, Migration, and the Law: Protecting Innocents, Punishing Immigrants." *Gender and Society* 17, no. 6 (2003): 923–37.
- Chapman, H. Perry. *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996.
- Chaudhuri, Nirad C. *The Continent of Circe: An Essay on the Peoples of India*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1975.
- Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890–1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Cheng, Weikun. "The Challenge of the Actresses: Female Performers and Cultural Alternatives in Early Twentieth Century Beijing and Tianjin." *Modern China* 22, no. 2 (April 1996): 197–233.
- . "The Use of 'Public' Women: Commercialized Performance, Nation-Building, and Actresses' Strategies in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing." *Working Papers on Women and International Development* 275. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, June 2002.
- Chesler, Ellen. *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America*. New York: Anchor Books, 1992.
- Christian, Laurent, Karim Seke, Ndeye Coumba, Toune Kane et al. "Prevalence of HIV and Other Sexually Transmitted Infections, and Risk Behaviors in Unregistered Sex Workers in Dakar, Senegal." *AIDS* 17 (2002): 1811–16.
- Christiansen, Rupert. *Tales of the New Babylon: Paris 1869–1875*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994.
- Clancy-Smith, Julia. "Islam, Gender, and Identities in the Making of French Algeria." *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism, 1830–1962*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
- . "Marginality and Migration: Europe's Social Outcasts in Pre-colonial Tunisia, 1830–81." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.
- , and Frances Gouda. Introduction to *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism, 1830–1962*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
- Clark, Timothy J. "A Bar at the Folies Bergère." In *The Painting of Modern Life: Manet and His Contemporaries*, ed. Bradford Collins. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Cleland, John. *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, ed. Peter Sabor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Clement, Elizabeth. "Prostitution and Community in Turn-of-the-Century New York City." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.

- Clements, Tracy M. "Prostitution and the American Health Care System: Denying Access to a Group of Women in Need." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 11 (1996): 49–98.
- Cleugh, James. *The Marquis and the Chevalier*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1952.
- Cloke, Gillian. "This Female Man of God": *Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, A.D. 350–450*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Coalition against Trafficking in Women. "CATW Debates Pro-Prostitution NGOS." *Coalition Report* 5–6 (1998–2000): 8–9.
- Cobb, Jodi. *Geisha: The Life, the Voices, the Art*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
- Cohen, Bernard. *Deviant Street Networks: Prostitution in New York City*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980.
- Cohen, Edward E. "An Economic Analysis of Athenian Prostitution." In *Courtesans and Prostitutes in the Ancient World*, ed. Laura McClure and Christopher Faraone. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.
- Cohen, Judith B., and Priscilla Alexander. "Female Sex Workers: Scapegoats in the AIDS Epidemic." In *Women at Risk: Issues in the Primary Prevention of AIDS*, ed. A. O'Leary and L. S. Jemmott. New York: Plenum, 1995.
- , and Constance Wofsy. "Prostitutes and AIDS: Public Policy Issues." *AIDS and Public Policy Journal* 3 (1988): 16–22.
- Cohen, Patricia Cline. *The Murder of Helen Jewett*. New York: Random House, 1998.
- Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500: From Refuges for Ex-prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. London: Martin Robinson, 1972.
- Cohen, Yehudi. "The Sociology of Commercialized Prostitution in Okinawa." *Social Forces* 37, no. 2 (1958): 160–68.
- Colette. *Seven by Colette*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, 1955.
- Collins, Bradford, ed. *Twelve Views of Manet's Bar*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Colombier, Marie. *Mémoires: Fin d'Empire*. Paris: Flammarion, 1898.
- Colton, John, and Clemence Randolph. *Rain: A Play in Three Acts*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925.
- Commonwealth Department of Health and Aging. "5th National HIV Strategy; Revitalising Australia's Response." Canberra, Australia: Commonwealth of Australia, 2005.
- Connelly, Mark Thomas. *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Cook, Richard I. "'The Great Leviathan of Leachery': Mandeville's Modest Defence of Publick Stews (1724)." In *Mandeville Studies: New Explorations in the Art and Thought of Dr. Bernard Mandeville 1670–1733*, ed. I. Primer. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.
- Cooke, Thomas Darlington. *The Old French and Chaucerian Fabliaux: A Study of Their Comic Climax*. Columbia: University of Georgia Press, 1978.
- Cooper, Douglas. *Masters of Art: Toulouse-Lautrec*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983.
- Corbin, Alain. *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Cordasco, Francesco, and Thomas Monroe Pitkin. *The White Slave Trade and the Immigrants: A Chapter in American Social History*. Detroit: Blaine Ethridge, 1981.
- Corley, Kathleen. *Private Women, Public Meals*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993.
- Corso, Carla, and Sandra Landi. *Ritratto a Tinte Forti*. Florence: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 1991.
- Cott, Nancy. "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850." *Signs* 4 (Winter 1978): 219–36.

- Cotton, Ann, Melissa Farley, and Robert Baron. "Attitudes toward Prostitution and Acceptance of Rape Myths." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 32, no. 9 (2002): 1790–96.
- Crago, Anna Louise. "Unholy Alliance." www.alternet.org.
- Craig, Alec. *The Banned Books of England*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- Cressey, Paul. *The Taxi Hall Dance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
- Crosby, Sarah. "Health Care Provision for Prostitute Women: A Holistic Approach." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Crouch, Emma Elizabeth. *The Memoirs of Cora Pearl*. London: George Vickers, 1886.
- Curtis, T. C., and W. A. Speck. "The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study of the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform." *Literature and History* 3 (1976): 45–64.
- Cusick, L. "Non-use of Condoms by Prostitute Women." *AIDS Care* 10 (1998): 133–46.
- D'Costa, Lourdes J., Francis A. Plummer, Ian Bowmer, Lieve Franssen, Peter Piot, Allen R. Ronald, and Herbert Nsanze. "Prostitutes Are a Major Reservoir of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Nairobi, Kenya." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 12 (1985): 64–67.
- D'Emilio, John D., and Estelle B. Freedman. *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Dalby, Liza Crihfield. *Geisha*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Dalla, Rochelle. "Exposing the 'Pretty Woman' Myth: A Qualitative Examination of the Lives of Female Streetwalking Prostitutes." *Journal of Sex Research* 37, no. 4 (2000): 344–53.
- Dally, Ann. *Women under the Knife*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Damodaragupta. *Kuttani-mata*. Edited by T. M. Tripathi. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944.
- Dangerous Bedfellows, ed. *Policing Public Sex*. Boston: South End Press, 1996.
- Danville, Eric. *The Complete Linda Lovelace*. New York: Power Process Publishing, 2001.
- Darrow, William W. "Assessing Targeted AIDS Prevention in Male and Female Prostitutes and Their Clients." In *Assessing AIDS Prevention*, ed. F. Paccaud, J. P. Vader, and F. Gutzwiller. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1992.
- . "Prostitution, Intravenous Drug Use, and HIV-1 in the United States." In *AIDS, Drugs, and Prostitution*, ed. Martin Plant. London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1990.
- . "Prostitution and Sexually Transmitted Diseases." In *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*, ed. King K. Holmes. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984.
- Dauphin, Claudine. *Brothels, Baths, and Babes: Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land*. Vol. 3. Dublin, Ireland: University College, 1996.
- Davanzo Poli, Doretta, et al. *Il gioco dell'amore: Le Cortegiane di Venezia dal Trecento al Settecento*. Milan: Berenice, 1990.
- Davenport-Hines, Richard. *Sex, Death and Punishment: Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality in Britain since the Renaissance*. London: Fontana Press/HarperCollins, 1990.
- Davidson, James N. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Davidson, Julia O. *Children in the Global Sex Trade*. London: Polity Press, 2005.
- Davies, John Booth. *The Myth of Addiction*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998.
- Davis, Angela Y. *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.
- Davis, Kingsley. "The Sociology of Prostitution." *American Sociological Review* 2 (October 1937): 746–55.
- Davis, Sylvia, with Martha Shaffer. "Prostitution in Canada: Invisible Menace or the Menace of Invisibility?" 1994. <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/sdavis.html>.
- Day, Sophie. "Editorial Review: Prostitute Women and AIDS: Anthropology." *AIDS* 2 (1988): 421–28.

- De Becker, J. E. *The Nightless City, or, the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku*. 1899. Reprint, New York: ICG Muse, 2003.
- Decker, John F. "Prostitution as a Public Health Issue." In *AIDS and the Law: A Guide for the Public*, ed. Harlon L. Dalton, Scott Burris, and the Yale AIDS Law Project. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Decker, John R. *Prostitution: Regulation and Control*. Littleton, CO: Fred B. Rothman, 1979.
- De Graaf, Lawrence B. "Race, Sex, and Region: Black Women in the American West, 1850–1920." *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (May 1980): 285–313.
- De Graaf, Ron. *Prostitutes and Their Clients: Sexual Networks and Determinants of Condom Use*. Den Haag: CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1995.
- Delacoste, Frederique, and Priscilla Alexander, eds. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998.
- Dell'Orso, Claudio. *Venezia erotica*. Florence: Glittering Images, 1995.
- . *Venezia Libertina: I Luoghi della Memoria Erotica*. Venice: Arsenale, 1999.
- Demaere, Kate. "Decriminalisation as Partnership: An Overview of Australia's Sex Industry Law Reform Model." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 14–15. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>.
- Demand, Nancy. *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- De Marco, J. "The World of Gay Strippers." *Gay and Lesbian Review* (March/April 2002): 12–14.
- Dembrowski, P. F. *La Vie de Ste. Marie Egyptienne*. Geneva: Droz, 1977.
- Denisova, Tatyana A. "Trafficking in Women and Children for Purposes of Sexual Exploitation: The Criminological Aspect." *Trends in Organized Crime* 6 (2001): 30–36.
- Denning, Lord Alfred. *John Profumo and Christine Keeler 1963*. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1963.
- Deren S., M. Shedlin, W. Davis Rees, M. C. Clatts, S. Balcorta, M. M. Beardsley, J. Sanchez, and D. Des Jarlais. "Dominican, Mexican, and Puerto Rican Prostitutes: Drug Use and Sexual Behaviors." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science* 19 (1997): 202–13.
- Desquitado, Marivic R. *Behind the Shadows: Towards a Better Understanding of Prostituted Women*. Davao City, The Philippines: Talikala, Inc., 1992.
- Devereux, Cicely. "'The Maiden Tribute' and the Rise of the White Slave in the Nineteenth Century: The Making of an Imperial Construct." *Victorian Review* 26 (2001): 1–23.
- Diana, Lewis. *The Prostitute and Her Clients: Your Pleasure Is Her Business*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1985.
- Dickie, Phil. "Civilising the Sex Trade." Brisbane Institute, 25 July 2001. http://www.brisinst.org.au/resources/dickie_phil_prostitution.html.
- Dickinson, Peter. *Here Is Queer: Nationalisms, Sexualities and the Literatures of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- "Dime Novels and Penny Dreadfuls." <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/dp/pennies/home.html>.
- Dinan, Kinsey Alden. "Establishing an International Standard for States' Treatment of Trafficked Persons: The UN Anti-Trafficking Protocol and the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime." In *To Prevent, Suppress and Punish': Ideology, Globalization and the Politics of Human Trafficking*, ed. Nancie Caraway. New York: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Ditmore, Melissa. "Addressing Sex Work as Labor." <http://www.swimw.org/aslabor.html>.
- . "Contemporary Anti-trafficking Legislation in the United States." <http://www.nswp.org/mobility/legislation.html>.
- . "How Immigration Status Affects Sex Workers' Health and Vulnerability to Abuse: A Comparison of Two Countries." *Research for Sex Work* 5, 2002. <http://www.med.vu.nl/hcc/artikelen/ditmore5.htm>.

- . “Hysterical Policy: Morality in New Laws Addressing Trafficking and Sex Work.” Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, Washington, DC, June 23, 2003. http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/Ditmore_Melissa.pdf.
- . “L’ethique dans les Essais Incluant des Travailleuses du Sexe.” *Action 98 Paris: Act Up Paris*, 2005.
- . “New U.S. Funding Policies on Trafficking Affect Sex Work HIV-Prevention Efforts World Wide.” *SIECUS Report* 33 (2005): 26–29.
- . “Reaching Out to Sex Workers.” *Reaching the Hardly Reached (Program for Appropriate Technology and Health)*. 2002. <http://www.path.org/files/RHR-Article-3.pdf>.
- . “Report from the USA: Do Prohibitory Laws Promote Risk?” *Research for Sex Work* 4, 2001. <http://www.med.vu.nl/hcc/artikelen/ditmore.htm>.
- . “Sex Workers Are Organizing in Kolkata.” In *New Sociologies*, ed. Patricia Clough and Jean Halley. Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, forthcoming.
- . “Trafficking in Lives: The Impact of New International Anti-Trafficking Law in Asia.” In *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo, Bandana Pattanaik, and Jyothi Sanghera. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press, 2005.
- , and Catherine Poulcallec-Gordon. “Human Rights Violations: The Acceptance of Violence against Sex Workers.” *Research for Sex Work* 6 (2003): 20–21.
- , and Marjan Wijers. “The Negotiations on the UN Protocol on Trafficking in Persons: Moving the Focus from Morality to Actual Conditions.” *Nemesis*, no. 4 (2003). Network of Sex Work Projects Web site <http://www.nswp.org/pdf/NEMESIS.PDF>.
- , and Penelope Saunders. “Sex Work and Sex Trafficking.” *Sexual Health Exchange* 1 (1998). http://www.kit.nl/information_services/exchange_content/html/1998_1_sex_work.asp.
- Do Espirito Santo, Maria Eugenia G., and Gina Etheredge. “And Then I Became a Prostitute ... Some Aspects of Prostitution and Brothel Prostitutes in Dakar, Senegal.” *Social Science Journal* 41 (2004): 137–46.
- Doezema, Jo. “Forced to Choose: Beyond the Voluntary v. Forced Prostitution Dichotomy.” In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 34–50.
- . “Loose Women or Lost Women? The Re-emergence of the Myth of ‘White Slavery’ in Contemporary Discourses of ‘Trafficking in Women.’” *Gender Issues* 18 (2000): 23–50. <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/doezema-loose.html>.
- . “Ouch! Western Feminists’ ‘Wounded Attachment’ to the Third-World Prostitute.” *Feminist Review* 67 (2001): 16–38.
- Dollimore, Jonathan. “Shakespeare Understudies: The Sodomite, the Prostitute, the Transvestite and Their Critics.” In *Essays in Cultural Materialism*. 2nd ed., ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Donaldson, Stephen. *A Million Jockers, Punks, and Queens: Sex among American Male Prisoners and Its Implications for Concepts of Sexual Orientation*. New York: Stop Prisoner Rape, 1993. <http://www.spr.org>.
- Donovan, Pamela. *No Way of Knowing: Crime, Urban Legends, and the Internet*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Downer, Lesley. *Women of the Pleasure Quarters: The Secret History of the Geisha*. New York: Broadway Books, 2001.
- Drachman, Virginia. “The Loomis Trial: Social Mores and Obstetrics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.” In *Women and Health in America*, ed. Judith Waltzer Leavitt. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

- Dreizin, A. "Work with 'Street' Prostitutes in the Framework of a Harm Reduction Project in Kaliningrad." *Russian Journal of HIV/AIDS and Related Issues* 4, no. 1 (2000): 134.
- Drew, William M. D. W. *Griffith's Intolerance: Its Genesis and Its Vision*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1986.
- DuBois, Ellen Carol, and Linda Gordon. "Seeking Ecstasy on the Battlefield: Danger and Pleasure in Nineteenth-Century Feminist Sexual Thought." In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Carole Vance. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Duggan, Lisa, and Nan Hunter. *Sex Wars: Sexual Dissent and Political Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Dunae, Patrick. "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime." *Victorian Studies* 22 (1979): 133–50.
- Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee. "Manifesto for Sex Workers' Rights." 1997. BAYSWAN Web site <http://www.bayswan.org/manifest.html>.
- Duval, Jean. *A Study of Prostitution in Shanghai at the End of the Qing Dynasty as It Appears in the "Shanghai" Novels*. Paris: VERLCA, 1972.
- Dworkin, Andrea. *Intercourse*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- . *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Perigee, 1981.
- . *Woman Hating*. New York: Dutton, 1974.
- , and Catharine MacKinnon, eds. *In Harm's Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Eadie, Jo, ed. *Sexuality: The Essential Glossary*. London: Hodder Arnold Publishers, 2004.
- Echols, Alice. "The Taming of the Id." In *Pleasure and Danger*, ed. Carole Vance. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Edlin, Brian R., Kathleen L. Irwin, Sairus Faruque, Clyde B. McCoy, Carl Word, Yolanda Serrano, James A. Inciardi, Benjamin P. Bowser, Robert F. Schilling, and Scott D. Holmberg for the Multicenter Crack Cocaine and HIV Infection Study Team. "Intersecting Epidemics—Crack Cocaine Use and HIV Infection among Inner-City Young Adults." *New England Journal of Medicine* 331, no. 21 (1994): 1422–27.
- Egger, Steven A. *The Need to Kill: Inside the World of the Serial Killer*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Henry Holt, 2002.
- El-Bassel N., and S. Witte. "Designing Effective HIV Prevention Strategies for Female Street Sex Workers." *AIDS Patient Care and STDs* 12 (1998): 599–603.
- , Robert F. Schilling, Kathleen L. Irwin, Sairus Faruque, L. Gilbert, J. Von Bargen, Yolanda Serrano, and Brian R. Edlin. "Sex Trading and Psychological Distress among Women Recruited from the Streets of Harlem." *American Journal of Public Health* 87 (1997): 66–70.
- Elias, James E., Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer, eds. *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998, pp. 91–106.
- Elliot, Robert C., ed. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Moll Flanders: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hill, 1970.
- Ellman, Richard. *Oscar Wilde*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984, 1987.
- Emeljanow, Victor. "Lola Montez." In *American National Biography*. Vol. XV. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- English, Dierdre. "The Fear That Feminism Will Free Men First." In *Powers of Desire*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. London: Pandora Press, 1989.
- . *Does Khaki Become You?: The Militarisation of Women's Lives*. Boston: South End Press, 1983.

- Ennew, Judith. *The Sexual Exploitation of Children*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986.
- , Kusum Gopal, Janet Heeran, and Heather Montgomery. *Children and Prostitution. How Can We Measure and Monitor the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children? Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography*. 1996. Oslo, Childwatch International Web site <http://childabuse.com/childhouse/childwatch/cwi/projects/indicators/prostitution/>.
- Erenberg, Lewis A. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Erickson, P., D. Riley, Y. Cheung, and P. O'Hare, eds. *Harm Reduction: A New Direction for Policies and Programs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Escoffier, Jeffrey. "Porn Star/Stripper/Escort: Economic and Sexual Dynamics in a Sex Work Career." In *Male Sex Workers*, ed. Todd Morrison. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, forthcoming.
- Estébanez, P., and J. C. Grant. "The Value of Workplace versus Income in Determining HIV Status and Other STDs among a Sample of Spanish Sex Workers." *STDs* 25 (1998): 194–95.
- , K. Fitch, and R. Nájera. "HIV and Female Sex Workers." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 71 (1993): 397–412.
- Fabian, Cosi. "The Holy Whore: A Woman's Gateway to Power." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Fagbohunge, Tunde, ed. *The Rape of the Innocents: Evolving an African Initiative against Human Trafficking*. Proceedings of the First Pan African Conference on Human Trafficking, Abuja, Nigeria, 19–23 February 2001.
- Fahmy, Khaled. "Prostitution in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.
- Fairstein, Linda. *Sexual Violence: Our War against Rape*. New York: William Morrow, 1993.
- Family Health International. "Microbicide Products Enter Human Trials." http://www.FHI.org/en/RH/Pubs/Network/v20_2/Nwvol20-2microbicides.htm.
- Farley, Melissa, Isin Baral, Merab Kiremire and Ufuk Sezgin. "Prostitution in Five Countries: Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." *Feminism and Psychology* 8, no. 4 (1998): 405–26.
- , and Barkan, H. "Prostitution, Violence against Women, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." *Women and Health* 27 (1998): 37–49.
- , A. Cotton, J. Lynne et al. "Prostitution and Trafficking in Nine Countries: An Update on Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." In *Prostitution, Trafficking and Traumatic Stress*, ed. M. Farley. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2003.
- FaSanto, Maria Eugenia, G. Do Espirito, and Gina D. Etheredge. "And Then I Became a Prostitute ... Some Aspects of Prostitution and Brothel Prostitutes in Dakar, Senegal." *Social Science Journal* 41 (2004): 137–46.
- Feder, Sid. *The Luciano Story*. New York: D. McKay, 1954.
- Fee, Elizabeth. "Sin vs. Science: Venereal Disease in Baltimore in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 43 (1988): 141–64.
- Fellner, Jamie, and Marc Mauer. *Losing the Vote: The Impact of Felony Disenfranchisement Laws in the United States*. New York: Human Rights Watch, the Sentencing Project, 1998.
- Fessenden, Tracy, Nicholas F. Radel, and Magdalena J. Zabrorwska. *The Puritan Origins of Sex: Religion, Sexuality, and National Identity in American Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Fine, Bob. "Labelling Theory: An Investigation into the Sociological Critique of Deviance." *Economy and Society* 6 (1977): 166–93.
- Finger, Ernest, and A[nton] Baumgarten. *Sammlung der für die Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels in etracht kommenden österreichischen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlässe*. Vienna: Privately printed, 1909.
- Finnegan, Frances. *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- . *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schuessler. *In Memory of Her*. New York: Crossroad, 1985.
- Fischer, B., S. Wortley, C. Webster, and M. Kirst. "The Socio-Legal Dynamics and Implications of Diversion: The Case Study of the Toronto 'John School' for Prostitution Offenders." *Criminal Justice* 2 (2003): 385–410.
- Fisher, Trevor. *Prostitution and the Victorians*. New York: St. Martin's, 1997.
- Fisk, Robert. "A Nation's Best-Kept Secret: The Women Lured to Lebanon with a One-Way Ticket into Slavery." *Independent*, 6 July 2002.
- Fissell, Mary E. "Speculations on the Speculum." *Women's Health in Primary Care* 3 (2000): 298.
- Fleiss, Heidi. *Pandering*. Los Angeles: One Hour Entertainment, 2003.
- Flemming, Rebecca. "Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire." *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999): 38–61.
- Flexner, Abraham. *Prostitution in Europe*. New York: Century Co., 1914.
- Flowers, Amy. *The Fantasy Factory: An Insider's View of the Phone Sex Industry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Foa, Anna. "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494–1530)." In *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Foat, Ginny. *Never Guilty, Never Free*. New York: Random House, 1985.
- Foley, Brenda. "Naked Politics: *Erie, PA v. the Kandyland Club*." *NWSA Journal* 14 (2002): 1–17.
- Ford, Kimberly-Anne. "Evaluating Prostitution as a Human Service Occupation." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Forrai, Judit. "Prostitution at the Turn of the Century in Budapest." In *Civilization, Sexuality and Social Life in Historical Context: The Hidden Face of Urban Life*. Budapest: Uj-aranydíd Kft, 1996.
- Frank, Katherine. *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- . "The Production of Identity and the Negotiation of Intimacy in a Gentleman's Club." *Sexualities* 1, no. 2 (1998): 175–201.
- Free the Slaves and Human Rights Law Center. *Hidden Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States*. Washington, DC: Free the Slaves and Human Rights Law Center, 2004. http://www.hrcberkeley.org/download/hiddenslaves_report.pdf.
- Freedom House Country Reports. Freedom House website <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/index.htm/>.
- French, Dolores, and Linda Lee. *Working: My Life as a Prostitute*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988.
- Frey, Julia. *Toulouse-Lautrec: A Life*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1994.
- Friedman, Mack. *Strapped for Cash: A History of American Hustler Culture*. Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2003.
- Fusco, Coco. "Hustling for Dollars: Jineterismo in Cuba." In *Global Sex Workers*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Fysh, Geoffrey. "Sex Work, HIV and Money." MA thesis, Nepean University, Western Sydney, Australia, 1995.
- Gallagher, John. *Geisha: A Unique World of Tradition, Elegance and Art*. New York: PRC Publishing, 2003.
- Gansinghe, Mallika. "No Stray Dogs: Sex Worker Empowerment in Sri Lanka." *Research for Sex Work* 3 (2000): 21–22, <http://www.nswp.org/r4sw>.
- Gateley, Edwina. *I Hear a Seed Growing*. Trabuco Canyon, CA: Source Books, 1990.
- Gendron, Bernard. *From Montmartre to the Mudd Club*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Gentry, Curt. *The Madams of San Francisco: An Irrelevant History of the City by the Golden Gate*. New York: Doubleday, 1964.
- George, Andrew. *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian*. London: Penguin Books, 1999.
- Gerassi, John. *The Boys of Boise: The True Story of a Homosexual Scandal Exploited for Political Purposes*. New York: MacMillan, 1966.
- Gibson, Barbara. *Male Order: Life Stories from Boys Who Sell Sex*. London: Cassell, 1995.
- Gibson, Ian. *The Erotomaniac. The Secret Life of Henry Spencer Ashbee*. London: Faber and Faber, 2001.
- Gibson, Mary. *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986.
- Giddis, Diane. "The Divided Woman: Bree Daniels in *Klute*." *Women and Film* 3–4, no. 1 (1973): 57.
- Gilfoyle, Timothy J. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.
- . "From Soubrette Row to Show World: The Contested Sexualities of Times Square, 1880–1995." In *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. E. G. Colter, W. Hoffman, E. Pendleton, A. Redick, and D. Serlin. Boston: South End Press, 1996.
- Giobbe, Evalina. "Prostitution: Buying the Right to Rape." In *Rape and Sexual Assault III: A Research Handbook*, ed. Ann Wolbert Burgess. New York: Garland Press, 1991.
- Glancy, Jennifer. *Slavery in Early Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Gledhill, Christine. "Klute 1: A Contemporary Film Noir and Feminist Criticism" and "Klute 2: Feminism and Klute." In *Women in Film Noir*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan. London: British Film Institute, 1998.
- Gleß, Sabine. *Die Reglementierung von Prostitution in Deutschland*. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1999.
- Global Coalition on Women and AIDS and the World Health Organization. "Sexual violence in conflict settings and the risk of HIV." Information Bulletin Series, no. 2, <http://www.who.int/entity/gender/en/infobulletinconflict.pdf>.
- "'Gold Digging' Ban Signed by Olson: Breach of Promise Suits Barred by Law." *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 May 1939, pp. 1–2.
- Goldberg, P.J.P. "Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective." In *Young Medieval Women*, ed. Katherine Lewis, James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999.
- Goldman, Emma. "Marriage and Love." <http://www.radio4all.org/redblack/books/marriageandlove.html>.
- . "The Traffic in Women." In *Anarchism and Other Essays*. New York: Dover, 1969.
- Goldman, Marion S. *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.
- Goldsmith, Barbara. *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.
- Goldstein, Paul J. *Prostitution and Drugs*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1979.
- Goldstone, Bobbie. "Klute, Again." *Off Our Backs*, 31 October 1971.
- Gomezjara, Francisco, and Estanislao Barrera. *Sociologia de la Prostitucion*. Mexico, DF: Fontamara, S.A., 1978.
- Goncourt, Edmond de. "Utamaro: The Painter of Pleasure Quarters." In *Outamaro—le Peintre des Maisons Vertes*. Paris: Biblioteque-Charpentier, 1891.
- Goode, Erich, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994.

- Goodwin, Sarah Webster. "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice: The Poet's Song and the Prostitute's Cry." In *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Gorna, Robin. *Vamps, Virgins and Victims: How Can Women Fight AIDS?* London: Cassell, 1996.
- Goss, D., and D. Adam-Smith. *Organizing AIDS: Workplace and Organizational Responses to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 1995.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. "Syphilis and the Shepherd of Atlantis (Renaissance Poem about Syphilis Attempts to Explain Its Origins; Genetic Map Revealed in 1998)." *Natural History* 109 (2000): 38–42 and 74–82.
- Grant, Emma, and Gretchen Soderlund. "Girls (Forced to) Dance Naked! The Politics and Presumptions of Anti-trafficking Laws." *Bad Subjects* 40 (October 1998). <http://bad.eserver.org/issues/1998/40/soderlund-grant.html>.
- Grant, W. R. *Post-Soul Black Cinema: Discontinuities, Innovations, and Breakpoints, 1970–1995*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Grayzel, Susan. *Women's Identities at War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Green, Bill. *The Dancing Was Lively: Fort Concho Texas: A Social History, 1867 to 1882*. San Angelo, TX: Privately printed, 1974.
- Grittner, Frederick K. *White Slavery Myth, Ideology, and American Law*. New York: Garland, 1990.
- Groneman, Carol. "Nymphomania: The Historical Construction of Female Sexuality." *Signs* 19 (1994): 337–67.
- Gronewold, Sue. "Beautiful Merchandise." *Women and History* 4 (1982): 3–102.
 ———. *Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China 1860–1936*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1985.
- Grossmann, Atina. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Grosz-Ngaté, Maria, and Omari H. Kokole, eds. *Gendered Encounters: Challenging Cultural Boundaries and Social Hierarchies in Africa*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Guan, Hanqing. "A Sister Courtesan Comes to the Rescue." *Renditions* 49 (1998): 7–41.
- "A Guide to Best Practice: Occupational Health and Safety in the Australian Sex Industry." 2000. Australian Federation of AIDS Organizations Web site http://www.afa.org.au/view_articles.asp?pxa=veandpxs=100andpxsc=andpxsgc=andid=204.
- "A Guide to Occupational Health and Safety in the New Zealand Sex Industry." 2004. Department of Occupational Safety and Health of New Zealand Web site <http://www.osh.dol.govt.nz/order/catalogue/235.shtml>.
- Guider, Margaret Eletta. *Daughters of Rahab: Prostitution and the Church of Liberation in Brazil*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.
- Gusfield, Joseph. *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1963.
- Guy, Donna. *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.
 ———. "White Slavery, Citizenship and Nationality in Argentina." In *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger. New York: Routledge, 1992.
 ———. "White Slavery, Public Health, and the Socialist Position on Legalized Prostitution in Argentina, 1913–1936." *Latin American Research Review* 23 (1988): 60–80.
- Gysels, M., et al. "Truck Drivers, Middlemen and Commercial Sex Workers: AIDS and the Mediation of Sex in South West Uganda." *AIDS Care* 13, no. 3 (June 2001): 373–85.
- Haeri, Shahla. *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989.

- . "Temporary Marriage and the State in Iran: An Islamic Discourse on Female Sexuality." *Social Research* 59 (Spring 1992): 201–24.
- Hai, Wan Yan. "Sex Work and Public Policies in China." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Haidt, Jonathan, and Matthew A. Hersh. "Sexual Morality: The Cultures and Emotions of Conservatives and Liberals." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 31, no. 1 (2001): 191–221.
- Haine, Scott W. *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Hall, Laurel Meredith. "'Night Life' in Kenya." In *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*, ed. Gail Pheterson. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1978.
- Hammar, Lawrence. "Caught between Structure and Agency: Gendered Violence and Prostitution in Papua New Guinea." *Transforming Anthropology* 8 (1998): 77–96.
- Hanna, Judith Lynne. *Dance, Sex and Gender: Signs of Identity, Dominance, Defiance, and Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- . "Toying with the Striptease Dancer and the First Amendment." In *Play and Culture Studies*. Vol. 2, edited by S. Reifel. Westport, CT: Ablex, 1999.
- . "Undressing the First Amendment and Corsetting the Striptease Dancer." *Drama Review* 42, no. 2 (1998): 38–69.
- Hapke, Laura. *Girls Who Went Wrong: Prostitutes in American Fiction, 1885–1917*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1989.
- Harsin, Jill. *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Haskell, Molly. *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Hausbeck, Kathryn, and Barbara G. Brents. "Inside Nevada's Brothel Industry." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald Weitz. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Hawkes, Ellen. *Feminism on Trial: The Ginny Foat Case and the Future of the Women's Movement*. New York: William Morrow, 1986.
- Hayes, Anne. *Female Prostitution in Costa Rica: Historical Perspectives, 1880–1930*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Heather, N., A. Wodak, E. Nadelmann, and P. O'Hare eds. *Psychoactive Drugs and Harm Reduction: From Faith to Science*. London: Whurr, 1993.
- Heimann, Jim. *Sins of the City: The Real Los Angeles Noir*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999.
- Held, David et al. *Global Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Heller, Reinhold. *Toulouse-Lautrec: The Soul of Montmartre*. New York: Prestel, 1997.
- Henriot, Christian. *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849–1949*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1997.
- Henriques, Fernando. *Prostitution in Europe and the Americas*. Vol. II of *Prostitution and Society*. New York: Citadel Press, 1965.
- Henry, Maleleine M. *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Herausgegeben vom Prostituiertenprojekt Hydra. *Beruf: Hure*. Hamburg, Galgenberg, 1988.
- Herausgegeben vom Prostituiertenprojekt Hydra. Helga Bilitewski, Maya Czajka, Claudia Fischer, Stephanie Klee, and Claudia Repetto. *Freier: Das Heimliche Treiben der Männer*. Hamburg: Galgenberg, 1991.

- Herbert, Robert L. *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Herek, Gregory M. "Facts about Homosexuality and Mental Health." Sexual Orientation, Science, Education and Policy Web site http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/rainbow/html/facts_mental_health.html.
- Herlihy, James Leo. *Midnight Cowboy: A Novel*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965.
- Herman, J. L. *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.
- Hershatter, Gail. *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Herstory: *Lesbians in the Arts: Colette*. Herstory Web site <http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Suite/9048/COLETTEbio.htm>.
- Herzog, Dagmar. "Hubris and Hypocrisy, Incitement and Disavowal: Sexuality and German Fascism." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1/2 (January/April 2002): 3–21.
- Hess, Marcy A. "Discursive Decontamination: Domesticating the Great Social Evil in Early Victorian Novels." Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 2001.
- Heyl, Barbara Sherman. *The Madam as Entrepreneur: Career Management in House Prostitution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1979.
- . "The Madam as Teacher: The Training of House Prostitutes." *Social Problems* 24 (1977): 535–45.
- Hickey, Gary. *Beauty and Desire in Edo Period Japan*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1998.
- Hicks, George. *The Comfort Women*. St. Leonards, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1995.
- Hicks, R. "Women in Tourism: A Case Study of Bukit Lawang." Honors thesis, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia, 1994.
- Hill, Marilyn Wood. *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Hines, John. *The Fabliau in English*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Translated by Michael Lombardi-Nash. 1913. Reprint, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000.
- Ho, Elaine Yee Lin. "Connecting Cultures: Hong Kong Literature in English, the 1950s." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2003): 5–25.
- Hobson, Barbara Meil. *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.
- Hodgson, Dorothy L., and Sheryl A. McCurdy, eds. "Wicked" *Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001.
- Hohmann, Marti. "Whore Stories: Prostitution and Sex-Positive Feminism." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Hoigard, Cecilie, and Liv Finstad. *Backstreets: Prostitution, Money and Love*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986.
- Holland, Merlin. *The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde*. New York: Fourth Estate/HarperCollins, 2003.
- Hollander, Elizabeth. "Artists' Models in Nineteenth Century America: A Study of Professional Identity." *Annals of Scholarship* 10, nos. 3–4 (1993): 281–303.
- Hollis, Patricia. *Women in Public, 1850–1900: Documents of the Victorian Women's Movement*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1979.
- Holmes, Ronald M., and Stephen T. Holmes, eds. *Current Perspectives on Sex Crimes*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002.
- Honour, Hugh. "Black Models and White Myths." In *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. Karen C. C. Dalton. Vol. 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Hooks, Stephen M. *Sacred Prostitution in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1985.
- Horn, Pierre L., and Mary Beth Pringle. *The Image of the Prostitute in Modern Literature*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1984.
- Horowitz, Helen, L. *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002.
- Howard, Keith. *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women*. London: Cassell, 1995.
- Hucker, Stephen. "Paraphilias." PsychDirect Web site <http://www.psychdirect.com/forensic/Criminology/para/paraphilia.htm>.
- Hügel, Franz Seraph. *Zur Geschichte, Statistik und Regelung der Prostitution Sozial-medizinische Studien in ihrer praktischen Behandlung und Anwendung auf Wien und andere Grossstädte*. Vienna: Zamarski u. Dittmarsch, 1865.
- Hughes, Donna. "The 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report: Lost Opportunity for Progress: 'Foreign Government Complicity in Human Trafficking: A Review of the State Department's 2002 Trafficking in Persons Report.'" Oral presentation to the House Committee on International Relations, Washington, DC, 19 June 2002.
- Human Rights Watch. "Ignorance Only: HIV/AIDS, Human Rights and Federally Funded Abstinence-Only Programs in the United States; Texas: A Case Study." September 2002. <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/usa0902/>.
- . "The Less They Know, the Better: Abstinence-Only and HIV/AIDS Programs in Uganda." March 2005. <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/uganda0305/>.
- . *Making Their Own Rules: Police Beatings, Rape, and Torture of Children in Papua New Guinea*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004. <http://hrw.org/reports/2005/png0905/>.
- . *Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000.
- . *Policy Paralysis: A Call for Action on HIV/AIDS-Related Human Rights Abuses against Women and Girls in Africa*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/africa1203>.
- . *Ravaging the Vulnerable: Abuses against Persons at High Risk of HIV in Bangladesh*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/bangladesh0803/>.
- Humphreys, Laud. "New Styles in Homosexual Manliness." In *The Homosexual Dialectic*, ed. Joseph McCaffrey. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972. Originally published in *Transaction* 8 (March-April 1971): 38ff.
- . *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places: Enlarged Edition with a Retrospect on Ethical Issues*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1982.
- Hunt, Alan. *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Hunt, Morton. *Gay: What You Should Know about Homosexuality*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.
- Hunter, Richard. *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Hurtado, Albert L. *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl. *À Rebours*. 1884. Reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, 1991, 1992.
- Hyde, H. Montgomery. *The Cleveland Street Scandal*. New York: Coward, McGann and Geoghegan, 1976.
- I Love India Web site "Odissi Dance Form." <http://www.dances.iloveindia.com/classical-dances/odissi.html>.

- Idem, Semper. *The Blue Book, a Bibliographical Attempt to Describe the Guide Books to the Houses of Ill Fame*. New Orleans: Privately printed, 1936.
- Igbinovia, P. E. "Prostitution in Black Africa." *International Journal of Women's Studies* 7 (November–December 1984): 430–49.
- Images Asia. "Burmese Women Sex Workers in Thailand." Oral presentation for NGO Forum on Women, Beijing, China, 30 August–8 September 1995. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Images Asia, 1995.
- International Council for Women of African Descent. "Trafficking of African Women Fact Sheet." http://www.npcbw.org/newweb/icwad_04_trafficking_facts.htm.
- Internet Medieval Source Book. "Aquinas on Sex." <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aquinas-sex.html>.
- Irwin, Mary Ann. "'White Slavery' as Metaphor: Anatomy of a Moral Panic." *Ex Post Facto: The History Journal* 5 (1996). <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/irwin-wslavery.html>.
- Isaacs, Tina. "The Anglican Hierarchy and the Reformation of Manners, 1688–1738." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33, no. 3 (1982): 391–411.
- Iwasaki, Mineko. *Geisha: A Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.
- Jaget, Claude, ed. *Prostitutes, Our Life*. Translated by Anne Furse, Suzie Fleming, and Ruth Hall. London: Falling Wall Press, 1980.
- James, Jennifer. "Prostitution and Addiction—Interdisciplinary Approach." *Addictive Diseases* 2, no. 4 (1976): 601–18.
- . "Prostitutes and Prostitution." In *Deviants: Voluntary Actors in a Hostile World*, ed. Edward Sagarin and Fred Montanino. New York: General Learning Press, Scott, Foresman, 1977.
- , and Jane Meyerding. "Early Sexual Experience and Prostitution." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 234 (1977): 12.
- James, Louis. *Fiction for the Working Man 1830–50*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Jana, Smarajit, Nandinee Bandyopadhyay, Amitrajit Saha, and Mrinal Kanti Dutta. "Creating an Enabling Environment: Lessons Learnt from the Sonagachi Project, India." *Sex Work and Research* (1999): 22–24.
- Jancovich, Mark et al., eds. *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Järvinen, Margaretha. "Prostitution in Helsinki: A Disappearing Social Problem?" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1999): 608–30.
- Jaschok, Maria. *Concubines and Bondservants: The Social History of a Chinese Custom*. London: Zed Books, 1988.
- Jeffers, H. Paul. *Diamond Jim Brady: Prince of the Gilded Age*. New York: John Wiley, 2001.
- Jeffrey, Leslie Ann. *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity, and Prostitution Policy in Thailand*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2002.
- Jenkins, Carol. "Cambodian Sex Workers Conduct Their Own Research." *Research for Sex Work* 8, 2005: 3–4. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>.
- . "Final Report to UNAIDS: Police and Sex Workers in Papua New Guinea, 1997." http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/jenkins_papua.html.
- Jenness, Valerie. "From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work: Coyote and the Reorganization of Prostitution as a Social Problem." *Social Problems* 37 (1990): 403–17.
- . *Making It Work: The Prostitutes' Rights Movement in Perspective*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1993.
- Jezic, Diane Peacock, and Elizabeth Wood, eds. *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found*. 2nd ed. New York: Feminist Press, 1993.
- Jimenez, Jill, ed. *Dictionary of Artist's Models*. London: Fitzroy-Dearborn, 2001.

- Joesoef, M. R., L. A. Valleroy, T. M. Kuntjoro, A. Kamboji, M. Linnan, Y. Barakbah, A. Bajadi, and M. E. St. Louis. "Risk Profile of Female Sex Workers Who Participate in a Routine Penicillin Prophylaxis Program in Surabaya, Indonesia." *International Journal of STD and AIDS* 9 (1998): 756–60.
- Johnson, Edgar. *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952.
- Jolin, A. "On the Backs of Working Prostitutes: Feminist Theory and Prostitution Policy." *Crime and Delinquency* 40, no. 1 (January 1994): 69–83.
- Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Margaret Rosenthal, eds. and trans. *Veronica Franco: Poems and Selected Letters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Jones, D. L., K. L. Irwin, J. Inciardi, B. Bowser, R. Schilling, C. Word, P. Evans, S. Faruque, H. V. McCoy, and B. R. Edlin. "The High-Risk Sexual Practices of Crack-Smoking Sex Workers Recruited from the Streets of Three American Cities." The Multicenter Crack Cocaine and HIV Infection Study Team. *Journal of Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 25, no. 4 (1998): 187–93.
- Jones, James H. *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment*. New York: Free Press, 1981.
- Jones, Victor Pierce. *Saint or Sensationalist: The Story of W. T. Stead*. Chichester: Gooday, 1988.
- Jordan, Ann D. *The Annotated Guide to the Complete UN Trafficking Protocol*. Washington, DC: International Human Rights Law Group, 2002. http://www.globalrights.org/site/PageServer?pagename = wwd_index_49.
- Jordan, Jane. *Josephine Butler*. London: John Murray, 2001.
- Joselit, Jenna Weissman. *A Perfect Fit: Clothes, Character, and the Promise of America*. New York: Henry Holt, 2001.
- Jušik, Karin J. *Auf der suche nach der Verlorenen. Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende*. Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1994.
- Justice Policy Institute. *Cellblocks or Classrooms?* Washington, DC: JPI, 2002.
- Kail B. L., D. D. Watson, and S. Ray. "Needle-Using Practices within the Sex Industry." *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse* 21 (1995): 241–55.
- Kanouse D., S. H. Berry, N. Duan, J. Lever, S. Carson, J. F. Perlman, and B. Levitan. "Drawing a Probability Sample of Female Street Prostitutes in Los Angeles County." *Journal of Sex Research* 36 (1999): 45–51.
- Kao Tha, Chuon Srey Net, Sou Sotheavy, Pick Sokchea, and Chan Sopheak. "The Tenofovir Trial Controversy in Cambodia." *Research for Sex Work* 7 (2004): 10–11.
- Kapur, Promilla. *The Indian Call Girls*. New Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 1979.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- . "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 1 (1990): 3–32.
- Kaye, Kerwin. "Male Prostitution in the Twentieth Century: Pseudohomosexuals, Hoodlum Homosexuals, and Exploited Teens." *Journal of Homosexuality* 46, no. 1/2 (2003): 1–77.
- Kaye, Kerwin. "Sex and the Unspoken in Male Street Prostitution." *Journal of Homosexuality*.
- Kearney, Patrick J. *A History of Erotic Literature*. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Keefe, Tim. *Some of My Best Friends Are Naked: Interviews with Seven Erotic Dancers*. San Francisco: Barbary Coast, 1993.
- Keeler, Christine, with Douglas Thompson. *The Truth at Last: My Story*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 2001.
- Kempadoo, Kamala. *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- , ed. *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

- , and Jo Doezema, eds., *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- , ed., with Bandana Pattanaik, and Jyothi Sanghera. *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2005.
- Kendall, Richard, and Griselda Pollock, eds. *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*. London: Pandora, 1992.
- Kennedy, Dolores, with Robert Nolin. *On a Killing Day: The Bizarre Story of Convicted Murderer Aileen "Lee" Wuornos*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 1992.
- Kennedy, Ludovic. *The Trial of Stephen Ward*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1964.
- Kersenboom-Story, Saskia. *Nityasumangali: Devadasi Tradition in South India*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasisidass, 1987.
- Kessler, Ronald. *The Bureau: The Secret History of the FBI*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002.
- Kettle, Ann J. "Ruined Maids: Prostitutes and Servant Girls in Later Medieval England." In *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Robert R. Edwards and Vickie Ziegler. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995.
- Kevles, Daniel J. "Eugenics and Human Rights: Statistical Data Included." *British Medical Journal* (1999): 319, 435–38.
- Kimball, Nell. *Nell Kimball: Her Life as an American Madam*, ed. Stephen Longstreet. New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- Kim-Gibson, Dal Sil. *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women*. Parkersburg, IA: Mid-Prairie Books.
- Kincaid, James, ed. *My Secret Life: An Erotic Diary of Victorian London*. New York: Signet Classics, 1996.
- King, John. *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America*. New York: Verso, 1990.
- Kinnell, Hilary. "Murder Made Easy: The Final Solution to Prostitution?" In *Prostitution Now*, ed. Rosie Campbell and Maggie O'Neill. Devon, UK: Willan Publishers, 2006.
- Kinyamba, Shomba. *La Prostitution son Vrai Visage au Zaïre*. Lubumbashi: Editions Africa, 1987.
- Kippen, Cameron. *The History of Footwear*. Curtin University Department of Podiatry Web site <http://podiatry.curtin.edu.au/history.html>.
- Klap, Marieke, Yvonne Clerk, and Jacqueline Smith. *Combatting Traffic in Persons*. Utrecht, Netherlands: Institute of Human Rights, 1995.
- Kobayashi, Tadashi. *Utamaro*. New York: Kodansha International, 1993.
- Kohn, George Childs, ed. *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001.
- Koken, Juline A., David S. Bimbi, Jeffrey T. Parsons, and Perry N. Halkitis. "The Experience of Stigma in the Lives of Male Internet Escorts." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 16 (2004): 13–32.
- Korn, Jim. "My Sexual Encounters with Sex Workers: The Effects on a Consumer." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Kraus, Karl. "Die Prozeß Riehl." *Die Fackel*, 13 November 1906, p. 8.
- Kreiss, Joan, Elisabeth Ngugi, King Holmes, Jeckoniah Ndinya-Achola, Peter Waiyaki, Pacita L. Roberts, Irene Ruminjo, Rose Sajabi, Joyce Kimata, Thomas R. Fleming, Aggrey Anzala, Donna Holton, and Francis Plummer. "Efficacy of Nonoxynol 9 Contraceptive Sponge Use in Preventing Heterosexual Acquisition of HIV in Nairobi Prostitutes." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 268 (1992): 477–82.
- Kreiss, Joan, Irene Ruminjo, Elisabeth Ngugi et al. "Efficacy of Nonoxynol-9 in Preventing HIV Transmission." *International Conference on AIDS*, Abstract no. M.A.O.36, 1989.
- Kukla, Karel Ladislav. *Konec bahna Prahy*. Prague: Václav Svec, 1927.
- Kunzel, Regina. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.

- Kuo, Lenore. *Prostitution Policy: Revolutionizing Practice through a Gendered Perspective*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Kurke, Leslie. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Kurova, T, S. M. Malceva, and P. A. Mardh. "Prostitution in Riga, Latvia—A Socio-medical Matter of Concern." *Acta Obstetricia Gynecologica, Scandinavia* 77, no. 1 (1998): 83–86.
- Kwong, Peter. *Forbidden Workers*. New York: New Press, 1997.
- La-Fountain-Stokes, Lawrence. "De un Pájaro las dos Alas: Travel Notes of a Queer Puerto Rican in Habana." *GLQ* 3, nos. 1–2 (2002): 7–33.
- Lakhumalani, V. "The Prostitution Situation in a Number of Cities of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus." *Zhurnal Mikrobiologii, Epidemiologii i Immunobiologii* 1(1997): 102–4.
- Lamphear, Trisha L. "Milestones in Microbicide Research and Development." *Microbicide Quarterly* (December 2004): 6–8.
- Landau, Emily Epstein. "Spectacular Wickedness': New Orleans, Prostitution, and the Politics of Sex, 1897–1917." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2005.
- Langley, Erika. *The Lusty Lady: Photographs and Texts*. Zurich: Scalo, 1997.
- Langum, David J. *Crossing over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Larsen, Jeanne, trans. *Brocade River Poems: Selected Works of the Tang Dynasty Courtesan Xue Tao*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- LaSalle, Mick. *Complicated Women: Sex and Power in Pre-Code Hollywood*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Lathers, Marie. *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.
- Laughran, Michelle A. "In the Body: Public Health and Social Control in Sixteenth-Century Venice." Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1998.
- Law, Lisa. "A Matter of 'Choice': Discourses on Prostitution in the Philippines." In *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Leaton, Anne. *Pearl*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- Lee, Danny. "Street Fight." *New York Times*, 31 March 2002, p. C1.
- Lefkowitz, Mary R., and Maureen B. Fant. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Leigh, Carol, ed. In Defense of Prostitution: Prostitutes Debate Their 'Choice' of Profession." *Gauntlet* 1, no. 7(1993).
- . "P.I.M.P. (Prostitutes in Municipal Politics)." In *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. E. G. Colter, W. Hoffman, E. Pendleton, A. Redick, and D. Serlin. Boston: South End Press, 1996.
- . "Prostitution in the United States: The Statistics." *Gauntlet* 1, no. 7 (1994): 17–18.
- Leigh, Carol, a.k.a. Scarlot Harlot. "Inventing Sex Work." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- . *Unrepentant Whore*. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004.
- Lemire, Michel. *Artistes et Mortels*. Paris: Chadaud, 1990.
- Lenderová, Milena. *Chtyla Patrola aneb Prostituce za Rakouska i Republiky*. Prague: Karolinum, 2002.
- Leonard, Terri L. "Male Clients of Female Street Prostitutes: Unseen Partners in Sexual Disease Transmission." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 4 (1990): 41–55.
- Leonard, Zoe, and Polly Thistlethwaite. "Prostitution and HIV Infection." In *Women, AIDS and Activism*, ed. Act Up/NY Women and AIDS Book Group. Boston: South End Press, 1990.
- Lerner, Gerda. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

- Lerum, Kari. "Sexuality, Power, and Camaraderie in Service Work." *Gender and Society* 18, no. 6 (2004): 756–76.
- Lever, Janet, David E. Kanouse, "Offstreet Prostitution in Los Angeles County." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Levine, Harry. "The Discovery of Addiction: Changing Conceptions of Habitual Drunkenness in America." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 15 (1978): 493–506.
- Levine, Philippa. "Consistent Contradictions: Prostitution and Protective Labour Legislation in Nineteenth Century England." *Social History* 19 (1994): 17–35.
- . "Public and Private Paradox: Prostitution and the State." *Arena* 1 (1993): 131–44.
- . "Rereading the 1890s: Venereal Disease as 'Constitutional Crisis' in Britain and British India." *Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (1996): 585–612.
- . "Rough Usage: Prostitution, Law and the Social Historian." In *Rethinking Social History, English Society 1570–1920 and Its Interpretation*, ed. Adrian Wilson. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- . "Venereal Disease, Prostitution and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1994): 579–602.
- . "Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should: Women Police in World War One." *Journal of Modern History* 66 (1994): 34–78.
- . "Women and Prostitution: Metaphor, Reality, History." *Canadian Journal of History* 28 (1993): 479–94.
- Lewis, J., and E. Maticka-Tyndale. "Methodological Challenges Conducting Research Related to Sex Work." In *Escort Services in a Border Town: Transmission Dynamics of STDs within and between Communities*. Report issued by Division of STD Prevention and Control, Laboratory Centres for Disease Control, Health Canada. Ottawa, 2000.
- Lewis, J., E. Maticka-Tyndale, F. Shaver, and H. Schramm. "Managing Risk and Safety on the Job: The Experiences of Canadian Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 147–67.
- Lewis, James C. et al. "Beer Halls as a Focus for HIV Prevention Activities in Rural Zimbabwe." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 32, no. 6 (2005): 364–70.
- Leyton, Elliott. *Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2003.
- Liedtke, Walter A. *Vermeer and the Delft School*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.
- Liepe-Levinson, Katherine. *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Lim, Lin Lean, ed. *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia*. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998.
- Linehan, Mary. "Vicious Circle: Prostitution, Reform, and Public Policy in Chicago, 1830–1930." Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1991.
- Linz, D., K. C. Land, J. R. Williams, B. Paul, and M. E. Ezel. "An Examination of the Assumption That Adult Businesses Are Associated with Crime in Surrounding Areas: A Secondary Effects Study in Charlotte, North Carolina." *Law and Society Review* 38 (2004): 69–104.
- Lipking, Lawrence. *Abandoned Women and Poetic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Liu, Ts'un-yan, and John Minford, eds. *Chinese Middlebrow Fiction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984.
- Lloyd, Sarah. "Pleasure's 'Golden Bait': Prostitution, Poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in Eighteenth-Century London." *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996): 50–70.

- Loconto, Allison. "The Trafficking of Nigerian Women into Italy." *TED Case Studies* 656 (January 2002): 1–15. <http://www.american.edu/TED/italian-trafficking.htm>.
- Loebner, Hugh Gene. "Being a John." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Loff, Bebe, Carol Jenkins, Melissa Ditmore, Cheryl Overs, and Rosanna Barbero. "Unethical Clinical Trials in Thailand: A Community Response." *Lancet* 6 (May 2005): 1618–19.
- Long, Alecia P. *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.
- Long, F., M. Horsburgh, M. Rodgers, and R. Roberts. *Pleasure in Paradise?: Sex Tourism in Asia*. Sydney, Australia: General Synod Office, 1993.
- Longo, Paulo. "From Subjects to Partners: Experience of a Project in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Research for Sex Work* 7 (2004). <http://www.nswp.org/r4sw/>.
- , and Melissa Ditmore. "100% Condom Use Programs: Empowerment or Abuse?" *Research for Sex Work* 6 (2003): 3–5.
- Longstreet, Stephen, ed. *Nell Kimball: Her Life as an American Madam by Herself*. New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- , and Ethel Longstreet. *Yoshiwara: The Pleasure Quarters of Old Tokyo*. Tokyo: Yenbooks, 1970.
- Loomis, William T. "Prostitutes and Pimps." In *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens*, ed. William T. Loomis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Lopez, Ana. "A Short History of Latin American Film History." *Journal of Film and Video* 37, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 55–69.
- Loseva, O., and M. Nashkhoev. "Sex Workers: Social Origins, Sexual Behavior, Potential for Spreading STIs." *Dermatology and Venerology Bulletin* 3 (1999): 16–22.
- Lotchin, Roger W. *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Louis, Lisa. *Butterflies of the Night: Mama-sans, Geisha, Strippers, and the Japanese Men They Serve*. New York: Tengu Books, 1992.
- Lovelace, Linda. *Ordeal*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1980.
- Lowman, John. "Prostitution Law in Canada." *Comparative Law Review* 23 (1989): 13–48.
- . "Street Prostitution Control: Some Canadian Reflections on the Finsbury Park Experience." *British Journal of Criminology* 32 (Winter 1992): 1–17.
- . "Violence and the Outlaw Status of (Street) Prostitution in Canada." *Violence against Women* 6 (September 2000): 987–1011.
- Luckenbill, D. "Deviant Career Mobility: The Case of Male Prostitutes." *Social Problems* 33 (1986): 283–96.
- Luddy, Maria. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Lukas, Karli. "Klute." Senses of Cinema Web site <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/cte/q/01/13/klute.html>.
- Mackay, Thomas C. *Red Lights Out: A Legal History of Prostitution, Disorderly Houses, and Vice Districts, 1870–1917*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1987.
- Mackerras, Colin. *Chinese Theater: From Its Origins to the Present Day*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.
- . "Peking Opera before the Twentieth Century." *Comparative Drama* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 19–42.
- MacKinnon, Catharine. *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.

- MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Only Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2005.
- MacQueen, Kathleen M., and Jeremy Sugarman. "Back to the Rough Ground: Working in International HIV Prevention as Ethical Debates Continue." *IRB: Ethics and Human Research* (March–April 2003): 11–13.
- Madeleine: An Autobiography*. New York: Persea Books, 1986.
- Madigan, Timothy J. "The Discarded Lemon: Kant, Prostitution, and Respect for Persons." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Maggie's and the Prostitutes' Safe Sex Project*. www.walnet.org/csis/groups/maggies/.
- Magner, C. *Barbara Strozzi: la Virtuossissima Cantatrice*. <http://www.home.earthlink.net/~barbarastrozzi/index.htm>.
- Maher, Lisa, and Kathleen Daly. "Women in the Street-Level Economy: Continuity or Change?" *Criminology* 34 (1996): 4.
- Maher, Lisa et al. "Gender, Power, and Alternative Living Arrangements in the Inner-City Crack Culture." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 33 (1996): 2.
- Maher, Lynne, and Ric Curtis. "Women on the Edge of Crime: Crack Cocaine and the Changing Contexts of Street-Level Sex Work in New York City." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 18 (1992): 221–58.
- Mahipati's *Bhakatvijaya*, trans. Justin E. Abbott and N. R. Godbole as *Stories of Indian Saints. Vol II*. Pune, India, 1933, reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982. Mahood, Linda. *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Maisch, Ingrid. *Mary Magdalene: The Image of a Woman through the Centuries*. Translated by Linda Malony. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998.
- Mallstad, John E. "Bathhouses, Hustlers, and a Sex Club: The Reception of Mikhail Kuzmin's *Wings*." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 85–104.
- Mandell, Laura. "Bawds and Merchants: Engendering Capitalist Desires." *English Literary History* 59, no. 1 (1992): 107–23.
- Manderson, L. "Public Sex Performances in Patpong and Explorations of the Edges of Imagination." *Journal of Sex Research* 29, no. 4 (1992): 451–75.
- Mandeville, Bernard (attributed author). *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*. London, 1724. Facsimile reprint no. 162, Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1973.
- Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, 2 vols., ed. F. B. Kaye. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Reprint, Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988.
- Mann, Jonathan, Daniel J. M. Tarantola, and Thomas W. Netter, eds. *AIDS in the World: A Global Report*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Mann, William J. *Edge of Midnight: The Life of John Schlesinger*. London: Hutchinson, 2004.
- Manzo Rodas, R., M. Briones Velasteguí, and T. Cordero Velásquez. "Nosotras, Las Señoritas Alegres." Quito: Abralpalabra Ediciones, 1991.
- Marcus, Steven. *The Other Victorians*. New York: Basic Books, 1966.
- Marechera, Dambudzo. *The House of Hunger*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1978.
- Marlatt, Allan, ed. *Harm Reduction: Pragmatic Strategies for Managing High Risk Behaviors*. New York: Guilford Press, 1998.
- Martin, Jay. *Always Merry and Bright: The Life of Henry Miller*. Santa Barbara, CA: Capra, 1978.
- Masoch, Leopold von Sacher. *Venus in Furs*. Translated by Joachim Neugroschel. New York, 2000. <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/6852>.

- Mason, Richard. *The World of Suzie Wong*. London: Collins, 1957.
- Massey, Doreen. "Imagining Globalization: Power-Geometries of Time-Space." In *Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization*, ed. A. Brah, M. Hickman, and M. Mac an Ghail. London: Macmillan, 1999.
- Massey, Douglas et al. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19 (1993): 431–66.
- Massood, Paula J. *Black City Cinema: African American Urban Experiences in Film*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.
- Masuda, Sayo. Trans. *Autobiography of a Geisha*. Translated by G. G. Rowley. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Matlock, Jann. *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Mattias, Arnold. *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec: 1864–1901, The Theatre of Life (Basic Art)*. Munich: Taschen, 2000.
- May, Glenn. "Jail Assaults Described." *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, 25 March 2004.
- Mayhew, Henry. *Those That Will Not Work*. Vol. 4 of *London Labour and the London Poor*. New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967.
- . *Selections from 'London Labour and the London Poor.' chosen and with an introduction by John L. Bradley.* London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Maynard, Steven. "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890–1935." *Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (June 1997): 191–235.
- Mayreder, Rosa. "Die Frauen und der Prozess Riehl." 18/11 *Neues Frauenleben* (1906).
- McCall, Andrew. *The Medieval Underworld*. London: A. M. Heath, 1979.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- . "Maid to Order: Commercial Fetishism and Gender Power." *Social Text* 37 (1993b): 87–116.
- . "Sex Workers and Sex Work: Introduction." *Social Text* 37 (1993a): 1–10.
- McClure, Laura. *Courtesans at Table: Gender and the Greek Literary Tradition in Athenaeus*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- , and Christopher Faraone, eds. *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005.
- McCoy, Clyde B., and James A. Inciardi. *Sex, Drugs, and the Continuing Spread of AIDS*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 1995.
- McDonald, Keiko. *Mizoguchi*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984.
- McElroy, Wendy. *XXX: A Woman's Right to Pornography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- . "Prostitutes, Anti-Pro Feminists and the Economic Associates of Whores." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- McGinn, Thomas A. J. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- . *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- McIntosh, Mary. "Feminist Debates on Prostitution." In *Sexualizing the Social: Power and the Organization of Sexuality*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Vicki Merchant. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- McKeganey, N. P. "Prostitution and HIV: What Do We Know and Where Might Research Be Targeted in the Future?" *AIDS* 8, no. 9 (September 1994): 1215–26.

- . "Why Do Men Buy Sex and What Are Their Assessments of the HIV Related Risks When They Do?" *AIDS Care* no. 3 (1994).
- McKeganey, Neil, and Marina Barnard. *Working the Streets: Sex Workers and Their Clients*. London: Open University Press, 1996.
- , and Michael Bloor. "A Comparison of HIV-Related Risk Behaviour and Risk Reduction between Female Street Working Prostitutes and Male Rent Boys in Glasgow." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 12 (1992): 247–92.
- McKewon, Elaine. *The Scarlet Mile: A Social History of Prostitution in Kalgoorlie, 1894–2004*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 2005.
- McKinley, Edward H. *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States, 1880–1992*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995.
- McLaren, John, and Lowman, John. "Enforcing Canada's Prostitution Laws, 1892–1920: Rhetoric and Practice." In *Securing Compliance: Seven Case Studies*, ed. M. L. Friedland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- McLary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- McLeon, Eileen. *Women Working: Prostitution Now*. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- McNamara, Robert. *The Times Square Hustler: Male Prostitution in New York City*. Westwood, CT: Praeger, 1994.
- Mead, Margaret. *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation*. New York: Harper Collins, 2001.
- Meigs, Cornelia. *Jane Addams: Pioneer for Social Justice*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.
- Mellor, Anne K. *Romanticism and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Mendes, Peter. *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English 1800–1930. A Bibliographical Study*. Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1993.
- Mendik, Xavier, and Graham Harper. *Unruly Pleasures: The Cult Film and Its Critics*. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2000.
- Metzenrath, Sue. "To Test or Not To Test." Scarlet Alliance Web site http://www.scarletalliance.org.au/library/metrenrath-testdonttest/file_view.
- Meyer, Marvin, with Esther A. de Boer. *The Gospels of Mary: The Secret Tradition of Mary Magdalene, the Companion of Jesus*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2004.
- Miles, Christopher, and John Julius Norwich. *Love in the Ancient World*. London: Seven Dials, 1997.
- Miller, E. M. *Street Woman*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Miller, Heather G., Charles F. Turner, and Lincoln Moses, eds. *AIDS: The Second Decade*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1990.
- Miller, Nancy K. *The Heroine's Text: Readings in the French and English Novel, 1722–1782*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Min, Pyong Gap. "Korean 'Comfort Women': The Intersection of Colonial Power, Gender, and Class." *Gender and Society* 17, no. 6 (2003): 938–57.
- Minta, Stephen. *García Márquez: Writer of Colombia*. New York: Harper and Row, 1987.
- Moch, Leslie Page. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Mokashi-Punekar, Rohini. *On the Threshold: Songs of Chokhamela*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005.
- Molina, Fanny Polanía, and Marie-Louise Janssen. *I Never Thought This Would Happen to Me: Prostitution and Traffic in Latin American Women in the Netherlands*. Rotterdam: Foundation Esperanza, 1998.
- Monahan, Sherry. *The Wicked West*. Tucson, AZ: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2005.

- Montgomery, Heather. "Children, Identity and Child Prostitution in a Tourist Resort in Thailand." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Moodie, T. Dunbar, with Vivienne Ndatshe and British Sibuyi. "Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines." In *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinius, and George Chauncey, Jr. New York: New American Library, 1989.
- Moon, Katherine. *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.—Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Moore, Lisa Jean. "The Variability of Safer Sex Messages: What Do the Centers for Disease Control, Sex Manuals, and Sex Workers Do When They Produce Safer Sex?" In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Morgan, Thomas R. "HIV and the Sex Industry." In *Working with Women and AIDS: Medical, Social, and Counseling Issues*, ed. Judy Bury, Val Morrison, and Sheena McLachlan. London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1992.
- . "AIDS Risks, Alcohol, Drugs, and the Sex Industry: A Scottish Study." In *AIDS, Drugs, and Prostitution*, ed. Martin Plant. London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1990.
- Morisky, D. E., T. V. Tiglaio, C. D. Sneed, S. B. Tampongko, J. C. Baltazar, R. Detels, and J. A. Stein. "The Effects of Establishment Practices, Knowledge and Attitudes on Condom Use among Filipina Sex Workers." *AIDS Care* 10 (1998): 213–20.
- Morris, Sylvia Jukes. *Rage for Fame: The Ascent of Clare Boothe Luce*. New York: Random House, 1997.
- Morrison, T. G., and B. W. Whitehead. "Strategies of Stigma Resistance among Canadian Gay-Identified Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 169–79.
- Morse, E. V., P. M. Simon, H. J. Osofsky, P. M. Balson, and H. R. Gaumer. "The Male Street Prostitute: A Vector for Transmission of HIV Infection into the Heterosexual World." *Social Science and Medicine* 32 (1991): 535–39.
- Mort, Frank. *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Morton, James. "Legalising Brothels." *Journal of Criminal Law* 68 (2004): 87–89.
- Moser, Charles, and Peggy Kleinplatz. "DSM-IV-TR and the Paraphilias: An Argument for Removal." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, San Francisco, CA, May 2004.
- Mudge, Bradford K. *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Muga, Erasto, ed. *Studies in Prostitution (East, West and South Africa, Zaire and Nevada)*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.
- Murdoch, Norman H. *Origins of the Salvation Army*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994.
- Murname, M., and Kay Daniels. "Prostitution and 'Purveyors of Disease': Venereal Disease Legislation in Tanzania, 1886–1945." *Hecate* 5 (1979): 5–21.
- Murphy, Mary. "The Private Lives of Public Women: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878–1917." In *The Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Murray, Alison. "Debt Bondage and Trafficking: Don't Believe the Hype." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 51–64.
- . "Femme on the Streets, Butch in the Sheets (a Play on Whores)." In *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, ed. David Bell and Gill Valentine. London: Routledge, 1995.

- . *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University Press, 2001. <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/mai/cseas/monsea.html>.
- Myers, Ted et al. "Gay and Bisexual Men's Sexual Partnerships and Variations in Risk Behavior." *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 115–27.
- N.B. [William T. Stead], "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 1885.
- Nagar, Richa. "Religion, Race, and the Debate over *Mut'a* in Dar es Salaam." *Feminist Studies* 26 (Fall 2000): 661–90.
- Nagel, Joane. *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Nagle, Jill, ed. *Whores and Other Feminists*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Nanda, Serena. *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1990.
- Nashkoev, M. R. "Social-Psychological and Behavioral Characteristics of Sex Workers and the Prevention of Sexually Transmitted Infection in This Group." Moscow: Central Academic Research Institute of Dermatovenerology, Ministry of Health, Russian Federation. Russian University of Friendship of the People, 2002.
- National Library of Medicine. "Visual Culture and Public Health Posters: Venereal Disease" <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/visualculture/venereal.html>.
- Ndibe, Okey. *Arrows of Rain*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000.
- Neequaye, Alfred. "Prostitution in Accra." In *AIDS, Drugs, and Prostitution*, ed. Martin Plant. London: Tavistock Publications, 1987.
- Nelson, Nici. "'Selling Her Kiosk': Kikuyu Notions of Sexuality and Sex for Sale in Mathare Valley, Kenya." In *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*, ed. Pat Kaplan. London: Tavistock Publications, 1987.
- Nencel, Lorraine. *Ethnography and Prostitution in Peru*. London: Pluto Press, 2001.
- Nettleton, Sarah. *The Sociology of Health and Illness*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Nichols, Jeffrey. *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Nishiyama, Matsunosuke. *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868*. Edited and Translated by Gerald Groemer. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- Nochlin, Linda. "A House Is Not a Home: Degas and the Subversion of the Family." In *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*, ed. Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock. London: Pandora, 1992.
- Nord, Deborah Epstein. *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Norton, Richard. "The Vere Street Coterie." *Queer Culture* Web site <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/vere.htm>.
- NSW Rape Crisis Center. "I Am a Sex Worker." <http://www.nswrapecrisis.com.au/Information%20Sheets/I-am-a-sex-worker.htm>.
- Nuffield, J. *User Report: Diversion Programs for Adults*. Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1997.
- Nzioka, Charles. "AIDS Policies in Kenya: A Critical Perspective on Prevention." In *AIDS: Foundation for the Future*, ed. Peter Aggleton, Peter Davies, and Graham Hart. London: Taylor and Francis, 1994.
- O'Connell-Davidson, Julia. *Children in the Global Sex Trade*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.
- . "Prostitution and the Contours of Control." In *Sexual Cultures: Communities, Values and Intimacy*, ed. Jeffrey Weeks and Janet Holland. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

- Oden, Robert A., Jr. *The Bible without Theology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Odzer, Cleo. *Patpong Sisters: An American Woman's View of the Bangkok Sex World*. New York: Blue Moon Books/Arcade Publishing, 1994.
- Öhlschläger, Claudia. *Unsägliche Lust des Schauens. Die Konstruktion der Geschlechter im Voyeuristischen Text*. Freiburg: Rombach, 1996.
- O'Leary, Claudine, and Olivia Howard. *The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Metropolitan Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report*. Chicago: Center for Impact Research, 2001.
- Oleru, U. G. "Prostitution in Lagos: A Sociomedical Study." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 34 (December 1980): 312–15.
- Olson, Thomas Grant. "Reading and Righting *Moll Flanders*." *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 41 (2001): 467–81.
- O'Neill, Maggie, and Rosemary Barberet. "Victimization and the Social Organization of Prostitution in England and Spain." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald John Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Oostenk, Annemiek, "A Visit to Burkina Faso." In *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*, ed. Gail Pheterson. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989.
- Oostvogels, R. "Assessment of Commercial Sex Circuits in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan." Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: UNAIDS, 1997.
- . "Assessment of Commercial Sex Circuits in Karaganda, Kazakhstan." Karaganda, Kazakhstan: UNDP, 1999.
- Otis, Leah Lydia. *Prostitution and Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Overall, Christine. "What's Wrong with Prostitution? Evaluating Sex Work." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 17 (1992): 705–24.
- Overs, Cheryl. "Sex work, HIV and the state: an interview with Nel Druce." *Feminist Review* 48 (1994): 114–21.
- , and Paulo Longo. *Making Sex Work Safe*. London: Russell, 1997.
- PSI. "Sweetheart Relationships in Cambodia: Love, Sex and Condoms in the Time of HIV." December 2002. www.psi.org/resources/pubs/cambodia.
- Padian, Nancy S. "Editorial Review: Prostitute Women and AIDS: Epidemiology." *AIDS* 2 (1988): 413–19.
- Padilla, Mark. "Looking for Life: Male Sex Work, HIV/AIDS, and the Political Economy of Gay Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic." Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2003.
- Pajalich, Armando. "Come nelle Fiabe. Per Adele, l'ultima 'battona' Veneziana." *Insula Quaderni: Stranieri e Foresti a Venezia* 6 (2004): 101–2.
- Pal, Minu, Sadhana Mukherji, Madhabi Jaiswal, and Bacchu Dutta. "The Winds of Change Are Whispering at Your Door." In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Panicker, K. Ayyappa, ed. *Kamasuthra of Vatsyayana* (Malayalam). Kottayam, India: DC Books, 1998.
- Paone, D., H. Cooper, J. Alperen, Q. Shi, and D.C. Des Jarlais. "HIV Risk Behaviours of Current Sex Workers Attending Syringe Exchange: The Experience of Women in Five U.S. Cities." *AIDS Care* 11 (1999): 269–80.
- Parent-Duchâtelet, A.J.B. *De la Prostitution dans la Ville de Paris, Considérée sous le Rapport de l'Hygiène Publique, de la Morale et de l'Administration*. Paris: J. B. Baillière, 1836.
- Paris, M., E. Gotuzzo, G. Goyzueta, J. Aramburu, C. F. Caceres, T. Castellano, N. N. Jordan, S. H. Vermund, and E. W. Hook. "Prevalence of Gonococcal and Chlamydial Infections in Commercial Sex Workers in a Peruvian Amazon City." *STD* (February 1999): 103–7.
- Parish, James Robert. *Prostitution in Hollywood Films: Plots, Critiques, Casts, and Credits for 389 Theatrical and Made-for-Television Releases*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992.

- Parish, Lawrence Charles, Gretchen Worden, Joseph A. Witkowski, Albrecht Scholz, and Daniel H. Parish. "Wax Models in Dermatology." *Studies of the College of Philadelphia* 13, no. 1 (1991): 29–74.
- Parke, Derek. *Nell Gwyn*. Thurpp, Stroud: Sutton, 2000.
- Parsons, Jeffrey, Juline Koken, David Bimbi, and Perry Halkitis. "Looking beyond HIV: Eliciting Community and Individual Needs of Male Escorts." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*. In press.
- . "The Use of the Internet by Gay and Bisexual Male Escorts: Sex Workers as Sex Educators." *AIDS Care* 16 (2004): 1–15.
- Passet, Joan. *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Woman's Equality*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2003.
- Patton, Cindy. *Last Served? Gendering the HIV Pandemic*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1994.
- Paul, Christa. *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich errichtete Bordelle im Nationalsozialismus*. Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994.
- Pavlovskis, Zoja. "The Life of St. Pelagia the Harlot: Hagiographic Adaptation of Pagan Romance." *Classical Folio* 30 (1976): 138–49.
- Payton, Lewis. "Strip Tease." *Genre* (July 2003): 50–54.
- Peace, Richard. *Dostoyevsky: An Examination of the Major Novels*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Pearl, Julie. "The Highest Paying Customers: America's Cities and the Costs of Prostitution Control." *Hastings Law Journal* 38 (April 1987): 769–800.
- Pearson, Michael. *The £5 Virgins*. New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972.
- Peary, Danny. *Cult Movies*. New York: Gramercy, 1998.
- Pechter, Edward. "Why Should We Call Her Whore? Bianca in *Othello*." In *Shakespeare and the Twentieth Century: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Los Angeles, 1996*, ed. Jonathan Bate, Jill L. Levenson, and Dieter Mehl. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998.
- Pedraza, Silvia. "Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender." *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991): 303–25.
- Peele, Stanton. *The Meaning of Addiction*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998.
- Peffer, George Anthony. *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Peiss, Kathy. "'Charity Girls' and City Pleasures: Historical Notes on Working-Class Sexuality, 1880–1920." In *Powers of Desire*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.
- Pendleton, Eva. "Love for Sale: Queering Heterosexuality." In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- "People and Events: Anthony Comstock's 'Chastity' Laws." http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/pill/peoplevents/e_comstock.html.
- People's Union for Civil Liberties. "Human Rights Violations against the Transgender Community." <http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Gender/2003/transgender.htm>.
- Peracca, S., J. Knodel, and C. Saengtienchai. "Can Prostitutes Marry? Thai Attitudes toward Female Sex Workers." *Social Science Medicine* 47 (1998): 255–67.
- Perkins, Roberta, ed. *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 1991, pp. 133–39.
- . "Sexual Health and Safety among a Group of Prostitutes." In *Sex Industry and Public Policy: Proceedings of a Conference Held 6–8 May 1991*, ed. Sally-Anne Gerull and Boronia Halstead. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1992, pp. 147–53.
- . *Working Girls: Prostitutes, Their Life and Social Control*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1991.

- , and G. Bennett. *Being a Prostitute: Prostitute Women and Prostitute Men*. 2nd ed. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1997.
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980.
- Petrie, Glen. *A Singular Iniquity: The Campaigns of Josephine Butler*. New York: Viking Press, 1971.
- Petrik, Paula. *No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana 1865–1900*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1987.
- Pettitway, Leon. *Honey, Honey, Miss Thang: Being Black, Gay, and on the Streets*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.
- Pheterson, Gail. "The Category 'Prostitute' in Social Scientific Inquiry." *Journal of Sex Research* 27 (August 1990): 397–407.
- . *The Prostitution Prism*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 1996.
- . "Right to Asylum, Migration and Prostitution." In *The Prostitution Prism*, ed. Gail Pheterson. *The Prostitution Prism*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996.
- . *Vindication of the Rights of Whores*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989.
- . "The Whore Stigma: Female Dishonor and Male Unworthiness." *Social Text* 37 (1993): 39–64.
- Phongpaichit, Pasuk. *From Peasant Girls to Bangkok Masseuses*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1982.
- Pickering, Helen. "Social Science Methods Used in a Study of Prostitutes in the Gambia." In *Challenge and Innovation: Methodological Advances in Social Research on HIV/AIDS*, ed. Mary Boulton. London: Taylor and Francis, 1994.
- Pickering, Helen et al. "Prostitutes and Their Clients: A Gambian Survey." *Social Science Medicine* 34 (1992): 75–88.
- . "Sexual Networks in Uganda: Casual and Commercial Sex in a Trading Town." *AIDS Care* 9, no. 2 (1997): 199–208.
- Pinzer, Maimie. *The Maimie Papers: Letters from an Ex-Prostitute*, ed. Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson. New York: Feminist Press, 1977.
- Pitt, Leonard. *Los Angeles A to Z: An Encyclopedia of the City and the County*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Pivar, David J. *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973.
- Plachy, Sylvia, and James Ridgeway. *Red Light: Inside the Sex Industry*. New York: Powerhouse Books, 1996.
- Planned Parenthood Federation of America. "Birth Control." Web site <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/pp2/portal/medicalinfo/birthcontrol/pub-condom.xml>.
- . "A History of Contraceptive Methods." Web site <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/pp2/portal/medicalinfo/birthcontrol/>.
- Plant, Martin, ed. *AIDS, Drugs, and Prostitution*. London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1990.
- Platt, L., T. Rhodes, C. M. Lowndes, P. Madden, A. Sarang, L. Mikhailova, A. Renton, Y. Pevzner, K. Sullivan, and M. Khutorskoy. "The Impact of Gender and Sex Work on Sexual and Injecting Risk Behaviors and Their Association with HIV Positivity amongst Injecting Drug Users in an HIV Epidemic in Togliatti City, Russian Federation." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 32, no. 10 (2005): 605–12.
- Plummer, Francis A., and Elizabeth N. Ngugi. "Prostitutes and Their Clients in the Epidemiology and Control of Sexually Transmitted Diseases." In *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*, 2nd ed., ed. King K. Holmes, Per-Anders Mårdh, and P. Frederick Sparling et al. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990.
- Pollard, Tanya, ed. *Shakespeare's Theater: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

- Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995.
- Porter, D. "A Plague on the Borders: HIV, Development and Traveling Identities in the Golden Triangle." In *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. L. Manderson and M. Jolly. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Porter, Judith, and Louis Bonilla. "Drug Use, HIV, and the Ecology of Street Prostitution." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald John Weitzer. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Portes, Alejandro, Luís Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt. "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 217–37.
- Posner, Richard, and Katharine Silbaugh. *A Guide to America's Sex Laws*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Postle, Martin, and William Vaughan. *The Artist's Model from Etty to Spencer*. Exh. Cat. London: Merrell Holberton, 1999.
- Potterat, J. J., D. D. Brewer et al. "Mortality in a Long-Term Open Cohort of Prostitute Women." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 159 (April 2004): 778–85.
- Potterat J. J., R. B. Rothenberg, S. Q. Muth, W. W. Darrow, and L. Phillips-Plummer. "Pathways to Prostitution: The Chronology of Sexual and Drug Abuse Milestones." *Journal of Sex Research* 35 (November 1998): 333–40.
- Powers, Richard G. *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1987.
- Prasad, Monica. "The Morality of Market Exchange: Love, Money, and Contractual Justice." *Sociological Perspectives* 42, no. 2 (1999): 181–214.
- Price, Roger D. *Napoleon III and the Second Empire*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Primov, George, and Carolynne Kieffer. "The Peruvian Brothel as Sexual Dispensary and Social Arena." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 6 (1977): 245–53.
- Prioleau, Betsy. *Seductress: Women Who Ravished the World and Their Lost Art of Love*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003.
- Prostitutes Education Network. "Prostitution Law Reform: Defining Terms." <http://www.bayswan.org/defining.html>.
- The Protection Project. "Human Rights Report of North Africa and the Middle East." <http://www.protectionproject.org/main1.htm>.
- Public Health Agency of Canada. *What You Need to Know about Sexually Transmitted Infections*. Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2002. Public Health Agency of Canada Web site <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/publicat/std-mts/>.
- Pullen, Kirsten. *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Pyett, Priscilla M. "Researching with Sex Workers: A Privilege and a Challenge." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Pyett, P. M., and D. J. Warr. "Vulnerability on the Streets: Female Sex Workers and HIV Risk." *AIDS Care* 9 (1997): 539–47.
- Pyle, Jean L. "Sex, Maids, and Export Processing: Risks and Reasons for Gendered Global Production Networks." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 15 (2001): 55–76.
- Queeley, Andrea. "Hip Hop and the Aesthetics of Criminalization." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 5, no. 1 (2003): 1–14.
- Queen, Carol. *Real Live Nude Girl: Chronicles of Sex-Positive Culture*. Seattle: Cleis, 1997.
- Quétel, Claude. *The History of Syphilis*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Raghuramaiah, K. Lakshmi. *Night Birds: Indian Prostitutes from Devadasis to Call Girls*. Delhi: Chankya Publications, 1991.

- Ramjee G., A. E. Weber, and N. S. Morar. "Recording Sexual Behavior: Comparison of Recall Questionnaires with a Coital Diary." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 26, no. 7 (August 1999): 374–80.
- Raphael, Jody. *Listening to Olivia: Violence, Poverty, and Prostitution*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004.
- Ratner, Mitchell, ed. *Crack Pipe as Pimp: An Eight City Ethnographic Study of the Sex-for-Crack Phenomenon*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1992.
- Réal, Grisélidis. *La Passe Imaginaire*. Levallois-Perret, France: Éditions Manya, 1992.
- Rechy, John. *City of Night*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.
- Reilly, Philip R. *The Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Reinarman, C., and H. Levine. "The Crack Attack: Politics and Media in the Crack Scare." In *Crack in America*, ed. C. Reinarman and H. Levine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Reinarman, C., D. Waldorf, S. Murphy, and H. Levine. "The Contingent Call of the Pipe: Bingeing and Addiction among Heavy Cocaine Smokers." In *Crack in America*, ed. C. Reinarman and H. Levine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Reiss, Albert, Jr. "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers." In *Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective*, 5th ed., ed. Earl Rubington and Martin Weinberg. New York: Macmillan, 1987.
- Renton, A. M., K. Borisenko, A. Meheus, and A. E. Gromyko. "Epidemics of Syphilis in the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union." *Sexually Transmitted Infections* 74 (1998): 165–66.
- Repetto, Thomas A. *American Mafia: A History of Its Rise to Power*. New York: Henry Holt, 2004.
- Reuben, David. *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)*. New York: HarperCollins, 1969, 1999.
- Reynolds, Helen. *The Economics of Prostitution*. Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas Publishers, 1985.
- Reys, Jeff. "LA Outlaw." *Blue* 46 (September 2003): 40–43.
- Rhoades, Michelle K. "'No Safe Women': Prostitution, Masculinity, and Disease in France during the Great War." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2001.
- . "'There Are No Safe Women': Prostitution in France during the Great War." *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 27 (2001): 43–50.
- Richard, Amy O'Neil. "CIA Report on Trafficking, 2000." <http://www.cia.gov/csi/index.html>.
- Richard, Marthe. *Appel des Sexes*. Paris: Editions du Scorpion, 1951.
- Richards, David A. J. "Commercial Sex in the American Struggle for the Rights of the Person." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Richardson, Joanna. *The Courtesans: The Demi-monde in Nineteenth-Century France*. London: Phoenix Press, 2000.
- . *La Vie Parisienne 1852–1870*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971.
- Riley, Glenda. "American Daughters: Black Women in the West." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Spring 1988): 14–27.
- Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*. Translated by Richard Daly. New York: Grove Press, 2004.
- Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Robb, Graham. *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2004.
- Robbins, Brent Dean. *Mythos and Logos*. www.mythosandlogos.com/Dostoyevsky.html.

- Roberts, Nickie. *The Front Line: Women in the Sex Industry Speak*. London: Grafton, 1986.
- . *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society*. London: Grafton, 1992.
- Robinson, Portia. *The Women of Botany Bay: A Reinterpretation of the Role of Women in the Origins of Australian Society*. Sydney: Macquarie Library, 1988.
- Rocke, Michael. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Roddy, R. E., M. Cordero, C. Cordero, and J. A. Fortney. "A Dosing Study of Nonoxynol-9 and Genital Irritation." *International Journal of STD and AIDS* 4 (1993): 165–70.
- Roddy, R. E., L. Zekeng, K. A. Ryan, U. Tamoufé, S. S. Weir, and E. L. Wong. "A Controlled Trial of Nonoxynol-9 Film to Reduce Male-to-Female Transmission of Sexually Transmitted Diseases." *New England Journal of Medicine* 339 (1998): 504–10.
- Rofes, Eric. *Dry Bones Breathe: Gay Men Creating Post-AIDS Identities and Subcultures*. Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 1998.
- Rogal, Samuel J. "The Selling of Sex: Mandeville's Modest Defence of Publick Stews." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 5 (1976): 141–50.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ: The Avignonese Repenties in the Late Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 109–44.
- Roos, Julia. "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1/2 (January/April 2002): 67–94.
- Roper, Lyndal. *Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Rose, Al. *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red Light District*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1974.
- Rose, Jacqueline. *Sexuality in the Field of Vision*. New York: Verso, 1986.
- Rose, Rex. "The Last Days of Ernest J. Bellocq." *Exquisite Corpse: A Journal of Letters and Life*, no. 10 (1999). http://www.corpse.com/issue_10/gallery/bellocq.
- Rosen, Ruth. *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- , and Sue Davidson. *The Maimie Papers*. Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1977.
- Rosenberg, Charles and Carroll Smith Rosenberg, ed. *The Prostitute and the Social Reformer: Commercial Vice in the Progressive Era*. New York: Arno Press, 1974.
- Rosenberg, Michael J., "Prostitutes and AIDS: A Health Department Priority?" *American Journal of Public Health* 78 (April 1988): 418–23.
- Rosenblum, Constance. *Gold Digger: The Outrageous Life and Times of Peggy Hopkins Joyce*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000.
- Rosenthal, Margaret F. *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Ross, Ishbel. *The Uncrowned Queen: Life of Lola Montez*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Rossiaud, Jacques. *Medieval Prostitution*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-Century Courtesans*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.
- Rubin, Gayle. "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" In *Social Perspectives in Lesbian and Gay Studies; A Reader*, ed. Peter M. Nardi and Beth E. Schneider. New York: Routledge, 1984.
- Ruggiero, Guido. *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- , ed. *Storia dossier: La Storia della Prostituzione*. Florence: Giunti, 1988.

- Ruggles, Steven. "Fallen Women: The Inmates of the Magdalen Society Asylum of Philadelphia, 1836–1908." *Journal of Social History* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1983): 65–82.
- Russell, Robert P., trans. *Divine Providence and the Problem of Evil: A Translation of Saint Augustine's De ordine*. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1942.
- Russell, Sabin. "The Role of Prostitution in South Asia's Epidemic: Push for Safe Sex in Red Light Districts." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 July 2004.
- Russell, Sue. *Lethal Intent*. New York: Pinnacle Books, 2002.
- Ryan, M. *Prostitution in London, with a Comparative View of That of Paris and New York*. London: H. Baillière, 1839.
- Sagarin, E., and R. J. Jolly. "Prostitution: Profession and Pathology." In *Sexual Dynamics of Anti-Social Behavior*, 2nd ed., ed. L. B. Schlesinger and E. R. Revitch. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1997.
- Sanchez, J., E. Gotuzzo, J. Escamilla, C. Carrillo, L. Moreyra, W. Stamm, R. Ashle, P. Swenson, and K. K. Holmes. "Sexually Transmitted Infections in Female Sex Workers: Reduced by Condom Use But Not by a Limited Periodic Examination Program." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* (February 1998): 82–89.
- Sancho, N., and M. Layador, eds. *Traffic in Women: Violation of Women's Dignity and Fundamental Human Rights*. Manila: Asian Women's Human Rights Council, 1993.
- Sanders, Teela. "It's Just Acting: Sex Workers' Strategies for Capitalizing on Sexuality." *Gender, Work and Organization* 12 (2005): 319–42.
- Sandos, James. "Prostitution and Drugs: The United States Army on the Mexican-American Border, 1916–1917." *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (1980): 621–45.
- Sanger, Margaret. "Plan for Peace." *Birth Control Review* (1932): 107–8.
- Sanger, William W. *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects throughout the World*. New York: Medical Publishing, 1910.
- Sante, Luc. *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York*. New York: Vintage, 1992.
- Sassen, Saskia. *Guests and Aliens*. New York: New Press, 1999.
- Sauertig, Lutz D. H. "Sex, Medicine and Morality during the First World War." In *War, Medicine and Modernity*, ed. Roger Cooter, Mark Harris, and Steve Sturdy. Phoenix Mill, Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1998.
- Savage, Philip. "A Practice of Medicine in San Bernardino in the 1930s." *San Bernardino Historical and Pioneer Society Heritage Tales* (1984): 1–25.
- Scambler, Graham, and Annette Scambler. *Rethinking Prostitution: Purchasing Sex in the 1990s*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Scambler, Graham, and Rebecca Graham-Smith. "Female Prostitution and AIDS: The Realities of Social Exclusion." In *AIDS: Rights, Risk and Reason*, ed. Peter Aggleton, Peter Davies, and Graham Hart. London: Falmer Press, 1992.
- Schaberg, Jane. *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene*. New York: Continuum, 2003.
- Schaefer, Eric. "Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!": *A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Schank, Josef. *Die Amtlichen Vorschriften, Betreffend die Prostitution in Wien, in ihrer Administrativen, Sanitären und Strafgerichtlichen Anwendung*. Vienna: Josef Safar, 1899.
- Schifter, Jacobo. *Latino Truck Driver Trade: Sex and HIV in Central America*. New York: Haworth Hispanic/Latino Press, 2001.
- . *Lila's House: Male Prostitution in Latin America*. New York: Harrington Press, 1998.
- Schikorra, Christa. "Prostitution weiblicher KZ-Häftlinge als Zwangsarbeit." *Dachauer Hefte* no. 16 (November 2000): 112–24.
- Schloenhardt, Andreas. "Organized Crime and the Business of Migrant Trafficking." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 32 (1999): 203–33.

- Schnalke, Thomas. *Diseases in Wax: The History of the Medical Moulage*. Chicago: Quintessence Publishing, 1995.
- Schreiber, Mark, ed. *Tabloid Tokyo*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005.
- . *Tokyo Confidential: Titillating Tales from Japan's Wild Weeklies*. Tokyo: East Publications, 2001.
- Schwarzenbach, Sibyl. "On Owning the Body." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Scott, George Riley. *The History of Prostitution*. London: Senate, 1996. Previously published as *Ladies of Vice*. London: Tallis Press, 1968.
- Scott, John. *How Modern Governments Made Prostitution a Social Problem: Creating a Responsible Prostitute Population*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.
- Scott, Maria M. *Re-presenting Jane Shore: Harlot and Heroine*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.
- Scranton, Philip, ed. *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Screech, Timon. *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700–1820*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- Seagraves, Anne. *Soiled Doves: Prostitution in the Early West*. Hayden, ID: Wesanne Publications, 1994.
- Seidensticker, Edward. *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983.
- Seigle, Cecilia Segawa. *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.
- Self, Helen J. *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.
- Seligman, Edwin R. A., ed. *The Social Evil: With Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.
- Senkoro, Fikeni. *The Prostitute in African Literature*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1982.
- Sesonske, Alexander. *Jean Renoir: The French Films, 1924–1939*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Severs, J. B., and A. E. Hartung. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1400*. 8 Vols. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–2004.
- "Sexual Behaviour of Young People." *Progress in Reproductive Health Research* 41 (1997). World Health Organization Web site http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/hrp/progress/41/news41_1.en.html.
- Seymour, Bruce. *Lola Montez: A Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Shaner, Lora. *Madam: Inside a Nevada Brothel*. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2001.
- Shanley, Mary Lyndon. *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Shapiro, Nat, and Nat Hentoff, comps. *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya*. New York: Rhinehart, 1955. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1966.
- Shapiro, Nina. "The New Abolitionists." *Seattle Weekly*, 24–31 August 2004.
- Sharrar, Jack F. *Avery Hopwood: His Life and Plays*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989.
- Shastri, Ajaya Mitra. *India as Seen in the Kuttani-mata of Damodarragupta*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1975.
- Shaver, Frances M. "A Critique of the Feminist Charges against Prostitution." *Atlantis* 14 (Fall 1988): 82.

- . “Demystifying Sex Work.” Paper presented at When Sex Works: International Conference on Prostitution and Other Sex Work, Montreal, 27–29 September 1996. <http://www.walnet.org/csis/papers/shaver-distort.html>.
- . “Prostitution: A Critical Analysis of Three Policy Approaches.” *Canadian Public Policy* 9 (1985): 493–503.
- . “Prostitution: A Female Crime?” In *In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Justice System*, ed. Ellen Adelberg and Claudia Currie. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1993.
- . “Prostitution: On the Dark Side of the Service Industry.” In *Post Critical Criminology*, ed. Tom Fleming. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1995.
- . “The Regulation of Prostitution: Avoiding the Morality Traps.” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 9 (Spring 1994): 123–45.
- . “Sex Work Research: Methodological and Ethical Challenges.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 296–319.
- Sheldon, Michael. *The Enemy Within*. London: William Heinemann, 1994.
- Sheller, Mimi. *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Shepard, Benjamin. “Culture Jamming a SexPanic!” In *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community-Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. Benjamin Shepard and Ron Hayduk. New York: Verso Press, 2002.
- Shoemaker, Robert B. “Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690–1738.” In *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, ed. Lee Davison et al. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992.
- Shrage, Laurie. *Moral Dilemmas of Feminism: Prostitution, Adultery, and Abortion*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Shumsky, Neil Larry, and Larry M. Springer. “San Francisco’s Zone of Prostitution, 1880–1934.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 7, no. 1 (1981): 71–89.
- Sidwell, Keith. *Chattering Courtesans and Other Sardonic Sketches*. New York: Penguin, 2005.
- Silbert, Mimi, and A. M. Pines. “Child Sexual Abuse and Adolescent Prostitution: A Comparative Analysis.” *Social Work* 28 (1983): 285–89.
- Silverstein, Charles and Felice Picano. *The Joy of Gay Sex*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.
- Simon, Patricia M., Edward V. Morse, Howard J. Osofsky, Paul M. Balson, and H. Richard Gaumier. “Psychological Characteristics of Male Street Prostitutes.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 21, no. 1, (1992): 33–44.
- Simmons, Sherwin. “Ernst Kirchner’s Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury, and Immorality in Berlin, 1913–1916.” *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (March 2000): 117–48.
- Simons, R. L., and L. B. Whitbeck. “Sexual Abuse as a Precursor to Prostitution and Victimization among Adolescent and Adult Homeless Women.” *Journal of Family Issues* 12 (1991): 361–79.
- Simpson, Colin, Lewis Chester, and David Leitch. *The Cleveland Street Affair*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.
- Singleton, Ann, and Paolo Barbesino. “The Production and Reproduction of Knowledge on International Migration in Europe: The Social Embeddedness of Social Knowledge.” In *Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999.
- Skrobanek, Siriporn, Nattaya Boonpakdi, and Chutima Janthakeero, eds. *The Traffic in Women*. New York: Zed Books, 1997.
- Sleightholme, Carolyn, and Indrani Sinha. *Guilty without Trial: Women in the Sex Trade in Calcutta*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.
- Slim, Iceberg. *Pimp: The Story of My Life*. Los Angeles: Holloway House, 1987.
- Sölle, Dorothee. *Great Women of the Bible in Art and Literature*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994.

- "The Sonagachi Project: A Global Model for Community Development." *Horizons Report* May 2002: 7.
- Spongberg, Mary. *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Springhall, John. "A Life Story for the People? Edwin J. Brett and the London 'Low-Life' Penny Dreadfuls of the 1860s." *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 2 (1990): 223–46.
- Sprinkle, Annie. *Post Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-Media Whore*. San Francisco: Cleis, 1998.
- . "We've Come A Long Way—And We're Exhausted!" In *Whores and Other Feminists*, ed. Jill Nagle. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Spurlock, John. *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1860*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.
- St. James, Margo. "The Reclamation of Whores." In *Good Girls/Bad Girls: Feminists and Sex Trade Workers Face to Face*, ed. Laurie Bell. Seattle: Seal Press, 1987.
- "St. Mary of Egypt." In *Women Saints' Lives in Old English Prose*, ed. and trans. Leslie Donovan. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1999.
- Stamp, Shelley Lindsey. "Is Any Girl Safe? Female Spectators at the White Slave Films." *Screen* 37, no. 1 (1996): 1–15.
- Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Stanton, Kay. "Made to Write 'Whore' Upon: Male and Female Use of the Word 'Whore' in Shakespeare's Canon." In *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymphna Callaghan. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Stead, William T. *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer*. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1894.
- Steinfatt, T. M. *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia. Part I of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 13 November 2002. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfcamf3.pdf>.
- . *Measuring the Number of Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia: A Direct Observation Field Study. Part III of a Series*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID, Embassy of the United States of America, 6 October 2003. <http://slate.msn.com/Features/pdf/Trfcif.pdf>.
- . *Working at the Bar: Sex Work and Health Communication in Thailand*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- , and J. Mielke. "Communicating Danger: The Politics of AIDS in the Mekong Region." In *Power in the Blood: A Handbook on AIDS, Politics, and Communication*, ed. William N. Elwood. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, 1999.
- Sterk, Claire E. *Tricking and Tripping: Prostitution in the Era of AIDS*. Putnam Valley, NY: Social Change Press, 2000.
- Stern, L. S. *Tricks of the Trade*. Harm Reduction Coalition Web site <http://www.harmreduction.org/>.
- Sterry, David Henry. *Chicken: Self-Portrait of a Young Man for Rent*. New York: Regan Books, 2003.
- Steward, Samuel (as Phil Andros). *\$tud*. Boston: Alyson Publications, 1966.
- Steward, Samuel. *Understanding the Male Hustler*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1991.
- Stoller, Robert J. *Pain and Passion: A Psychoanalyst Explores the World of S&M*. New York: Plenum, 1991.
- Stone, Katherine M., and Herbert B. Peterson. "Spermicides, HIV, and the Vaginal Sponge." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 268 (July 1992): 521–23.
- Stoneking, Mark. "Women on the Move." *Nature Genetics* 20 (1998): 219–20.

- Stubbes, Philip. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. Edited by Margaret Jane Kidnie. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2002.
- Stubbs, Kenneth K. *Women of the Light: The New Sacred Prostitute*. Tucson, AZ: Secret Garden Publishing, 1995.
- Stubbs, Liz. *Documentary Filmmakers Speak*. New York: Allworth Press, 2002.
- Sturdevant, Saundra Pollack, and Brenda Stoltzfus. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. New York: New Press, 1992.
- Sugden, Philip. *The Complete History of Jack the Ripper*. London: Constable and Robinson, 1995.
- Sullivan, Elroy, and William Simon. "The Client: A Social, Psychological, and Behavioral Look at the Unseen Patron of Prostitution." In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Sullivan, Steve. *Va Va Voom!: Bombshells, Pin-ups, Sexpots, and Glamour Girls*. Los Angeles: General Publishing Group, 1995.
- Surratt, H. L., S. P. Kurtz, J. C. Weaver, and J. A. Inciardi. "The Connections of Mental Health Problems, Violent Life Experiences, and the Social Milieu of the 'Stroll' with the HIV Risk Behaviors of Female Street Sex Workers." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 17 (2005): 23–44.
- Swan, Laura. *The Forgotten Desert Mothers: Sayings, Lives, and Stories of Early Christian Women*. New York: Paulist Press, 2001.
- Swinton, Elizabeth de Sabato, ed. *The Women of the Pleasure Quarter: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the Floating World*. New York: Hudson Hill Press, in association with the Worcester Art Museum, 1996.
- Sycamore, Matt Bernstein, ed. *Tricks and Treats: Sex Workers Write about Their Clients*. Binghamton, New York: Harrington Park Press, 2000.
- Sykora, Katharina. *Weiblichkeit, Grossstadt, Moderne: Ernst Ludwig Kirchners Berliner Strassenszenen 1913–1915*. Berlin: Museumspädagogischer Dienst Berlin, 1996.
- Symanski, Richard. *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution in Western Societies*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.
- Tabet, Paola. "I'm the Meat, I'm the Knife: Sexual Service, Migration, and Repression in Some African Societies." In *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores*, ed. Gail Pheterson. Seattle: Seal Press, 1989.
- Tambe, Ashwini. "The Elusive Ingénue: A Transnational Feminist Analysis of European Prostitution in Colonial Bombay." *Gender and Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 160–79.
- Tambiah, Yasmin. "Turncoat Bodies: Sexuality and Sex Work under Militarization in Sri Lanka." *Gender and Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 243–61.
- Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the U.S. Occupation*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Tao, Muning. *Qinglou wénxué yú Zhongguó wénhuà*. Beijing: Dongfang chubānshè, 1993.
- Tatar, Maria. "Das war ein Stuck Arbeit!": Jack the Ripper and Wedekind's Lulu Plays." In *Themes and Structures: Studies in German Literature from Goethe to the Present*, ed. Alexander Stephan. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1997.
- Taylor, Allegra. *Prostitution: What's Love Got to Do with It?* London: Optima, Macdonald, 1991.
- Teo, Stephen. "Seijun Suzuki: Authority in Minority." Senses of Cinema Web site <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/00/8/miff/suzuki.html>.
- Tetlock, Philip. E. Orié Kristel, Beth Elson, Melanie Green, and Jennifer Lerner. "The Psychology of the Unthinkable: Taboo Trade-offs, Forbidden Base Rates, and Heretical Counterfactuals." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78 (2000): 853–70.

- Thanh-Dam Truong. *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southeast Asia*. London: Zed Books, 1990.
- Thapar, Romila. *A History of India*. Vol. 1. London: Penguin, 1966.
- , ed. "State and Economy: South India circa A.D. 400–1300." In *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*. Bombay, India: Popular Prakashan, 1995.
- Theoharis, Athen G. *The FBI and American Democracy: A Brief Critical History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Theroux, Paul. *Nurse Wolf and Dr. Sacks*. London: Faber and Faber, 2001.
- Thomas, Donald. *The Marquis de Sade: A New Biography*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1992.
- Thompson, E. P., and Elaine Yeo. *The Unknown Mayhew*. London: Pantheon Books, 1971.
- Thorbeck, Suzanne. *Voices from the City: Women of Bangkok*. London: Zed Books, 1987.
- Thormalen, Marianne. *Rochester: The Poems in Context*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Thukral, Juhu, and Melissa Ditmore. "Revolving Door: An Analysis of Street-based Prostitution in New York City." New York: Urban Justice Center, 2003. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/RevolvingDoor.html>.
- , Melissa Ditmore, and Alexandra Murphy. *Behind Closed Doors: An Analysis of Indoor Sex Work in New York City*. New York: Urban Justice Center, 2005. <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/reports/BehindClosedDoors.html>.
- Tian, Min. "Male Dan: The Paradox of Sex, Acting, and Perception of Female Impersonation in Traditional Chinese Theatre." *Asian Theatre Journal* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 78–97.
- Ting, Jan C. "'Other Than a Chinaman': How U.S. Immigration Law Resulted from and Still Reflects a Policy of Excluding and Restricting Asian Immigration." *Temple Political and Civil Rights Law Review* (Spring 1995): 301–15.
- Tisdale, Sallie. *Talk Dirty to Me: An Intimate Philosophy of Sex*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
- Tong, Benson. *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Trafficked Persons Rights Project. "Introduction to the VTVPA." <http://www.tprp.org/resources/index.html>.
- Trask, Michael. *Cruising Modernism: Class and Sexuality in American Literature and Social Thought*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Traywick, Ben T. *Hell's Bells of Tombstone*. Tombstone, AZ: Red Marie's, 1993.
- Trujillo, L., D. Muñoz, E. Gotuzzo, A. Yi, and D. M. Watts. "Sexual Practices and Prevalence of HIV, HTLV-I/II, and Treponema Pallidum among Clandestine Female Sex Workers in Lima, Peru." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* (February 1999): 115–18.
- Truong, Thanh-Dam. "Gender, International Migration and Social Reproduction: Implications for Theory, Policy, Research and Networking." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 5 (1996): 27–52.
- . *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South-east Asia*. London: Zed Books, 1990.
- . *Virtue, Order, Health and Money: Towards a Comprehensive Perspective on Female Prostitution in Asia*. Bangkok: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1986.
- Turner, James Grantham. *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630–1685*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Udoh, I., and C. Dillard Smith. "The Harm Reduction Model: Effective HIV Prevention Interventions for Prostitutes and Other High Risk Populations in Urban Settings." International Conference on AIDS, Durban, South Africa, July 2000, Abstract ThPeB5180.

- Underhill, Lois B. *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull*. Bridgehampton, NY: Bridge Works, 1995.
- United Nations Consultation with UN/IGOs on Trafficking in Persons, Prostitution and the Global Sex Industry. "Trafficking in Persons and the Global Sex Industry: Need for Human Rights Framework." 1999. <http://www.imadr.org/project/petw/seminarPETW.pdf>.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. "The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and Its Protocols." United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Web site <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/index.html>.
- "United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights." United Nations Web site <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.
- United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/>
- van Damme, L. "Advances in Topical Microbicides." Paper presented at the XIII International AIDS Conference, Durban, South Africa, 9–14 July 2000.
- Van Damme, Lut, Gita Ramjee, Michel Alary, Bea Vuylsteke, Verapol Chandeying, Helen Rees, Pachara Sirivongrangson, Lonard Mukenge-Tshibaka, Virginie Ettigne-Traore, Charn Uaheowitchai, Salim S. Abdool Karim, Benot Msse, Jos Perrins, and Marie Laga on behalf of the COL-1492 Study Group. "Effectiveness of COL-1492, a Nonoxynol-9 Vaginal Gel, on HIV-1 Transmission in Female Sex Workers: A Randomised Controlled Trial." *Lancet* 360 (September 2002): 971–77.
- van de Pol, Lotte C. "Beeld en Werkelijkheid van de Prostitutie in de Zeventiende Eeuw." In *Soete Minne en Helsche Boosheit. Seksuele Voorstellingen in Nederland, 1300–1850*, ed. G. Hekma and H. Roodenburg. Nijmegen: SUN, 1988.
- . *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996.
- . "The History of Policing Prostitution in Amsterdam." In *Regulating Morality: A Comparison of the Role of the State in Mastering the Mores in the Netherlands and the United States*, ed. Hans Krabbendam and Hans-Martien ten Napel. Antwerp, Belgium: Apeldoorn, 2000.
- . *La puta y el ciudadano. La prostitución en Amsterdam en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2005.
- van der kolk, B. A., A. C. McFarlan. and L. Weisaeith, eds. *Traumatic Stress: The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body, and Society*. New York: Guilford Press, 1996.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Vance, Carole, ed. *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*. Boston: Routledge, 1984.
- Vanwesenbeeck, Ine. "Another Decade of Social Scientific Work on Sex Work: A Review of Research 1990–2000." *Annual Review of Sex Research* 12 (2001): 242–89.
- . *Prostitutes' Well-Being and Risk*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.
- , R. van Zessen, C. J. de Graaf, and S. Straver. "Contextual and Interactional Factors Influencing Condom Use in Heterosexual Prostitution Contacts." *Patient Education and Counseling* 24 (1994): 307–22.
- Vice Commission of Chicago. *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions*. Chicago: Gunthorp-Warren Printing Company, 1911.
- Vijaisri, Priyadarshini. *Recasting the Devadasi: Patterns of Sacred Prostitution in Colonial South India*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2004.
- Visano, Livy. *This Idle Trade*. Concord, Ontario: VitaSana Books, 1987.
- Visness, C. M., P. Ulin, S. Pfannenschmidt, and L. Zekeng. "Views of Cameroonian Sex Workers on a Woman-Controlled Method of Contraception and Disease Protection." *International Journal of STD and AIDS* 9 (1998): 695–99.

- Vitiello, Giovanni. "The Forgotten Tears of the Lord of Longyang: Late Ming Stories of Male Prostitution and Connoisseurship." In *Linked Faiths*, ed. Jan A. M. de Meyer and Peter M. Engelfriet. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Wagner, D. "The Universalization of Social Problems." *Critical Sociology* 23 (1997): 3–23.
- Wahab, Stéphanie. "Evaluating the Usefulness of a Prostitution Diversion Project." *Qualitative Social Work* 5, no. 1 (2006): 67–92.
- . "Navigating Mixed Theory Projects: Lessons from a Qualitative Evaluation of Salt Lake City's Prostitution Diversion Project." *Affilia*, 20, no. 2 (2005): 203–21.
- , and R. Davis. "An Evaluation of Salt Lake City's Prostitution Diversion Project." Unpublished report. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, College of Social Work, 2004.
- Walgrave, L. "Diversion? It Depends on What We Divert To: Some Comments on Diversion and the Restorative Alternatives." In *Diversion and Informal Social Control*, ed. G. Albrecht and W. Ludwig-Mayerhofer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- . "Male Vice and Female Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in 19th Century Britain." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.
- . *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Wallis, Brian, curator. "The Mysterious Monsieur Bellocq." International Center of Photography Web site http://www.icp.org/exhibitions/bellocq/ICP_brochure_bellocq.pdf.
- Wan, Xianchu. *Famous Prostitutes of Ancient China (Zhong Guo Ming Ji)*. Taipei: Xiapu Press, 1994.
- Wang, Shunu. *Zhongguo changji shi ("A History of Entertainer-Prostitutes in China")*. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1995.
- Ward, Benedicta. *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987.
- Ward, Prescilla. "Cultures and Carriers: 'Typhoid Mary' and the Social Science of Control." *Social Text* 52–53 (1997): 181–214.
- Washburn, Josie. *The Underworld Sewer: A Prostitute Reflects on Life in the Trade*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1909, 1997.
- Wasserman, Joanne. "Prison Rapes 'Routine.'" *New York Daily News*, 28 January 2003.
- Watkins, S. Craig. *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Popular Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2005.
- Watkinson, Mike, Pete Anderson, and Scott Walker. *A Deep Shade of Blue*. London: Virgin Books, 1995.
- Watt, George. *The Fallen Woman in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Watts, Sheldon. "The Secret Plague: Syphilis in West Europe and East Asia, 1492–1965." In *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*, ed. Sheldon Watts. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Wedekind, Frank. *Lulu*. Translated by Nicholas Wright. London: Nick Hern Books, 2001.
- . *The Lulu Plays and Other Sex Tragedies*. Translated by Stephen Spender. London: John Calder, 1972.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*. London: Quartet Books, 1977.

- . “Inverts, Perverts, and Mary-Annes: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.” In *The Gay Past: A Collection of Historical Essays*, ed. Salvatore Licata and Robert Peterson. New York: Haworth Press, 1985.
- Weir, S. S., R. E. Roddy, L. Zekeng, K. A. Ryan, and E. L. Wong. “Measuring Condom Use: Asking ‘Do You or Don’t You’ Isn’t Enough.” *AIDS Education and Prevention* 10 (1998): 293–302.
- Weisner-Hanks, Mary. *Convents Confront the Reformation: Catholic and Protestant Nuns in Germany*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1996.
- Weitzer, Ronald John, ed. *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Weldon, Jo. “Shut Up, I Can’t Hear You: What Happened at NYU March 2, 2001.” <http://gstringsforever.com/march2.html>.
- Wells, Jess. *A Herstory of Prostitution in Western Europe*. Berkeley, CA: Shameless Hussy Press, 1982.
- Werbner, Richard, and Terence Ranger, eds. *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. London: Zed Books, 1997.
- Werther, Ralph, a.k.a. Jennie June. *The Female Impersonators*. New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1922.
- Wertz, Robert, and Dorothy Wertz. *Brought to Bed*. New Haven, CT: Yale, 1989.
- West, Donald J., in association with Buz de Villiers. *Male Prostitution*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 1993.
- West Australian Police. “Police Re-open Shirley Finn Murder File.” 23 June 2005. www.police.wa.gov.au/MediaAndPublicAffairs/MediaReleases/3232.pdf.
- Westenholz, Joan G. “Tamar, Qedeša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia.” *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989): 245–65.
- Westermann, Mariët. *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century*. Zwolle: Waanders, 1997.
- White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- . “Prostitution, Differentiation and the World Economy: Nairobi, 1899–1939.” In *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, ed. Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 223–31.
- . “Prostitution, Identity, and Class Consciousness during World War II.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 11 (1986): 255–73.
- . “Prostitution, Reformers and Historians.” *Criminal Justice History* 6 (1985): 201–17.
- . “Vice and Vagrant: Prostitution, Housing and Casual Labour in Nairobi the Mid 1930s.” In *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective*, ed. Francis Snyder and Douglas Hay. London: Tavistock, 1987.
- . “Women’s Domestic Labor in a Colonial City: Prostitution in Nairobi, 1900–1950.” In *Patriarchy and Class: African Women at Home and in the Workplace*, ed. Jane Parpart and Sharon Stichter. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.
- White, Susan M. *The Cinema of Max Ophüls: Magisterial Vision and the Figure of Woman*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Whiteaker, Larry. *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830–1860*. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Whitehead, Judy. “Community Honor/Sexual Boundaries: A Discursive Analysis of Devadasi Criminalization in Madras, India, 1920–1947.” In *Prostitution: On Whores, Hustlers, and Johns*, ed. James E. Elias, Vern L. Bullough, Veronica Elias, and Gwen Brewer. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998, pp. 91–106. Widmer, Ellen, and Kang-i Sun Chang, eds. *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

- Wijers, Marjan, and Lin Lap Chew. *Trafficking in Women: Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution*. Utrecht, Netherlands: Foundation against Trafficking in Women (STV), 1997.
- Wikholm, Andrew. "Scandal in Cleveland Street." 1999. <http://www.gayhistory.com/rev2/events/1889.htm>.
- Wilkinson, David, and Gillian Fletcher. *Sex Talk—Peer Ethnographic Research with Male Students and Waitresses in Phnom Penh*. Phnom Penh: PSI, 2002.
- Williams, T. *The Cocaine Kids*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1989.
- Willis, Ellen. "Feminism, Moralism, and Pornography." In *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.
- Wilmot, John, Earl of Rochester. *The Complete Poems*. Edited by David M. Vieth. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Wilson, David, et al. "A Pilot Study for an HIV Prevention Programme among Commercial Sex Workers in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe." *Social Science Medicine* 31 (1990): 609–18.
- Wilson, John H. *Nell Gwyn, Royal Mistress*. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952.
- Winick, Charles, and Paul Kinsie. *The Lively Commerce*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971.
- Winniffrith, Tom. *Fallen Women in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- "Winston Leyland Interviews John Rechy." In *Gay Sunshine Interviews*, ed. Winston Leyland. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1978. Originally published in *Gay Sunshine* 23 (1974).
- Wisdom, Mark. *The Trokosi System*. Accra-North, Ghana: Mercury Press, 2001.
- Wistrom, Brent. "Elusive Evidence in Rape Cases; Allred Investigation Not Accurate, ACLU Says." *Times Record News*, 27 February 2004.
- Wockner, Rex. "Sex-lib Activists Confront 'SexPanic!'" *Gaywave*, 2 December 1997. <http://gaytoday.badpuppy.com/garchive/events/111797ev.htm/>.
- Wojcicki, J. M. "'She Drank His Money': Survival Sex and the Problem of Violence in Taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (2002): 267–93.
- Wolfenden, John. *Turning Points: The Memoirs of Lord Wolfenden*. London: Bodley, 1976.
- Wolffers, Ivan. "Empowerment of Sex Workers and HIV Prevention." *Research for Sex Work* 3 (2000): 1–3.
- Woodward, Charlotte, and Jane Fischer. "Regulating the World's Oldest Profession: Queensland's Experience with a Regulated Sex Industry." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 16–18. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>.
- Wooster, Robert. *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier*. College Station Texas A & M University Press, 1987.
- Worth, Robert. "Tolerance in Village Wears Thin: Drug Dealing and Prostitution Are Becoming a Hazard in a Normally Quiet West Village Area." *New York Times*, 19 January 2002.
- Wortley, S., B. Fischer, and C. Webster. "Vice Lessons: A Survey of Prostitution Offenders Enrolled in the Toronto John School Diversion Program." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 3 (2002): 227–48.
- Wotton, Rachel. "The Relationship between Street-based Sex Workers and the Police in the Effectiveness of HIV Prevention Strategies." *Research for Sex Work* 8 (2005): 11–13. <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>.
- Wright, Raymond. *Who Stole the Mace?* Melbourne, Australia: Victorian Parliament Library, 1991.
- Wu, Cuncun. *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Wynter, Sarah, a.k.a. Evelina Giobbe. "Whisper: Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt." In *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*, ed. Frederique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1987.

- Yaffe, David. *Fascinating Rhythm*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Yao, Ping. "The Status of Pleasure: Courtesan and Literati Connections in T'ang China, 618–907." *Journal of Women's History* 14, no. 2 (2002): 26–53.
- Yehuda, R., ed. *Psychological Trauma*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1998.
- Zausner, Michael. *The Streets: A Factual Portrait of Six Prostitutes as Told in Their Own Words*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.
- Zekeng, L., P.J. Feldblum, R. M. Oliver, and L. Kaptue. "Barrier Contraceptive Use and HIV Infection among High-risk Women in Cameroon." *AIDS* 7 (1992): 725–31.
- Zelliot, Eleanor, and Rohini Mokashi-Punekar. *Untouchable Saints: An Indian Phenomenon*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2005.
- Zimmerman, Susan. "Making a Living from Disgrace: The Politics of Prostitution, Female Poverty and Urban Gender Codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860–1920." In *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, ed. Malcolm Gee et al. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999.
- Zinberg, Norman. *Drug, Set, and Setting: The Basis for Controlled Intoxicant Use*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Zola, Émile. *Nana*. Translated by George Holden. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Zürn, Gaby. "Von der Herbertstraße nach Auschwitz." In *Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus. Nördlingen: Greno-Verlag, 1987.

Web Sites

- Adult Industry Medical Health Care Foundation Web site <http://www.aim-med.org>.
- Annie Sprinkle's Web site <http://www.anniesprinkle.org>.
- Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) Web site www.catw.org.
- Complete Linda Lovelace Web site <http://www.completelindalovelace.com/>.
- Foundation Napoleon Web site http://www.napoleonica.org/us/na/na_fondation.html.
- Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women Web site <http://www.gaatw.org/>.
- Global Campaign for Microbicides. <http://www.global-campaign.org>.
- Hardy, Valérie. *Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette*. Colette Web site <http://www.colette.org/>.
- Harm Reduction Coalition Web site <http://www.harmreduction.org/>.
- International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education Web site <http://www.iswface.org>.
- International Union of Sex Workers Web site <http://www.iusw.org/>.
- PsychNet-UK Web site http://www.psychnet-uk.com/dsm_iv/voyerism_disorder.htm.
- Research for Sex Work Web site <http://www.researchforsexwork.org>.
- Rode Draad Web site <http://www.rodedraad.nl>.
- Scarlet Alliance Web Site <http://www.scarletalliance.org.au>.
- Sex Education Links Web site. <http://www.bigeye.com/sexeducation/voyeurism.html>.
- Touching Base Web site <http://www.touchingbase.org>.
- Victoria Woodhull and Company Web site <http://www.victoria-woodhull.com>.

Films

- Festival of Pleasure*. [Documentary]. Produced by Sex Workers Forum Kerala, 2003.
- Funari, Vicky and Julia Query. *Live Nude Girls Unite!* [Documentary]. 2000.
- Noriko, Sekiguchi. *Senso Daughters*. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films. 1989.
- Sex in a Cold Climate*. [Documentary]. Directed by Stephen Humphries. Testimony Films for Channel Four Television Corporation, 1997.

INDEX

Note: Pages in **boldface** refer to the main entry on the subject

- Abbott, Grace, 248
- Abolition, **3–4**, 199, 249–50; reform and, 387; regulation v., 199; in Shanghai, 440; in Southeast Asia, 454
- Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, 3
- Abolitionism, **4–7**
- Abolitionists, social purity campaign of, 5
- Abortion, **7**, 25. *See also* *Roe vs. Wade*
- Abstinence, **7–8**; harm reduction and, 201; purity campaigns and, 373
- Academy Award, 241
- Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use, 115–16
- Acting, prostitution linked with, 9
- Activists, for prostitute's rights, 10
- Acton, William, **8–9**, 17, 117, 257, 457
- Actresses, **9–11**, 241, 260; Peking opera and, 353; restoration, 10; as whores, 9. *See also* Barry, Elizabeth; Bernhardt, Sarah; Betterson, Mary Saunderson; Bracegirdle, Anne; Gwyn, Nell; Marshall, Rebecca
- Addams, Jane, **11–12**
- Addiction, **12–13**; defined, 25, 29; rape and, 384; street-based prostitution link with, 466. *See also* Substance abuse; Substance dependence
- Addict-prostitutes, 12–13
- Adler, Polly, **14**
- Advertising: of brothels, 71; of escort agencies, 74, 145, 227
- Advisory Committee on Trafficking in Women and Children (League of Nations), 248
- Aediles*, 33
- Africa, 83, 110–12, 111; postcolonial literature of, 14–15; urban center prostitution in, 111. *See also* West Africa
- African literature, postcolonial, **14–15**
- Against the Nations* (Athenasius), 418
- Against Timarkhos* (law case), 39
- Aguilar, Sarah Appleton, 21
- Agustin, Laura, 476
- Ah Toy, **15–16**
- Alcohol, 127–28, 202, 283, 332, 343; Rush on consumption of, 13; sex tourism link with, 18; strip-ping and, 466
- Alcohol and drinking establishments, **16–19**
- Alcott, Louisa May, 20
- Alexander's Feast* (Dryden), 478
- Algeria, rampant homosexuality in, 46
- The Alienist* (Carr), 1, 344
- Alien's Act (Bahrain), 41
- Alighieri, Dante, 297
- Allen, Brenda, as "Madam to Stars," 261
- Alloula, Malek, 45
- Almodóvar, Pedro, 161
- Alphonse, Donatien. *See* Sade, Marquis de

- American Gigolo* (Schrader), 161
 American literature, 19–21
American Pimp (Hughes brothers), 206
 American Plan. See Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918
 American Psychiatrist's Association, 342
 American Purity Alliance, 339
 American Social Hygiene Association, 475
 American West, 19th Century, 21–26, 537–39;
 dance hall girls, 128; legacy of, 321–22
 AMSH. See Association of Moral and Social Hygiene
 Amsterdam, 26–29, 412–13; brothel prohibition
 of, 29; Code Pénal (1811), 28; male prostitution
 in, 282; Mandeville, Bernard and, 284; red light
 district of, 26, 29; statute laws of, 28; window
 prostitution in, 542–43
 Anal play, 239, 420
 Anatomical Museums, 30–31
The Anatomie of Abuses, 31
 Ancient Greece, 36–37, 357–58, 362–63, 425; *Aule-*
trides of, 51; female/male prostitutes of, 36; *haetarae*
 (courtesans) of, 17, 204–5, 341; *pallake* of, 341;
Phryne, 357–58; *porne* of, 341, 362–63; rites
 of passage in, 405; Sappho of Lesbos and, 425;
 streetwalkers of, 36
 Ancient Israel, 35–36, 383, 472–73
 Ancient Rome, 31–34, 37–39, 360, 405; as cour-
 tesan's birthplace, 118; father's sale of daughter's
 virginity, 38; independent prostitutes of, 39
 Ancient world, 34–39; courtesans of, 418, 478–79;
 sacred prostitution in, 417–19
 Anderson, Poul, 152
 Andrade, Oswald de, 247
 Andrews, Stephen Pearl, 173
The Angel in the House (Patmore), 149
Anna Christie (Brown), 160
 Anti-Slavery International Students (NYU Law
 School), 158–59
 Anti-trafficking campaign, women influenced by, 4
Aparte (Handler), 164
 Apartment worker prostitutes, 87
 Aquinas, Thomas, 39–40; harm reduction and, 200;
 Mandeville, Bernard, and, 285; Medieval litera-
 ture and, 297; Medieval prostitution and, 299
 Arab Gulf, 40–43
 Arab Mediterranean, 43–47
 Aretino, Pietro, 119, 350
 Argentina, silent film industry of, 245
 Aristophanes, 36
 Aristotle, 37
 Armstrong, Eliza, 274
 Armstrong scandal, 274
Arrows of Rain (Okey Ndibe), 15
Ars Amatoria (Ovid), 296
Artificial Intelligence (Spielberg), 152
 Artist's models, 47–48
 Asia: child prostitution of, 98; forced prostitution in,
 169; sex tourism in, 488
 Asia Foundation International Roundtable, 497
 Asociacion de Trabajadora Autónomas "22 de Junio"
 de El ORO, 48–49
 Association of Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH),
 3–4
 Athenasius, 418
 Attitudes toward prostitution: sociopsychological,
 49–50
 Augustine, Saint, 39–40, 50–51, 200, 285, 299, 370
Auletrides, prostitution and, 9
Auletris, 9, 51–52
 Austen, Jane, 67
 Australia, 52–53, 100, 433–35; *Debby Doesn't Do*
 It for Free program, 128; occupational safety and
 health standards in, 335; PASA of, 431; penal
 colonies of, 355; Scarlet Alliance of, 431, 434;
 Touching Base organization of, 487; Ugly Mugs
 project of, 434; violence against sex workers in,
 52–53
 Australia and New Zealand, 52–54
 Australian Mace Scandal, 54
The Awakening Conscience (Hunt), 150
 Baburen, Dirck van, 142
Bad Girls Do Cry (Melton), 165
 Bahrain (Arab Gulf), 41, 42
 Bailey, Norma, 164
 Balanchine, George, 56
 "The Ballad of Lost C'mell" (Smith), 151–52
 Ballet, 55–56
 Bangkok, 56–58, 377, 381, 453
 Bangladesh, 450
 Bar prostitutes, 85, 87
 Baron, Robert, 49
 Barr, Candy, 58–59
 Barrows, Sidney Biddle, 267
 Barry, Elizabeth, 10
 Barry, Kathleen, 156
Bather pastels (Degas), 130
 Bathhouses, London's rise of, 257
 Baudelaire, Charles, 416
 Baumeister, Roy, 50
 BDSM. See Bondage and sadomasochism
 Beijing Conference on Women, 157
 Belgium, sexual offense legislation of, 100
 Bell, Martin, 164
Belle de Jour (Buñuel), 161
 Bellocq, Ernest J., 59
Belloq's Ophelia (Trettheway), 59
 Berger, Tamara, 78
 Bernhardt, Sarah, 10, 131, 175

- Berry, Chuck, 286
Best of Burlesque (DVD), 59
 Betterson, Mary Saunderson, 10
 Bible, 59–61, 370; prostitution references in, 35–36; Rahab of, 383; repentance archetype of, 131; sacred prostitution in, 418; Saint Augustine's objections to, 50; voyeurism in, 529
 Bijlert, Jan van, 142
Biographies of Shanghai Sing-Song Girls (Han Bangqing), 106
 Birth control, 7, 174
 Bischof, Frank Erich, 53
The Bitch is Back (Aguilar), 21
Black Caesar (Cohen), 166
 Black Death, 18, 172
Black Knight of the Iron Sphere (Eklund), 151
Blade Runner movie (Scott), 152
 Blake, Amanda, 191
 Blake, William, 361
 Blaxploitation Films, 165–66
 Bluebooks, 59, 61–62, 329
 Blues, 62–64
 Bo Xingjian, 105
Bob Le Flambeur (Melville), 161
 Bogan, Lucille, 63
 Bondage and sadomasochism (BDSM), 419, 422
The Book of the City of Ladies (de Pisan), 177
 Booth, William, 424
 Borch, Hendrick ter, 142
 Bordellos. *See* Brothels
 Borden, Lizzie, 164
 Borderline personality disorder, 345
 Borg, Joe, 53
 Bottesini, Giovanni, 131
Bounce Ko Girls (Harada), 234
 Bracegirdle, Anne, 10
 Brady, "Diamond Jim," 64
 Brady Institute at Johns Hopkins Hospital, 64
 Brazil, AIDS policy of, 251
 Breil, Jacques, 65–66
 Brifman, Shirley, 53
 British literature, 66–69
Brocade Jacket (Xu Lin), 105
 Brooks, Louise, 263
 Broomfield, Nick, 164, 423
 Brothel tokens, 69
 Brothels, 6, 33–34, 69–71, 356–57, 480–82; of Africa, 111; of American West, 537; Arab Mediterranean, 45; of Australia and New Zealand, 52–53; of Bangladesh, 472; of Britain, 203–4; of Caribbean, 80; of Chicago, 95–97; of China, 105–6; as Comfort Stations, 112–13; of France, Second Empire, 171–72; Habsburg Monarchy, 196; of Havana, 203; Holland's Leaguer, 211; of Hong Kong, 212; of India, 207; Internet advertising for, 71; of Japan, 508; *Kuttani-mata*, 242–43; of Latin America, 48; of London, 211, 256; male prostitution and, 275, 374; management of, 69, 70; of Medieval Europe, 17; of Nazi Germany, 325; Nevada, 253; of Nevada, 71; New Orleans, 328, of 238; of New Orleans, 238; of New York City, 330; of Peru, 518; slang terms for, 444–45; of Southeast Asia, 453; taxation of, 453; of Tenderloin districts, 475; term derivation of, 69; of Thailand, 56–57; of Venice, 515; of Weimar Republic, 530. *See also* Comfort Stations
 Brown, Foxy, 206
 Brown, Goldie. *See* Kimball, Nell
 Browning, Robert, 361
 Bruggen, Hendrick ter, 142
 Bryant, Anita, 277
 Buddhism, 392, 508
 Burlesque, 58–59
 Burma, forced prostitution in, 169
Burning Chrome (Gibson), 153
Butcher Sun the Younger, 105
 Butler, Josephine, 3, 5, 71–73, 536; Contagious Diseases Acts campaigning by, 117, 323; Gaskell's influence on, 150; "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" and, 272–75; purity campaigns/movement and, 372, 374; speculum and, 457; Street Offences Act of 1959 and, 465; syphilis and, 469. *See also* Josephine Butler Society
 California AIDS Prevention and Education Project (CAL-PEP), 201
 California Conservation Corps (CCC), 127
 Caligula, 32, 38
 Call girls, 74, 237, 241; escort agencies for, 74, 145; Kee-ler, Christine, and, 237; madams for, 74; organized crime and, 339; transgender sex workers as, 502
 CAL-PEP. *See* California AIDS Prevention and Education Project
 Calvinism, 177–78
 Cambacere, Eugenio, 246
 Cambodia, 186, 475
Camille (Dumas), 119, 141
 Camp followers, 74–76, 210
 Canadian literature, 76–79
Cannery Row (Steinbeck), 21
Canterbury Tales (Chaucer), 66
 Capital Governorate's Municipal Council (Bahrain), 41
 Capone, Al, 97
 Capote, Truman, 188
 Carey, Jacqueline, 152
 Caribbean, 79–81; Havana as whorehouse of, 202; human rights in, 81; morality/hygiene campaigns

- of, 79, 80; prostitution's importance in, 79–81; sex tourism in, 80; trafficking in, 81. *See also* Dominican Republic
- Carnegie, Andrew, 332
- Carr, Caleb, 344
- Carter, Angela, 68
- Castro, Fidel, 203
- Catholic Church, 268, 371
- CATW. *See* Coalition against Trafficking of Women
- CCC. *See* California Conservation Corps
- CDA. *See* Contagious Diseases Acts
- CEDAW. *See* Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- CEE/CA. *See* Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia
- Central America, 82. *See also* Costa Rica; Guatemala
- Central and East Africa, 82–86; HIV/AIDS in, 84–85, 84–86; Manyema women of, 83; "Nile Mansions" of, 84; outdoor prostitution of, 83; syphilis in, 84
- Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEE/CA), 86–93; apartment worker prostitutes in, 87; sex work structure in, 87–89; sex worker regulation in, 90–91
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 497
- Cézanne, Paul, 93
- Chamberlain-Kahn Bill of 1918, 93–94
- Chancer, Lynn, 157
- Chandler, Raymond, 261
- La Chanson de Jacky* (Brel), 65
- Chansons de Billitis*, 94
- Chaos (Serrau), 176
- Chapkis, Wendy, 157
- Charles II (King), 9, 192
- Chat rooms, as form of solicitation, 228
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 66
- Chen, Yuanyuan, 94–95
- Chicago, 95–97, 360; madams of, 266; male strip-ping in, 283
- Chicago Vice Commission, 16
- Chicken Ranch* (Broomfield), 164
- Child No More* (Hollander), 210
- Child prostitution, 98–101, 385; of Asia, 98; cultural beliefs and, 101–4; definition of, 98; *devadasi* and, 103–4; forced prostitution and, 170; Gurerra, Ruy, on, 246; HIV/AIDS and, 101; in Japan, 485; purity campaigns and, 372; religion and, 101–4; sex tourism and, 98; of Sri Lanka, 100; of Thailand, 98; trafficking and, 98, 495
- Child prostitution, cultural and religious, 101–4
- Childhood sexual abuse (CSA), 345
- China, 15, 23, 24, 102, 104–6, 105–6, 251–52, 255; Beijing Conference on Women, 157; Han Dynasty, 220; literature of, 104–6; Peking opera of, 221, 352–54; Qing Dynasty, 105–6, 220, 438; Song Dynasty, 105, 220, 252; Sui Dynasty, 220; Tang Dynasty, 105, 220; theater of, 220–22; women sold to brothels in, 16; Yuan drama of, 221; Zhou Dynasty, 220. *See also* People's Republic of China
- Chinatown (New York City), 167
- Chinese literature, 104–6
- Chomsky, Marvin, 165
- Chong Sindae* (Women's Volunteer Corps), 76
- Chongzhen (Emperor), 94
- Christianity, 51, 131, 289–90, 370, 389
- Church Penitentiary Association (Great Britain), 269
- Churchyard, Thomas, 442
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Cinema: of Brazil, 245; of Japan, 232–34; of Latin American, 244–46
- Cinq-Mars* (de Vigny), 131
- Cinq-Mars* opera (Gounod), 131
- City of Night* (Rechy), 278, 386
- City prostitution, of West Africa, 533–34
- CJS. *See* Criminal Justice Services
- CLA Act. *See* Criminal Law Amendment (CLA) Act
- Clark, John A., 15, 16
- Cleland, John, 151, 266, 287
- Cleveland Street Affair, 276
- Clients, 106–8; criminalization of, 122, 124–25; as predators, 107; services received by, 106; of sex workers, 106–7
- Clot-Bey, Antoine Barthélémy, 44
- Clothing, 108–9, 441, 536; France, Second Empire, ostentation in, 171; Medieval prostitution and, 300; societal mores represented through, 109
- Coalition against Trafficking of Women (CATW), 157, 159; "abolition" term adopted by, 4; abolitionism stance of, 6
- Cocaine, crack, 12
- Coffy* (Hill), 166
- Cohen, Larry, 166
- Cohen, Mickey, 59
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 67
- Colette, Sidonie-Gabrielle, 109–10
- Collins, Joan, 58
- The Colonial Harem* (Alloula), 45
- Colonialism and Prostitution in Africa, 110–12
- Columbus, Christopher, 78
- Comedy of Errors*, 437
- The Comedy of Errors* (Shakespeare), 438
- Comfort Stations, 112–13; rape/brutality at, 113, 384; R&R and, 377
- Comfort Women, 112–14; rape/brutalization of, 384; R&R and, 376
- Comforte, Joe, 321

- Commodification, **114–15**; of Arab women, 44–45; of sex workers, 114
- A Complete Practical Treatise on Venereal Diseases* (Acton), 117
- Comstock, Anthony, **115–16**
- Comstock Lode, 22
- Concubines, *Hetaera* v., 205
- Condoms, 7, **116**, 426; contraception and, 117–18; female, 116; HIV/AIDS prevention with, 116; occupational safety and health standards, 336; peer education and, 350–52; prostitutes use of, 7; sex workers use of, 88–89
- Confessions de Marion Delorme* (Mirecourt), 131
- Conrad, Henry, 15
- Consolation of Philosophy* (Boethius), 296
- Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* (Maria Theresa), 194
- Constitution of the Athenians* (Aristotle), 37
- Constitution (U.S.), 13, 155, 185
- Contagious Diseases Acts (of 1864, 1866, and 1869), 4–5, 41, **117**, 272–73, 457, 469; Acton's advocacy for, 8, 117; Butler's campaigning for, 72, 117; Campaign for the Repeal of, 3; LNA fight against, 3; Magdalen homes and, 269; NVA and, 323–25; repeal of, 8, 117; scapegoating and, 426–27; venereal disease instigation of, 117; in Western Europe, 536
- Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (Saint Augustine), 51
- Contraception, **117–18**
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 217, 218
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, 217
- Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children, 248
- Coote, William, 3, 323, 324, 325
- Copperfield, David* (Dickens), 150
- Corneille, Pierre, 178
- Costa Rica, 82
- Cotton, Ann, 49
- Cotton Comes to Harlem* (Davis), 165
- "Counsels of Wisdom," 35
- Courtesans, 17, **118–19**, 130–31, 189; alienation of, 262–63; of Ancient world, 418, 478–79; catalog of, 172; Chen, Yuanyuan, 94; of China, 94–95, 251–52, 252, 255; of France, 349, 416; French cinema depiction of, 175; in French literature, 178; *Grandes Horizontales* as, 189; Imperial Chinese theater, 220; of Japan, 551–53; in *Kama Sutra*, 237; *Kuttani-mata*, 242–43; La Paiva, 244; Liang, Hongyu, 252; literary depictions of, 478–79; misogyny and, 175; Montez, Lola, 319; Ozy, Alice, 189; Pearl, Cora, 189, 349; Sabatier, Apollonie, 416–17; Shakespeare, William, and, 438; of Shanghai, 438–39; Strozzi, Barbara, 467–68; Venard, Elizabeth-Céleste, 189; of Venice, 118, 172, 516
- Cousins, Sheila, 482
- Coutts, Angela Burdett, 136
- COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics), **120**, 433, 459–60; Leigh, Carol, and, 250; Los Angeles and, 261; race/ethnicity and, 380; sex worker services of, 120; Sprinkle, Annie, and, 458; St. James, Margo, and, 459–60; St. James Infirmary and, 459–60
- Crack, 12, **120–22**
- Crawford, Joan, 421
- "Crazy Blues" (blues), 62
- Crime, **122–24**, 185, 356–57
- Crime, sexual, 46
- Crime and Punishment* (Dostoevsky), 140
- Criminal Justice Services (CJS), 138
- Criminal Law Amendment (CLA) Act, 3, 257
- The Criminal Prisons of London* (Mayhew), 293
- Criminalization of Clients, 122, **124–25**, 249–50
- Crockett, Davy, 166
- Cross-dressers, 239, 499
- CSA. See Childhood sexual abuse
- Cuba, 202–3
- Cultural Feminism, 155–56
- Cyril of Scythopolis, 288, 295
- "D" Street (San Bernardino), **126–27**
- Daily Mirror*, 482
- Dambudzo Marechera, 15
- Dance hall girls, **127–28**, 537
- Darling, Gia, 503
- Daru, 519–20
- Darwinism. See Social Darwinism
- David Copperfield* (Dickens), 136
- Davis, John Francis, 212
- Davis, Nanette, 224
- Davis, Ossie, 165
- De Graafstichting*, 29
- De la prostitution dans la ville d'Alger depuis la conquete* (Duchesne), 45
- De Lorme, Marion, **130–31**, 131
- Debby Doesn't Do It for Free, **128**, 351, 435
- Declaration of the Rights of Women* (de Gouge), 178–79
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 218
- Decriminalization, **129**, 249–50; harm reduction and, 202; Leigh, Carol, and, 250–51; of prostitution, 52, 120, 129, 250–51; reform and, 387; Sonagachi Project and, 447–50; transgender sex works and, 504; in Weimar Republic, 327, 531
- Defoe, Daniel, 66, 187, 318–19, 355
- Degas, Edgar, 55, 56, **129–30**
- Deneuve, Catherine, 161

- Desert Harlots, **131–32**, 288–89, 354–55
- Desire, **132–34**; condemnation of, 395; suppression of, 371
- Destruction of Gotham* (Miller), 20
- Devadasi*, 99, 103–4, **134–36**, 235
- Devadasi Prohibition Act, 135
- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR* (DSM-IV-TR), 342, 364
- A Dialogue on the Infinity of Love* (d'Aragona), 119
- Dialogues of the Courtesans* (Lucian), **262–63**
- Dickens, Charles, 67, **136–37**, 149, 166
- Directories, **137**
- Diversion programs, 107, **137–40**, 460
- Doctors of the Church, 50
- Doezema, Jo, 157
- Dogg, Snoop, 206
- Dombey and Son* (Dickens), 136
- Domestic labor, Arab Gulf sex labor link with, 40–43
- Dominican Republic, 81
- Doña Barbara* (Gallegos), 246
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor, **140**
- Dottie, Joacquin, 20
- “Down in the Alley” (blues), 62
- Doyle, Arthur Conan, 282
- Dream of a Blue Chamber* (Yu Dás), 106
- Dreiser, Theodore, 20
- Drexelius, Claudia, **140–41**
- Drift theory, of addiction, 12
- Drugs: abstinence relation to, 8; Chinese use of opium, 12; cocaine, crack, 12, 120–21; prostitution and, 12
- Dryden, John, 193, 478
- DSM-IV-TR. *See* *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR*
- Duchesne, Edouard, 45
- Dugdale, Richard, 146
- Dumas, Alexandre, 119, 141, 175, 190, 337
- Dunleavy, Yvonne, 210
- Duplessis, Marie, **141**, 180, 337
- Dutch masters, **141–42**; Steen, Jan, 460–61; Vermeer, Johannes, 520–21
- Dutch Republic, 28
- Duthe, Rosalie, 119
- Duyen, Dorcas. *See* Jewett, Helen
- Dworkin, Andrea, **142–43**; feminism and, 154, 156, 159; Lovelace, Linda, and, 262; MacKinnon, Catharine, and, 265; patriarchy and, 349
- East of Eden* (Steinbeck), 21
- Eastern reformers, 25
- Eberhardt, Isabelle, 45
- ECPAT. *See* End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
- Edo period (Japan), 183
- Edward IV (King), 441–42
- Egypt, 43, 44
- Eighteenth Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 13
- Eklund, Gordon, 151
- El Conspirador* (Cambacere), 246
- Elliot, George, 67
- Ellis, Georgia, 191
- Ellis, Havelock, 275
- Ellison, Biff, 344
- End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes, 100
- End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT), 100
- Endgame* (Wicks), 161
- England: abolition laws in, 4; Charles II returns to, 9; Puritan Parliament of, 31; social purity reform in, 372
- English Collective of Prostitutes, 433
- Enjo kosai*, 484–85. *See also* Teenage prostitutes
- Entertainers: in Ancient Greece, 36; as prostitutes, 9, 36, 37
- Entrapment, **144**
- Epic of Gilgamesh*, 35
- Escort agencies, **144–46**; call girls working for, 74, 145; Internet and, 74, 227–29; in Los Angeles, 260; male prostitution and, 280; in Western Europe, 537
- Eugenics, **146–48**; Habsburg Monarchy and, 199; Lombroso's theory of, 17, 118; Nazi Germany and, 147
- Europe: 18th century brothel business of, 266; male prostitution in, 275; 19th century ballet of, 55–56; spread of syphilis in, 142; sumptuary laws in, 108–9; venal love theme of, 142
- Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)* (Reuben), 346
- The Evil That Men Do* (Fawcett), 20
- Examiner* (San Francisco), 16
- The Fable of the Bees* (Mandeville), 27, 284
- Fabliaux, Medieval literature and, 297–98
- Fairies. *See* Male prostitution
- Fallen woman trope, **149–50**; Dickens, Charles, and, 149–50; films and, 149; Magdalene, Mary, and, 149
- Family Health International, 334
- Fanny: Being the True History of Adventure of Fanny Hackabout-Jones* (Jong), 21
- Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (Cleveland), **151**, 266, 287
- Fantasies, sexual. *See* Kink
- Fantasy and science fiction, **151–53**
- Farewell My Concubine* (Lee), 354
- Farley, Melissa, 49

- Faulkner, William, 20
 Fawcett, Edgar, 20
 Female boarding house, 154
 Female Moral Reform Society, 375
 Feminism, 154–60; forced prostitution and, 168, 317; literature of, 48, 77; misogyny and, 317; patriarchy theories and, 348–49; prostitutes right's movement and, 208; prostitution terminology and, 476; rape theories and, 142; *Sex Work* (Delacoste), 433–34
 Feminists: abolitionism philosophy of, 6; Barry, Kathleen, 156; Chancer, Lynn, 157; Dworkin, Andrea, 154; Kipnis, Laura, 157; Longo, Paulo, 158; MacKinnon, Catharine, 154; neo-abolitionist feminists, 6; Pendleton, Eva, 157; Vance, Carole, 157
 Ferrer, Jose, 487
 Festival of Pleasure, 302–3
Fetishes (Broomfield), 164, 423
 Fiction, speculative, goals of, 151
 Films, 160–62; blaxploitation, 165–66; pimpmobiles depicted in, 358; transgender sex workers in, 505; voyeurism in, 529
 Films, cult, 162–64
 Films, documentary, 164–65
 Films, exploitation, 165–66
 Finn, Shirley, 53
 First Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 155, 185
 First National Meeting of Prostitutes, 251
 First Offenders of Prostitution Program (FOPP), 137–38
 Five Points, New York City, 166–67, 330, 379
 Flaubert, Gustav, 44, 416
 Fleiss, Heidi, 267–68
A Flower in a Sea of Sins (Zeng Pu), 106
 Foat, Ginny, 167–68
 Folies Bergère, 17
 Fonda, Jane, 241
 Fontane, Anne, 176
 FOPP. *See* First Offenders of Prostitution Program
 Forced prostitution, 168–70, 349, 375, 540; child prostitution and, 170; human rights and, 168, 218; MacKinnon, Catharine, and, 168; misogyny as factor in, 317; patriarchy and, 349; trafficking and, 170, 490; transgender sex workers and, 168; WHISPER and, 169
 Ford, John, 66
Fortune (magazine), 64
 Foster, Alan Dean, 152
Found (Rossetti), 149
Foxy Brown (Hill), 166
 France: cinema of, 175–76; courtesans of, 349, 416; literature of, 177–81, 554–55; Marthe, Richard, 402; Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste, 343; prostitution in, 65; Sabatier, Appolonie, 416–17; sexual offense legislation of, 100
 France, Anatole, 479
 France, Second Empire, 171–72, 190
 France, Hector, 45
 Francesco, Albino, 244
 Franco, Veronica, 172–73, 516
 Franco-Prussian War, 172
 Frederic, Harold, 20
Free Enquirer, 173
 Free Love, 173–75
 French Cinema, 175–77
 The French Disease, 468–69
 French literature, 177–81, 554–55
 Friedkin, William, 163
From Here to Eternity (Zimmerman), 160
 Funny money. *See* Brothel tokens
 “Furniture Man” (blues), 62
 Gaiety Theater (New York City), 283
 Gallegos, Rómulo, 246
 Gallet, Louis, 479
 García Márquez, Gabriel, 182, 246
 Gaskell, Elizabeth, 67, 150
Gate of Flesh (Suzuki), 233
 Gautier, Théophile, 416
 Gay bars, 343
 Gay Nineties era, 64
 Geisha, 10, 17, 182–85; portraits of, 514; Yoshiwara and, 552
 Genderqueer movement, 500
Gentlemen Prefer Blondes (Loos), 187
 Gentlemen's Clubs, 185–86
 Germany: Expressionist artist group of, 240; imprisonment of prostitutes in, 147; *Lulu of*, 263–64; sexual offense legislation of, 100; Society for Combating Venereal Diseases, 327; Weimar Republic of, 325, 327, 530–32. *See also* Nazi Germany
 GFE. *See* Girlfriend experience
 Ghana: prostitutes of, 111, 112; *trokosi* (religious slavery) of, 102–3
 Gibson, William, 153
Gigi (Colette), 110
 Gilbert, Marie Dolores Rosanna. *See* Montez, Lola
 Gilded Age era, 64
 Girlfriend experience (GFE), 240
 Global Fund for Women (U.S.), 48
 Global Health Council, 158
 Global Programme on AIDS (GPA), 209
 Globalization, 186–87; ports and, 364; of sex, 82; transgender sex workers and, 505
 Godard, Jean-Luc, 161, 176
God's Bits of Wood (Sembene Ousmane), 14

- Go-go bars (Thailand), 57
 Gold Coast (Africa). *See* Ghana
The Gold Diggers (Hopwood), 187
Gold Diggers of Broadway, 187
 Gold Mountain (California), 24
 Gold rush, 23–24
 Gold-Diggers, 187–88, 498
 Golden showers, 145, 240
 Goldman, Emma, 116, 173–74, 188–89
 Goncourt brothers, 47
Gone With the Wind (Mitchell), 20, 266
 “Good Time Flat Blues” (blues), 63
 Goodman, Nicholas, 211
 Gouge, Olympe de, 178–79
 Gounod, Charles, 131
 GPA. *See* Global Programme on AIDS
The Graduate, 239
Grandes Horizontales, 189–90
 Great Britain, 31; brothels in, 203–4, 211; CDA’s influence on, 41; Church Penitentiary Association, 269; homosexuality in, 543–45; literature of, 66–67; male prostitution in, 374; marriage in, 288; penal colonies of, 355–56; Profumo Affair of, 368–69; purity campaigns of, 372–75; syphilis in, 469
 Greece. *See* Ancient Greece
 Green River Killer, 317, 320
 Greene, Graham, 483
 Grier, Pam, 166
 Griffith, D. W., 229
 Guan Hanqing, 105
 Guatemala, 82
 Guerra, Ruy, 246
 Guidebooks, 137, 190–91; for Japan, 552; for Venice, 516. *See also* Bluebooks
 Guinard, Marie-Madeleine, 119
 Gunsmoke, 191–92
 Gusfield, Joseph, 428
 Gwyn, Nell, 10, 192–93
- Habsburg Monarchy, 194–200; abolition in, 199; brothels in, 196; eugenics and, 199; migration during, 196; Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste, 198; pimps of, 196; Riehl, Regine, 402–4; seamstresses of, 196; trafficking in, 198
Haetarae (Greek courtesans), 17
 Hagiography, Mary Magdalene and, 295, 296
 Haidt, Jonathan, 50
 Haiti, *restavek* of, 102
 Hammet, Dashiell, 261
 Hammurabi’s law code, 17
 Han Bangqing, 106
 Han Dynasty, 220
 Handel, Georg Friederic, 478
 Handler, Mario, 164
The Happy Hooker (Hollander), 210, 211, 305
 Harada, Masato, 234
 Hardy, Thomas, 149, 150, 288, 361
 Harlot, Scarlot. *See* Leigh, Carol
 Harm reduction, 200–202; abstinence and, 201; alcohol and, 202; Aquinas, Thomas and, 200; Augustine, Saint and, 200; decriminalization and, 202; as governmental policy, 202; holistic, multi-dimensional perspective of, 201; for sex workers, 120, 2000–202; Sonagachi Project and, 448; St. James Infirmary and, 460; STIs and, 200
 Harm Reduction Project (HRP), 138
 Harrison Narcotics Act (1914), 13
 Hart, Charles, 10
 Havana, 202–3; as warehouse of Caribbean, 202
 Hefner, Hugh, 59
Heidi Fleiss: Hollywood Madam (Broomfield), 164
Hell Up in Harlem (Cohen), 166
 Henckel, Guido, 244
 Henri III (King of France), 119
 Henry II, 203–4, 256
Henry IV, Part II (Shakespeare), 66, 438
 Henry VIII (King), 256
 Herodotos (Greek historian), 37, 341
 Hersh, Matthew, 50
 Herz, Henri, 244
Hetaera, 17, 204–5; concubines v., 205; courtesans as, 204–5; poetry of, 360
 Hill, Jack, 166
 Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Act, 135
 Hinduism, 388
 Hip-hop, 205–6; pimp imagery in, 206; pimplibiles and, 358
 Hirschfeld, Magnus, 275
Histoire et Légende de Marion de Lorme (Peladan), 131
The History of Prostitution (Sanger, William), 424–25
 Hitler, Adolf, 325
 HIV/AIDS: ABC approach to preventing, 8; abstinence programs and, 8; Brazil’s policy regarding, 251, 259; Central American concern for, 82; child prostitution and, 101; decreased funding for prevention of, 8; Longo, Paulo, and, 259; Nevada’s lower rates of, 254; Nonoxynol-9 as prevention for, 333–34; peer education and, 350–52; prevention programs for, 8; prostitute’s spreading of, 86; research ethics and, 396; scapegoating and, 427–29; Scarlet Alliance of, 431; spreading of, 427; transgender sex works and, 504; treatments for, 475; U.S. leadership against, 7
 HIV Intervention for Long-Distance Truckers in India, 206–8

- HIV/AIDS and the Prostitutes' Rights Movement, 208–10
- Hoffman, Dustin, 307
- Hog ranch, 210
- Holland, Bess, 256
- Hollander, Xaviera, 210–11, 305
- Holland's Leaguer, 211, 256
- Holland's Leaguer* (Goodman), 211
- Homosexuality, 543–45; in Algeria, 46; literature and, 442–43; male prostitution and, 275–81; rise/stigmatization of, 278
- Hong Kong, 212–16; brothels in, 212; Davis, John Francis, of, 212; Nathan, Matthew, of, 212; ports and, 364; prostitution banned in, 213; STIs in, 212; street girls of, 214; street-based sex workers in, 215
- Honor-shame syndrome (Ancient Rome), 33
- Honthorst, Gerard van, 142
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 216; Male prostitution and, 277; Mann Act and, 216; "War on the Sex Criminal" of, 277
- Hopkins, Ellice, 374
- Hopwood, Avery, 187
- Hotaling, Norma, 137
- Hotel prostitutes, 85
- Houllebecq, Michel, 17, 18
- A House Is Not a Home* (Adler), 14
- House of Hunger* (Dambudzo Marechera), 15
- "House of the Rising Sun" (blues), 63
- "House Rent Blues" (blues), 62
- Howe, Fanny Quincy, 360
- HRP. See Harm Reduction Project
- Hudson River, 64
- Hugo, Victor, 416
- Hull House: settlement of women, 11
- Human rights, 5, 217–19, 251; Cambodia's violations of, 475; feminism and, 155; forced prostitution and, 218; Leigh's defense of, 251; Longo, Paulo, and, 258–59; rape and, 217; trafficking and, 218
- Humiliation, seeking of, 239
- Hunt, Holman, 150
- Hurricane Katrina, 330
- Huysmans, Jean Karol, 17, 282
- The Hygiene Lesson* (Rops), 30
- IAF. See International Abolitionist Federation
- IB. See International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic
- Idi Amin Dada (of Uganda), 84
- If Christ Came to Chicago* (Stead), 96
- Il Cataloto di tutte le principale et piu honorate cortigiane di Venezia* (courtesan catalog), 172
- "I'm Down in the Dumps" (blues), 62
- IMADR. See International Movement Against Discrimination and Racism
- Imamura, Shohei, 232
- Immigrants: from China, 12; to New York City, 166
- Imperial Chinese theater, 220–22
- Imperial Russia, 222–23
- Impressionist movement, 56
- In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Booth), 424
- In Platform* (Houllebecq), 18
- The Incal* (comic book cycle), 152
- Incest, 224–25; fantasies, 238–39; in Japanese cinema, 233; patriarchy and, 224; victims of, 268
- India, 449; actress prostitution in, 10; brothels in, 207; *devadasi* cults of, 99, 134–36; Festival of Pleasure, 302–3; Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Act of, 135; *Kama Shastra* of, 236; *Kama Sutra* of, 235–37; Kanhopatra, 235; Karnataka Government of, 135; *Kuttani-mata* of, 242–43; *Melas* of, 301–4; *Shanti Utsav* of, 302; Sonagachi Project of, 209, 447–50, 510–11
- Indoor prostitution, 84
- Industrialization: as cause of prostitution, 198; of Japan, 483
- The Inferno* (Alighieri), 297
- The Insect Woman* (Imamura), 232
- Inside Linda Lovelace* (Lovelace), 262
- Instant messaging, as form of solicitation, 228
- Institutionalization, 225–27
- International Abolitionist Federation (IAF), 3, 4
- International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (IB), 324
- International Committee for Prostitute's Rights, 433
- International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women of Full Age, 218
- International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, 218
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 217
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 217
- International HIV/AIDS Conference, 209
- International Movement Against Discrimination and Racism (IMADR), 158
- International prostitution, West Africa, 534–35
- International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education (ISFACE), 261
- Internet, 227–29; brothels advertised on, 71; escort agencies advertising on, 74, 145; forums for contact via, 228; legal issues with, 229; London and, 258; male stripping and, 283; New York City and, 332; prostitute activism on, 229; sadomasochism and, 423; World Sex Guide on, 191
- The Intimate Diary of Linda Lovelace* (Lovelace), 262
- Intolerance, 229–30

- Intolerance: A Sun Play of the Ages* (Griffith), 229
 Ireland, Magdalen Homes of, 227
Irma La Douce (Wilder), 161
 Islam, 392
 Israel. *See* Ancient Israel; Tel-Aviv
 ISWFACE. *See* International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education
 Italy, 515–17
 Ivanov, Evgeny, 237
- Jack the Ripper, 160, **231**, 257, 432; misogyny and, 317; opera and, 338
Jade (Friedkin), 163
 James, Jennifer, 12, 224
 James I (King), 211
 Jane Roe II court case (Florida), 7
 Japan: child prostitution in, 485; cinema of, 232–34; Comfort Stations in, 112–13; Comfort Women of, 112–14; Edo period of, 183; entertainers as prostitutes in, 10; forced prostitution in, 169; geishas of, 10, 182–84; gimmicky restaurants of, 484; industrialization of, 483; *karayuki-san* of, 76; organized crime in, 486; rape in, 233; red light districts in, 485–86; sex industry of, 234; state-sanctioned rape of, 76; teen prostitution in, 484–85; Tokyo, 483–86; *Ukiyo-e* of, 507–11; Utamaro of, 508, 513–14; violence against women in, 484; Yoshiwara of, 508, 551–53. *See also* Tokyo
- Japanese cinema, **232–34**
 Japanese Imperial Army, 113
 JBS. *See* Josephine Butler Society
 Jesus of Nazareth, 131
 Jewett, Helen, **234**, 330, 331
 Jewish prostitutes, 199
 Jiang Fang, 105
 John Schools, 137–38, 157
 Johns. *See* Clients
 Jones, Maggie, 63
 Jong, Erica, 21
 Josephine Butler Society (JBS), 4
The Joy of Gay Sex, 346
 Joyce, Peggy Hopkins, 187
 Judaism, 383, 391–92
 Junction-town prostitution, West Africa, 533
 Justin I (Emperor), 479
- Kama Shastra*, 236
Kama Sutra, **235–37**; courtesans in, 237; moral underpinnings of, 237; oral sex section of, 237
 Kanhopatra, **237**
Karayuki-san, of Japan, 76
 Karnataka Government (of India), 135
 Keeler, Christine, **237**, 368–69
 Kidnapping: of children, 98; of women/girls, 75–76
- Kimball, Nell, **238**
 Kink, **238–40**
 Kink, escort agencies offering, 145
 Kipnis, Laura, 157
 Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig, **240–41**
Klute, **241–42**
 Knapp Commission, 210
A Knight of Ghosts and Shadows (Anderson), 152
Knights (Aristophanes), 36
 Know Nothing Party (of Chicago), 95
 Kollontai, Alexandra, 173
 Kong Shangren, 105
 Korea, Comfort Stations in, 112–13
 Korean War, 233
 Kraft-Ebing, Richard von, 291
Kushel's Dart (Carey), 152
Kuttani-mata, **242–43**
 Kuwait, pornography prohibited in, 43
- La dame aux camélias* (Dumas), 175
La increíble y triste historia de la cándida Eréndira y de su abuela desalmada (Márquez), 246
 La Païva, **244**
La Traviata (Verdi), 141, 337
LA Weekly, 260
 Ladies National Association (LNA), 3, 373
 Lambert, Elizabeth. *See* Shore, Jane
The Last of Cheri (Colette), 110
 Latin America: literature of, 246–47; transgender sex workers in, 504
 Latin American cinema, **244–46**
 Latin American literature, **246–47**
 Latinas, as camp followers, 75
 Laundresses, **247–48**; as euphemism for prostitute, 247; Native Americans as camp-following, 74
 Law, international, neo-feminists influence on, 6
The Lawton Girl (Frederic), 20
 League of Nations, **248–49**; Advisory Committee on Trafficking in Women and Children, 248; anti-prostitution stance of, 3; brothels and, 248; National Vigilance Association (NVA) and, 325; trafficking and, 248–49, 325
- Lee, Lillian, 354
 Legal approaches, 5, 122, **249–50**
 Leigh, Carol, a.k.a., Scarlot Harlot, 128, 209, **250–51**, 420, 433, 502; sacred prostitution and, 420; *Sex Work* (Delacoste) and, 433; St. James, Margo and, 250
 Leite, Gabriela Silva, **251**
Lex Julia et Papia, 37
L'Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux de Manon Lescaut (Prevost), 55
 Li, Shishi, **251–52**
 Liang, Hongyu, **252**

- Licensed prostitution, Nevada, 252–55
Life of Alexander (Plutarch), 478
Life of Kyriakos (Cyril of Scythopolis), 288
Life of Oharu (Mizoguchi), 232
Life of Saint Cyriacus (Cyril of Scythopolis), 295
 Lil' Kim, 206
 Lincoln, Abraham, 166
 Lindsay, John, 210
 Little Italy (New York City), 167
Little Ladies of the Night (Chomsky), 165
 Liu, Rushi, 255
 LNA. See Ladies National Association
 Lombroso, Cesare, 17
 London, 211, 237, 255–58, 255–58; bathhouses of, 257; Society for the Suppression of Vice, 257
London Labour and the London Poor (Mayhew), 292, 322
 Longo, Paulo, 158, 209, 258–59
 Loos, Anita, 187
 Los Angeles, 23, 259–61, 360; actresses in, 260; killing of prostitutes in, 260; male stripping in, 283; Women's Christian Temperance Union, 259
Los Angeles Daily News, 260
 Louis XIII (King), 130
 Louis XIV (King), 130
 Lovelace, Linda, 262
 Luciano, Charles "Lucky," 339
 Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, 262–63
 Lulu, 263–64, 337
 Luther, Martin, 370
- MacCabe, Colin, 176
 MacKinnon, Catharine, 143, 265; feminism and, 154, 156, 159; patriarchy and, 349
 MacMillan, Harold, 237, 368
Madame Butterfly (opera), 287
 Madams, 266–68; call girls and, 74; of Chicago, 266; definition of, 69; duties of, 70, 71; Hollander, Xaviera, 210–11; of New Orleans, 266; of New York City, 210–11, 267, 332; pimpmobiles and, 358; STIs and, 267; of Storyville, 463
 Mafia, 339
 Magdalen Homes, 268–72, 446; Catholic Church influence on, 268; CDAs and, 269; failure of, 271; institutionalization and, 225–27; in Ireland, 227; laundresses and, 247; marriage and, 270; objective of, 225; prostitution reform, 386; purity movements and, 374; religion and, 390; strict rules of, 270; in Western Europe, 536
The Magdalen Report (Magdalen Society), 293
 Magdalen Society Asylums, 271
 "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," 68, 272–75, 540
Maison close series (Degas), 130
- Makiada, Luambo Luanzo (composer), 85
Making Sex Work Safe (Longo and Overs), 158, 258, 436
 Male bonding, rape as form of, 107
 Male prostitution, 6, 38, 275–81; in ancient Greece, 36, 362–63; in ancient Rome, 37, 38; films depicting, 164; heterosexuality and, 278–79; homosexuality and, 275–81; Hoover, J. Edgar, and, 277; in Los Angeles, 261; in Mesopotamia, 35; in New York City, 279; Paresis Hall as venue for, 343–44; pornography and, 277; poverty and, 278; Rechy, John, and, 386; Wilde, Oscar, and, 276
 Male prostitution, Victorian literature, 282–83
 Male stripping, 283–84
 Malle, Louis, 59, 163
 Mama Cash (Netherlands women's fund), 48
 Mandeville, Bernard, 27, 257, 284–85
 Manet, Edouard, 18, 93
Manette Salomon (Goncourt brothers), 47
 Mann Act, 96, 285–86, 339, 540; Holland, Xavier, on, 286; Hoover, J. Edgar, and, 216; Organized crime and, 339; trafficking and, 493. See also White Slave Traffic Act
 Manyema women (Central Africa), 83
 Marechera, Dambudzo, 15
Maria or the Wrongs of Woman (Wollstonecraft), 67–68
 Maria Theresa (Empress), 194
 Marijuana, 8
Marion Delorme (Bottesini), 131
 Márquez, Garca, 182
 Marriage, 286–88; Chinese men/non-Chinese women prohibition of, 260; intolerance and, 229–30; Magdalen Homes and, 270; Mandeville, Bernard, and, 285; New Orleans and, 328; patriarchy and, 349; prostitution's link to, 66, 133; temporary, 473–75; trafficking and, 496; transactional sex and, 498
 Marshall, Rebecca, 10
Mary Barton (Gaskell), 67
 Mary of Egypt, 288–89, 295–96
 Mary Magdalene, 131, 268, 289–90; as archetype of repentance, 131; fallen woman trope and, 149; hagiography and, 295, 296; Medieval literature and, 295–96
 Masoch, Leopold von Sacher, 290–91, 422–23
 Masochism, 290
 Massenot, Jules, 479
The Masterpiece (Zola), 47
 Mata Hari, 291
Matigari (Ngugi wa Thiongo), 14
 Maupassant, Guy de, 175
 Mawra, Joseph, 165
 Mayhew, Henry, 257, 292–93, 292, 293, 322

- The Mayor of Casterbridge* (Hardy), 288
 McDowall, Reverend John R., 293
Measure for Measure (Shakespeare), 31, 66, 438
 Medieval Christians, 132
 Medieval Europe, 299–301; literature of, 294–98;
 poetry from, 360; prostitution in, 40, 299–301;
 religious doctrines of, 40
 Medieval literature, 294–99; Church correspondence
 and, 297; Classical influences on, 296; Magda-
 len, Mary, and, 295–96; religious influences on,
 294–95; theological treatise on, 297
 Medieval prostitution, 299–301
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 326
Melas, 301–4, 452
 Melton, Sid, 165
 Melville, Herman, 166
 Memoirs, 305
 Men, as responsible for prostitution, 5, 9
 Mesopotamia: “Counsels of Wisdom” of, 35; sex for
 money in, 34–35
 Message boards, as form of solicitation, 228
Metamorphoses (Ovid), 296
 Mexican War (1846–1848), 24
 Microbicides, 209, 305–6, 396
 Middle Ages, 26
Midnight Cowboy (Schlesinger), 161, 307–8
 Miers, Frans van, 142
 Migration: research ethics and, 396; to Shanghai,
 441; transactional sex and, 498
 Migration and mobility, 308–14, 532
 Military: camp followers and, 74, 75; rape and, 384
The Mill on the Floss (Elliot), 67
 Miller, Henry, 314–15
 Miller, Joaquin, 20
 Mines, 315–17
 Ming Dynasty, 94, 255
 Ministry of Interior Criminal Investigation Director-
 ate (Bahrain), 41
 Minnie, Memphis, 63
Miraculous Mandarin (ballet), 55
 Mirecourt, Eugène, 131
A Mirror for Magistrates (Churchyard), 442
The Misfortunes of Virtue (Sade), 420
 Misogyny, 317–18; military R&R link with, 376;
 transgender sex workers and, 500
Miss Saigon, 287
 Mitchell, Margaret, 20
 Models, nude, prostitutes confused with, 47
 Modern Times (L.I. community), 173
A Modest Defence of Publick Stews (Mandeville), 257,
 284
Moll Flanders (Defoe), 66, 187, 318–19, 355
Mona Lisa Overdrive (Gibson), 153
 Monet, Claude, 93
 Montez, Lola, 319–20
 Montgomery, Heather, 498
Moo-jai, 102
 Moore, Robin, 210
 Moral panic, 428–30
 Mormonism, 390
Moulin Rouge, 487
 Mount Vesuvius, 34
Mrs. Warren’s Profession (Shaw), 68, 288
 Muhammad Ali Pasha, 44
 Multi Fiber Agreement, 186
 Munsinger, Gerda, 320
 Murakami, Ryu, 234
 Murder, 320–21; serial killers and, 432; of sex work-
 ers, 527
 Murphy, Tony, 53
 Music, women’s sexuality in, 62–64
Musk, Hashish and Blood (France), 45
 Mustang Ranch, 321–22
My Brother the Hustler (Steward), 281
My Mother’s House (Colette), 110
My Own Private Idaho (Van Sant), 161, 163
My Secret Life, 322

Nano (Zola), 119, 175
 Napoleon III (Emperor), 171, 189
Nathalie (Fontane), 176
 Nathan, Matthew, 212
 National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 11
 National Crime Prevention Center Department of
 Justice Canada, 138
 National Human Rights Commission, 135
 National Organization of Women (NOW), 167
 National Vigilance Association (NVA), 3, 323–25
 Native Americans, 24, 74, 379–80
 Nazi Germany, 325–28; eugenics in, 147; regulation
 of prostitution in, 327; STIs and, 326; Weimar
 Republic and, 530
 Ndibe, Okey, 15
 Netherlands, Tipplezones in, 481
 Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP), 7, 158,
 209, 257, 259, 436
 Nevada, 321–22; brothels in, 71; licensed prostitu-
 tion in, 252–54; lower HIV rates in, 254. *See also*
 Mustang Ranch
Never Guilty, Never Free (Foat), 167
A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil (Addams), 11
 New Guinea, 76
 New Orleans, 61–62, 328–30; brothels in, 238; Foat,
 Ginny, and, 167; Hurricane Katrina’s influence on,
 330; Madams of, 266; *placage* system of, 329; red
 light district in, 59, 462–64; Storyville district of,
 329, 462–64; World War I and, 329
 New South Wales, sex industry of, 53

- New York City, 241, 293, **330–33**; brothels in, 330; Chinatown neighborhood of, 167; Comstock, Anthony, of, 115; escort agencies of, 145; Five Points of, 330; Gaiety Theater, 283; gay bars in, 343; history of, 330; immigrants of, 166; Jewett, Helen, and, 234, 330; Knapp Commission of, 210; Lindsay, John, of, 210; Little Italy neighborhood of, 167; madams of, 210–11, 267; male prostitution in, 279, 343–44; male stripping in, 283; organized crime and, 339; Pandora's Box in, 423; Paresis Hall, 343–44; Police Department of, 210; Prentice Law of, 332; prostitution as "quality of life crime" in, 428; prostitution statistics for, 331, 425; sadomasochism and, 423; scapegoating and, 428; Soho neighborhood of, 364; Tenderloin districts of, 331, 475; transgender sex workers in, 502; violence against sex workers in, 330, 525. *See also* Five Points, New York City
- New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 116
- New York University Law School, 158–59
- New Zealand, 52–53; decriminalization of prostitution in, 129; occupational safety and health standards in, 335; sex workers rights in, 52–53; sexual offense legislation of, 100
- Nicholson, Renton, 356
- Nigeria, prostitutes of, 110, 111
- "Nigger Alley," 23. *See also* Sonora Town (Los Angeles)
- Nights at the Circus* (Carter), 68
- Nights of Cabria* (Fellini), 160
- Nob Hill Theater (San Francisco), 283
- Nobel Peace Prize, Addams, Jane, recipient of, 11
- Nobel Prize for Literature: Márquez, Garcia, recipient of, 182; Paz, Octavio, recipient of, 246
- Nonoxynol-9, 209, **333–34**, 396
- Norway, sexual offense legislation of, 100
- NOW. National Organization of Women
- Noyes, John Humphrey, 173
- NSWP. *See* Network of Sex Work Projects
- NVA. *See* National Vigilance Association (NVA)
- O santeiro do Mangue* (Andrade), 247
- Occupational safety and health, **335–36**, 510–11
- Offenbach, Jacques, 172, 338
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 217
- OHCHR. *See* Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
- Old Testament, 294
- Olga's Girls* (Mawra), 165
- Oliver Twist* (Dickens), 67, 136
- Olympia* series (Manet), 93
- One Hundred Years of Solitude* (Márquez), 247
- 101 Rent Boys* (Baily and Barbato), 164
- Ongala, Remmy (musician), 85
- Opera, **337–38**
- Ophuls, Max, 175
- Opium, Chinese use of, 12
- Oral sex, 237, 280, 419
- Organized crime, **339–40**; in Japan, 486; ports and, 364; trafficking and, 512
- Orphan Star* (Foster), 152
- Osaka Elegy* (Mozoguchi), 232
- Oswald, Lee Harvey, 59
- Othello* (Shakespeare), 66, 438
- Ousmane, Sembene, 14
- The Outcast* (Redgrave), 149
- Outdoor prostitution, of Central Africa, 83
- Outercourse, 118
- Outlaws of Marsh*, 252
- Overs, Cheryl, 158
- Ovid, 296, 360
- Owen, Robert, 173
- Ozy, Alice, 189
- Page, Damaris, 256
- Pages d'Islam* (Eberhardt), 45
- Pain play, 239
- Pakistan, 450–51
- Pall Mall Gazette*, 272, 273, 374
- Pallake*, **341–42**
- Pandora's Box, 423
- Pandora's Box* (Pabst), 160, 263
- Paraphilias, **342–43**; 528–29
- Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste, 198, **343**
- Paresis Hall, **343–44**
- Paris: *haute-couture* of, 171; prostitutes of, 171
- Paris Opera Ballet, 55, 56
- PASA. *See* Prostitutes Association of South Australia
- Pathology, **344–48**
- Patmore, Coventry, 149
- Patriarchy, 224, **348–49**
- Patristic Church, 132
- Pauline, Esther. *See* La Païva
- PDP. *See* Prostitution Diversion Program
- Peach Blossom Fan* (Kong Shangren), 105
- Pearl, Cora, 189, **349–50**
- Pearls of Blood*, 14
- The Peddler*, 105
- Peeping tomism, 528–29
- Peer Education, **350–52**
- Peking Opera, 221, **352–54**; role of women in, 353; themes of, 352
- Peladan, Josephine, 131
- Pelagia, 132, **354–55**
- Penal colonies, **355–56**
- Pendleton, Eva, 157

- Penicillin, 28
- Penny dreadfuls, 273, 356–57
- Penthouse*, 210
- People's Republic of China, 440
- Pepys, Samuel, 256
- Perkins, Roberta, 224
- Perregaux, Edouard de, 141
- Pershing, John J., 75
- Peru, prostitution in, 246
- Philippines: child prostitution of, 98; Overseas Employment Administration, 310
- Phillip, David Graham, 20
- Phoenix, River, 163
- Phryne, 357–58
- Pia, Pascal, 94
- Picasso, Pablo, 18
- Pickton, Robert, 433
- The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Wilde), 282
- Pigs and Battleships* (Imamura), 232
- Pimpmobiles, 358
- Pimps, 25, 358, 359, 399; hip-hop and, 206; of Rome, 32; street-based prostitution and, 465; violence by, 292; in Western Europe, 536
- Pimps Up, Ho's Down* (HBO), 206
- Pinzer, Maimie, 359–60
- Pisan, Chrisine de, 177
- Pisarro, Camille, 93
- Piss play. *See* Golden showers
- "A Plan for Peace" (Sanger), 147
- Planned Parenthood, 147
- Playboy*, 59
- Plutarch, 478
- Poetry, 360–62, 425
- Pompeii, 32, 34, 38
- Porne*, 362–63
- Pornography, 21, 58–59; in Arab Gulf, 43; feminist views of, 156; patriarchy and, 349; Sprinkle, Annie, and, 458–59; story collections, 281; transgender sex workers and, 503
- Pornography, Kuwait's prohibition on, 43
- Ports, 363–64
- Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 364–67; biological basis of, 366; Cadena case and, 365; pathology of, 345; prostitution link with, 385; rape and, 384; symptoms of, 366
- Prasad, Monica, 50
- Prentice Law (NYC), 332
- Pretty Baby* (Malle), 59
- Pretty Woman*, 150, 161, 163, 287, 367
- The Pretty Woman of Paris*, 137
- Prevost, Abbé Antoine-Francois, 55, 178, 338
- Pride and Prejudice* (Austen), 67
- Prison, 367, 367–68, 464
- Private Shows* (Winters), 164
- Profumo Affair, 237, 368–69
- Prohibition, 5, 222, 369
- Prostitutes: apartment worker, 87; bar/hotel, 85, 87; blues music sympathy for, 64; clothing choices of, 109; as "dates"/"escorts," 144; emotional health of, 346; ethnicity of, 23; as "fancy lady," 22; French representation of, 177; German imprisonment of, 147; of Ghana, 111, 112; James's interviews with, 12; Jewish, 199; lower-class, 9; migration of, 197; mine-based, 316; of Nigeria, 110, 111; nude models confused with, 47; of Paris, 171; physician care of, 126; Russia's registration of, 223; safe sex and, 7; social costs related to, 146; STIs/HIV/AIDs spread by, 86; teenage, 72; of trans-Mississippi West, 21; typology of desire of, 133; violent crimes against, 107
- Prostitutes Association of South Australia (PASA), 431
- Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria, 434
- Prostitution: acceptance of, 29; addiction and, 10; in African literature, 14; alcohol linked with, 16, 17, 18, 19; attitudes towards, 49–50; *auletrides* and, 9; decriminalization of, 52, 129, 250–51, 434; global movement against, 3; Hong Kong ban on, 213; legalization of, 26, 59, 250–51, 434; marriage linked to, 66, 133; medicalization of, 200; in Medieval Europe, 40; men as responsible for, 5; military link with, 43–44; monotheism and, 405; myths about, 49–50; as necessary evil, 26; organized crime link with, 123; patriarchy and, 405; penalties against, 39; performance link with, 9, 10; prohibition of, 5; push/pull factors of, 274; reactions against, 50; regulation of, 5, 28, 195, 200, 250–51; religious doctrines against, 51; romanticization of, 25; satirization of, 66; in science fiction, 151; self-regulation of, 28; street-based, 12; temporary marriage as form of, 473–73; terminology of, 476–78; tolerance of, 250–51; tourist bar/hotel oriented, 84; of West Africa, 532–35; window, 480–82, 542–43. *See also* Forced prostitution; Indoor prostitution; Outdoor prostitution
- Prostitution: Considered in Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects* (Acton), 8, 117
- Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Walkowitz), 17
- Prostitution Diversion Program (PDP), 138, 139
- Prostitution Exposed: Or a Moral Reform Directory* (guidebook), 191
- Protestant Reformation, 301, 370–71, 395, 536
- Protestantism, 26, 390
- Psychopathia Sexualis* (Kraft-Ebing), 291
- Public Morality Council, 482
- Punk rock, 410–12
- The Pure and the Impure* (Colette), 110

- Puritan Parliament (England), 31
 Puritans, 19
 Purity campaigns, 371–73
 Purity movements, 373–75; decline of, 373; National Vigilance Association (NVA) and, 323–25; organized crime and, 339
Purple Hairpin (Tang Xianzu), 105
Pygmalion (Shaw), 68
- Qing Dynasty, 105–6, 220, 352, 438
 Queen, Carol, 157
- Race and ethnicity, 377–82
Raggionamenti (Aretino), 119
 Rahab, 383
 Raines, John, 332
 Rape, 8, 383–85, 527; Foat, Ginny, on, 167; in Japanese cinema, 233; Japan's state sanctioned, 76; as male bonding, 107; Mandeville, Bernard, on, 284; prisons and, 367; speculum as instrument of, 117, 456; of transgender sex workers, 501; victims of, 268
 Rape, statutory, 385–86
 Raymond, Janice, 159
 Rechy, John, 280, 386
 Red Light Abatement Act (California), 266
 Red light districts: of Amsterdam, 26, 29; blue book guides to, 61–62, 191; Henry II and, 203–4; of New Orleans, 59; of Rio de Janeiro, 247, 251; strip clubs in, 185
 Redgrave, Richard, 149
 Reeves, Keanu, 163
 Reform, 386–87
 Regulationism: of prostitution, 5; in Weimar Republic, 530
The Reivers (Faulker), 20
 Religion, 388–93; Buddhism, 392, 508; Christianity, 51, 131, 289–90, 370, 383, 389; misogyny and, 317; Mormonism, 390; patriarchy and, 349; Protestant Reformation and, 119; sacred prostitution and, 388; transgender sex workers and, 501; violence and, 526–27; in Weimar Republic, 530–31
 Renaissance, 393–95, 536; poetry of, 360; prostitution reform, 386–87; syphilis during, 394
 Renoir, Auguste, 93, 175
 Research Ethics, 395–98
 Resident Activism, 215, 398–400
 Residents in Distress (RID), 428
 Resnick, Mike, 152
Restavek, 102
 Restoration actresses, 10
 Retrogressive Dynamic, 400–402, 537
 Reuben, David, 346
 Review sites, as form of solicitation, 228
- Richard, Marthe, 402
 RID. See Residents in Distress
 Ridgway, Gary Leon, 432
 Riehl, Regine, 402–4
 Rights movement, of sex workers, 6
 Riis, Jacob, 166
 Rio de Janeiro, red light districts of, 247, 251
 Rites of passage, 404–5
 Roberts, Julia, 163
Robinson Crusoe (Defoe), 319
 Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of, 405–6
 Rock music, 406–12
 Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 332
 Rode Draad, 29, 201, 412–13, 433
Roe vs. Wade (410 U.S. 113, 1973), 7
 Role-play fantasies, 145
 Roman Catholicism, 389, 443
 Romantic Literature, 413–15
 Romantics, poetry of, 361
 Rome. See Ancient Rome
 Rops, Félicien, 30
 Rossetti, Christina, 361
 Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 149, 362
 Rowe, Nicholas, 442
Roxana (Defoe), 66
 R&R, 376–77, 454
 “The Ruined Maid” (Hardy), 361
 Runyon, Damon, 362
 Rural prostitution, West Africa, 532–33
 Rush, Benjamin, 13
 Russell, Ken, 163
 Russell, Lillian, 64
 Russia: prohibition in, 222; prostitute registration in, 223; sex workers of, 88; syphilis in, 223
 Russo-Japanese War, 222
Ruth (Gaskell), 150
- Sabatier, Appolonie, 416–17
 Sacred Prostitution in the Ancient World, 417–19
 Sacred Prostitution, Contemporary, 419–20
 Sade, Marquis de, 420–21, 422, 423
The Sadeian Woman (Carter), 68
 Sadie Thompson, 421
Sadie Thompson (film), 160
 Sadosomochism, 145, 351, 420, 422–23, 441
 Safe sex: prostitutes and, 7; sex workers practice of, 133
 Safety kits, for sex workers, 336
 SAGE. See Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE)
 Sai, Jinhua, 423–24
 Saloons, as houses of prostitution, 16, 17
 Salt Lake City, 23
 Salvation Army, 424

- San Bernardino, California, D-Street workers of, 126–27
- San Francisco, 22, 23; Nob Hill Theater, 283; prostitution in, 15; Sex Worker Film and Video Festival, 251
- San Francisco Hustler* (Steward), 281
- Sanger, Margaret, 147, 173, 174
- Sanger, William Wallace, 424–25
- Sappho of Lesbos, 425
- Saroyan, William, 20
- Scandinavia, sterilization support in, 147
- Scapegoating, 399, 425–30
- Scarlet Alliance, 351, 431, 434
- The School of Wisdom* (Aretino), 350
- Schultz, Dutch, 14
- Science fiction, 151
- Scott, Ridley, 152
- Seamstresses, 196, 431–32
- Secret Love* (Dryden), 193
- Sembene Ousmane, 14
- Serial killers, 320–21, 432; Jack the Ripper, 231; Wuornos, Aileen, 549–50
- Serrau, Coline, 176
- Sex industries, political economy of, 518–19
- Sex tourism, 17, 377, 488–90; in Asia, 488; in Caribbean countries, 80; in Central and East Africa, 84; Sonagachi Project and, 448; in Sri Lanka, 451–52; in Third World Countries, 132. *See also* Tourism
- Sex Work, 215, 398–99, 433
- Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*, 433
- Sex Worker Art Show tour, 251
- Sex Worker Film and Video Festival (San Francisco), 251
- Sex Worker–Only Communication Tools, 433–35
- Sex workers: advocacy for, 458–60; attitudes towards, 299; biblical portrayal of, 60–61; challenges faced by, 63–64; clients of, 106–7; communication tools of, 433–34; condom use among, 7, 88–89; COYOTE services for, 120; crack use among, 120–21; distorted views of, 272–75; diversion programs for, 138–39; drug use among, 88–89, 96; economic well-being of, 400; feminist views of, 157–59; harm reduction for, 120, 2000–202; human rights abuses of, 217; images of, 507–11; Internet and, 228; longevity of, 400–401; Native American, 24; organizations in support of, 48; pathology of, 345; police abuse of, 527; PTSD of, 366; rape of, 89; rights of, 48, 90–91, 250–51, 412–13, 459–60, 510–11; of Russia, 88; safe sex practiced by, 133; slang terms for, 444–45; as slaves, 11, 24; specialized practices of, 96; stereotypes of, 20, 346; stigma against, 500; stripping and, 466–67; in Tel Aviv, 472–73; in Thailand, 57; transgender, 6; truckers and, 207–8; violence against, 38, 41, 52–53, 292, 320–21, 383–85
- Sex Worker's Outreach Project (SWOP), 201, 251
- Sexual slavery, 132
- Sexuality, feminist theories of, 154–59
- Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), 30–31, 75, 435–37; condoms and, 118; harm reduction and, 200; licensed prostitution and, 254; madams and, 267; occupational safety and health as prevention of, 336; peer education and, 350–52; prostitute's spreading of, 86; regulations controlling spread of, 5; syphilis, 468–71; trafficking and, 496; WHO efforts to address, 546–47; World War I regulation of, 548–49
- Shakespeare, William, 66, 361, 437–38
- Shanghai, 438–41
- Shanti Utsav* (India), 302
- Shaw, George Bernard, 68, 288
- Shoes, 441
- Shore, Jane, 441–42
- Sido* (Colette), 110
- Silbert, Mimi, 224
- Sins of the Cities*, 442–43
- Sister Carrie* (Dreiser), 20
- A Sister Courtesan Comes to the Rescue* (Guan Hanqing), 105
- Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 269, 443
- Slang, 444–45
- Slaughter on Tenth Avenue* (Balanchine), 56
- Slave trade, abolitionism and, 4
- Sloan, L. S., 157
- Slusher, Juanita. *See* Barr, Candy
- Smart Alec*, 58–59
- Smith, Bessie, 62
- Smith, Cordwainer, 151–52
- Smith, Mamie, 62
- Snead, William T., 272
- Social Darwinism, 146
- The Social Evil in Chicago* report, 96
- Social purity movement, 5, 373
- Societies for the Reformation of Manners, 284, 445–46
- Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (Germany), 327
- Society for the Suppression of Vice (London), 257
- Soiled doves, 446–47
- Sonagachi Project, 209, 301, 447–49, 450, 472, 510–11
- Song Dynasty, 105, 220, 252
- Sonora Town (Los Angeles), 23
- South Asia, 449–52, 474, 505
- Southeast Asia, 452–56, 474
- Speculum, 117, 456–58, 470
- Spielberg, Steven, 152

- The Sporting and Club House Directory*, 96
 Sprinkle, Annie, 420, **458–59**, 503
 Sri Lanka, 451–52
 St. James, Margo, 120, 250, **459**
 St. James Infirmary, **459–60**
 Stampa, Gaspar, 119
 Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), 137
 Stead, William, 67, 96, 257, 272–75, 374
 Steen, Jan, 142, **460–61**
 Steinbeck, John, 21
 Sterilization, 147
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 231
 Steward, Samuel, 281
 Stigma, **461–62**, 476–78, 500
 STIs. *See* Sexually Transmitted Infections
Story of a Prostitute (Suzuki), 233
 Storyville, 59, 61–62, 238–39, **462–64**
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 20
The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Stevenson), 231
Street of Shame (Mizoguchi), 232
 Street Offences Act of 1959, **464–65**, 543
 Street-Based Prostitution, 12, 346, **465–66**, 511; in Australia, 52; Toppelzones and, 480–82; transgender sex workers as, 502; in Western Europe, 536
 Street-girls, of Hong Kong, 214
Streetwise (Bell), 164
 Stripping, 58, 185, **466–67**
 Strozzi, Barbara, **467–68**
 Stubbes, Philip, 31
 Substance abuse, 13
 Suez Canal, opening of, 172
 Sui Dynasty, 220
 Suicide, 25, 539
Summa Theologiae (Aquinas), 39
 Sumptuary laws, 108–9
Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise (Phillip), 20
 Sutherland, Donald, 241
 Suzuki, Seijun, 233
 Swanson, Gloria, 160
 Sweden: criminalization of clients in, 124–25; sex workers of, 5; sexual offense legislation of, 100
Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song (Van Peeble), 165
Sweet Thursday (Steinbeck), 21
 SWOP. Wee Sex Workers Outreach Project
Symposium (Xenophon), 51
 Syphilis, 5, 30–31, 394, **468–471**; French literature and, 177; in Imperial Russia, 223; Medieval prostitution and, 300; prostitutes transmission of, 30; treatment of, 469–70; World War I regulation of, 548–49
Tacones Lejanops (Almodóvar), 161
Tale of Huo Xiaoyu (Jiang Fang), 105
Tale of Li Wa (Bo Xingjian), 105
Tales of Hoffman (Offenbach), 338
Tales of the Velvet Comet (Resnick), 152
 Tan Bazar, 450, **472**
 Tang Dynasty, 105, 220
 Tang Xianzu, 105
Tantrikas, 419
 Tarantino, Quentin, 163
Taxi Driver (Scorsese), 161
 Teenage prostitutes, 72
 Tel Aviv, **472–73**
 Temperance Movement, 428
 Temple Prostitute, 94
 Temporary Marriage, 452, **473–75**
 Tenderloin Districts, **475**
 Tenofovir, **475–76**
 Terminology, **476–78**
 Ternan, Ellen, 137
Tess of D'Urbenvilles (Hardy), 150
 Thailand, 56–57, 98, 169
 Thaïs, **478–79**
 Theodora, Empress of Byzantium, 132, **479–80**
Théodore (Corneille), 178
 Thiongo, Ngugi wa, 14
 Third World Countries: globalization's influence on, 186; sex tourism in, 132
 Thompson, Sadie. *See* Sadie Thompson
 Toppelzones, 465, **480–82**, 536
Tis a Pity She's a Whore (Ford), 66
To Beg I Am Ashamed, **482–83**
Todo Sobre Mi Madre (Almodóvar), 161
 Tokyo, **483–87**
Tokyo Decadence (Murakami), 234
 Toronto Prostitution Offender Diversion Program, 138
 Touching Base, 52, **487**
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de, 18, **487–88**
 Tourism, **488–90**
The Town (Nicholson), 356
 Toy, Ah, 15
Traces of Flower and Moon (Wei Xiuren), 106
Traffic in Souls (Tucker), 160
 Trafficking, 3, 381–82, **490–94**; in Arab Gulf, 40–43; Cadena Case, 365; campaigns against, 4; Caribbean countries and, 81; Central America and, 82; child prostitution and, 98, 495; forced prostitution and, 170; human rights and, 218, 521–22; in Israel, 472; NVA and, 323–25; organized crime and, 339; prevention of, 387, 522; as slavery, 494; Sonagachi Project and, 448; statistics of, 491; in Thailand, 57; United Nations protocol on, 512–13. *See also* White slavery
 Trafficking, Politics and Propaganda, **494–98**
Tragedy of Jane Shore (Rowe), 442

- Transactional Sex, **498–99**
Transactions of the International Congress on the White Slave Trade (Coote), 325
- Transgender Sex Workers, **499–506**; New York City and, 333; of Thailand, 57; violence against, 525; window prostitution and, 542
- Transvestites, 499
- Tretheway, Natasha, 59
- “Tricks Ain’t Walking No More” (blues), 62, 63
- Trokosi (religious slavery), 102–3
- Tropic of Cancer* (Miller), 314–15
- Tropic of Capricorn* (Miller), 315
- Truckers, sex workers and, 207–8
- Truck-park prostitution, West Africa, 533
- True Romance* (Tarantino), 163
- The True Story of Linda M.* (Bailey), 164
- Tunisia, sexual crime deportation from, 46
- Turkish Empire, 472
- Two or Three Things I Know About Her* (Godard), 161
- 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 218
- Uganda, 84
- Ugly Mugs project (Australia), 434
- Ukiyo-e, **507–10**, 513–14, 551
- Un Moderne Olympia* (Cézanne), 93
- Unions, **510–11**
- United Kingdom, sexual offense legislation of, 100
- United Nations: Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploration of the Prostitution of Others, 218; Convention on the Rights of the Child, 98, 100; Human Rights Caucus, 431; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 335; Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, 158
- United Nations Trafficking Protocol, 492, **512–13**
- United States (U.S.), 4, 7, 107, 124–25, 127; decriminalization efforts in, 265; “free love” first used in, 173; Global Fund for Women, 48; HIV / AIDS leadership of, 7; literature of, 19–21, 386; purity campaigns of, 372–75; racial stereotypes in, 377–78; rights of transgender sex workers in, 505; serial killers of, 432; social purity reform in, 372; sterilization sanctioned by, 147; sumptuary laws in, 108–9; syphilis in, 470; trafficking, politics and propaganda, 494
- Urania College, 136
- Urban prostitution, West Africa, 533–34
- Urbanization, as cause of prostitution, 198, 225
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 497
- U.S. Prostitutes Collective, 433
- USAID. See U.S. Agency for International Development
- Utamaro, 508, **513–14**
- Utrecht painters, 142
- The Vagabond* (Colette), 110
- Van Gogh, Vincent, 18
- Van Peebles, Melvin, 165
- Vance, Carole, 157
- Vanwesenbeeck, Ine, 346, 347
- Velvet Underground, 291
- Venard, Elizabeth-Céleste, 189
- Venereal diseases: CDAs instigated by, 117; Clot-Bey’s treatise on, 44; Penicillin for, 28. See also Sexually Transmitted Infections
- Venice, 118, 394, 467, **515–17**
- Venues and Labor Forms, **517–20**
- Verdi, Giuseppe, 141, 337
- Vermeer, Johannes, 142, **520–21**
- Vice Commission of Chicago, 96
- Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA), 477, 494, **521–22**
- Victorian novels, **523–24**
- Vie d’une Prostituée*, **524–25**
- Vietnam War, 56, 453–56
- Vigny, Alfred de, 131
- Village prostitution, West Africa, 532–33
- A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (Wollstonecraft), 66
- Violence, 320–21, 383–85, **525–28**; patriarchy and, 349; within prisons, 367; against prostitutes, 107; psychological results of, 365; PTSD and, 365–66; serial killers and, 432; against sex workers, 45; against street-based prostitutes, 466; against transgender sex workers, 501; against women, 317–18, 387
- Virginia Colony for the Epileptic and Feeble-minded, 147
- Virginity: father’s sale of daughter’s, 38; prostitution and, 46
- Vivre Sa Vie* (Godard), 161, 176
- Vohs, Kathleen, 50
- Voight, Jon, 307
- Voyeurism, **528–29**
- VPTA. See Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000
- Wales, abolition laws in, 4
- Walkowitz, Judith, 17
- Wallen, Wallejtes* (red light districts), 26
- War on drugs, 121
- “War on the Sex Criminal” (Hoover), 277
- Ward, Stephen, 237
- Warren, Josiah, 173

- Watson, Carrie, 95
The Way of the Whore (Berger), 78
We and Our Neighbors (Stowe), 20
 Web pages/Web sites, as form of solicitation, 228
 Wedekind, Frank, 337
 Wei Xiuren, 106
 Weimar Republic, 325, 327, **530–32**
 Weinstein, Barney, 58–59
 Weldon, Jo, 159
 West Africa, **532–36**
 Western Europe, 18, **536–37**
 Westward Expansion, **537–39**
 WHISPER. See Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER)
 Whistler, James McNeil, 18
 White Cross League, 374
 White Slave Traffic Act (Mann Act), 216
 White slavery, 21, 154, **539–41**; feminist opposition to, 5; Hoover, J. Edgar, and, 216; National Vigilance Association (NVA) and, 324; in Western Europe, 536
 Whitman, Walt, 166, 362
 WHO. See World Health Organization
Who Wants to Be a Millionaire (TV show), 140
Whore (Russell), 163
 Wilde, Oscar, 276, 278, 282, **541–42**
 Wilder, Billy, 161
 Wilmot, John, 361
 Wilson, Woodrow, 248
 Window prostitution, 480–82, **542–43**
 Winters, Stephen, 164
 WMA. See World Medical Association
 Wolfenden Report, 464, **543–45**
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 66, 67
 Women: Addams on special role of, 11; anti-trafficking campaign's influence on, 4; commodification of Arab, 44–45; forced exams of, 5; forced sterilization of, 118; Hull House settlement for, 11; involuntary detention of, 94; kidnapping of, 75–76; as paragons of higher moral code, 20; promiscuity of in literature, 77; Puritan/Victorian concept of, 20; sexuality of, 19–20; sumptuary laws to shame, 108–9; taxation of, 84; trafficking of, 6; wine/song linked with, 16
 Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER), 6, 169
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, 259, 339, 375
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 11
 Women's liberation movement, 21
 Women's Peace Party, 11
 Women's suffragette, 11
 Women's Volunteer Corps, 76
 Woodhull, Victoria, 116, 173–74, **545–46**
 Wordsworth, William, 67
Work: A Story of Experience (Alcott), 20
Working Girls (Borden), 164
Working with Sex Workers & Community Development (Scarlet Alliance), 351
 World Health Organization (WHO), 209, 306, **546–47**
 World Medical Association (WMA), 306
The World of Suzie Wong (Mason), **547–48**
 World War I, 291; involuntary detention of women during, 94; New Orleans during, 329; New York City during, 332; prostitution banned during, 329; Shanghai during, **548–49**
 World War I regulation, **548–49**
 Worth, Charles Frederick, 171
 Wright, Frances, 173
 Wu Sangui (General), 94
 Wuornos, Aileen, **549–50**
- Xenophon, 51, 341
 Xu Lin, 105
- Yahweh, 36
 Yoshiwara, 508, 514, **551–53**
 "You Can't Give It Away" (blues), 62
 Yu Dás, 106
- Zelle, Margarete Gertruda. See Mata Hari
 Zeng Pu, 106
 Zhou Dynasty, 220
 Zola, Émile, 47, 119, 175, 190, **554–55**

ABOUT THE EDITOR, ADVISORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

EDITOR

Melissa Hope Ditmore is the editor of *Research for Sex Work* and Coordinator of the Network of Sex Work Projects. She is also a research consultant and was the principal investigator for “Revolving Door,” the first report released by the Sex Workers Project. Ditmore has written about trafficking and the sex industry in various books and journals. She has spoken about sex work at varied venues including the United Nations, universities, academic and political conferences, and community events.

ADVISORS

Laura Agustín is a lecturer at the School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom. She has focused her research and publications on the connections between migrations of non-European women to Europe, where they sell domestic, caring and sexual services, and the large social sector that proposes to help them. She has worked in *educación popular* both in Latin America and with migrants in various parts of the West and has been an evaluator of social programming for the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the European Commission. She moderates a romance-language email list for sex workers and their allies.

Priscilla Alexander is co-editor of *Sex Work Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*.

Elizabeth Bernstein is an associate professor of sociology and women’s studies at Barnard College, Columbia University. She is the co-editor, with Laurie Schaffner, of *Regulating Sex: The politics of intimacy and identity*.

Andrew Hunter is a co-coordinator of the Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers.

Kamala Kempadoo, an associate professor in social science at York University, Canada, is the author of *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor* (2004) and editor of *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work and Human Rights* (2005).

Helen J. Self is the author of *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve*. She has conducted an extensive study of prostitution both historically and in its contemporary setting.

Nancy M. Wingfield is an associate professor of history at Northern Illinois University. Her recent publications include *Gender and World War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, co-edited with Maria Bucur.

CONTRIBUTORS

Nwando Achebe is an associate professor of history at Michigan State University. She is the author of *Farmers, Traders, Warriors and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960*.

Saheed Aderinto is a research assistant at the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA), University of Ibadan. He specializes in the social and urban history of Africa with an interest in the history of prostitution and human trafficking.

Jennifer Adler is an adjunct professor for the City University of New York system. Her academic focus is environmental psychology and design research.

Rachel Aimeé has written about gender, sexuality, sex work, and popular culture for the feminist webzine *The F Word* and is co-editor of *\$pread Magazine*, a sex workers' advocacy publication.

Dan Allman is a research associate at the HIV Social Behavioural and Epidemiological Studies Unit, University of Toronto, and a postgraduate at the Centre for Research on Families and Relationships at the University of Edinburgh. He has written on sexuality, sex work, substance use, harm reduction, social inclusion, and community-based research.

Clinton P.E. Atchley is an associate professor of English at Henderson State University in Arkadelphia, Arkansas.

Melynda Barnhart directs the Anti-Trafficking Initiative at the International Rescue Committee.

Pierre Marc Bellemare teaches classics and philosophy at Saint Paul University in Ottawa, Canada.

Laurie Bernstein is the author of *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia*. She is an associate professor in the History Department of Rutgers University–Camden as well as director of Women's Studies.

Elizabeth Bishop teaches modern Arab history at the University of Texas at Austin.

Lee Y. Blouin (MA, University of Arizona, 2004) is a doctoral candidate in English literature at the University of Arizona, where she teaches English literature and composition. Her research explores the intersection between literature and reproductive medicine in the early modern period.

Bruce E. Brandt is a professor of English at South Dakota State University.

Malin Lidström Brock is a doctoral candidate of the English faculty at Oxford University, United Kingdom.

Siobhan Brooks is a doctoral candidate at the New School. She was a union organizer at the Lusty Lady Theater in San Francisco, and is featured in Julia Query's documentary, *Live, Nude, Girls, Unite!*

Stephanie Lynn Budin is a professor of intellectual heritage at Temple University in Philadelphia. Her main scholarly interests are ancient Greece and the Near East, sex and gender, and myth and religion.

Rachel Epp Buller teaches at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas. Her research examines German art of the 1920s, American art of the 1960s, and feminist art.

Diane Cady is an assistant professor in the Department of English at St. John's University in New York City. Her research and teaching interests include Chaucer, gender, and new economic criticism.

Michael Carden is a research coordinator at the Center for the Study of Hepatitis C at Weill Medical College of Cornell University.

Central and Eastern Europe Harm Reduction Network is a regional network with a mission to support, develop, and advocate for harm reduction approaches in the field of drugs, HIV/AIDS, public health, and social exclusion by following the principles of humanism, tolerance, partnership, and respect for human rights and freedoms.

Melinda Chateaufvert teaches African American studies and public policy at the University of Maryland. She is also a founder of the Woodhull Freedom Foundation, a nonprofit human rights advocacy organization working for sexual freedom, and a writer whose work first appeared in the landmark volume, *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry* (1986).

Sora Chung is a graduate student at New York University's Wagner School of Public Service.

Jim Daems is a sessional instructor in the English Department at Simon Fraser University.

Eric Danville is the author of *The Complete Linda Lovelace*.

Catherine Davis is copy chief at *Spin* magazine.

Kevin De Ornellas is a lecturer at the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland.

Karen De Riso is writing an ethnography of brothels.

Carlos Ulises Decena is an assistant professor in the departments of Women's and Gender Studies and Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caribbean Studies at Rutgers University.

Cecily Devereux is an associate professor in the Department of English at the University of Alberta and specializes in issues of gender and imperialism from the late 1880s to World War II and in Canadian women's writing.

Kinsey Alden Dinan is an independent researcher and consultant on the issue of trafficking in women, and particularly migrant women's experiences in Asia and related international human rights standards. As a researcher for Human Rights Watch, she wrote *Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan* and has participated in a range of advocacy efforts, including lobbying delegates at the negotiations for the United Nations Protocol on Trafficking.

Jo Doezema first became active in the sex workers' rights movement through her work with the Red Thread in Amsterdam. She is a former sex worker and holds a doctorate from the Institute for Development Studies. She was an inaugural board member of the Network of Sex Work Projects and a co-editor of *Global Sex Workers*.

Pamela Donovan is an assistant professor of sociology and criminal justice at Bloomsburg University, Pennsylvania. She is the author of *No Way of Knowing: Crime, Urban Legends, and the Internet* (2004).

Robert P. Dunn, a professor of English at La Sierra University in Riverside, California, teaches the English Bible as literature.

Jeffrey Escoffier writes on sexuality, lesbian and gay politics, and dance. His most recent book is *Sexual Revolution*, an anthology of writings from the 1960s and 70s on the sexual revolution. He is also the author of *American Homo: Perversity and Community* (1998).

Janelle Fawkes is a former president of the Scarlet Alliance, the Australian sex workers' organization.

Alex Feerst is a visiting assistant professor in the English Department at Macalester College.

Kathryn Ferguson is a doctoral candidate in history and English at LaTrobe University.

Shawna Ferris is a doctoral candidate in Canadian literature and cultural studies at McMaster University.

LaSara Firefox's first book, *Sexy Witch*, was published in 2005.

Gisela Fosado works at the Margaret Mead Film and Video Festival in New York City.

Anne Marie Fowler is an online adjunct professor for Keiser College, where she teaches English and American literature.

Katherine Frank is a Social Science Research Council Sexuality Research Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and a faculty associate at the College of the Atlantic in Bar Harbor, Maine. She has written on the sex industry, masculinity, pornography, feminism, eating disorders, and swinging and is the author of *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire* (2002).

John J. Gaines is a Ph.D. student at Texas Tech University in Lubbock. His primary research interests are the American Civil War, 19th-century America, and gender issues.

Tom Garretson is a writer, music producer, and music-industry professional.

Alexandra Gerber is a graduate student in the Sociology Department at the University of Michigan. Her research interests include social movements and political activism among sex workers in both the United States and Eastern Europe.

Kate Gilhuly is an assistant professor of classical studies at Wellesley College. She has written articles about Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*.

Roger Giner-Sorolla is a lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the University of Kent in Canterbury, England. His research covers the role of emotions in attitudes, self-control, and moral judgment. He is a member of the Centre for Study of Group Processes and the AHRC Research Centre for Law, Gender and Sexuality.

Esther Godfrey is completing her Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee.

Angela Gosetti-Murrayjohn is an assistant professor of classics at the University of Mary Washington.

Heike Grundmann is a lecturer in English and comparative literature at the University of Munich.

Jennifer Gutbezahl works at Lesley University providing support to those developing educational programs in math and science.

W. Scott Haine teaches at the University of Maryland University College and in the San Mateo County Community College District. He is the author of *The World of the Paris Cafe: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), *The History of France* (Greenwood Press, 2000), and the forthcoming *The Culture and Customs of France* (Greenwood Press, 2006). He is the author of *The World of the Paris Cafe: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914*.

Geoff Hamilton is a Killam Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia.

Lawrence Hammar is a senior research fellow at the Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research, where he conducts research on issues of reproductive health and sexual behavior.

Anne Hayes, a former documentary film editor, received a Ph.D. in Latin American History from City University of New York in 2004.

Marcy A. Hess is an assistant professor of Victorian studies at Valdosta State University. She has written on contagion theory, representations of prostitution in Victorian print culture, and early Victorian novels.

Jose A. Hidalgo is a psychiatrist at the Trauma Center at Justice Resource Institute, specializing in traumatic stress disorders. He is the director of Project REACH, providing crisis mental health services for victims of human trafficking.

Nels P. Highberg is an assistant professor of rhetoric, language, and culture at the University of Hartford, where he teaches courses in composition, argumentation, and gender studies.

John Holmstrom founded PUNK magazine in 1975, which was instrumental in the success of many New York City punk bands. Holmstrom has also produced work for bands The Ramones, Blondie, The Dandy Warhols, Murphy's Law, Meat Depressed, and Mykel Board and publications from Scholastic, *The Village Voice*, *High Times*, *Heavy Metal*, *Video Games* and many other magazines.

Karen Humphreys teaches French literature at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. She has published articles on Barbey d'Aureville, Robert Desnos, and Valentine Penrose's *La Comtesse sanglante* (*The Bloody Countess*).

Jennifer Hunter is a freelance writer and editor and the author of *Rites of Pleasure: Sexuality in Wicca and NeoPaganism* (2004).

Avaren Ipsen is a Ph.D. candidate in biblical studies at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley.

Saul Isbister is a private sex worker and activist for sex workers' rights based in Sydney, Australia. He is a co-initiator of the Touching Base project as well as the project's media spokesperson and Webmaster.

Deborah Israel is an assistant professor of English at the University of Central Oklahoma.

Lisa Hartsell Jackson is a lecturer in the English Department at the University of North Texas.

Elizabeth K. Hopper, Ph.D. is a clinical psychologist at the Trauma Center at Justice Resource Institute in Boston and at Boston University School of Medicine. She is the associate director of Project REACH, a program that provides consultation and crisis mental health services for victims of human trafficking in the eastern United States.

Trudy Jacobsen is a research fellow at the Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance at Griffith University, Brisbane, and the author of *Beyond Apsara: Women, Time and Power in Cambodia* (2005).

H. Paul Jeffers is the author of *Diamond Jim Brady: Prince of the Gilded Age* and other biographies.

Elena Jeffreys is a sex-worker activist based in Australia.

Joe E. Jeffreys teaches courses in lesbian and gay performance studies at New York University.

Kerwin Kaye is the editor of *Male Lust: Pleasure, Power, and Transformation*.

Patrick J. Kearney is the author of *A History of Erotic Literatures* (1983) and several other works on erotic literature.

Eva Kernbauer is an art historian and critic living in Vienna, with research interests in contemporary and early modern art.

Hilary Kinnell is the coordinator of the United Kingdom Network of Sex Work Projects.

Cameron Kippen is a freelance writer and broadcaster.

Juline A. Koken is a Ph.D. student in social–personality psychology at the CUNY Graduate Center. Her research interests center around how sexually marginalized individuals, particularly sex workers and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender persons, manage and resist the impact of stigma on their lives.

Kate Kramer is the deputy directory of the Center for 21st Century Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Lenore Kuo holds the Nancy's Chair in Women's Studies at Mt. St. Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and is a professor at California State University at Fresno.

Emily Epstein Landau wrote her Yale Ph.D. dissertation, "Spectacular Wickedness': New Orleans, Prostitution, and the Politics of Sex, 1897–1917," about Storyville, New Orleans' famous red light district.

Marie Lathers is Treuhaff Professor of Humanities and French at Case Western Reserve University. She specializes in 19th-century French literature and art.

Michelle A. Laughran is an associate professor of history at Saint Joseph's College of Maine.

Nomi Levenkron works at the Hotline for Migrant Workers in Tel Aviv, Israel.

Antonia Levy is an adjunct lecturer in sociology and labor studies at Queens College, New York. Her work focuses on social movements, political sociology, gender and society, sexuality, and urban sociology.

Dina A. Ligaga is a doctoral candidate in the Department of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Mary Linehan is a visiting associate professor at the College of Wooster and teaches courses on gender, sexuality, politics, and prostitution.

Bebe Loff is head of Human Rights and Bioethics in the Department of Epidemiology and Preventive Medicine at Monash University in Australia.

Paulo Henrique Longo, who died in 2004, was a cofounder of the Network of Sex Work Projects and coauthor of *Making Sex Work Safe* with Cheryl Overs.

Ana Lopes is the founder of the International Union of Sex Workers and a key figure in the process of official unionization of sex workers in the United Kingdom.

Tonette B. Lopez is a staunch advocate against discrimination against sexual minorities in the Philippines and founder of the first human rights nongovernmental organization in Asia, GAHUM-Philippines and Advocates of Sexuality's Discrimination.

Alexandra Lutnick is a sex worker, research coordinator for St. James Infirmity, and staff research associate for the University of California–San Francisco. She coordinates the St. SWEAT project, a multilevel study that aims to identify the ways in which social capital impacts the health of female sex workers in San Francisco.

Jaimy M. Mann is a doctoral fellow at the University of Florida Department of English.

Maria Markantonatou is RTN Fellow on the faculty of sociology at Humboldt University in Berlin.

Melissa Ellis Martin is a doctoral candidate at the University of Washington. She is researching the prostitution and the traffic in women and children in fin-de-siècle Austria-Hungary.

Shelley Martin is a Ph.D. student in the Department of English, specializing in women's studies, at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette.

Laura McClure is the Jane Ellen Harrison Professor of Classics at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Her most recent book is *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Literary Culture in Athenaeus* (2003).

Jill McCracken is a doctoral candidate in rhetoric at the University of Arizona.

Thomas A. J. McGinn teaches Classics at Vanderbilt University.

Angus McIntyre is a writer, translator and photographer who lives in New York City.

Maria Mikolchak is an associate professor at St. Cloud State University.

Mireille Miller-Young is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of California Santa Barbara. Her work concerns women of color, sex workers in the pornography industry, and issues of race and sexuality in visual media.

Rohini Mokashi-Punekar is an assistant professor in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati, India.

Sherry Monahan is the author of *The Wicked West*, *Taste of Tombstone*, and *Pikes Peak: Adventurers, Communities & Lifestyles*.

Heather Montgomery is a lecturer in childhood studies at the Open University. She has written extensively about child prostitution in Thailand and is the author of *Modern Babylon?: Prostituting Children in Thailand* (2001).

Ananya Mukherjea is an assistant professor in women's studies and sociology at the City University of New York, College of Staten Island. Her research compares social organizing done in response to HIV/AIDS in Kolkata, India, and New York City.

Alison Murray is the author of *Pink Fits: Sex, Subcultures and Discourses in the Asia-Pacific* and *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta*. She is currently working as Scarlet Alliance's Papua New Guinea project officer.

Lorraine Nencel is an anthropologist in the Department of Social Research Methodology at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Her research interests involve issues of sexuality, gender, and identity.

Thomas Nesbit is a visiting professor in the Department of English and American Studies at Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic.

Caryn E. Neumann is a lecturer and doctoral candidate in U.S. women's history at Ohio State University. She is a former managing editor of the *Journal of Women's History*.

Kathryn Norberg is an associate professor of history at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Jesse Norris is a Ph.D student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Hannington Ochwada is a doctoral student in the Department of History at Indiana University, Bloomington.

Jaime Ramon Olivares is a professor of American history at Houston Community College–Central.

Debbie Clare Olson is a doctoral student in film and critical theory at Oklahoma State University.

David L. Orvis is a doctoral candidate in English literature at the University of Arizona.

Cheryl Overs cofounded the Australian sex workers organization the Scarlet Alliance in the mid-1980s. In 1991 she cofounded the International Network of Sex Work Projects with her late husband Paulo Longo and was coordinator of the NSWP from 1992 to 2000. She is Senior Programme Officer for Focused Prevention at the International HIV/AIDS Alliance based in the United Kingdom.

Kathryn Parker is a graduate student studying 18th-century Gothic romanticism, erotica, and feminist psychoanalytic theory in the English and Comparative Literature departments at Washington University, St. Louis.

Gail Pheterson is the author of *The Prostitution Prism* (1996) and the editor of *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores* (1989).

Chloé Pirson is an art historian and researcher at Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, and also works for the Medicine Museum of Brussels.

Randall Platt writes fiction for adults and young adults. Several of Platt's books have been nationally recognized, won awards and/or have been optioned for film. Platt has created *Slang-master*, an interactive and searchable dictionary of slang.

Richard Porton has taught at New York University, Hunter College, and the College of Staten Island (CUNY) and is an editor at *Cineaste* magazine.

Victoria E. Price is a lecturer in the Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies at the University of Glasgow.

Irwin Primer is retired from the English Department of Rutgers University's Newark campus. His most recent work is a new edition of Bernard Mandeville's 1720 *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*.

Kirsten Pullen is an assistant professor of English at the University of Calgary. She has published essays on online fan activity, burlesque history, *Zsa Zsa Gabor*, and many prostitutes and performers.

Tracy Quan is the author of *Diary of a Married Call Girl: A Nancy Chan Novel* and *Diary of a Manhattan Call Girl*.

Michelle K. Rhoades teaches history at Wabash College.

Althea E. Rhodes is an assistant professor of English/rhetoric at the University of Arkansas, Ft. Smith.

Anita R. Rose teaches English at Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Tracey S. Rosenberg is completing doctoral work at the University of Edinburgh.

Virginia Rounding is a sexual and social historian based in London and the author of *Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Four Nineteenth-century Courtesans* (2003).

Carrie Runstedler is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Saskatchewan.

Joelle Ruby Ryan is a doctoral candidate in the American Culture Studies Program at Bowling Green State University.

Margaret Sankey is an assistant professor of history at Minnesota State University at Moorhead.

Michelle M. Sauer is an associate professor of English and Coordinator of Gender Studies at Minot State University (ND) and the managing editor of *Medieval Feminist Forum*.

Eden C. Savino currently lives and works in Washington, DC. She has worked on the issue of female street prostitution at Hydra, e.V., a meeting place and counseling center for prostitutes in Berlin, Germany.

Scarlet Alliance is the national organization of sex workers in Australia.

Shannon Schedlich-Day is a doctoral candidate in the History Department of Flinders University in Australia. She has written on women's history and art history.

Rebecca Schleifer is a researcher in the HIV/AIDS and Human Rights Program at Human Rights Watch.

John Scott is a lecturer in sociology at the University of New England, NSW, Australia. He has written extensively on female and male sex workers.

Meena Saraswati Seshu is the General Secretary of SANGRAM, Sangli, in India.

Jeff Shantz teaches in the Department of Sociology at York University in Toronto, Canada.

Benjamin Shepard is the author/co-editor of two books: *White Nights and Ascending Shadows: An Oral History of the San Francisco AIDS Epidemic* (1997) and *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization* (2002).

Lisa Shahriari is a doctoral candidate in Literature at the University of Essex. Her doctoral thesis "In Her Nature or in Her Sex: Virginia Woolf and the Politics of Difference" considers prostitution in Woolf's writing. Her research interests include feminist theory and modernism.

Laurie Shrage is a professor of philosophy at California Polytechnic University, Pomona.

Clarence R. Slavens teaches English and Drama at Indian Hills Community College in Ottumwa, Iowa.

Evgeny Steiner has taught art and cultural history in universities in Russia, Japan, Israel, and New York.

Thomas M. Steinfatt is a professor of communication at the University of Miami.

Karen K. Swope is a historical archaeologist.

Gulshan R. Taneja is a professor in the Department of English at R.L.A. College, University of Delhi, India.

Janet Tanke is the assistant director of the Feminist Press and is an adjunct instructor at Queensborough Community College.

Gayle Thomas has more 20 years of experience developing multiple social service programs for disenfranchised populations, with a primary focus on women. Her expertise is in program development, harm reduction, domestic violence, chemical health, sexual violence, prostitution, and work with dually diagnosed populations.

Lana Thompson is the author of *The Wandering Womb: A Cultural History of Outrageous Beliefs about Women*.

Subhash Thottiparambil works as a consultant for CARE in India. He has translated into Malayalam the Human Rights Watch report *Future Forsaken: Abuses Against Children Affected by HIV/AIDS in India* and Tracy Quan's *Diary of Manhattan Call Girl*.

Juhu Thukral is the director of the Sex Workers Project in New York City.

C. Tinker is a lecturer in French at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh.

Claudette L. Tolson is a doctoral candidate at Loyola University.

Benson Tong is an associate professor of History at Gallaudet University. He is the author of *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century San Francisco*.

Shun-Chang Kevin Tsai is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature at Princeton University. He has written on gender, medieval Chinese fiction, Roman poetry, and translation studies.

Michael Uebel has taught at the University of Virginia and Georgetown University. He is the author of *Ecstatic Transformation* (2005).

Sharmain van Blommestein is a Ph.D. student at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

L. C. van de Pol is at the Free University of Berlin, Germany, and is affiliated with the Research Institute for History and Culture of the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands. She has written two books on early modern Dutch Prostitution.

Emily van der Meulen is a Ph.D. student in women's studies at York University in Toronto and is researching how prostitute organizing and activism affect policy development and legal reform.

Marieke van Doorninck is a lobbyist with La Strada International, a network to prevent trafficking in persons, in Central and Eastern Europe. She is a member of the board of the International Committee on the Rights of Sex workers in Europe.

T. J. Vaughan is a doctoral student in U.S. history at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb. His work focuses on the relationship between sex, race, and law in 19th-century Louisiana.

Salvador Vidal-Ortiz is an assistant professor of sociology at American University in Washington, DC.

Stéphanie Wahab is an associate professor of social work at Portland State University.

E. Alyn Warren III is an assistant professor in the Department of Media in the School of Media and Communication at National University.

Jo Weldon maintains the Web site www.gstringsforever.com.

Kip Wheeler is an assistant professor of English at Carson-Newman College.

Rachel Hays Williams is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Washington.

Laura Madeline Wiseman teaches in the Southwest.

Nathaniel D. Wood is a postdoctoral scholar of modern European history at the University of Nevada, Reno.

Cuncun Wu lectures in Chinese language and culture in the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics at the University of New England, Australia. She has written extensively on sexuality, eroticism, and literature in Chinese history.

Yusheng Yao teaches history at Rollins College.

David Yost is a graduate student in English at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette.

Wenxian Zhang is an associate professor and college archivist at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida.

Zi Teng is a sex workers-concern organization in Hong Kong that promotes the human rights, labor rights and fair and equal treatment in the legal and judicial system for women in the sex industry.