A comparative-ethnographic study of a massage parlor and nude modeling studio

Francine J. Green
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A comparative-ethnographic study of a massage parlor and nude modeling studio

Green, Francine J., Ph.D.
Iowa State University, 1989

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A comparative-ethnographic study of a massage parlor and nude modeling studio

by

Francine J. Green

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION

This is the first in-depth research study of the women who work in massage parlors and nude modeling studios. Other studies have limited their focus to the development of these services within our culture (Bryant and Palmer, 1975; Velarde and Warlick, 1973; Rasmussen and Kuhn, 1976), the socialization process for these women (Velarde, 1975), and the type of customers who use such services (Armstrong, 1978).

Prostitutes have been one of the most difficult subgroups for social scientists to study (Young, 1964; Douglas, 1976; Douglas and Waksler, 1977). Typically, they distrust all outsiders, as in all places (with the exception of specific counties in Nevada), they are engaged in an illegal activity. Previous studies that have been conducted have used small samples of select groups of call girls (Greenwald, 1958; Bryan, 1965, 1966; Rosenblum, 1975), street prostitutes (Gray, 1973; Sheehy, 1973; Exner et al., 1977; Bracey, 1979), or incarcerated prostitutes (Sheldon and Elenore Glueck, 1934; Kemp, 1936; Wilkinson, 1955; Maerov, 1965; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Pomeroy, 1965; Jackman et al., 1963; Davis, 1971; Datesman et al., 1973; James and Meyerding, 1977; Vitaliano et al., 1981b; Silbert and Pines, 1982; James and Davis, 1982).
No previous research has examined the everyday life of these women, nor have there been any comparative studies between the women providing different types of sexual services. This study looks at the everyday life of prostitutes, operating in massage parlors and nude modeling studios, while simultaneously employing a comparative approach to understanding the phenomenon of sexual services.

Most studies of prostitutes have been overly concerned with the etiological factors that may predispose a woman to become a prostitute, such as early sexual abuse, lack of parental love, poor academic performance, rejection by peers, negative labeling experiences, and a low level of job skills. None of these variables have been clearly established as having a direct causal relationship with involvement in sexually deviant occupations. There appears to be, instead, a complex interactive effect of these independent variables of deficient family affection ties, abusive sexual experiences, poor peer relationships, low school performance, and meager job skills. These variables seem to operate simultaneously with four major intervening or moderate variables: (1) poor self-concept, (2) isolation or alienation, (3) economic need, and (4) opportunity to become sexually
deviant. We need more exploratory studies to elucidate all aspects of this deviant life style, so we may better understand the predisposing, precipitating, and attracting factors involved in entering into such a life-world and remaining in it (Benjamin and Masters, 1964).

This is an exploratory-descriptive study, designed to explore how such a life-world operates and how the women construct that life-world and fit themselves into it. There are no fixed role relationships and institutional structures involved in their activities, so a symbolic interactionist and phenomenological approach are needed in attempting to analyze this unique world.

An ethnographic research model is used in this study of prostitution and the provision of sexual services conducted through field research at a bath and massage parlor and a nude modeling studio in a conservative midwestern community of 220,000. The bath and massage parlor offers masturbation massage, and the nude modeling studio is a front for prostitution. The deviant subculture of prostitution and sexual services is examined from a symbolic interactionist perspective, with special attention given to how sexual encounters are defined and managed, stigma is neutralized, norms
and ideologies are expressed, self-concept evolves, and social relationships are organized.

As much as possible, the women's own definitions of their situations have been elicited in constructing this study, as theirs is a life-world that has been resistant to objective examination by social scientists. This study attempts to dispel some of the myth and fantasy projected into this deviant group and offers a description of the social reality as it is experienced by the actors participating in it.

The major substantive theories used in this research include social deviance theories, such as: differential association theory, social bonding theory, and labeling theory. Symbolic interactionism and phenomenology provide the chief sociological perspective utilized. In exploring this deviant reality, the findings of other similar studies are reviewed and evaluated, along with the history of the phenomena of prostitution.

Possible etiological conditions are considered through examination of early family affective relationships, sexual experiences, development of self-concept, peer and reference group relationships, academic and work skills, and position in the opportunity structure. Both etiological factors and socialization processes involved in entering and remaining in the
profession of prostitution or the provision of sexual services are explored. The work group communities developed are evaluated as alternative structures to normative social life. A comparison is made of the definitional differences in the two types of sexual service facilities and the women who staff them.

The sample includes fifteen women, ranging in age from 23-35. Ten women are divorced, 2 are married, and 3 are single (or never married). Thirteen of the women have children. Three respondents are black, and the remainder of the sample (12) are white. Twelve of the women work in the bath and massage establishment, and 3 work in the nude modeling studio. One woman in the bath and massage parlor and one woman in the nude modeling studio refused to participate in this research. The male owners of both establishments were interviewed, as were 3 members of the vice squad in the community.

A qualitative research design has been used in conducting this study. Participant observation field methods were employed in investigating the social organization and social processes governing the everyday life of the two groups of women in their work milieus over a three month interval of time. Both a semi-structured and structured interview form were administered to all fifteen women in gathering life
histories and life styles information (see Appendix). This required interview time ranging from 2-4 hours per case study, with the principal informants at both establishments requiring more informal time in order to construct a relationship conducive to sociological inquiry. Participant observation time involved informal drop-in visits, averaging three times per week, at each facility during the three month period of investigation.

The data are analyzed by describing the social organization and processes observed in the field research. The major differences between the two groups of women in early history, current behavior and attitudes, and future goals are explored.

In addition, functional issues are addressed (i.e., possible benefits for society, as well as the institution of marriage). Changes in sexual services are noted. Finally, directions for further research are developed.
CHAPTER II.
BACKGROUND INFORMATION IN PROSTITUTION

Overview

This is a sociological study of prostitution; that unique category of women labeled as both sexual and criminal deviants. Our society accepts the institution while condemning the individuals who practice within it (Lemert, 1951). Prostitution is illegal in all states with the exception of Nevada (where it is legal in 15 of 17 counties). Consequently, most study samples have been drawn from the penal system or psychotherapy caseloads. There are few ethnographic studies due to a general distrust towards the "straight world" and a reluctance to allow outsiders into the subculture (Becker, 1963). When ethnographic research has been successfully conducted, most of the subjects have required payment from the researchers for the use of their time (Sheehy, 1973; Bracey, 1979).

Definitions of prostitution have varied over time but most contain common elements:

"Any person is a prostitute who habitually or intermittently has sexual relations more or less promiscuously for money, or other mercenary considerations" (Flexner, 1914, p. 67).

"A prostitute is a person who makes it a profession to gratify the lust of various persons of the opposite or the same sex" (Ellis, 1937, p. 237).

"A prostitute is an individual who indiscriminately provides sexual relations in return for monetary payment" (Kinsey et al., 1948, p. 595).
"Prostitution starts when the giver becomes a seller. What is love if it isn't a gift" (Choisy, 1961, p. 41).

"Prostitution is the gratification of non-material sex as vocation" (Polsky, 1967, p. 191).

"Prostitution is sexual intercourse characterized by barter, promiscuity, and emotional indifference" (Lemert, 1951, p. 247).

Lemert's (1951) definition has been the one most acceptable to sociologists. He emphasizes the indiscriminate nature of the sexual contacts and the prostitute's lack of feelings or emotional involvement with her work. This study will use Lemert's definition of prostitution, and either validate or disconfirm its reliability.

There are an estimated 250,000 to 500,000 full-time prostitutes, and at least an equal number of part-time prostitutes (Sheehy, 1973). Statistics, gathered from police records, are only partially representative of the true population. There are basically three levels of prostitution practiced: (1) streetwalker; (2) house prostitute; and (3) call girl. There appears to be little upward mobility to the highest level of call girl. However, there is evidence of downward mobility as a prostitute ages. The streetwalker and house prostitute are more subject to arrest and labeling and have developed more of a deviant identity and subculture. The call girl usually enters prostitution at that level and
is generally better educated and more emotionally stable.

The streetwalker has a particular locale that she operates out of. Today these areas are usually close to entertainment districts, as customers are afraid to go into ghetto areas (Winick and Kinsie, 1971). There is an estimated decrease in the number of streetwalkers due to the hazards of urban life. From 75 to 90 percent of streetwalkers are originally teen-age runaways without money or a place to live (Gray, 1973; Bracey, 1979). They generally meet other prostitutes or a pimp that brings them into "the life." Most streetwalkers have a pimp that offers protection and some emotional security in a dangerous world with no stable relationships. The prostitute is expected to turn all her money over to the pimp and to work hard to please him. The pimp usually has a group of women known as a "stable" that he manages, and the women relate to each other as "wives-in-law." A streetwalker working without a pimp is called an "out-law." Although there is competition built into this social arrangement, it offers the women the companionship and belonging that they need.

The house prostitute category includes women who work in brothels, massage parlors, hotels, dance halls, bars, and modeling studios. They are essentially prostitutes that work inside for an establishment that
generally receives approximately 50 percent of their earnings. The brothel is the most prevalent place of employment for the house prostitute. In this situation the madam, a maternal figure, offers protection, legal counsel, medical care, and often room and board. Massage parlors that are merely "fronts" for brothels offer similar benefits, as they are then operating illegally. Many hotels, bars, and dance halls hire women that work for "the house," and fees are split with cab drivers, bellmen, desk clerks, and bartenders. In-house prostitution is much safer and easier than being out on the street competing with other prostitutes, coping with inclement weather, and facing threatening males alone.

The call girl operates quite independently as she has developed her own substantial clientele. Usually this clientele is acquired by working with another call girl and splitting some fees with her, buying a clientele list from another call girl, or developing a following in a brothel and then moving into an independent business. Also madams may sell telephone numbers of established customers to call girls (Winick and Kinsie, 1971). Call girls do actually call clients to solicit business, as well as maintain an answering service in conducting their business. Most are attractive, intelligent, and well dressed. They have fashionable apartments that are
elegantly decorated, where they entertain their clients. It is expensive for them to maintain their life style, and they may become mistresses to one or more wealthy men. Many call girls have middle-class traditional aspirations of marriage and family, and see their work as a means of meeting desirable men (Bryan, 1965; Rosenblum, 1975). Many college educated, middle-class women are electing to become call girls, and this form of prostitution is increasing more rapidly than other forms.

Greenwald (1953) takes a somewhat different position from most theorists and has differentiated prostitution into three categories: (1) party girl, (2) hustler or hooker, and (3) prostitute. First, the party girl is a part-time prostitute who may also work as an actress, model, or chorus girl. Second, the hustler (or hooker), includes the prostitute that works independently, like call girls, using private residences for illicit business purposes. Finally, there is the prostitute category which includes prostitutes that work for someone else (i.e., streetwalkers who work for pimps, or prostitutes that work in a brothel, bar, hotel, etc.).

Nanette Davis (1971) has developed a topology of prostitution based on differences in reference group orientations or life styles. The first group, the hustler subculture, is identified with the hustler world
of prostitutes, pimps, homosexuals, and the "rackets." The life style is typified by irregular living patterns, high mobility, and sporadic dependence on alcohol and/or drugs. Interaction with conventional persons is very limited. The second group, termed the dual-worlds culture, is an internalization of both the hustler subculture (by night) and the middle-class culture (by day), leading to a separation of referent others and activities. Accommodation to middle-class values may entail maintaining a home with children and acquiring the status symbols associated with success. Finally, the criminal subculture, in which referent others are often involved in full-time criminal careers. Regular drug use may necessitate systematic stealing from clients or others, and shoplifting, which may result in assault, larceny, or other felony charges. Contra-norms are particularly operative for this group, and there is frequent jailing.

The prostitute's world is largely comprised of people who earn money from her when she is able to successfully practice her profession. Due to the illegal nature of her work, the prostitute is dependent upon procurers who act as intermediaries in connecting her with clients. This group includes taxi drivers, bellmen, desk clerks, bartenders, waiters, night club personnel,
burlesque theatre personnel, madams, pimps, and other "working girls." Lawyers and doctors are frequently needed to provide necessary services; and often police and other public officials receive fees to enlist their cooperation and protection. There are many groups of people who have a vested interest in keeping the institution of prostitution viable and active.

When such a relationship exists, the pimp is usually the most significant and visible figure in the prostitute's world. An interesting aspect of the prostitute-pimp relationship is that it is only found with female prostitutes. Male prostitutes do not use pimps (Johnson, 1983), so we may surmise that it is a function of the female sex role to turn to males for protection and direction. However, in the prostitute-pimp relationship we also find a role-reversal operating. Several theorists find similar personality characteristics in the pimp (Greenwald, 1958; Sheehy, 1973; Winick and Kinsie, 1971); such as a passive-dependent regression to being kept by mother, possible castration anxiety and impotence, and latent homosexuality. Many prostitutes have stated that they feel the only category of person more degraded than themselves are pimps (Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Sheehy, 1973). Thus the prostitute may feel superior to the pimp, or use the pimp to reinforce
feelings of her own worthlessness.

Typically, the pimp makes the prostitute feel important, needed, and cared for. He provides emotional security, manages her money, provides shelter and clothes, bribes police, posts bail, obtains lawyers, and handles drunk or troublesome customers. The prostitute is expected to remain in "the life," earn as much money as she can, and demonstrate loyalty and faithfulness. In other words, she is never to talk against her pimp, work for anyone else, or freely give her body to another man. Eventually mutual attraction and affection are usually replaced by hostility and fear. The pimp distrusts the prostitute, and she reacts negatively to his taking all her money, the physical abuse, lack of independence, having to work too hard, and the pimp's involvement with other women (Weisberg, 1985). At this point, the prostitute may either find another pimp, move toward a more independent operation as a prostitute, or leave "the life" altogether.

The madam of a brothel usually both owns and operates the house. She is both employer and friend to the women who work for her. It is her job to attract prostitutes, clients, develop a working relationship with police, and be sensitive to clients' special needs. Most brothels have a parlor or living room where the madam
receives clients, encourages them to buy drinks if liquor is served, and "shows off" the girls. In larger brothels there may be an actual line up of women that are available at the time. Eventually all the prostitutes get a turn, so this isn't really a competitive situation. Fees are negotiated and paid in advance. The prostitute, and sometimes both the prostitute and the madam, check the customer for signs of possible venereal disease before commencing sexual contact (Heyl, 1974). Some brothels have prostitutes that specialize in providing certain types of sexual services. Most rooms have a peep hole where the madam can check to make sure that special services aren't being provided that she hasn't received payment for.

Brothels are usually located in commercial areas (as the neighbors in these areas are least likely to complain). They are usually sparsely furnished, as they might be raided. Payments are made to politicians and backers so the brothels may continue to operate, although the brothels may frequently have to change locations. Nevertheless, many women find advantages to working in a brothel, such as not having to engage in sales activities and avoiding dealing with clients and police directly on the street.

In many communities, massage parlors have become
fronts for prostitution. These illegal massage parlors have clouded the legitimate activities of the profession (Winick and Kinsie, 1971). There are four basic varieties of massage parlors based on services provided. First, the genuine massage parlors are health clubs and service establishments that provide exercise and physical therapy. Next, the "rip-off" parlors, which cater to transient clientele, where seductive, scantily clad women who are inept at massage, excite but refuse to provide sexual gratification. The third variety are disguised brothels, and these establishments may offer massage and/or a modeling studio, where a model and a room can be rented. They are places where a full repertoire of sexual services are offered. Finally there are the massage and masturbation-only parlors, where a complete penis massage is provided.

Women working for these types of businesses often feel they can avoid being labeled a prostitute. They usually reject the occupational label and role of prostitute (Bryant and Palmer, 1975), even if they perform the same services. There generally is only marginal participation in a deviant subculture. Many communities have passed ordinances outlawing massage parlors as they feel these "establishments" contribute to the deterioration of a neighborhood because of the type
of clientele they attract. Typically, massage parlor clients are of a lower socio-economic class and more sexually deviant than brothel clients.

Some hotels and bars have rooms that prostitutes and customers may use. In bars, the prostitute also "hustles" drinks and receives a percentage of the total income generated by her "hustle." Some hotels have a "receiving room" where the prostitute and potential customers meet, look each other over, and decide whether they wish to negotiate business.

Although all forms of prostitution are geared to a particular client population, there has been little interest in researching this client group directly. Much of the information concerning this client group has come from prostitutes themselves, rather than an objective source. Winick (1962) conducted a study examining client's perceptions of the prostitute as well as themselves. He conducted interviews with 750 males over a seven year period and focused only on their last visit to a prostitute. He found a small portion of percepts involved external reasons for visiting a prostitute, while the majority related to cultural or fantasy meanings which the prostitute carried for the respondent. Few respondents could provide a physical description of the prostitute. The most frequent reasons given for
visiting a prostitute were: (1) she gives me what I want (73%), (2) she is interesting, colorful, and unusual (71%), and (3) she is unlike wife or mother (63%).

Perhaps the most remarkable findings of this study were the subject’s perceptions of how they felt at the time of their visit. Surprisingly, 74 percent indicated that they empathized with the prostitute and identified with the condition of passivity and being a woman. This response contradicts the sex role stereotype of males being actively in charge of every sexual encounter. Identification with the pimp and wishes to be supported by the prostitute were fantasies for 71 percent of the respondents. Thoughts of other customers having intercourse with the prostitute were prevalent in 70 percent of the responses, and 66 percent indicated that they fantasized about falling in love with the prostitute.

Winick (1962) concluded that there were homosexual elements in many of the subjects’ personalities as evidenced by their negative mother images, attitudes towards pimps, and identification with the prostitutes themselves. Most clients projected positive fantasies into their relationships with prostitutes, which stands in opposition to the popular theories that clients seek to degrade and humiliate prostitutes. He found no
significant differences across socio-economic groups, age, or marital status. The data suggest that the personality structures of many men visiting prostitutes is disturbed, but more research is required to further corroborate or disconfirm these findings.

Kinsey (1948) estimates that 69 percent of the total white male population visit a prostitute at some point in their life, with 15-20 percent visiting a prostitute more than a few times per year. Single men are estimated to visit prostitutes three to four times more often than do married men. He found that higher education was negatively correlated with use of prostitutes.

Prostitutes themselves have been reporting that the majority of their clients are married men in the 40-50 age category (Hirschi, 1962; Winick and Kinsie, 1971). In these situations, most prostitutes feel that they are helping the men’s marriages by providing a sexual outlet without any emotional entanglements. Some studies have confirmed that older men are more likely to use prostitutes than younger men (Lemert, 1951; Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Armstrong, 1981).

There are contradictory findings concerning the prostitute’s true attitude towards her clients. Some theorists have stressed the negative feelings a prostitute usually harbors towards her clients or
"tricks" (Lemert, 1951; Sheehy, 1973; Weisberg, 1985). In these instances, the prostitute sees herself as "tricking" the client out of his money by making him pay for something that he should get for free and by pretending to climax and have positive feelings towards him. Positive feelings of any kind are strongly defended against, and the prostitute tries to get rid of the client as soon as possible. Whereas the prostitute that holds her client in higher regard generally enjoys her work more and feels that she is providing a valuable service for men (Bryan, 1966; Davis, 1971; Winick and Kinsie, 1971). She enjoys pleasing men, and may be using her work to gain admiration and a possible marriage partner.

Customer groups generally include the following: (1) hobos, (2) railroad workers, (3) unskilled laborers, (4) service men, (5) men who travel, (6) conventioneers, (7) men looking for excitement and adventure, (8) psychologically inadequate and shy men, (9) impotent men, and (10) physically handicapped or repulsive men (Davis, 1937; Winick and Kinsie, 1971).

The services requested by customers have undergone changes since World War II. At that time straight coitus was the most requested position. Over the last several decades more customers have been seeking oral
satisfaction.

Sociologists have traditionally used the functionalist argument to explain and justify prostitution in terms of its benefits for society, thereby dismissing the cost of prostitution due to its social utility (Davis, 1937; Hirschi, 1962; Armstrong, 1981; Hawkesworth, 1984). The social psychological consequences for the individual prostitute have not received enough attention. Functionalism emphasizes the need for the social control of man's innate aggressive sex drive. The assumption is that wanton promiscuity would destroy the social order. By linking sexual gratification to a stable marital relationship, society can harness this drive (Armstrong, 1981). However, the social order is also strained by institutional controls that place too great a limitation on the biological sex drive and males unfit for marriage. Prostitution provides a means for relieving these tensions by providing a primary sexual service for men who either fail to meet the requirements of a more legitimate market, or who exclude themselves from the larger market because they do not feel comfortable in it, or by offering a secondary sexual service for married men unable to integrate the expression of all their sexual needs within the marital relationship (Armstrong, 1981).
As prostitution is rendered low prestige and lacks emotional value, it affirms the sanctity of the wife and helps preserve the family. Prostitution has been proposed as a deterrence to rape and sexual violence but there is not evidence of this available.

Therefore, prostitution should continue to persist as there is a strong demand for it created by social and cultural forces: (1) large numbers of mobile men, reinforcing the need for bartered sex, (2) later marriage—beyond the age of biological maturity, (3) disorganization of family life—more separations and divorces, (4) men's craving for novelty, variety, and unusual sexual gratifications, (5) ubiquitous sexual stimulation in advertisements, literature, art, media, etc., (6) our traditional European-American culture renders integrated expression of love and sexual feelings difficult for the male, and (7) sexual needs of the physically repulsive, psychologically inadequate, and sexually perverted.

Hirschi (1962) proposes that we need to view prostitution as an occupation rather than as deviance in order to understand it. He argues that prostitution meets the criteria for an occupation as there are: (1) skills to be acquired, (2) an ideology to justify its existence, and (3) service to a particular population
group. Other theorists have found inculcation of subcultural value system and skill training to be the central focus of socialization into a deviant life style (Bryan, 1965, 1966; Heyl, 1974).

Some of the basic survival skills to be learned by prostitutes include: (1) finding clients, (2) selling the service, (3) providing a suitable place to transact and conduct business, (4) pleasing and flattering the customer, (5) collecting the fee, (6) self-protection from injury, physical diseases, and pregnancy, and (7) avoiding police (Hirschi, 1962). Ability to make money appears to be based on skill in negotiating a contract and the capacity to gratify men’s needs.

The occupational ideology is the key to understanding the nature of the profession. It is the adoption of the ideology or values that keeps women in the subculture of prostitution and insures its continuance. Here are some of the major beliefs justifying the existence of prostitution:

(1) Marriages are saved by prostitutes providing no strings attached sexual services.

(2) By handling men’s unacceptable and unintegrated sexual impulses, potential sexual assaults are thwarted and society is safer.

(3) Men’s sexual needs are too extensive and varied to be handled by only one woman; men are by nature promiscuous, not monogamous.

(4) Prostitutes are psychotherapeutic agents, offering comfort, understanding, and support to
lonely, shy, and handicapped men (Bryan, 1966).

(5) Prostitutes are morally superior to other women and their clients. Straight women are hypocrites as they too use their sexuality to gain power, position, and material goods. Clients may seek the services of prostitutes, and then publically condemn them (Foltz, 1979).

(6) All women are whores to some degree; all clients are exploitive and many are married men betraying their wives.

(7) Colleagues are more honest and helpful than those outside the profession.

(8) Clients are exploitive and should be exploited first (Bryan, 1966).

(9) All relationships are a con; prostitutes do a first-rate job of boosting egos and perform a valuable social service.

In the midst of her subculture world, the prostitute stands very much alone. In her social milieu she isn’t likely to develop any long term attachments. She may be the target of attack from all sides (e.g., clients, pimps, police, other prostitutes, and the culture at large). Prostitution is not a victimless crime; the prostitute herself is the victim (Millett, 1973). Socially, she may be born into any socio-economic level, but into a home where she does not experience parental love, and very often becomes the recipient of sexual abuse. Psychologically, she is seeking belonging, nurturing, and self-worth. Statistically, her age usually ranges between 18 and 42, with the modal age category being 21-25 (Lemert, 1951). She may spend from
2 to 15 years as a prostitute. She usually has average looks, and isn’t exceptionally attractive. Often she leaves prostitution, only to return as she finds she no longer fits into the "square" world, and that she has accepted the label that society has given her.

Current Trends

During the past 30 years, the media has been portraying a more positive image of the prostitute. There have been many films introduced illuminating the prostitute’s world (e.g., Irma La Douce, World of Suzy Wong, Never on a Sunday, etc.), in which the prostitute is presented as a good person—and one that is not too hard to identify with (Winick and Kinsie, 1971).

Concerning their visibility, prostitutes now appear to dress and look similar to other women. Although, from another standpoint, since the 1960s the average woman has taken on some of the characteristics of prostitutes, such as dyed hair, heavier makeup, and a more aggressive/assertive approach towards men. It seems the American woman has begun the process of integrating the polarities of the madonna and the "whore."

The sexual revolution of the 1960s, initiating a more liberal attitude towards sexual expression, is not believed to have significantly affected the utilization of prostitutes by American males. It is estimated that
75 percent of the customers using prostitutes are married men seeking a woman who won't make any sexual or emotional demands (Sheehy, 1973). Many males find the liberated female, with her expectations of equality and right to sexual satisfaction, very threatening. There is a higher incidence of performance anxiety and impotence among males, which may be fostered when male dominance is questionable (Sheehy, 1973; Coveny, 1984).

Since the 1960s, there are more middle class women entering prostitution at the call girl level. There are more call girls in the U.S. than other places, and this form of prostitution is largely an American innovation. Call girls are generally better educated and more independent (Winick and Kinsie, 1971).

The past two decades have brought the proliferation of other forms of prostitution as well. Massage parlors are the fastest growing sexual service which may go beyond massage to mutual masturbation or intercourse. This form of service seems to be a response to the needs of former service men experiencing these types of facilities while on duty in Korea and Vietnam (Bryant and Palmer, 1975). Escort services arrived on the American "sex-for-money" scene during the 1970s, and some were originally connected with dating services (Foltz, 1979). They generally cater to a middle class clientele, and are
essentially an out-call service involving sexual activity.

Another apparent new development in the American sex scene is the growing number of part-time prostitutes found at conventions, hotels, bars, fairs, and sports events (Winick and Kinsie, 1971). There is a new breed called "weekend warriors," recruited from the ranks of the middle class professional women who perform week-end prostitution outside of their home communities (Vogliotti, 1975). Since group sexual activities became a possible form of sexual expression during the 1960s, part-time prostitutes have been used for this activity (Sheehy, 1973).

Our culture is permeated with ubiquitous sexual stimuli (Lemert, 1951). Women's dress has become more erotic, and pornographic films and literature have become more explicit. We appear to be a nation obsessed with sex (Greer, 1970; Coveny, 1984; Millett, 1973).

The sexual revolution of the 1960s seems to have spawned an epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases which have produced greater caution in the selection of sexual partners during the 1970s and 1980s. There is no known cure for genital herpes, and the most recent sexually transmitted disease, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), is fatal. Although homosexuals,
intravenous drug users, and hemophiliacs are the primary groups at risk in contracting AIDS, prostitutes are also at risk of endangering themselves, as well as their customers. Cases of AIDS have been identified in the prostitute population. Historically, the fate of prostitution has been inextricably connected with the course of venereal diseases.
CHAPTER III.
REVIEW OF THEORIES AND RESEARCH ON PROSTITUTION

Sociological Theories and Research

The earliest theories about prostitution were developed by sociologists looking at the effects of social class position and economic structures upon entrance into prostitution (Flexner, 1914; Thomas, 1928). At this time, prostitution was an attractive occupation for recent immigrants, women migrating from rural to urban areas, and those without job skills or economic resources. Prostitution was a social problem, and the locus of the problem shifted from the individual to the social structure following World War I (Goode, 1984).

Merton's (1938) theory of anomie has been used to explain why some women may engage in nonconformist or illegal means for achieving culturally prescribed aspirations, when the legal means for realizing their aspirations are thwarted. The conflict between aspirations and opportunities takes place at the social structural level.

Kingsley Davis (1937) found prostitution to be functional for society. He stated that by diverting the sexual energies of large numbers of men away from respectable women and towards prostitutes, that the traditional family would be preserved. He perceived a
woman's use of sex as her chief means of redressing the unequal power balance with men on the scale of dominance. Men are accorded dominance in our competitive-authoritarian social system, but women may gain power through the effective use of their sexuality. In marriage women trade sexual favors for economic and social status supplied by men. Therefore, the prostitute's use of sexual stimulation to attain nonsexual ends is not a significant departure from the traditional female role. He further posited that prostitution would continue to exist due to men's need for variety, perverse gratification, desire for physical release without emotional entanglements, and to take care of the needs of the physically repulsive and psychologically inadequate. Prostitution perpetuates the double standard and the inferior status of women.

Neither Merton or Davis offered empirical support for their theories. They fail to explain why some middle or upper class women enter prostitution, or why more lower class women don't become prostitutes. The structuralist perspective fails to analyze just how social structural factors operate to influence women to become prostitutes (Heyl, 1975).

In moving from a macro to a micro level of analysis, differential association theory (Sutherland, 1960) seems
to contain more explanatory power. Sutherland’s premise is that a person will engage in delinquent or deviant behavior because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law. Therefore, individuals who demonstrate deviant behavior differently associate with individuals who endorse violations of the law. He identifies two major variables underlying the process: (1) priority - the earlier in one’s life one is exposed to attitudes, values (definitions) favorable to committing crimes, the more one is influenced in that direction; and (2) intensity - the closer and more intimate the friends, or relatives committing the crimes are, the more one may be swayed to break the law (Goode, 1984).

Glaser (1956) has modified Sutherland’s theory and reconceptualized it as differential identification theory. He proposes that a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable. This may explain more than differential association theory as our identifications are often with remote reference groups or imaginary or highly generalized others. Also our own identifications may shift rapidly with the dialectical processes of role change during social interaction.
Cultural transmission theory deals with prostitution as largely a lower class phenomena (Miller, 1958). This theory proposes that delinquent behavior reflects adherence to peer group values or family standards which are in violation of middle class norms (Lowney, 1981). These subculture theories are now considered to be quite limited, as we have discovered that most deviants join subcultures after some initial deviant behavior, or after they have been labeled deviant by others (Lowney, 1981).

Social control theories (Hirschi, 1962; Reckless, 1943) seem capable of explaining some forms of sexual deviancy. Hirschi states that deviant behavior may occur when one's bond with society is weak or broken. This bond is composed of sensitivity to the opinions of others, fear of consequences for breaking the law, involvement in conventional activities, and a belief in the rules of society (Gray, 1973). The bonding occurs through parental love. When this is lacking, there is less motivation to bond with society. When both attachment and commitment to society are absent, deviancy is likely to develop. Reckless (1943) has created a containment model, comprised of both external and internal dimensions. The external containment components include family and support groups, which may offer role structure, opportunity for status, cohesion and
belonging, and identification. The internal containment components include self-concept, which may be governed by a positive image of the self, internalized morals and ethics, goals, and a well developed ego and super-ego. He suggests that when both the external and internal components are weak, the individual may evidence deviant behavior (Lowney, 1981).

The most current sociological theories utilize an interactionist approach to deviance. The symbolic interactionist perspective focuses heavily upon the self-concept that emerges in interaction with others, and the social context preceding and following deviant behavior. Labeling theory is the key theory of this perspective, and the major theory informing this study. The major proposition of the labeling perspective is that rule breakers become entrenched in deviant roles because they are labeled deviant by others and are consequently excluded from resuming normal roles in the community (Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963). Labeling theory has nothing to say about etiology, rather labeling may intensify or prolong one's involvement in a deviant role. Occupying a status and playing a labeled role results in the person being socialized to the role and learning the self-feelings appropriate to the role (Pfuhl, 1980).

Lemert (1951), the true father of sociological
labeling theory, shifted the attention from why people break rules to the importance of social definitions and the reactions to rule breaking behavior. He delineated two stages of deviance—primary and secondary deviance. Primary deviance is deviance that hasn’t been reacted to or labeled. These rule breakers continue to function in their socially acceptable roles. Secondary deviance is deviance that has been reacted to by society, resulting in labeling and punishment, and in turn is the result of the deviant’s reaction to society’s treatment through greater participation in deviant subcultures, and perhaps commission of more serious acts of deviance (Lemert, 1951).

Lemert (1951) developed a sequential model outlining the following eight stages of deviancy: (1) primary, (2) social penalties, (3) further primary deviation, (4) stronger penalties and rejection, (5) further deviation, perhaps with hostility and resentment, (6) crisis reached in tolerance quotient - formal action taken by community stigmatizing, (7) strengthening of deviant conduct as a negative reaction to stigmatizing and penalties, and (8) ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and efforts at adjustment on the basis of associated role.

Becker (1963) states that deviance is created by society. Social groups create deviance by making rules.
Those who break the rules are labeled as outsiders. Therefore, deviance isn't a quality that lies in a behavior itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. Of central importance to his theory of deviance, Becker proposes that a deviant identification is a controlling one. A deviant label becomes a master trait organizing one's self-attitudes, perceptions, and behavior. A self-fulfilling prophecy develops if we treat a person as a deviant; thereby shaping that person in the image others have of him. This individual will take the role of the other, internalize others expectations of him, and behave accordingly.

Snyder et al. (1977) addresses this phenomenon in his behavioral confirmation and self-fulfilling prophecy paradigm. He suggests a four-phase process: (1) label conferred, (2) behavioral expectations associated with label conveyed, (3) behavioral confirmation by target occurs, and (4) target internalizes self-concept changes. Labeling will invoke behavior consistent with the label; and changes in self-perception will occur in line with other's expectations. Therefore, the label does become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Bem, 1967).

Another related theory is social cognition theory (Rosenhan, 1973). It states that a label is a schema for
organizing and interpreting reality, so it acts to create the reality. Information consistent with the label is processed quickly and selectively perceived to confirm the label. Information inconsistent with the label may be discounted, overlooked, or even repressed.

The social psychological consequences of labeling are quite serious. To be publicly labeled as a deviant, means that deviancy becomes one's master status. A master status tends to overpower other characteristics that may run counter to it. Associated with a master status is a complex of auxiliary characteristics which are expected to compliment the master status (Pfuhl, 1980).

Labeling attempts to establish a consistent relationship between moral character and behavior. The objectionable behavior is taken as a valid representation of the essential self. A biography of the deviant is constructed through "retrospective interpretation" that validates the label assigned. The new status reflects not only what the person has done, but what he/she is predicted to do again. His/her past has been rewritten, and future preordained (Pfuhl, 1980).

If the individual is actually perceived to be the thing he/she is labeled as being, his/her identity is spoiled. Role engulfment (Schur, 1971) may occur if the
deviant is responded to by others exclusively in terms of his/her spoiled identity. The stigma from this spoiled identity can spread from the stigmatized individual to others that are closely connected (Goffman, 1963). The social consequences of stigma are severe and sometimes irreversible.

The labeling hypothesis, derived from symbolic interactionism, stresses the importance of indeterminacy and "drift" in the movement towards deviancy. "Drift" is a series of forks in the road where certain choices/events channel the individual in directions conducive to deviance. Negative events create a "funnel" effect that increasingly narrows the options of alternative roles. Matza (1964) proposes an image of the deviant as caught between freedom and control: a "drift" state (James and Davis, 1982). He theorizes that drift is precipitated and maintained by events that occur in a linear process of adaptation to a negative self-image, acculturation to the expected behavior of that image supported by informal labeling, assimilation into the subculture and development of a deviant identity, and, finally, formal labeling and self-identification as deviant, with subsequent commitment to a deviant lifestyle (Weisberg, 1985).

Rubington and Weinberg (1971) have developed the
visual metaphor of a "deviance corridor" to describe this drift into deviance. They suggest that persons may enter deviance at different stages-imputed act, definition, deviant status, official processing, subculture, and deviant identity. Defining agents control access into and out of this corridor, but the rate and direction of a person's progress through the corridor are based largely on the person's responses to others' symbolic definitions of him/her. The deviant label is not an automatic pass into the deviant career. Commitment to a deviant identity entails self-definition; the person must accept the cultural and official definitions, thus confirming the initial typing (James and Davis, 1982).

Previous Sociological Studies

Ball and Thomas (1918) conducted one of the earliest studies on prostitution. They interviewed 320 prostitutes working in 66 houses of prostitution on the San Francisco area. They found that the majority of these women were immigrants or had recently migrated from rural communities into the city. Most had been promiscuous previously, and were in need of belonging and connectedness to a social system. In W. I. Thomas' earliest social psychological study of prostitution, The Unadjusted Girl (1928), he suggested that the multiple effects of economic need, anomie, and low self-esteem
contribute heavily in a woman's decision to enter into prostitution.

Wilkinson (1955) did an extensive study in London examining the court records of 150 prostitutes and conducted field research with 69 streetwalkers. She looked at why and how women enter prostitution. One of her major findings was that, just prior to entering prostitution, the women were in a "drifting" or disorganized state, when they seemed to belong nowhere. She calls this a "state of irrelationship," or an absence of relationship. Other important factors involved in these women entering prostitution were their recent migration to the city and contact with those in the business.

Jackman et al. (1963) did a study of fifteen prostitutes in jail. They found that they all had experienced alienation from family ties, anomie, apathy, and a lack of direction in their lives. Most were able to disassociate themselves from the sex act. They concluded that prostitution occurs at all occupation and income levels because of urban anonymity and a weakening of religious and moral values.

Bryan (1965, 1966) conducted two important studies examining different aspects of prostitution. In his 1965 research he looked at the process of induction and
training of 33 call girls in the Los Angeles area. He noted that they all entered prostitution through acquaintances with other working girls or a pimp, and there was always a period of apprenticeship during which skills were acquired and a new value structure inculcated. In his 1966 study he looked at a comparison between the occupational ideologies and individual attitudes of 52 active or previously active call girls. He found a significant discrepancy between the occupational ideologies learned during the period of socialization into the profession and actual attitudes of experienced call girls. He concluded that subcultural ideologies were not important in sustaining deviant behavior in call girls. Prostitutes at this level are not subjected to severe stigmatization so there is less need for ingroup solidarity or justifying value system.

Davis (1971) conducted a study investigating the prostitutes development of a deviant identity. She interviewed 30 prostitutes in correctional institutions. All of the women had weak affectional ties with their families, and 95 percent had learning or socialization problems at school and were labeled as "different." She found that 23 respondents were sentenced to correctional schools for truancy, incorrigibility, or sexual delinquency. In general, there appeared to be drift from
promiscuity to prostitution, and 50 percent had internalized the conventional norms of degradation associated with prostitution. She concluded that differential association and deviant associates account for actual movement into prostitution, and that stigmatized persons may respond to a morally degraded status by seeking associates that will reward the deviant behavior (Davis, 1971).

Gray (1973) did an interesting study of 17 prostitutes in the Seattle area, examining the factors involved in entering prostitution or "turning-out." She found strong support for social control theory in the women's decision to "turn-out." All of the women in her sample experienced a lack of parental love and intimacy, which produced weak ties with conventional society. None of the girls were considered promiscuous before "turning-out," although all had prior sexual experience. Most stated that social and material rewards were the major attraction to prostitution; especially the social reinforcement not obtainable in other areas of life. Another key factor was contact with someone in the profession, as all of the women reported having known someone in the life before "turning-out."

Datesman et al. (1973) did an extensive study exploring why the offenses committed by women are
predominantly sexual offenses. Questionnaires were sent to 1,103 juveniles from a family court system. They found broken homes to be more significant for females than males, and sexual delinquency to be a contingency of deficient family relationships, requiring that the female seek compensatory affectional responses outside of the home. Their data suggest that females arrested for sexual misconduct were using a typically feminine means of achieving normative interpersonal goals (e.g., dates, companionship, and eventual marriage). Of those who perceived their decreased value in the marriage market due to labeling and stigma, many decided to repudiate marriage goals in favor of more opportunistic relationships.

Swatos and Kline (1978) designed a study to compare the differences in attitudes towards women labeled whore or prostitute. A whore was defined as a woman having sex with a man that she was not committed to as a person. They interviewed 250 college students on campuses noted for their conservatism. They found that both categories of women were stigmatized for their sexual aggressiveness, violating sex role stereotypes and norms. However, their most significant finding was their higher esteem and positive sanction granted the prostitute. They concluded that in a society so concerned about sexual
performance and sexual freedom, the prostitute is conceived as providing a valuable service. Whereas, the whore has not only violated the superstructure of sexual morality but also the basic tenets of the work ethic.

Rosenblum (1975) conducted an intensive study of five call girls over a nine-month period, for the purpose of delineating parallels between the attributes of the female sex role and characteristics of female deviance. She concluded that the classification of prostitution as sexual deviance is a reaction to and a reinforcement of the dominance of sexuality in the female sex role. She states that women are defined primarily as sex objects in our culture, which disposes women to utilize sex for many purposes outside of marriage. Support is found for Kingsley Davis' (1937) argument that women use sex for obtaining advantages and power not accorded them in a male dominant social structure. Consequently, women are obsessed not with their sexual fulfillment, but rather their sexual desirability, which is basically measured by their physical attractiveness and ability to make a man feel masculine. In essence, all women receive rewards from men based on their sexual desirability. Therefore, primary deviance is difficult to identify as a form of prostitution, since prostitution is indistinguishable from behavior encompassed by the nondeviant female sex
role, i.e., the dominance of sexuality within the female sex role. Furthermore, prostitution is a uniquely female form of deviance because of the attributes built into the female sex role, and the proximity of those attributes to the requirements of the occupation of prostitution.

James and Davis (1982) did a study comparing 136 street prostitutes with 133 nonprostitute offenders on matters of early socialization and rejection by society. The purpose of the study was to differentiate the prostitute from the nonprostitute offender. They examined a number of variables including broken homes, withdrawal from high school, criminal involvement, early intercourse, early narcotic and drug use, incomplete pregnancy, and subsequent relations with respondent's first partner in sex. The sample of prostitutes had a higher proportion of negative experiences in all areas except criminal involvements. The combined effects of a broken home and premature withdrawal from school appeared to be the most significant factors in a girl's susceptibility to prostitution. They propose that prostitution be treated as a sexual role transgression, as it shares with other sex taboos that status of condemned sexuality. They conclude that prostitution as a deviant occupation would not be possible without the sex role censorship traditionally on female
socialization.

James and Meyerding (1977) studied the relationship between early sexual experiences and prostitution. Their premise was that a woman's self-concept of her sexuality must play an important part in her decision to prostitute, and that sexual experiences unrelated to prostitution must have a considerable impact on the development of this self-concept. The experiences they considered were age at first intercourse, early sources of information about sex, subsequent relationship with the first sexual partner, number of significant sexual partners, incest, and rape. Their methodology was designed to compare the data from two studies of prostitutes (N = 92 and N = 136) with several studies of "normal" female sexual experiences (Kinsey et al., 1953; Gagnon, 1968). They found a much higher incidence of early intercourse, incest, and rape among prostitutes. Furthermore, they noted fewer significant relationships with men for the same elements. More than one-half (57.4%) of the subjects reported being victims of rape. Of these, 36 percent had experienced more than one rape experience.

James and Meyerding (1977) conclude that all women in our culture must in some way come to terms with the fact that their personal value is often considered
inseparable from their sexual value. Therefore, sexual experiences may be the most important factor in the development of a woman’s self-concept. Female promiscuity guarantees a loss of status, and women who perceive themselves as sexually debased may see prostitution as a natural alternative. The psychological consequences of rape or similar victimization may serve as a reinforcing element in the self-conceptualization—sex object—and further isolating the emotions from their sexuality.

Bracey (1979), in her book *Baby-Pros*, describes a field study conducted with 32 young prostitutes in Times Square, New York City. All the subjects were under the age of 18, runaways, and over one-half of the girls were from middle class families. Her findings support Gray’s (1973) earlier study as she found no relationship between promiscuity and prostitution. The majority of Bracey’s subjects had fewer than three sexual partners prior to entering prostitution. Most had been recruited into prostitution through associations with other prostitutes or pimps. More than 50 percent had experienced abusive sexual experiences and were indifferent towards sex but were more interested in caresses and admiration.

Sheehy also wrote a book, *Hustling* (1973), based on a study of prostitution in Times Square (based on a field
study of six prostitutes). She is the first to write about the violent new breed of prostitutes, and the more complete awakening of female aggressiveness in the racket world. Her findings included four common factors evidenced in the social histories of her subjects: (1) absent or ineffectual parents, (2) early and brutal sexual experiences—often with a seductive father, (3) early pregnancies, and (4) deep-seated fear and rage directed towards men, and expressed desires to have power over men by making them pay.

Vitaliano et al. (1981b) conducted a study which corroborated the findings of James and Meyerding’s (1977) earlier work. They hypothesized a relationship between early negative sexual experience and later sexual deviance. Their research design included a sample (N=269) which was divided into two groups: (1) prostitutes and (2) female offenders matched with similar early development experiences, such as loneliness, rejection by parents, and a harsh childhood. They investigated five factors found to be related to sexually deviant lifestyles. Those factors were molestation or incest prior to first intercourse, age at first intercourse, society’s reaction to intercourse (labeling), subsequent relationships with first sexual partner, and forced or coerced first intercourse experience.
They found that prostitutes experienced a higher incidence of molestation, incest, forced first intercourse, earlier age at first intercourse, had fewer subsequent relationships with first sexual partner, and experienced a greater degree of labeling than other female offenders. Their findings also indicate strong associations between sexual abuse, labeling, guilt, shame, and low self-esteem, and a drift into sexual deviance (the dependent variable.)

Another fruitful study was done by Silbert and Pines (1982) which explored possible etiological factors influencing women's entrance into prostitution. They used a sample of 200 juvenile and adult prostitutes from the San Francisco area (mean age = 22). The interviewers were former prostitutes. They noted that entrance into prostitution was motivated more by an attempt to avoid or escape extremely negative conditions, rather than by an attraction to the life of prostitution. While 68 percent of their sample were from middle class backgrounds--only 40 percent were raised in a dual-parent familial arrangement. Approximately 60 percent were victims of incest or sexual abuse, and 70 percent reported that this exploitation affected their decision to pursue prostitution.

This study looked very closely at the social support
systems of these women—both prior to and during their induction into prostitution. They discovered that 50 percent were rejected by their peer groups as early as grammar school, while simultaneously experiencing parental rejection at home. Many of these women were later able to find some degree of acceptance in a deviant subgroup, which was preferable to being alone and isolated. The majority of women in this sample have been, or are currently, involved with a pimp who offers belonging, security, protection, and sometimes affection. Those subjects indicating that, prior to entering prostitution, they were troubled by an extremely negative self-concept and depressed emotional state account for 94 percent of the sample. Prostitution, rather than providing them with a sense of independence and power, has added to their sense of helplessness and hopelessness. These findings are somewhat unique. The researchers concluded that prostitutes may be trapped in a cycle of victimization, over which they have no control. Subsequently, they develop a psychological paralysis, similar to a "learned helplessness" (Abrahamson et al., 1978), which is characterized by a passivity and inability to change destructive behavior and self-image.

The major premise of the sociological theoretical
approach suggests that personality is the social self that develops as a product of an extensive socialization process. Socialization into new roles continues throughout the life cycle. The social and economic conditions one is born into are powerful determinants of the values, norms, roles, reference groups, ideologies, and opportunities that will become part of the social context that shapes the social self. This self develops through interactions with others and the definitions received from others become part of the self-concept. Behavior is often determined by these definitions, and attempts to be consistent with the self-concept. Human life is group life. Separation from meaningful group ties and belonging leads to unbearable feelings of alienation and loss of self.

The sociological theories can best explain the phenomenon of prostitution. At the macro-theoretical level, prostitution can be partially explained by women's disadvantaged economic position in society and men's greater economic means to pay for such services (Merton, 1938). The majority of the prostitutes studied had no real job skills, although this may not be the case for some call girls today who may be better educated. Prostitutes are considered a deviant group because they violate traditional female sex role norms (Davis, 1937).
However, women in our culture are socialized to define themselves as sex objects and achieve self-worth through sexual desirability (Davis, 1937; Rosenblum, 1975). Therefore, women learn to use their sexuality for non-sexual gains as part of their socialization process. It is not surprising that, when confused, frightened, and lonely women use what their culture suggests they prize most to get their needs met, especially since there is always a demand and opportunity to provide such services. Prostitution, as a female form of deviance, can be predicted to occur (Heidensohn, 1968; Rosenblum, 1975).

At the micro-level, the two major explanatory theories are differential association (Sutherland, 1960), and labeling theory (Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963; Schur, 1971; Bem, 1967; Snyder et al., 1977). Further clarity is necessary to illuminate the sequence in this model of deviancy. Is the woman labeled promiscuous and sexually deviant first, and then searches for the subgroup that will accept her? Or does she first gravitate towards a deviant subgroup and learn her deviant role while, simultaneously, she is undergoing a resocialization process? The sequence may depend upon whether the issue central to deviance is spoiled identity, or need for belonging and weak social ties.

Most of the studies that look at the family history
of prostitutes find evidence of early sexual abuse (James and Meyerding, 1977; James and Davis, 1982; Vitaliano et al., 1981b; Silbert and Pines, 1982). They suggest that sexual debasement may spoil the identity and damage a woman's self-concept so severely that she feels she has little to lose by promiscuous behavior. In effect, incest and rape, or early coercive sex may lead to a self labeling, defining the self as defiled and contaminated, based on such treatment from others.

Another large group of studies finds lack of parental love and family bonding as the major factors in an attraction to a deviant subculture (Wilkinson, 1955; Jackman et al., 1963; Davis, 1971; Gray, 1973; Bracey, 1979). The deviant subculture may offer the type of social rewards unavailable anywhere else, especially for runaway girls. Through contacts with those already in the business, there is exposure to prostitution as an acceptable occupation (differential association) and eventual identification with female prostitutes (differential identification).

Regardless which may occur first, labeling as sexually damaged or promiscuous or need for affectional ties, there is a definite drift into deviancy in stages with a gradual self-concept change, which makes it difficult to break away and return to the conventional
world (Matza, 1964; Rubington and Weinberg, 1971; James and Davis, 1982). A resocialization process occurs, where new values, norms, beliefs, and roles are learned, and new social relationships replace the earlier ones (Bryan, 1965, 1966).

The sociological perspective on prostitution includes several important factors; all of which are usually present to some degree in most women's entrance into prostitution. A deficiency in parental love, poor self-image, isolation and alienation, opportunity to become involved in deviant subculture, and economic need, are all important variables in most prostitutes' social psychological situations. There hasn't been much analysis of the interrelationships between these variables.

Most of the sociological research on prostitution has looked at streetwalkers, and has over-represented the lower class prostitute. However, unlike the psychological studies, which have predominately used incarcerated prostitutes in their samples, sociologists have conducted some ethnographic studies (Wilkinson, 1955; Bryan, 1965, 1966; Gray, 1973; Rosenblum, 1975; Bracey, 1979), several of which examined call girls (Bryan, 1965, 1966; Rosenblum, 1975).

A major criticism of all studies of prostitution are
the poorly defined concepts, the same ones are usually used for both descriptive and explanatory approaches. However, since some of the data in sociological studies have been obtained from actual field research, rather than the almost forced compliance of incarcerated subjects, sociological data may be of more value. Not only might some sociological subjects be more honestly observed working in their natural surrounding, but they might represent a more successful group of prostitutes than those interviewed in jail.

The majority of the studies on prostitution are descriptive or exploratory in nature. It is very difficult to locate willing subjects for such research, as it is an illegal activity, except in some parts of Nevada. Also, since prostitutes are a deviant subgroup, they are generally distrustful of outsiders. Sociological researchers have been the most adept at gaining entrance into this deviant world.

Other Related Theories

Psychological investigations

The psychological studies on prostitution are somewhat divided on whether a woman's choice to prostitute is a result of social conditions or the predominant influence of heredity. Some of the earliest studies, conducted during the 1930s, have considered
social conditions to be the major determinants in a woman's decision to prostitute. The British psychologist, Havelock Ellis, includes a review of the body of research on the etiology of female prostitution in Volume II of *Studies in the Psychology Of Sex* (1937). The studies examine the social conditions and personal characteristics of prostitutes in major European cities during the last half of the nineteenth century and first two decades of the twentieth century. Ellis summarizes that there are three major motivations leading women into prostitution: (1) economic need, (2) attraction to urban life, and (3) heredity characteristics and learned sexual proclivities (Heyl, 1975).

Ellis concludes that researchers have overestimated the economic factors involved in prostitution. He found that most of the women studied entered prostitution from jobs such as servants, where the basic essentials of life were already provided. He surmised that the major attraction in entering prostitution lies in the excitement and appeal to urban life. Most of the prostitutes studied were not from the cities they worked in, and many were from rural areas.

Kemp (1936), a Danish physician, conducted one of the largest of the early studies on prostitution. He interviewed 530 arrested prostitutes; concluding that
they were mentally abnormal and of borderline intelligence. Most came from families characterized by alcoholism, criminality, suicide, and mental illness. He was trying to establish heredity as a possible predisposing factor in prostitution, and in several cases found that both the mother and the maternal grandmother were prostitutes. Most of his sample was from the lower socioeconomic classes, so it can be assumed that they also experienced negative economic and social conditions.

The more recent American studies have chiefly utilized incarcerated women as subjects. They have been concerned with etiological factors in prostitution and whether prostitutes really differ that much from other women.

Maerov (1965) did an in-depth study of 20 prostitutes in a Denver, Colorado, jail. He was interested in finding some of the possible precipitants in entering prostitution. He developed a model of a "prostitutogenic family," where the father or surrogate is often absent, unreliable, unstable or seductive. The two most frequent paternal constellations discovered were the weak, emasculated male with a dominant wife or the strict and somewhat brutal father. All of the women in the sample suffered rejection from both parents. He found that financial gain was not a major factor in
becoming a prostitute; and most of the women gave their money away or squandered it. For the majority, prostitution became a means of controlling men while satisfying some unmet needs for nurturing.

Pomeroy (1965) conducted a study based on a sample of 175 prostitutes taken from a larger sample of sexual histories contained within the files of the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University. He noted that 50 percent of the sample were incarcerated at Indiana Women's Prison at the time they were interviewed. Pomeroy was looking at reasons for entering prostitution and the degree of satisfaction with the profession. His sample reported three major reasons for entering prostitution: (1) money, (2) meeting interesting people, and (3) fun and excitement. An unexpected finding was that 66 percent of the sample stated that they had no regrets about becoming a prostitute, and 33 percent indicated that they do not plan to quit the profession.

A study conducted by Exner et al. (1977) involved a stratified sample with a control group. They examined 95 prostitutes, differentiated in five intra-occupational categories based on their method of operation: (1) call girls, (2) in-house, (3) streetwalkers, (4) part-time housewives, and (5) streetwalker addicts. The prostitutes and an equal number of nonprostitutes
demographically matched controls were interviewed and administered the WAIS, Vocabulary subtest, the MMPI, and the Rorschach. They found that the prostitutes on the upper end of the intra-occupational scale, such as call girls and those working in-house, were not significantly different from the nonprostitute controls. Streetwalkers were found to be more immature and dependent than their controls. The part-time housewives and addicts revealed the most pathology.

Polansky (1974) designed a study to investigate whether there are significant psychological differences between full-time prostitutes and other women. His sample included eight call girls and thirteen streetwalkers, and a control group of 21 subjects matched on variables of age, marital status, education, and socioeconomic variables. The data were obtained by a semi-structured interview, the Tennessee Self-concept Scale, a portion of the Thermatic Appreciation Test, and the Leary Interpersonal Checklist.

The findings were rather surprising. Both groups presented the same general picture. The major differences were in the greater extent to which the prostitutes saw themselves as independent, and in the fact that the underlying dependent wishes were imbued with distrust and resentment. This pointed to the
stronger dependent needs and wishes on the part of the prostitutes, as opposed to more concern with personal and intellectual growth on the part of the comparison group.

Although initially concerned with hereditary factors and personality traits, the psychological theories have moved towards greater reliance upon social factors to explain the phenomena of prostitution. It appears to be deficiencies in social and economical resources that distinguish the prostitute from other women (Kemp, 1936; Maerov, 1965).

Prostitutes may not produce test results which are that different from nonprostitute women when administered personality and I.Q. tests. Early theorists (Kemp, 1936; Ellis, 1937) believed that the traits of low intelligence, emotional instability, and abnormal sexual tendencies differentiated the prostitute from the normal woman. Prostitutes have not been found to have lower intelligence than other women in their socioeconomic class (Kinsey et al., 1953). Evidence of greater personality dysfunction or emotional instability in the prostitute has not been established (Gebhard, 1969; Exner et al., 1977; Polansky, 1974). Neither have the assumptions of promiscuity, stronger sex drive, or higher incidence of homosexuality been established (Ellis, 1937; Kinsey et al., 1953; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965).
In general, the psychological studies contain large samples, but the lower socioeconomic classes are disproportionately over-represented. We can surmise that incarcerated prostitutes may be less successful and perhaps less honest in their interviews which they may view as somewhat coercive. Control groups have not been infrequently utilized. Neither normal sexuality nor personality has been adequately defined. Psychological theory has contributed little to our understanding of how self-concept and identity develop in this group of women.

Psychoanalytic theories and family relations

Psychoanalytic theory is ultimately grounded in the interpersonal realm. The intrapsychic world of inner objects has its origins in the interactional transactions of family life. The psychoanalyst, R. D. Laing, posits that the family becomes an internal system of relationships acquired by the process of "mapping," or the transfer of the "outer" onto the "inner." Therefore, to be in the same family is to feel the same family inside (Laing, 1971:7).

The family appears in consciousness as subjectively personal and objectively socially emergent. In families, the reality of the intersubjective develops so that actors can realize themselves simultaneously as subjects and objects (Schutz, 1964). The self that emerges within
the familial "we" is an "enfamilied self" (Laing, 1971:13). Self-concept is a product of the responses of significant others to the self. The family is the "broker" of social reality through its identity bestowal and maintenance. The family grounds the self's outside identities.

Psychoanalysis is focused upon the family as the central existential reality. Freud (1959b) proposed that the early family drama is constantly reenacted in all social relations. He further predicted that deficiencies in parental love occurring during the formative childhood years would lead to a certain psychopathology. Psychoanalytic theories are included in this research, as they deepen the symbolic interactionism perspectives on self-concept development, labeling, and social bonding. In addition, psychoanalysis relates directly to theories of sexual deviancy.

Psychoanalytic theories became popular in the 1940s, but now operate rather independently from contemporary social scientific theories. The validity and generalizability of psychoanalytic models are sharply criticized by most scientists. In essence, psychoanalytic thought could be considered more dogmatic than scientific; more a matter for faith than reason. However, Freud can be regarded as the father of sexual liberation and deliverer...
from sexual oppression. He proposed that human life evolves through the development of the sexual function, and culture and civilization are made possible by the sublimation of this powerful drive. Almost all sexual theories make reference to Freud, and prostitution falls into this category.

Up until the time of Freud, it was considered normal for a wife to be frigid and a faithful husband to visit a prostitute. In 1912, Freud declared that it was necessary for a man or woman to love and desire the same object in order for mature genital sexuality to develop. He stated, that in those whom tender and sexual feelings are not merged, addictions to perverse sexual aims may occur (Choisy, 1961). According to Freudian theory, the separation of sensuality and love is based on the incest taboo. He proposes that in childhood a young boy will desire exclusive possession of his mother and feel antagonistic towards his father. This feeling state is called the Oedipus Complex, and is only resolved when the son renounces these desires for the mother and identifies with the father, who sexually possesses the mother. The reverse situation exists for the daughter, and is called the Electra Complex. She is said to desire her father and feel jealousy towards her mother. This complex can be resolved by renouncing sexual desires for the father
and identifying with the mother (Hall, 1973). Psychoanalytic theorists find an unsuccessful resolution of this family drama in the relationship between the prostitute and her client.

In Glover's classic work, the *Psychopathology of Prostitution* (1943), he calls prostitution a sexual aberration, manifesting a regressed level of sexual development, such as exhibitionism, fellatio, and sodomy. He claims that prostitution is the result of a lack of parental love. The prostitute is disappointed with the father, and seeks revenge and denial of attachment to him by having so many men, the many rather than the one. Consequently she cannot unite the erotic (profane) and on-erotic (idealized) aspects of infantile love. So the prostitute cannot direct her love feelings and sexual feelings towards the same individual. Sex objects chosen are degraded (tricks), so she can defensively displace sexual desires from the father figure (Glover, 1943; Maerov, 1965). There is a hostile identification with the unloving mother, and an acting out of a bad mother image through the role of prostitute. Glover's book is a purely theoretical work, not based on any specific clinical cases.

Agoston (1945) developed a theory of the "pseudo-personality" to explain the behavior of the prostitute.
He proposes that the prostitute experiences bi-parental rejection, which creates a personality consumed by fear in which the assertion of real personality is inhibited. Unable to reach her parents and break through her emotional isolation, she displays pseudo-emotions, feeling nothing. Prostitution is a means of revenge on both parents, although the prostitute is frigid and feels nothing. The pseudo-personality protects the prostitute from feelings of guilt and the threat of a real relationship.

Greenwald, in his book *The Call Girl* (1958), later revised as *The Elegant Prostitute* (1970), developed theories based on actual clinical research. He interviewed 20 call girls, and summarized his findings from psychoanalytic therapy with 6 additional call girls. He found as major predisposing factors the lack of identity, weak internalized controls, and early rewarded sexual experiences. He states that the central dynamic is rejection by the mother, so that the prostitute is never truly differentiated sexually. She is not seeking sex as much as actual nurturing from men. Money becomes a symbol of the love and warmth they haven’t received. Sex becomes a commodity that can be bartered for emotional contact. The pattern becomes set when sexual gratification is rewarded by temporarily overcoming
feelings of loneliness and unworthiness. His key finding
is that the girl who is tied to her family with bonds of
love and affection does not become a call girl.

Hollender (1961) psychoanalyzed two prostitutes.
His finding support Glover's (1943) and Greenwald's
(1958) earlier theories. In generalizing from his small
sample and the body of psychoanalytic theory, he states
that the prostitute manifests an arrested level of
emotional development, dating back to the first six
months of life. Hollender later proposed that the
prostitute has two unintegrated personalities: the
identities of a good and bad woman. The identity of the
prostitute (bad woman) is disowned as not part of the
real self.

Choisy, in her book the *Psychoanalysis of the
Prostitute* (1961), finds in the self-abasement of the
prostitute the classical reaction to being deprived of a
father's love. She states that when a girl is not loved
by her father, she will degrade her own sexual value by
promiscuous behavior. Therefore, the prostitute seeks to
gain revenge on her father by debasing herself.

Homosexual dynamics play a role in several of the
psychoanalytic theories of prostitution. de Groot (1928)
states that prostitutes are disguised homosexuals, and
turn to men out of revenge upon the mother, the original
love object. Abraham (1953) finds a homosexual orientation in prostitutes and states that frigidity is the sine qua non of prostitution. Deutsch (1944) finds many cases of prostitutes who are exemplars of a "masculinity complex," or the rejection of receptive and maternal functions of womanhood. Greenwald (1970) states that a rejection by the father, after turning away from the mother, may motivate a girl to return to her original love object of the mother.

The prostitute's personality and behavior explained by this body of theory is based upon tautological reasoning. The assumption is made that the prostitute enters this occupation because of emotional retardation. However, evidence of emotional retardation is based on the practice of prostitution, not on pre-occupational evidence. There is no attempt to differentiate pre-occupational personality from present personality and working conditions (Heyl, 1975).

Most of the psychoanalytic theories state that lack of parental love is the key dynamic in understanding why a woman may enter prostitution. However, there is a difference of emphasis among theorists. Rejection by the father is considered to have the greatest affect on personality development as reflected in the works of Glover (1943), Abraham (1953), and Choisy (1961).
Rejection by the mother is considered the most significant factor in the theories of de Groot (1928), Deutsch (1944), and Greenwald (1958, 1970). The occurrence of bi-parental rejection is noted in Agoston (1945), Glover (1943), and Greenwald (1958, 1970).

The major problem with all psychoanalytic theories is their inadequate empirical validation. Concepts are poorly defined, and samples too small and non-representative to permit generalizability. Only two of the psychoanalysts writing about prostitution have included empirical data; Greenwald (1958) studied 26 prostitutes, and Hollender (1961) studied a sample of two. These samples were biased as they included prostitutes in therapy. These prostitutes might be more disturbed, less well adjusted to their work, or more self aware (Heyl, 1975). This group of theories has contributed some interesting case studies, but has failed to demonstrate that prostitutes' personalities differ in any substantial way from other women's personalities. Nevertheless, psychoanalytic thought has played a seminal role in the development of family theory.

**Feminism and social definitions**

From a symbolic interactionist viewpoint, women are defined as sex objects. The feminist perspective states that men are the dominant sex and the definers of social
reality. They demand an equal opportunity to structure social reality and redefine their own sex roles. What is at stake is a restructuring of our sexual stratification system. Until quite recently (1960s) in our history, the majority of women accepted the social definitions they were socialized to receive concerning women's inferior strength, abilities, and capacities to manage their own lives. Now there is no going back to those earlier days of clearly defined roles. Women have discovered that there is no greater power than the power to define and shape reality. Today's women are claiming more authority to define and autonomy in choosing their own destinies. Many are even choosing not to marry. Men are confused, anguish, and constantly challenged by women in new and unprecedented ways. Feminism is the extreme voice in that challenge. It has much to say about prostitution, the ultimate definitional crime against women.

According to the feminist viewpoint, sexuality is socially constructed rather than biologically determined. The basic assumption is that sexuality doesn't merely reflect but is fundamental to the construction and maintenance of power relations between men and women. Male sexuality is a consequence of male power, not biology, and is often used to control and oppress women. Women are controlled and dominated through sexuality both
directly, by means of rape and sexual coercion, and indirectly by being socialized to experience the passive surrender of their bodies as sexual pleasure (Millett, 1970; Coveny, 1984).

Feminist theorists strongly oppose the sexual ideology of Havelock Ellis (1937), which has been adopted by our culture. Ellis' major premise is that normal heterosexual sex is based on a power relationship which is biologically determined; masculine domination and female submission. Using a zoological model, he proposes that the female is the hunted animal who lures her pursuer, not with the aim of escaping, but in order to be finally caught. Therefore, the female sex drive manifests itself in the desire to be conquered by the male. There may be a pretense of resistance, followed by the pleasure-pain of actual surrender. The male sex drive then requires some resistance to arouse passion, excitement, and force to finally subdue and conquer the female.

Feminists claim that Ellis' model justifies rape and sexual violence against women. It suggests that women may consciously or unconsciously provoke sexual violence. A central theme to the pornographic industry is that women enjoy pain and humiliation, and want to be taken by force. This false representation of women is evident in
sexual abuse of children, prostitution, and sexual harassment at work.

Brownmiller (1976) states that the fear and possibility of rape has always functioned as a form of social control over women, restricting where women may go and what they may do. She suggests that sexuality is the real arena where the struggle for power between the sexes takes place. Males, as the dominant ruling class, maintain their power and dominance through economic and ideological controls and social institutions.

Women have always occupied an inferior social position, with fewer economic resources. It was not until this century that women enjoyed any rights of their own or the freedom to develop beyond the confines of the traditional roles of wife and mother. Throughout Western History women have been defined as weak, dependent, emotional, sensual, impulsive, immature, intuitive, passive, and subservient. In other words, inferior to men and in need of male protection and direction. Freud considered women to be incomplete or castrated males, driven by "penis envy" if they wanted to achieve independence from male dominance. Deutsch (1944) perpetuates the Freudian image of women by stating that intellectual development impedes feminization. She is to be the ideal supportive companion, always accessible to
satisfy the primacy of her husband's sexual needs, and a nurturing caretaker to her children. In exchange, she is conferred significance by her husband and children, as she is not to exist on her own terms. The "woman's liberation movement" of the 1960s made some significant alterations in the earlier model of womanhood, but when the sexual revolution of the same era exerted its full influence, some new attitudes towards women emerged. The male version of the sexual revolution for women, in practice, meant that women would be more readily available for men's sexual needs. For women, the sexual revolution was to offer some freedom from the double standard, where men enjoyed total sexual freedom and women risked condemnation for sexual expression. What has occurred is that the double standard is weakened, but still in existence. But the objectification of women as sex objects, has been strengthened. Pornography has flourished and more women are accepting the male conferred role of sex object. These women are for male consumption without any commitment. They are narcissistic, young, attractive, and passive. They are the chief spenders and sellers of the world's goods (Greer, 1970). They are exhibitionists, but not sexually aggressive.

Feminists are intrigued by the paradoxical attitudes
of men towards the female body. On the one hand we find what Greer (1970) refers to as the "gynolatry of our civilization," or an obsession with the female form that seems to reign like a deity. Everywhere we look, television, movies, magazines, billboards, books, etc., we find that "perfect" female form. For men, this is a constant source of sexual excitement. For women, it is a constant reminder of the culture's primary feminine value of beauty, which few possess. Those that do possess beauty realize that it won't last (Gornick and Moran, 1971). For other women, gynolatry is an inducement for a narcissistic self-love of one's own body, or a homosexual interest in the female form that seems omnipresent. Feminists have called this female fetish into question.

On the other hand, some feminists (Greer, 1970; Millett, 1970) find revulsion and fear in men's attitudes toward the female body. Greer feels there is a general repressed disgust for female genitalia, often expressed in men's jokes about vaginal secretions and "unclean" menstruation. There is some mystery and fear surrounding the female sexual anatomy due to its hidden and life-giving functions. Many women have incorporated these negative attitudes into their self-image. This is in marked contrast to the pride and esteem men are taught to feel in regard to their male sex organ.
Prostitution is the visible evidence of men's ambivalent and contradictory attitudes towards women. Men often pursue women ardently as desired sex objects, then when they finally have them, they are depreciated and become less desirable. A woman is both desired and feared for her seductive power; and after her seductiveness is fully experienced in the sexual act, she may be rejected. Power is the central issue, and since men may feel threatened by their weakness in the face of feminine seductive power, they will seek to undercut this power by disparaging women. Sociologically, women are an inferior under-class. And the most despised subgroup within this under-class are prostitutes, who have been singled out to become the most exploited of all women.

Kate Millett, in *The Prostitution Papers* (1973), states that prostitution is a paradigm of the female's social condition. It declares her subjugation out in the open, with the cash nexus between the sexes revealed in currency rather than the subtlety of the marriage contract. The principle is the same, sex in return for commodities. Our social definition of femaleness is carnality and sexual objectification. Therefore, prostitutes are our political prisoners; they go to jail for the offenses we all commit in being female. The prostitute exists as an object lesson to all women, as
how bad things could get as all women must sell sex. But
the fear and desperation of the prostitute is a woman’s
worst nightmare, the most terrible fantasy she might
harbor.

Millett (1973) further posits the notion that it is
not sex that is being sold but degradation; the buyer
isn’t buying sexuality but power. Through prostitution
men degrade women and sex; it is as if sex is dirty, and
men can only enjoy it with someone low and inferior.

Most feminist theorists find prostitution to be a
predictable phenomenon based upon our sexual stratifi-
cation system and the nature of the female sex role.
Unfortunately, these theories are chiefly analytical and
descriptive, and have yet to be thoroughly tested at the
empirical level of analysis.

Issues of Concern in the Present Study

Based on earlier research, the following areas are
explored in this study:

(1) The impact of early negative sexual experiences
upon the development of sexually deviant
behavior.

(2) The relationship between the absence of
parental love and sexually deviant behavior.

(3) The relationship between negative labeling and
sexually deviant behavior.

(4) The relationship between association with
sexually deviant friends and sexually deviant
behavior.
(5) The relationship between management of relationships with husband/boyfriends, relatives, and nondeviant friends and acquaintances and sexually deviant behavior.

(6) The relationship between social organization of the service provided (i.e., strategies used by the women to manage relationships with customers, and the nature of the relationships that the women form with each other) and sexually deviant behavior.

The areas selected are those most frequently cited in earlier studies as related to sexually deviant behavior. Early negative sexual experience may spoil a woman's identity and damage her self-image so severely that she may have little left to lose by engaging in sexual deviance (Sheehy, 1973; James and Meyerding, 1977; Bracey, 1979; Vitaliano et al., 1981b; James and Davis, 1982). The absence of parental love seems to contribute to a failure to bond with social norms and significant others (Agoston, 1945; Greenwald, 1958; Sheehy, 1973; Wilkinson, 1955; Jackman et al., 1963; Davis, 1971; Gray, 1973; Bracey, 1979; Silbert and Pines, 1982). Negative labeling may eventually lead to self-labeling that accepts a condemned self-concept (Davis, 1971; Vitaliano et al., 1981b; Silbert and Pines, 1982). Association with sexually deviant friends may create a situation where sexual deviance is more likely to occur (Wilkinson, 1955; Bryan, 1965, 1966; Davis, 1971; Bracey, 1979).

This study attempts to corroborate these earlier
findings and to look for differences in these variables among the two groups of women. What previous studies have failed to accomplish is to provide a more in-depth understanding of the lives of these deviant women. As a group they have resisted open, honest dialogue with social scientists. This ethnographic study attempts such an in-depth investigation.

The major issues examined include the management of stigma with customers and significant others, the "dual-worlds" focus of their lives, self-attitudes, attitudes towards customers and work, perceived differences from other women, trends in sexual services, and future goals. These issues have been largely omitted from other earlier research.
CHAPTER IV.
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Data Collection

This study followed a rather standard qualitative research design. It was conducted in the natural settings where the subjects worked. Data were collected using participant observation field methods, and life history interview methods for individual case studies.

I encountered many problems in gathering my sample. Since prostitution is an illegal activity in the community where the research was conducted, I had to use a variety of sources to find subjects.

First, I checked with the local vice squad, but received few leads from them. They told me where I might find prostitutes soliciting on the streets, but were not helpful in actually locating house prostitutes. Through a professional associate, I learned of a psychologist who had conducted research at the jail. He suggested that I check with a couple of bartenders who might know where some massage parlors or houses of prostitution are operating. The bartenders gave me the names and addresses of three possible research sites. Two of these referrals are used in this study. The third refused to grant me access.

Research was conducted over a three month interval from March through May 1986. Participant observation
time involved informal drop-in visits averaging three
times per week at each facility during the three month
period of investigation. The visits lasted from 3-6
hours, depending on whether there was case study time
scheduled in addition to the regular visit. Some of the
visits included having meals with the girls, watching
T.V., and engaging in general "rap" sessions or informal
group process time. Visits occasionally included
conversing with some of the customers while they were
waiting for their sessions. These conversations were
typically general and not sexual in nature. These
customers never asked me why I was there or any questions
of a personal nature. It was evident that they did not
want me prying into their personal lives.

As much as possible, I attempted to make unscheduled
visits to both selected facilities so I could observe
their everyday life as it happened. About midway through
the study, many of the girls, as well as the massage
parlor proprietor, began asking me when I'd be returning
as they were looking forward to my visits. The majority
of the girls at the Bath and Massage Parlor felt good
about being involved in my research. Since many of the
subjects felt like psychologists or sex therapists
already, this study just further confirmed these positive
perceptions. The girls at the Nude Modeling Studio felt
more comfortable with me when the interviews were conducted outside of the studio. They seemed to experience more social distance between us when I was in their very sordid work setting that they all detested.

Each girl was paid $30 for her individual time required in gathering life history data. Initially, about one-half of the girls were reluctant to get involved in such a personal process. However, as I got to know them better, all were willing to engage in more interview time without requesting additional payment. The interview time ranged from 2-4 hours per case study. Joe, the owner of the Bath and Massage parlor, strongly urged the girls to cooperate with my study. His support was very helpful. Marni, the principal informant at the Nude Modeling Studio, told the other girls that I could be trusted. She did much to facilitate the research process.

Both a structured and semi-structured interview form were used to focus on data essential to study, as determined by other related research. As much as possible, interviews were conducted like normal conversations rather than a question and answer exchange. Tape recording was not performed in order to insure total confidentiality. Most of the girls eventually talked freely about their early life, how they defined
themselves, their work, their customers, and their life-worlds today. Many attempted to get some counseling from me in the interview process. When appropriate, insights and suggestions were offered.

At the Bath and Massage Parlor, all of the case studies were conducted at the facility in one of the "session" rooms. For the three girls at the Nude Modeling Studio, the interviews were more difficult to arrange. Marni was seen in my counseling office. I had to go to Toni's home to interview her. Then after the other two girls were interviewed, Peaches allowed me to interview her at the studio in one of the session rooms. I needed some additional interview time with Peaches, which was done in the living-room of the studio on several occasions when we were there alone.

I tried to control for reactive effects by using unobtrusive methods, so I would disturb the normal processes of social life as little as possible. I never took notes except during individual interviews, and then they were minimal, to be followed by more extensive written recording after each interview. When discovering discomfort, I would not probe deeper into sensitive areas. Social desirability effects appeared prevalent when discussing whether the subjects had experienced homosexual or bisexual relationships. As uneasiness
about these questions was noted. An immediate denial response was accepted and not pushed further.

Most of the girls stated that they gained more self-awareness or clarity about themselves from participating in the study. So rather than them just giving me something, the majority of the girls indicated that they had gained something personal from the research process, so that the experience was an enriching one for their lives.

For the participant observation time at each facility, I attempted to bracket or suspend my own beliefs and perspectives about their situations so that I could be more open and free for the experience of their life-worlds. Doing the case studies was also helpful in my learning to understand their social world from the girls own perspectives. All the subjects stated that they were glad I was a female researcher, as it made it easier for them to talk with me. It made me almost an "insider" to their world-view, although I was an "outsider" to their work world.

This research commenced at a point of theoretical saturation in the field research. No new data were evident or new insights gained. A follow up field visit was scheduled at both facilities on June 11, 1987, approximately one year later. The purpose of this
continuation was to find out how the outbreak of AIDS had affected their business.

Data Analysis

This study focuses on four major areas that are explored and analyzed. The first area, negative sexual experiences, is defined as incest rape, or molestation prior to the age of 18. The second area, negative labeling, is operationalized as the subject’s self-perception as having been labeled by others or self-labeled. The third area, absence of parental love, is operationalized along the dimension of closeness or distance in parental relationships. This absence of parental love may be then defined as the failure of one or both parents to bond with the subject with ties of affection. The fourth area, association with sexually deviant friends is measured by the subject’s reported association with sexually deviant friends who influenced her occupational entry. Other related variables are also discussed and tied into the four central areas of interest.

Each item on the structured and unstructured interview form was coded so that some quantitative comparisons could be made between the two groups of women which, collectively, formed the dependent variable—sexually deviant behavior. Comparisons are made with
statistics from the "normal" population on the following independent variables: social class, education level, marital and divorce histories, number of family members, sexual abuse, age at first intercourse, and abortion.

In sum, only an ethnographic study can penetrate this deviant life-world. These women need a forum for their experiences and perspectives. This study attempts to present their own interpretations and definitions to provide a balance to our popular and objective versions of their social reality. These data have validity or truth as they are derived from the firsthand knowledge of the subject's empirical worlds.
Community and Law Enforcement

The community in which this study was conducted considers itself to have taken a tough stand against prostitution. There are eight police officers assigned to the vice squad, and drugs and prostitution are their main concerns.

Prostitution is classified as an aggravated misdemeanor, and is defined as "selling or offering for sale services as a partner in a sex act, or purchasing or offering to purchase such services."

Pimping and pandering are more serious offenses and are classified as class "D" felonies. A pimp is defined as "a person who solicits a patron for a prostitute, or knowingly shares in the earnings of a prostitute, or knowingly furnishes a place to be used for the purpose of prostitution, whether for compensation or not."

Pandering is defined as "persuading or arranging for another person to become a prostitute or return to prostitution, or who maintains a brothel, or knowingly shares in the income from a brothel."

The police department is attempting to get the city council to revise the city code to include the "prohibition of loitering, transporting, or helping
transport a person for the purpose of prostitution."

Massage parlors were shut down and declared illegal in this community in 1973. The vice squad concentrates on street prostitutes and out-call services. In order to make an arrest, the vice squad officer must have a tape recording containing the stated form of sexual act and the price of that act. A misdemeanor citation requires a $1,050 bond, and carries a penalty, upon conviction, of up to 2 years in prison, though the sanction is generally a $100 fine. The "going rate" for the street prostitute ranges in price from $20-$80, and the rate for out-call services ranges from $50-$80. The officers who handle the out-call service trade generally use two hotel rooms; one room is used for the transaction to occur, and the adjacent room for recording that transaction. The vice officers stated that they are not aware of any call girls that work privately for local hotels, and they further note there are no brothels operating in any areas of the city.

In sum, they feel that their jurisdiction is a clean, decent town, in which vice is well under control. They refer teenage runaways to local social agencies. Their department averages about 20 "busts" per month for prostitution, and about three arrests for pimping or pandering.
The general attitude of the officers in the vice department is that of blaming the prostitute for her behavior with little consideration of the social factors contributing to her deviancy. She is condemned, while her male patron is judged lightly. She is considered immoral, while the male patron is perceived as just weak or in need.

Bath and Massage Parlor

The bath and massage parlor is situated in an attractive, older area of the town. It has maintained its location since 1971. It experienced a temporary closure for several months during 1973, when massage parlors were declared illegal and a "public nuisance," reopening as a bath-house; offering hot tubs, nude modeling, and body painting. Since 1973, "local massage" has been offered, and is not considered illegal. Local massage refers to masturbation massage, which may be provided if a customer places the employee's hand on his penis.

Today the establishment features hot tubs, whirlpools, tanning beds, and a swimming pool. The tubs and whirlpools are located in private rooms which may be rented by the hour. The large swimming pool is located outside, and may also be rented by the hour, or by a half-day rate. So the facility is used by the community
for nonsexual services too. The sexual services are not advertised. Information about the sexual services is circulated through informal networks within the community, or may be offered to prospective customers inquiring about the other services available. The facility is open seven days per week. The hours on Monday through Saturday are from 10:00 A.M. to 2:00 A.M., and on Sundays from 2:00 P.M. until midnight.

Customers requesting sexual services for the first time are led into a private room where they may select the girl who will provide the services. A portfolio of pictures is presented, showing each of the 13 girls individually in one of the bathtubs. The girls are nude in the photographs, though they are covered with water in their individual poses. The customer makes a selection based on these photographs. Simultaneously, the customer is given a description of the services and individual prices for specific services. Fees must be paid in advance. The fees are based on the hour and half-hour. The fees are divided equally between the girls and "the house." The girls are considered to be self-employed. They lease a working space from the owner for $10 per day, which entitles them to use a large common dressing room and lounge area. The tips received by the girls are not shared with the proprietor. The following
illuminates the list and price of the various services:

**Description of services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Nude Modeling and Bath</td>
<td>half-hour - $25 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No photos permitted)</td>
<td>one-hour - $50 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Body Painting and Bath</td>
<td>half-hour - $25 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Both Paint Each Other)</td>
<td>one-hour - $50 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) VIP Shower</td>
<td>half-hour - $50 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Shower Together and</td>
<td>one-hour - $100 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage Each Other)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Japanese Massage</td>
<td>half-hour - $50 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Woman Massages With legs)</td>
<td>one-hour - $100 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Oriental Massage</td>
<td>half-hour - $75 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Male and Female Massage</td>
<td>one-hour - $150 plus tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each Other With legs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The time spent in providing services is referred to as a "session." Prior to beginning each session, the customer is required to shower in the room. The girl showers at the conclusion of each session. There are six private rooms with tubs and showers. The water contains chlorine and disinfectants, and is changed after each customer leaves. All of the rooms are clean, freshly painted, and brightly lit, though none of the rooms have windows.

**Organizational structure**

This is a study of the working girls and how they
experience themselves and their world. To the outsider their world may appear brutal and explosive. However, from the inside, it appears like any other social system with an organizational structure, roles, norms, sanctions, and ideology.

The proprietor of the business serves as leader or head of the organization. He has appointed a day and night manager under him. Their function is to supervise the assignment and provision of services and adherence to the rules established by the proprietor. The workers cannot use drugs or alcohol during their working hours, nor are they allowed to arrive at their place of business looking "high" or inebriated. Under no condition are they allowed to offer additional services to customers. Furthermore, they are not allowed to date the customers after working hours. They are strongly advised to conceal their real names from the customers. In the event that the girls should encounter previous customers in a nonworking social situation, they are cautioned not to demonstrate any form of recognition.

Following each session the girls are required to take a shower and make any necessary adjustments to their hair or makeup. After these sanitation and appearance requirements have been completed the girls are required to return to the lounge area and wait to be called upon
by another customer. Permissible clothing includes halter dresses, jump suits, and casual clothing with high heels. They are required to keep bathing suits on hand in the event that a customer wants them to model in one. The use of perfume is required to be kept at a minimum, as some customers may be allergic to certain brands of perfume. Clothing is only removed in the private rooms, either by the girl or the customer. The decision of kissing customers is left to the discretion of the individual girl. Most girls elect not to kiss the customer, as this is not included in any service description. Ironically, the girls consider kissing to be more personal and intimate than petting and masturbation.

Every girl is trained to build up a regular clientele. They are instructed to encourage their customers to talk and share things about themselves. The more the customer shares, the closer he may feel to the girl, and subsequently, the more likely he will return for another session. Customers are perceived as lonely men, in need of both physical and emotional contact. The girls are taught to share only what the customer may specifically want to know about them. Although the girls are cautioned not to disclose extremely personal things about their lives. The girls must be able to maintain an
"air of mystery" about themselves so that they can remain fantasy figures for the customers. It is deduced that it is better if the customer is able to synthesize his fantasies with the projected image of the girl, thus facilitating his individual needs. Married girls do not wear their wedding rings during working hours, as this may distract from the girl's aura of accessibility and desirability.

Another crucial rule is that the girls are not allowed to "steal" another girl's regular customer. Once a girl has achieved a regular-customer relationship, it is left to her discretion whether she wants to share that customer with other workers, or to turn him over to another girl. Competition for customers among the girls is sharply discouraged. In the case of new customers, the manager on duty may try to sell the customer on a particular girl who is available at that particular time. Assignments to customers are made on a rotational basis as much as possible. The general policy posits the notion that there is enough business for everyone to get her share. Quality, rather than quantity, of service is stressed. Regular customers, accompanied by large tips, are what most of the girls rely upon for the majority of their money.

Everyone works one of the two shifts; from
Usually there are three girls and one manager assigned to each shift. The managers also take customers, as well. These managers have been promoted from "the ranks," so they are also trained to service customers.

**Leadership structure**  
Both managers are large, masculine-appearing women. Neither is physically attractive. The night manager could pass for a transvestite, with her very masculine body build and facial features. The managers are generally respected by the girls and even feared at times.

Ali, the night manager, assumes an aloof and superior position. She claims to have more knowledge and awareness about her work and life in general. She is definitely in control of the facility when she is on duty. Her more authoritarian leadership style seems to give the girls a sense of security. She is there during the long hours of the night when the proprietor is home with his family. However, her strength is based on a deep anger which distances her from the others. The girls are tense in her presence and feel that she is judging them. Yet, they are not dissatisfied with her leadership. She is firm, consistent, and competent in handling most problem situations. They admire her strength and do not expect to receive the warmth and
affection she is unable to give. It is enough to know that she can protect them, if necessary.

The day manager, Peggy, is a more benign figure. She co-leads with the proprietor during the quieter hours of the day. When she is suffering from a hangover, the proprietor, Joe, will usually take over many of her leadership functions. The girls enjoy these times or his more direct involvement. He is gentle and caring. They respond with real appreciation. Peggy is not appreciated, but merely tolerated. On days that Joe's health is poor, he retreats to his office sofa. Then Peggy usually handles everything alone. The girls are aware of Peggy's decompensating physical and mental health. They are just biding their time until she is replaced. None of them is seeking her position, as they would make less money. They are also concerned about Joe's deteriorating health. At some point soon, he will need to sell out. An air of uncertainty pervades the daytime work atmosphere. This makes two of the girls draw closer together, while a few others take a more independent stance. However, overall the work conditions are pleasant, cordial, and positive.

It is apparent that the more masculine types of women occupy the leadership roles in this organization. This suggests that this sexually stereotyped world may
require more masculine direction in fulfilling its purposes.

The proprietor attempts to foster a family atmosphere. The girls are invited to have their meals together, whenever possible. Frequently, the proprietor prepares lunch for the workers and they all eat together. The Italian ethnic background of the proprietor influences his assumption that sharing meals can draw people closer. He is aware that most of the workers have deep relationship problems, therefore, he tries to keep abreast of any personal animosities before they accelerate. "In-house" friction, unchecked, will reach the level of interference with customers, ultimately hurting his business.

Subjects

Joe The owner and manager of the establishment will be referred to as Joe. He is the primary figure who has created a rather unique operation—providing a warm and personable atmosphere for all who enter into his establishment. Joe is 62 years old and his health is very poor. It is difficult for him to continue his full-time work schedule, but he is fearful of allowing anyone else to manage his business. He states, "someone else might turn this place into a whorehouse. Then I'd get closed down and lose everything." He is not yet ready to
sell his business. This establishment has been his life and he is very protective of it, as well as the girls who work there. He feels needed by them and he enjoys the public contact. He spends most afternoons resting on the sofa in his office. He returns home later in the evening to be with his family.

Joe is from a small farming community where his father was a grocer. At an early age he decided that he wanted a more exciting and fast-paced life for himself. After World War II, he opened a "strip-joint" (burlesque house) in a nearby mid-western city. In the 1960s he decided that massage parlors were safer to operate than brothels, so he sold out his interest in the brothels and opened his first massage parlor. He enjoyed massage and took a course to become a certified masseur.

At the time, when he opened his current establishment in 1971, it was purely a massage parlor and not a front for prostitution. He states, "I was tired of being hassled by the law," adding, "it just wasn't worth it anymore." All of his girls were certified masseuses. He regrets the crackdown on massage parlors, and feels that it is ridiculous that only licensed people can offer massage.

Joe is extremely careful to insure that none of his employees violate the law. The employees are not aware
that Joe has a camera and microphone hidden in each room for the purpose of monitoring the behavior of his workers. Periodically, he has had to fire girls who decided to engage in sexual intercourse, or make appointments to meet with customers after hours for the purpose of prostitution. He knows people in the police department who "tip him off" in the event that the police are planning to investigate him. He alerts the girls to be apprehensive about vice cops seeking their services. He has experienced no trouble since 1973, and feels that he has a good reputation within the community.

Joe has been married to the same woman for 40 years, and they have three children and seven grandchildren resulting from this stable relationship. He considers himself to be a good and responsible family man. He attends the Catholic Church and socializes with many community leaders. Joe stopped drinking five years ago, and attends about one Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) meeting per month. Two years ago, Joe underwent a triple coronary bypass, and has been impotent since that operation. "I can accept it. I've had my share. Sex ain't that important to me anymore," he shrugs.

Occasionally, Joe will still see some of his female clientele that he has serviced for many years. He goes to their homes to provide massage, and often performs
masturbation massages either manually, or with a vibrator. It makes him feel good to help these women who are lonely and frustrated.

Joe appears to be a sincerely kind and compassionate person. As he admits, "If I was just interested in the money, I'd get rid of half my girls and replace them with younger ones." However, Joe is loyal to his girls. If they become pregnant, he puts them to work in the office. If they develop financial problems, he helps them. If they are drinking too much, he tries to get them help. If they are on drugs, he will suspend them from work until they get into a treatment program. He becomes part of their lives, and for the most part, they seem to comply to his rules—insuring that he does not get into legal trouble.

Joe has never had to recruit girls per se. They hear good things about his business and they gravitate toward him. He trains all new applicants himself, typically, by having them practice all of the services offered by the establishment on him. Joe encourages the girls to converse with their customers, emphasizing the importance of being good listeners. The focus is on building a regular clientele. About one-half of their business is comprised of regular customers.

He believes that there will always be a need for
places like his, stating, "people have too many sexual hangups, and can't accept their needs for sex." He admits that, "men seem to need more variety." "For some reason they can't be satisfied with just one woman. They have to be free to explore what else is out there," he confesses. But he does not believe that marriages should dissolve because of infidelity, elaborating, "there is so much more to marriage than sex." He is very grateful that his marriage has lasted so long, as it has given his life a great deal of stability that he could not have attained from other sources.

Although his establishment does not offer sexual intercourse, he believes it comes close to offering an effective substitute for intimacy with a woman. However, his customers are not allowed to touch the girls in the pelvic area. The customers may touch the girls in other areas, providing it is permissible by the girl. As his services are sexual in nature they can be called sexual services, even though they do not go as far as sexual intercourse, including oral or anal sex.

Most of the customers are married men that need more attention or variety. Joe argues, "so many wives are too inhibited to touch their husband's penis, although they may allow themselves to be touched all over. The men that we cater to need to be touched and reassured that
their bodies are o.k."

Joe believes that prostitution should be legalized and decriminalized. He does not feel that his girls could ever be labeled prostitutes because they do not allow themselves to be touched and used freely by their customers. He feels that if prostitution was legalized sexually transmitted diseases could be controlled more effectively. The girls are instructed to check their customers' bodies for sores or blisters. It is the threat of AIDS that is beginning to introduce changes in the provision of all sexual services. For now, Joe feels that the chemical disinfectants in his water are enough to handle the AIDS threat.

Linda Linda is the real "star" of the establishment's social system. Currently, she is considered the most popular girl with the customers, and is most in demand. Tall, blonde, and 24 years old, she has worked for Joe about one year. She states, "I was the new kid on the block and a novelty item for a while. I hope I can keep it up."

However, she is tearful as she talks about her life and work. Both ashamed and guilty about what she does for a living, she tells her family and friends that she sells hot tubs for a living, although, she actually likes her work. She does, however, struggle with allowing her
feelings to become involved with the men she meets at work. Having experienced a divorce, just one year ago, she identifies very strongly with her divorced customers. She says, "I know what it is like to feel lonely and unloved. I try to help them. I think I do. My customers respect me. They say that I could pass for a Playboy centerfold. That makes me feel good. I can't stand to be alone anymore."

Linda comes from a relatively stable family background. Her mother is a school teacher, and her father is a small town barber. However, she was molested by an uncle at the age of 10, and at the age of 12 she found out that she had been adopted. She believes that both events seriously affected her self-image. Feelings of inadequacy, guilt, and rejection began to develop within her. Also, she was an unattractive teen-ager and did not begin to blossom until age 18. With a poor self-image, she married a drug dealer and user who has been in and out of jail for drug charges, as well as for writing bad checks. She still associates with him, and they have sex together. There are two children from this union, ages 4 and 2.

She has one year of college and has worked as a legal secretary and bank teller. It was immediately after her divorce that she decided to go to work for Joe.
A girlfriend informed her about the bath and massage establishment. She thought that this type of work could assist in the healing process following her divorce. "I think I'm more mixed up than ever now," she admits. Continuing, she suggests, "it's just a matter of degree between what I do and prostitution. I might even consider prostitution. I haven't yet, but I might someday. It would be easy to just slip into it from here. Many customers ask to see me outside of work. Sometimes I'm tempted."

It may be just a question of time before Linda does branch out on her own. But the stigma that she now feels is sometimes too much for her to bear. She is intelligent and attractive, so there are other options available to her. However, her poor self-image has restricted her perception of other viable alternatives for now. She does not overindulge in drugs or alcohol yet, but does occasionally get high to ward off a growing depression. It appears that trouble lies ahead for Linda.

Dee Dee Dee Dee is the only black woman working for Joe. She is 32 years old, and has worked for him for 13 years. She is a certified masseuse, as well as being a licensed beautician. Currently, she maintains one-half interest in a beauty shop managed by a girlfriend.

She states, "Men are curious and they need variety
in women. Most of them are real curious about what black women are like. They have fantasies that we are wild and sexier than white women. I don't know, maybe we are. But I just fake it." She admits, "This is just a job, and they are just bodies. I have no feelings about any of them."

Dee Dee is a small, muscular woman, with dyed blonde hair. She is from the south and was raised on a farm. Her parents were divorced when she was six, and her mother supported five children performing day labor. Dee Dee is determined to have an easier life than her mother. She finished high school and beauty school, and has been a successful hairdresser. Although she is making more money now, she realizes that she can return to hairdressing after she becomes too old for this type of work. "Age is the enemy," she says, "We think about it, and talk about it everyday here."

At age 16, she became a mother, and two years later she married the father of her child. There are two children resulting from this union, ages 16 and 12. She has been divorced for more than four years and has no intention of remarriage. She enjoys her freedom and intimates, "Marriage and faithfulness to one person is a lie. No one person can fulfill all your needs. We all need variety." She feels that most of her customers are
married men who are bored and that they are looking for sex with no strings attached. She explains, "Most of them have no confidence, they need to be stroked and told they have the right equipment to make it as men."

It appears that Dee Dee’s work has not damaged her self-image. She does not feel labeled or stigmatized. Her work is ego-syntonic, and her reference group includes Hell’s Angels bikers that she socializes with. She projects the image of being at peace with herself and her male counterparts.

Dana Dana is a 31 year old married woman, who looks very much like a "hippy" from the 1960s. She has long, straight brown hair, and wears wire-rim glasses. She has been working for Joe for twelve years, starting as a certified masseuse.

She discusses her life in a very relaxed and frank manner. "What upsets me the most is that my husband isn’t jealous," she admits. "He knows what I am doing and it doesn’t bother him," confessing, "This makes me feel angry and unloved."

Dana was raised as a strict Catholic, although her parents were divorced when she was 6 years old. Her father was a heavy drinker and was unfaithful. At times he beat Dana severely. Her mother never remarried and is quite bitter towards men. She has always encouraged Dana
to remain single and celibate.

She quit school in the 11th grade, and has worked as a secretary, telephone operator, and factory worker. She was 23 years old when she first married. The marriage lasted only one year, and there is one child (currently 6 years old) resulting from this union. Dana remarried when she was 25 years of age, and there is a 4 year old daughter from this current union. Her husband is a factory worker who has grown accustomed to the extra income provided through Dana's current occupation. She laments, "He is faithful, but I don't think he finds me attractive enough to be jealous or worried. That hurts."

Since Dana began her work as a masseuse, she states that she does not feel labeled or stigmatized as a result of her work. However, she tells her mother that she works in a bathing suit. She remarks, "My mother thinks I should be like Saint Theresa." She views her work as just a job, and does not allow her feelings to become involved. She explains, "My customers seem to respect me. Most of them are married men who don't feel like they know how to get their wives turned on. They need advice, and I give it to them. Sometimes I feel like a sex therapist. At least I can offer some help."

Dana feels that her work helps many marriages to survive, and that she performs an important service. She
remarks, "Yes, I believe that men have weaker egos and are more concerned about sex. I think it is a sign of their insecurity. They need women to tell them over and over that they are o.k. and desirable."

Yet, her customers also make her feel "o.k." and desirable. Perhaps she will continue to need the attention provided by her customers, especially when the husband fails to communicate his love and acceptance of her.

**Renee**    Renee is a 32 year old divorcée who has worked for Joe more than 12 years. She is an attractive, well built blonde, with two visible tattoos. One tattoo is a panther located on her right upper arm, and the second, a unicorn, is located on her left upper thigh. She states, "The unicorn is for luck, and the panther was a gift from a boyfriend. I feel different from most people, so I might as well look different."

She experienced a very chaotic childhood. Her mother was in and out of mental institutions. When Renee was 12 years old, her parents divorced, and she remained with her mother. Since her mother had little to give, Renee ventured into numerous relationships with boyfriends. She experienced intercourse at age 13, which served as a catapult for her promiscuous behavior. She admits, "I was called a whore, so I decided to act like
one. What the hell, no one really cared about me, so why should I have cared what people said?" An early pregnancy occurred at age 15, and Renee was married. However, because of her infidelity, the marriage resulted in divorce after four years. There were two children from this union, ages 17 and 15. Her ex-husband has since remarried and maintains custody of the children.

Receiving a laparoscopy at age 19, Renee has decided not to try marriage again. However, she usually has a live-in boyfriend. Since her divorce, she spent eight years living with one man, and has been living with her current live-in boyfriend for one and one-half years. She prefers live-in arrangements because she feels free to date others while having the security of someone at home.

"I understand my customers," she states, adding, "Most of them are married men who need some variety. I could never be faithful to one person either. But the guys just see me a sex object. I'm not a person to them. I guess that's o.k., it makes the work easier. My first job was a cocktail waitress. I was just a 'piece of meat' then too."

Renee admits to being confused in regards to her feelings about men. "I can't live with them, and I can't live without them. I have as much right as they have to
as many sexual partners as I want," she asserts. Still she feels labeled by her customers, and knows that some of them feel superior to her. But she reveals, "Many want more than just masturbation massage, especially after they feel comfortable with me. Sometimes I consider prostitution or maybe being someone's mistress, if he isn't too possessive."

She attempts to conceal her sensitivity about her age. Usually dating younger men, she does not want to face the time constraints related to her type of work. "I'll get by somehow," she chuckles, concluding, "I always do."

Ali  Ali is the night manager, and has worked seven years for Joe. Although she is 34 years of age, she looks much older. Her body build resembles a transvestite or transsexual, and her overall appearance reflects an image of bisexuality.

Reluctant to talk about herself, she admits, "I feel just like a nurse. There isn't much difference between nursing and what I am doing." Beginning as a masseuse, Ali enjoys making people feel relaxed and getting them to talk. Several years ago she studied psychology, and feels that she is able to employ what she learned in her current occupation. Many of her regulars are gay or bisexual men. They feel comfortable with her since she
is an accepting type of person and easy to talk with.

Ali is from a large family and she states that they are very close. Her father died when she was 9 years old, and her mother raised all seven children. Ali was married at age 17, and she indicates that this was her first sexual relationship. The marriage lasted four and one-half years. There is one child, age 15, from this union. She was married again in 1982, to a retired police officer who has experienced several strokes which left him impotent. She confesses, "I have known him almost all of my life, and he doesn't find anything wrong with what I do. His mother had a brothel. We have a very good relationship."

She reports, "Many of my customers lack confidence, and need to feel that their penis is the right size and they are not inferior to other men. Most of my married customers want power over women without any emotional demands." She believes that the work she is doing can help keep marriages together, and in some way may decrease the amount of rapes and sexual assaults which are prevalent in today's society.

In reflecting upon the future, she asserts, "When I get too old for this I may open my own brothel or go back to school to study psychology. I'm not afraid to try anything." The latter statement is completely
believable.

Cindy Cindy is a rather pathetic looking, 24 year old, divorced woman. She has been employed by Joe for five years. Her teeth are bad and she is cheaply dressed. Talking about herself makes her tearful, and she seems full of pain.

She experienced a very troubled childhood. Her father sexually molested her at an early age, and Cindy’s parents were divorced when she was 9 years old. Her mother has always blamed Cindy for the incestuous relationship and the subsequent divorce. Following her mother’s divorce, Cindy had a number of step-fathers. At the age of 13, Cindy experienced her first sexual intercourse and began to engage in very promiscuous behavior. She was labeled a "whore" by her family and friends, as well as her school.

Cindy dropped out of school at the beginning of the 9th grade. She left home and had several live-in relationships with men. She worked as a waitress, maid, and nurses aid. She was married at the age of 17, following a pregnancy. One year later she was divorced. Her husband was a violent person, and furthermore, she contracted syphilis from him, rendering her sterile. There was a bitter fight over custody rights of Cindy’s only child. The struggle was between Cindy and her
mother, with the mother gaining custody rights of Cindy's 2 year old daughter. Heavily involved in drugs, the loss of her daughter motivated Cindy to seek treatment so that she could "come clean." She admits, "I took a good look at myself and was horrified. But sometimes I still feel pretty down on myself and want to drink or get high. It's a constant battle. I don't know if I will win out."

However, there are some positive factors in her life at the present time. Cindy indicates that, "I like my work. It's better money than I ever made before, and I enjoy the companionship of the girls. And the customers treat me like I'm special--like sexy and desirable. I need that."

She regrets to say, "I feel different from other women. I've slept around too much. I feel dirty. I'm afraid of catching another venereal disease, like herpes or AIDS. But there is no way to change the past. I date bikers and bisexuals. Maybe I don't feel good enough for anyone else."

Yet, Cindy believes that what she does has some social value. She helps some handicapped men, bisexuals, and gays who appreciate her attention and compassion. She quips, "I'm sure I keep some nuts off the streets, too." She has noted that more and more of her customers want her to act like a little girl. She adds, "This
kiddy porn stuff is sick. But I do it. More and more of them want it."

Cindy believes that women have a much stronger sex drive than men. "We have no limits on how much we can have and how long we can go. It's great," she exclaims. But she probably has her limits concerning how long she can continue to feel so much self-deprecation and entrapment in her life style. And that is not great but very tragic.

**Virginia** Virginia is a tall, buxom blonde with a very beautiful face. She is 26 years of age, though she looks older. She began working for Joe three months ago. Prior to that she had been working outcalls, however, she felt that type of work was no longer safe.

She remarks, "I've been a drifter and a loner since my divorce in 1981." After she lost custody of her daughter she began using cocaine to help manage the pain resulting from that loss. She believes that working for Joe may provide her with the security and belonging she needs to stabilize her life now.

Virginia has known little security in her life. Her parents were divorced when she was 1 year old. Her mother remarried eight years later, and her step-father immediately began molesting her. When Virginia informed her mother she refused to believe her, and called her
crazy. Several years following the incident her mother divorced Virginia's step-father, however, the label crazy remained attached to Virginia. She has since broken all contact with her mother.

In spite of all the problems encountered by Virginia, she was a good student and graduated from high school. Having many friends, Virginia was able to maintain her mental balance. Her first sexual intercourse experience occurred when she was 16 years old. Both partners wanted to get married, but neither of their parents would permit the union. Later, at age 18, Virginia married after becoming pregnant. Realizing that her husband did not love her, Virginia began using drugs extensively. She developed uterine cancer and received a hysterectomy. Shortly thereafter, her husband divorced her. The husband remarried and was granted custody of the children. It was at this point in Virginia's life that she decided to go into prostitution. She states, "I just wanted to die. Prostitution was the closest thing to it. I also wanted him to feel rotten, like he drove me to it. How else could I hurt him?"

Tearfully, she confesses, "Suddenly my whole life fell apart. I had no one to turn to. I went to drugs, and sex to make money for them. I felt like I had no past or future. And my present was pure hell."
In 1983, she met a man who she lived with for one year. He helped her to feel better about herself. "Then he left me, without warning, because he was falling in love with me. He was afraid of love. Well, at least I realized there was something worthwhile within me," she explained. Then she began working at an outcall service, but rarely reverted to drugs anymore.

Perhaps she may eventually be able to get away from providing any type of sexual services altogether. "Working for Joe is a step away from having intercourse with strangers," she argues. But the money is so much better than what she could ever make in an office. She states, "I have ten more years that I could put into this type of work, but I still feel shame and guilt about what I am doing." When she starts having guilt feelings about her job, the possibility of returning to drugs is enhanced. Drugs will always be a potential threat for Virginia.

She perceives most of her customers as men who are seeking reassurance and direct guidance in how to be good lovers with their wives and girlfriends. She perceives her role as that of a sex therapist. Many of her regulars are older men. She indicates, "I like older men. They treat me with more respect." She is not in a hurry to remarry. Virginia tells the men that she is
currently dating that she works in a bathing suit.

Living with lies, guilt, and shame is hard on Virginia. She experiences constant tension as a result of these feelings. She intimates, "I believe that at any time I could fall apart and go crazy. I don’t like my life, and worst of all, I don’t like me now."

Peggy Peggy is a large, hefty, masculine looking woman at 30 years of age. She has worked eight years for Joe. Since she has gained so much weight, Peggy is not as popular with the customers. Joe has been using her as the day manager; however, because Peggy has a drinking problem, he is not sure just how long she will be able to keep her job. Often she is tremulous and irritable, especially following heavy drinking bouts. Joe is hopeful that she will regain control of herself, as she has in the past. He is usually on the premises when she is on duty, therefore, she does not have to handle business matters alone.

Her story is quite unfortunate. She is from a large city in the mid-west. Her parents were divorced when she was 6 years old, and her mother remarried one year later. At 10 years of age, Peggy’s step-father began molesting her, and at age 14, she was forced to have sexual intercourse with him. This experience resulted in Peggy becoming pregnant. Her mother blamed Peggy for the
incident, and forced her to give the baby up for adoption. Peggy was thrown out of the house by her mother and began living with her grandfather.

She did not do well in school. Feeling unloved and homeless, she began drinking heavily and quit school in the 10th grade. Her mother and step-father are still married, though there is little contact between them and Peggy. She has a brother, five years younger, with whom she maintains minimal contact. For the most part, she is alone and perceives Joe as a surrogate father figure.

Peggy was employed as a waitress and a bartender before she began to work for Joe. She initially met him in a bar where she was working. She has never been married and does not date. She appears to be living an asexual life style. Quite often, she will discuss the child she gave up for adoption, and in the process, attempt to devise plans to locate that child.

Her work group serves as her family, and is the only place where she feels any sense of belonging. Other than Joe, she has an intense dislike for men. She has very few regular customers anymore. She feels that they want her to mother them. She maintains some amount of sympathy for the single and divorced men who seek the services offered at this establishment. Many feel, according to Peggy, that they are rejected and alone,
with no one in their lives that care about them. It is
easier for Peggy to share part of herself with these
types of men. She proclaims, "I don't like these dirty
old married men who come around to see what other women
look like. They have no respect for me. They're just
looking for a new kick."

However, it is becoming more difficult for Peggy to
share herself with anyone. It seems to be a struggle for
her to talk about herself. She is growing older, losing
her looks, and she has few enduring relationships. It
appears that she barely has enough personal resources to
keep herself going.

Julie Julie is a very ordinary looking 31 year
old woman. She wears glasses, no makeup, but is nicely
tanned from her work in the tanning booths. She has been
employed by Joe for eleven years, and is a certified
masseuse.

Her early years were also quite ordinary, at least
in relation to the other girls. She was raised in a
small community where her father farmed and operated his
own service station. Her parents have been married for
fifty years, and have enjoyed a good marriage with seven
children from this union. Julie has an identical twin
sister, and therein lies part of her problem. As she
states, "I was the bad twin, and Carla was the good twin."
She was favored by everyone. She could do no wrong." To this day, Julie does not understand why she was rejected. "Someone had to be picked on and I guess I let it be me," she laments.

Experiencing sexual intercourse for the first time at age 14, Julie began acting out her label of "bad girl." However, she only had three sexual partners during her high school years. She was introduced to marijuana at age 16, and used the drug on weekends only.

After graduating from high school she attended a local junior college where she received an Associates (A.A.) Degree in Psychology. "I was a surprisingly good student. I guess I am smart after all. But my personal life keeps getting me messed up," she relates. She began associating with a rough crowd of bikers during the time she attended junior college. "They were an exciting bunch. I admired their courage," she admits. She felt this way until she was gang-raped by a group of bikers during a drinking and drug party. "That killed something in me that I can't seem to get back. Now I feel like I want to get even with the world, but I don't know how," she confesses. The rape experience occurred after she received her A.A. Degree. "After that, I couldn't concentrate on my education. I was kind of lost," she explains. Shortly thereafter, she met Joe at a party and
he offered her a job.

"I liked working as a masseuse. You get to talk with people and help them with their problems. I found out that everyone has problems," she exclaims. Julie was married at age 25, after she became pregnant. She quit working for a while. Her husband was physically abusive, and they were separated three times before finally divorcing in 1982. During her marriage, Julie attempted suicide twice, both times with drug overdoses, and eventually entered into counseling. She remarks, "I feel better about myself now. It's good to be independent and able to take care of myself and my daughter."

However, Julie feels stigmatized and condemned by the nature of her work. "I tell my family and friends that I work in a bathing suit. The work is degrading to outsiders, but the customers treat me with respect. Otherwise I wouldn't be here," she claims.

Julie's life revolves around her work and work group. She socializes with "the girls" after work, and Joe represents a father figure and chief advisor. "I've learned a lot about men from Joe, especially how they need to be listened to. Most of my regulars are married men whose wives ignore them. They are starved for attention. They'll even pay to get it," she remarks.

Julie has several handicapped men who are regulars.
"I enjoy helping them to feel accepted and appreciated. There are so many sad situations out there. I am finding more and more men in this work that have no confidence and need me to take charge of everything. Rarely do I find an aggressive man here anymore," she states.

As for the future, she reveals, "I try not to worry about it. I may be able to do this work for another ten years. Or I may get married again." "Well, I no longer have a drug problem. At least I've achieved that," she boasts.

**Carol** Red hair and a warm smile are the characteristics one first notices about Carol. She is a stunning woman of 31 years, who has been employed by Joe for only five months. For the past three years she has been working at out-call services, and left that type of work for a safer environment.

A safe and secure environment is something that Carol has never known. She was an orphan at age 4. Her mother deserted the family, and her father was an alcoholic—unable to care for his four children. She experienced numerous foster homes, until, at age 11, Carol's aunt and uncle provided a home for her. However, from the very beginning, her uncle made sexual advances toward her. When Carol told the aunt what was occurring, she suffered a nervous breakdown and required
hospitalization. Once again, Carol had to be placed in another foster home, where she began to use drugs and became a runaway problem.

At age 16, she was placed in an adolescent drug rehabilitation program. Detesting the program, Carol ran away to a large mid-western city and a life of drugs and prostitution. Remaining in that type of environment for several years, Carol reflects, "Suddenly I woke up and found myself pregnant. I was surprised it hadn’t happened sooner." She gave her baby up for adoption, and one year later found herself married to a drug addict and alcoholic. She worked to help support his habits for four years, and was finally able to get a divorce. "I realized that I deserve better than him," she asserts.

She moved to Texas where she became employed in a brothel. While working at the brothel she was able to complete her G.E.D. Carol, and several co-workers decided to leave the Texas brothel and travel to the mid-west where they began working for out-call services. Last year she encountered several violent and abusive male customers. "I said that’s it for out-calls. I want into a ‘house’ again," she asserts. Another friend told her about Joe’s establishment. "As soon as I met Joe I felt like I had come home. I’ve never enjoyed my work so much," she exclaims.
Yet, Carol feels very much stigmatized and negatively labeled by her life and her work. "No decent man will want me now. But all women are used by men. Men have more rights over women than they should have. At least, at work I am in charge, and I have control over men. That feels good," she admits.

Her regular customers include older married men, and men with physical handicaps. "The older guys treat me better. All the guys use me for a sex therapist. It’s surprising how little some men know. I’m sure I help them. I’m able to give them the flattery and praise they’re not getting from others in their life," she reports. She has observed some changes in clientele during the brief time she has been working for Joe. "We are getting more gay and bisexual men each week. They’re easier to deal with, but I prefer ‘straight’ men," she remarks.

"I’ve never been able to stick in one place for too long," she admits, continuing, "I hope things work out for me here. I’m tired of running, tired of feeling scared and alone. Maybe something good has finally happened to me." Whispering, she concludes, "Do I dare hope?"

Jane Jane is endowed with a wholesome and natural beauty. Tall, blonde, and perfectly proportioned, she
appears much younger than her actual age of 35. She is very sensitive about her age and her good looks. "I have always been treated like a sex object by men. What will I do when I lose my looks?" she wonders. She has been employed by Joe for three years. Jane is one of the oldest girls working at this establishment, however, she is aware that she is also one of the most attractive employees currently employed by Joe. There is a certain amount of security in the later, at least for now anyway.

She comes from a very fundamentalist Baptist background, and was raised to believe that almost everything was sinful. Jane's father was an alcoholic, and her mother divorced him when Jane was 10 years old. Her mother remarried several years later to a man who was ten years her junior. Almost immediately he began molesting Jane. By the time Jane was 13 years old they had experienced intercourse together. This behavior continued for several years before Jane informed her mother of the step-father/step-daughter sexual relationship. Infuriated, the mother obtained a divorce, but ultimately held Jane responsible for the seduction of her step-father. Jane and her mother currently have a poor mother-daughter relationship.

Prior to completing high school, Jane became pregnant. She married the father and the union resulted
in a second child. The stormy marriage lasted for ten years. Her husband was a drug addict, gambler, and he was frequently physically abusive to Jane. He was hospitalized for his drug abuse problem several times, and Jane did not feel comfortable leaving him alone. However, when his condition became more stabilized, ten years later, she divorced him.

Following the divorce, Jane worked as a secretary and a bartender. During her employment as a bartender she heard about Joe’s business, and applied for a position. She explains, "I’m so glad I did. I’m really contented here. It’s a good atmosphere for me. The girls are fun and Joe is great. Since I’ve met Joe I feel better about men too. Maybe they’re not all bastards after all."

However, underlying Jane’s statement that she is contented, is the reality that she feels stigmatized by her work. She is ashamed and guilty, and tells both family and friends that she works in a bathing suit. Although, she claims, "I do things that other women might want to do but are afraid to do. I don’t think I’m really that different from other women. If they could get away with it, most of them wouldn’t be faithful to one man either."

She reports, "Many customers tell me I look like I
should pose for Playboy or Penthouse. I like to hear that. They treat me with respect and admiration. But it's that double standard, you know. Other people still believe in it, and I just can't shake it either. I was brought up with it, and I've violated it. Nice girls don't do what I am doing. Still it's the double standard that messes up marriages, and that's why the men come here. Their wives think sex is dirty. The poor guys think there is something wrong with them, or that there is something lacking in them. They come here to get reassured. It's that damn double standard, it keeps women from becoming sexually responsive. I help a lot of guys and a lot of marriages."

Jane becomes sad and worried when she considers her future. "I'm afraid of turning 40. I like what I'm doing, but this can't last forever. I'm competing with much younger girls now. Still I don't want to get married again. I need my independence and I like a variety of men in my life. It keeps things interesting and exciting. Maybe I've had too many partners already. I just don't want to be tied down again. But I could change my mind later on," she confesses. However, she pretends that "later on" will never arrive.

Katey Katey is seven month pregnant and is divorced. She has been employed at this establishment
for two years. For the past four months she has been working in the office, and will continue this position until she delivers her baby. Following that delivery she will return to work as one of the girls. She does not intend to marry again. Katey is 28 years of age, and already has an 8 year old daughter. She is a beautiful, vivacious blonde. Her advanced pregnancy does not distract from her stunning good looks.

There have been no serious traumatic events in Katey's life history. Her parents were divorced when she was 6 years old, and her mother remarried five years later. She has always maintained a good relationship with her mother, step-father, and six siblings. They enjoy close family ties. Her family is aware of the type of work she does, and they accept it as something that Katey feels is good for her.

Katey married immediately after she graduated from high school. She did not have sexual intercourse until after she was married. Her marriage lasted only two years, due largely to her husband's infidelity. She divorced him after the baby was born.

For several years she tried secretarial and sales work. Her family encouraged her to go into modeling, as she is tall and attractive. Then, a girlfriend dared her to apply for a job working for Joe. He hired her
immediately, and she has not regretted working at his establishment for a minute. "Every night is interesting, exciting, and relaxing. I like meeting different men and enjoy talking with them. I feel that what I do is important and helpful," she reports.

Most of her regulars are married men. She states, "It's o.k. that they are married. They can go home not needing as much from their wives. Some women can't give too much in a relationship. Anyway, no one person can meet all of our needs. That's too much to expect."

Katey admits having a preference for older men. "They treat me with more respect and aren't as grabby. If I ever decide to marry again, he'll be an older guy with money. A couple of these older guys like to pretend I'm a mermaid. They want me to wear a halter and play a harp. Where do they get that stuff from? Still, I like these older guys, even if I don't understand them," she confesses.

Katey is uncertain of the future. She alleges that she feels like other women, though she perceives herself as having more "guts" than other women. She argues, "I don't care what other people think of me. I don't try to please them. It's what I think of myself that counts." Katey, for the most part, likes and accepts herself the way she is. She acknowledges, "I've picked up a few cuts
and bruises along the way, but basically I've got it together."

She is glad to be alive, and able to bring life and joy to others. She has much to give and is enthusiastic in her hopes of receiving. Somehow, there is a different quality about her. She is enigmatic. It isn't clear just how she has arrived at this juncture in her life, or why she continues to live life as she does. She may represent the "negative" case; the one that is able to nullify preconceptions and truly challenge the understanding.

Informal moments

There were many instances where basic "rap sessions" occurred during the course of this study. These sessions took place at the bath and massage parlor and were of an informal nature, generally transpiring in the confines of the lounge area. Hair spray, curlers, body lotion, shoes, clothing, pop cans, and cigarettes litter the setting. The large room has a homey, comfortable, lived-in appearance. The girls are able to relax, let their hair down, and exchange stories and philosophies in this setting. There is a television in the corner, and while it is usually on, it is generally ignored if there is more than one girl occupying the lounge. These informal sessions typically facilitated a vast array of topics.
The following represent summaries of those typical, "rap session" meetings:

**Types of Customers**  
"Can you believe that Harry is back in town? He's back asking for you Jane," shouts Ali.  
"No way," shouts Jane. "I gave up all rights to his business." A chorus of giggles begins to be heard. "Oh come on," asserts Jane, "he tips big."

"That's all that's big," quips Dana. They all howl with laughter.

Dee Dee joins in, "He comes in to see if its grown any bigger. He's worried to death about that little prick of his. Someone go take a look and see how it's doing." All of the girls start stamping their feet.

Ali runs in, "Hey, I can hear you out there. Quiet down. Who's going to take care of Harry? He wants a VIP shower." "Ooh," they all moan together.

"He wants to stand up so he can be examined. I already told him it was big enough. Why doesn't he believe me? I ought to know," asserts Jane.

"Jane, you're too nice to the guys. Tell him the truth. It shriveled up a long time ago," says Dee Dee.

"But I brought it back to life," retorts Judy.

"Tell you what girls, I'll take care of him tonight. Let him hear from someone else that he's big enough to make it with his little dick," says Dana.
"Do you know how big it’s supposed to be?" asks Dee Dee.

"For what?" quips Dana.

"To screw," shouts Dee Dee.

"Oh that. I’ve got to tell him that it’s what you can do with it that counts, not how long it is," explains Dana.

"Don’t tell him that," replies Jane. "We’ll lose his business."

The Penis All of the girls agree that one of the major concerns of their customers is whether their penis is an adequate size. They ask for direct confirmation from the girls about this issue. The girls see this anxiety as ludicrous, and part of a male competitive standard. They laugh about it, as they do not understand it. Yet, they have all encountered the same fears in their husbands and boyfriends. Most stated that they always found the large penis to be more of a liability than an asset in a lover. The large penis can produce unnecessary pain and discomfort during intercourse. They feel that men should listen more to what women find desirable, and less to what men say is best. The wish for a giant sized penis seems to represent male chauvinism, or dominance, in its extreme form.

Another prevalent need of a majority of customers is
for reassurance about their physical attractiveness, which definitely includes the attractiveness of their penis.

"These men expect us to get all excited when we see them naked. I don't feel a damn thing," says Renee. "They have to touch me before I feel anything at all. That Playgirl magazine is a laugh; it's got to be for gays."

"I think the penis is an ugly thing," says Cindy. "Why do they get so proud of it?"

"It's a power thing," explains Ali. "Freud thought all the power in the world came from sex, and the penis is the symbol of power."

"I think it's funny looking," adds Renee. "The first time I saw my brother's I laughed myself silly."

"Freud said that women want a penis too. And that they envy men for having one," remarks Ali.

"If you ask me, men's pricks have been the reason for most of the problems in the world. Some men will stop at nothing to satisfy the needs of their prick. Why would women want to be controlled by such a thing? Freud should have talked to more women. Penis envy my ass," shouts Dana.

Several of the girls have studied psychology and Freudian theory. They do not understand where Freud got
the idea that women suffer from penis envy. This whole concept is frustrating to them.

Ali replies, "Yes, Freud talked to women, but maybe he never really listened to them. If he had, he might have learned something about us."

The girls spend much of their working hours handling a man's penis. Not one of them was conscious of ever having any desires to have a penis as part of their anatomy. Nor did any of them admit to having any wish that they could have been born male rather than female.

Dana explains, "As a matter of fact, many women are afraid of a man's penis. They are afraid to touch a man's dick. After all, the dick seems to have a life of its own; it moves, grows, spits. Women have to take the time to learn about how it works. Most of the guys wives allow themselves to be touched, but they won't touch their husband's penis with their hands. These guys are 'touch hungry.' They want their wives and girlfriends to become more aggressive and sexually active. They can't just lie there and think that's all there is to it."

Double standard The girls state that more and more men are coming in to experience a sexually assertive woman. These men enjoy remaining passive and allowing the girls to take charge of the situation. Not one of the girls stated that she felt depreciated by her
customers. All expressed experiencing respect and appreciation by them. Yet, all admitted that because of the double standard, dichotomizing men and women, they had not met any customers who wanted to marry them.

Therefore, the in-group code of ethics does not depreciate the girls providing, nor the men receiving sexual services. For the most part, they relate to each other with mutual respect and affirmation. It is the out-group general public that labels the girls' behavior as immoral or perverse. To differing degrees, the girls are affected by these general standards.

Self-definitions Occasionnally, the girls enter into rather heated discussions about labels and definitions of themselves. Such as, how is what they do different from prostitution? And, is it only a matter of degree?

Ali, Dana, and Dee Dee, who are all certified masseuses, are adamant about perceiving themselves as simply manipulating bodies. They do not feel that they involve themselves in any sexual or erotic exchanges.

Linda, on the other hand, perceives herself as a "hand prostitute," stating, "I don't use my vagina, but my hand. There's a difference, but it's just a matter of degree."

Jane, Julie, and Virginia, strongly disagree. They
have worked as actual prostitutes, but now they define themselves as masseuses. "Masturbation massage is a world apart from screwing," exclaims Virginia. "I'm not selling my body anymore, but I'm selling attention. My job is to relax, reassure, instruct, and listen. But I have to give more of myself emotionally to these customers than I ever gave to my 'tricks.' I gave physically on out-calls, now I have to psych these guys out in order to give them what they need. They don't just want to 'get laid.' That's easy. Anyone can get laid. I mean they are a real challenge. You've got to find out what they want, and usually they don't even know. So you're never sure if they'll be coming back. Sometimes, I'm more worn out than if I'm getting laid," she confesses.

"Naw," says Dana, "It's not that complicated. This place is a big playground; it's like a dreamland to them. Just play along; enjoy yourself. The water makes them relax and become like little boys again. Water is less threatening than the bedroom, where they have to prove how great they are."

All of the girls agree that they are involved in providing sexual services.Prostitutes provide a total sexual experience, whereas, they provide something more limited, but of equal value.
"Most of these guys are lonely and need some human contact. When men feel this way they usually think 'screwing' is what will help. We show them that there's more to sex than that. They get real excited and need to 'come,' but that's not the most important thing we do for them," declares Dana. "We are kind to them, make them feel that they are worth something, and that the world isn't such a 'shitty' place. They go out of here feeling a little stronger."

"Yea, when men are lonely they turn to women for comfort," says Linda. "It doesn't even have to get sexual."

"But with men everything becomes sexual," explains Ali. "They think that's the way women want it to be. They don't understand us. They are taught to see us as sex objects; so you relate to sex objects sexually."

"Sure, men listen to what other guys tell them about us rather than listening to us," complains Dana. "We need someone to speak for us--to tell it like it is!"

Summary of informal sessions During some of the sessions, several of the girls became inspired to write their own books about their experiences. Most feel poorly understood by our culture. They also expressed desires to help men in understanding the nature of their needs, as generally they perceive men as having little
self-awareness.

Although they are opposed to double standards and sex-role stereotyping, they realize that without these social conditions they might not be able to perform the type of work in which they are presently engaged. Nevertheless, most of the girls are aware that men have typically turned to women when they require healing. The road to recovery from life’s ills has frequently been found in a woman’s touch, word, or look. Her body and tender loving care have often contained much curative power. In general, the girls perceive men to be the "weaker sex," but they do not belittle them for this difference. They are able to accept men as being less than perfect and strong; and they wish that men could achieve the same self-acceptance.

Every woman in the facility indicates experiencing significant work gratification, regardless of whether they categorize themselves as similar to nurses, psychologists, sex therapists, or masseuses. They all believe that they are helping their customers. This fact of knowing they are helping is their principle means of neutralizing the stigma associated with their work. And they believe that when society declares them as dirty and immoral; then society just does not comprehend human need and human compassion.
Nude Modeling Studio

The nude modeling studio is discreetly located on a side street in an older commercial section of the city. This establishment is inconspicuously positioned between a bar and a public parking lot. The neighborhood is clean, well maintained, and traffic in this area is heavy. Furthermore, this location is on the fringe of the city's downtown district.

The sign in front simply reads, "modeling." There is a large store-front window that looks into a living room area. The studio is open daily from 10:00 A.M. to 12:00 A.M. There are four girls employed at this establishment. Two girls work each of the two shifts. The shifts run from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., and 5:00 P.M. to 12:00 A.M. During the evening there is a night manager who also serves as a security guard. The studio has been in operation for seven years.

The living room area has three large sofas, a coffee table, and a large television set. Back in the corner is an old desk where the night manager sits. There are three private rooms, each with a double sized mattress on the floor, accented with pictures from European cities on the walls. The private rooms are located along a hallway that runs from the living room. However, these rooms are not actually private, as the walls between the rooms do
not extend entirely to the ceiling. Since the walls are approximately six inches from the ceiling, sound carries between the rooms. Located at the end of the hall are two bathrooms, a Coke machine, and a stationary exercise bicycle.

The studio is advertised daily in the personal column of the local newspaper under the heading, "People Meeting People." The telephone rings frequently, with inquiries about the services offered at the studio. When business is slow, the girls position themselves in the doorway or immediately in front of the building. They are able to draw attention to themselves without actively soliciting.

While on duty, the girls dress in very short, revealing attire. They are instructed to sit on the sofas in very provocative positions while waiting for customers. Usually, the television is on, and there are food and soft drinks lying on the coffee table.

A description of the services offered is posted behind the front door. Included are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Luncheon Quick-Fix</td>
<td>15 minutes - $15 + Tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Two-Fir</td>
<td>30 minutes - $30 + Tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) All You Need</td>
<td>45 minutes - $45 + Tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Around-the-World</td>
<td>60 minutes - $60 + Tip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the wall, alongside of the price list, are pictures of the girls working at the studio. They are wearing their usual work attire.

Organizational structure

What organizational structure there is could be described as a loosely connected matriarchy. As fifty percent (2) of the women in this setting are black, they could be expected to feel more comfortable with this type of leadership style that is so prevalent in their culture.

All three of the nude models are very independent, so there is a great deal of competition and conflict built into their system. The proprietor, Fred, is too demented to provide any structure or control. He is depreciated and ignored as much as possible. There is no unified organizational structure and the whole social system is very tenuous.

The structure that still exists is provided by Marni, the day manager. She is physically there during the day, but her influence is felt at all times. She also manages to see that Fred is cared for. Marni is a very maternal woman. Clearly, she enjoys nurturing and uses these qualities well in keeping the studio running. Were she to leave, the other girls would quit and Fred would need to be institutionalized almost immediately.
She is a peacemaker, and the girls respond to her pleas for greater cooperation and harmony. In addition, she appears to be the most emotionally stable member of the work group. She is flexible, sensitive to the needs of others, and able to handle frustrations and problems. She accepts the girls as they are, and tries to find creative ways for everyone to make money and find some satisfaction with their daily lives. She can move beyond the requirements of her own self-interest and is equipped to lead. The proprietor, Fred, is a mere phantom. Marni is the real power and heart of the organization.

Toni functions as the night manager. There is a male figure, Greg, who is only half present in the evening. He is totally deaf—a silent fixture sitting in the corner quite removed from the natural flow of events. He is but another disabled male, occupying a nebulous position in a world governed by women. Toni only manages to keep some order in the evening work environment. She tries to keep Peaches from becoming too independent and uncooperative. Ultimately, it is Marni who is asked to deal with Peaches and enlist her help in keeping the studio from collapsing.

In the absence of strong male leadership, we find the development of a matriarchal structure. The group member most able to give and feel concern for others is
accepted as leader of a group of very independent women. Marni is a respected role model and friend to all the girls. As this group of sexual servants has much less respect and admiration for the male sex, it is understandable that they would be led by a woman. It is also interesting that the males who are the figurehead leaders in their organizational structure are significantly defective.

Subjects

Fred    Fred is the owner and manager of the studio. He is 78 years old, and has been involved in the operation of brothels throughout the state for the past 30 years. His nephew, a very influential judge in the community, has been instrumental in keeping the nude modeling studio from being closed down. Fred is protected by his nephew, and is informed, in advance, about possible or ongoing investigations of his facility.

However, Fred appears to be growing more senile every day, and is barely able to care for himself or manage his business anymore. His family provides assistance periodically, but he relies on Marni, one of his girls, to manage his daily affairs. She checks to insure that he is wearing clean clothes, and has eaten his meals. His condition very nearly necessitates institutionalization, however, Fred adamantly denies this
fact. At times, he demonstrates a violent temper, and as a result of this behavior, girls will quit their job rather than take his verbal abuse. On the other hand, those girls who do remain usually feel pity for him. Some employees have attempted to take advantage of him, but his family generally serves as overseers of the operation, and they usually have those employees fired.

**Greg**  
Greg, who works in the capacity of night manager, is an old friend of Fred's. He is about Fred's age and is drawing social security benefits. Since he is approaching a total loss of hearing he is not capable of offering much, if any, assistance to the girls in the event of problems with the customers. However, Fred trusts him, and besides that, he is lonely enough to want to sit in the studio with the girls each night. He sits like an unobtrusive fixture—silent, detached, but evidently needing the physical presence of others.

**Marni**  
Marni is a rather heavy 23 year old black woman. She has an attractive face with a warm and open smile. She appears older than her stated age, yet retains a sweet and gentle expression.

She enjoys talking about her life history, although each episode results in alterations of the previous version. She claims that she is only half-black, and that her mother is white. Her parents have been
separated, off and on, practicing serial separation for the past ten years. Her father is a contractor, and her mother has been employed as a nurse. Marni is the youngest of six siblings. Due to the many nervous breakdowns experienced by her mother, Marni was raised, in part, by her maternal grandmother.

The most traumatic incident of Marni's life occurred when she was 13 years old. She was gang-raped by a group of men for a week. Upon being released by this group she went straight to the police. After apprehending the men there was a trial. However, Marni's father, a devout Jehovah's Witness, felt that she had shamed the family to such an extent that he beat her and forced her to leave home.

Marni went to a large western city where she drifted into prostitution. Dazed, and wandering the streets alone, a pimp found her, and facilitated her introduction into prostitution. Looking much older than her chronological age, she was a street prostitute for two years.

At age 15, she was arrested and placed in a correctional school for girls. Marni indicates that during this period of her life she had grown to be quite rebellious, though she does suggest that the correctional school provided a certain amount of security for her.
She did well in her assigned school work, and began making friends, one of which was the school counselor. Marni developed an admiration for the counselor, and attempted to emulate her. This relationship eventually escalated to a homosexual affair. When the relationship was revealed, the counselor was terminated from her position.

Marni ran away from the school, and was working in the streets at age 17. This time, however, she began using drugs extensively. She made several suicidal gestures during this period and was hospitalized for psychiatric problems. In an attempt to maintain a distance between herself and possible homosexual encounters, she became involved with a group of bikers. She received a tattoo of a star on her abdomen (the group's symbol) while she was a part of this group. Also, during the period of her affiliation with this group, she experienced several abortions. She quit working the streets, for a brief period, and was supported by one of the male members of the group. This relationship continued until the male became physically abusive to Marni.

Following her typical pattern of running away, Marni left the biker group association and traveled to this community, where her sister and maternal grandmother
reside. Temporarily, she was employed as a nurse's aid, but hated the work and the low pay. Furthermore, pregnancy resulted from a brief relationship with a man that Marni knew only casually. After the pregnancy she quit working and began receiving AFDC benefits.

She states, "My son is the best thing that ever happened to me. He made me grow up and get over my 'crazies.' I need responsibility." Her son is 3 years old. Marni began working for Fred when her son was 1 year old. "I had to make some decent money again. I wanted to give my child a nice place to live. This is lots better than the streets. My family is here too. They think I just do modeling in my underwear. Maybe they know I'm doing more than that but they don't ask me any questions. I'm grateful for that," she confesses.

About one year ago her boyfriend moved in with her. He is a mechanic. He is aware of the type of work she does, and wants her to continue. "He should be bothered by the work I do and get me to quit. I thought I wanted to marry him, but now I don't know. I'd rather marry someone who doesn't know about this work and my past. Then maybe he would respect me," she complains.

Respect is an important concept to Marni. She has little respect for herself or the men that she services. "Most of these men are married and are cheating on their
wives. They have little respect for me. They treat me like a 'dirty whore.' Maybe some find me sexy, but they use such terrible language, and want me in such awful poses. Lots of them are real sick. They can't let their wives know about this part of them," she intimates.

"Some of them are dirty and smelly. I make them wash before I have anything to do with them. Then they have to wear a rubber, and boy do they hate that. I tell them that it's for their protection too. But they don't seem to care. When they're horny, they can't even think. I check them over for any sores before I even get close to them. I've thrown a few right out the door that had blisters or sores on their penis. Believe me, I've seen a lot of syphilis and herpes. Now we've got to worry about AIDS too. Afterwards, I go wash myself, my mouth, my body, and I even douche. Oh God, how I hate this work," she exclaims.

Yet, she complains, "Every time I leave this work I come back to it. What else can I do? I need to get my GED. What I'd really like to do is become a counselor. I really understand people's problems. I've had so many of my own. Actually, I feel like a sex therapist here. Everyday I help men with no confidence or knowledge about women," she boasts.

She feels that her work benefits society to some
extent. "Sure this business helps some marriages stay together, and it keeps some sex perverts from hurting people. There are so many guys that want me to dress up and act like a little girl that it’s scary. There’s got to be a bunch of child molesters out there. Maybe we keep a few of them off the streets," she reveals.

Despite her negative attitude towards her work, Marni has many regular customers. She has a quiet, accepting manner, and people can almost immediately feel comfortable with her. "I do have some pity for these guys, especially the old men who can barely keep it hard anymore. It’s the young, grapy animals that I don’t like. They act like I’m just a ‘piece of ass.’ When I’m treated that way, then they just become just a cock. I don’t want to talk to them like their human. We ‘get it on’ real quick, and I get them out of here," she asserts.

There are times when Marni looks off into space for several minutes. When her attention shifts, she talks about how she wishes things could be different. "I wish I were pure and clean; and I could trust people. I dream about feeling safe without worrying about how I’m going to make it through the week. Sometimes I just wish someone could take care of me. Is that so wrong?" she asks.

It is quite understandable for Marni to have these
types of aspirations. She realizes that it is not possible to rewrite her life history, or to erase the degradation she has experienced by working the streets. Those experiences are etched deep within her soul. But what she fails to acknowledge is that her heart has not become completely hardened as a result of those street experiences. She still appears soft and vulnerable. And therein lies her beauty and desirability. Social circumstances should have created a bitter and cynical woman. Instead those conditions have contributed to her full awareness of the tragedy of the human condition.

Toni Cleariy, Toni fits the stereotypical image of the prostitute. She is tall, thin, tattooed, and very hardened. "I want to become like The Happy Hooker. That book is my bible," she chuckles. "I hate men and want to take them for all the money I can get. And I'll do almost anything for money."

The tragedy is that, it appears, Toni means what she says. Her 23 years have been brutal and ugly. She has had to do almost anything for money. It is amazing that she has survived as well as she has, but she is one of those hardy personalities that are determined to survive at any cost.

She was raised in a large Catholic family. Her father was an alcoholic, and her mother divorced him when
Toni was 10 years old. She remembers the beatings of her mother, and other family members, which were very nearly a daily occurrence. When Toni was 11 years old her mother began living with another man. He began molesting Toni almost from the beginning. When she informed her mother, she was beat and called a "whore" and a "tramp." Toni tolerated the beatings and the molestation until the age of 13. She then ran away from home, never returning. She lived in an abandoned car for two years, where none of her family could locate her. "I discovered how easy it was to earn money 'turning tricks.' I got connected with a group of runaway girls. They were all a few years older than me. We wouldn't let any pimp handle us," she states. Finally, an angry pimp turned her into the authorities.

"I was kind of relieved, I guess. I was into drugs and alcohol, and my life was out of control. The court placed me in a foster home and got me into a drug rehabilitation program. I could take all of it for about one year, then I had to break free again," she reports.

"I ran away to another town and got a nice job as a waitress. After six months I was managing the restaurant. They thought I was 22 years old, and I looked even older than that. This was my first chance for a decent life. It was kind of boring, but I didn't
seem to mind it. Then this truck driver came into my life and I went nuts over him. We lived together for one year, and I got pregnant. Then we got married, and everything changed. He started to push me around, and thought that he owned me. We got divorced after a year. But I’m glad I got a daughter out of the deal. She’s the best thing in my life. Well, I’ll never get married or pregnant again. I had cancer of the uterus when I was 21. I’m o.k. now," she murmurs.

Toni has a heart tattoo on her abdomen, with her ex-husband’s name on it. She also has a panther tattoo on her right thigh, and the "artist" was a biker that she met while working the streets. "Yes, men have put their marks on me, but I’ve put my marks on a few too," she boasts. "You know men aren’t too smart. They can be conned into anything for a little ‘pussy.’ Sex is important to them. They’ll do anything to get it. What stupid suckers! They have paid plenty for me: $200 for half-and-half, or straight sex, $300 for S.M. stuff or ‘yellow rain’ [urination]. But they’ve got to use rubbers, and must wash themselves before they can get next to me. Then I douche like crazy too. I’ve never had V.D., and I check every ‘bod’ over carefully. Too many girls are coming down with herpes from this work. Then we’ve got this new AIDS crap to worry about. I
could get scared enough to get out of this work someday," she admits.

Toni realizes that she will encounter problems attempting to fit into the "straight" world. "I’ve always felt different. I don’t know what a normal life is. What I’m doing now is all I’ve ever known," she confesses. "I do what other women refuse to do with men. Lots of men have real ‘kinky’ sex needs. I’m sure that I help some marriages and keep some maniacs off the streets," she explains.

"Most of these guys need to feel powerful, like they can buy and control women. But I’m the one who really ‘calls the shots’ in here. It’s easy to fool a man, ‘cause they want to be fooled. They want to believe that they are such hot stuff. Wow, what a bunch of bullshit," she laughs.

There is nothing humorous about Toni’s story. She appears quite alone in the world. Her mother died of a heart attack recently, and her father was murdered in a drug "bust." She has little contact with her siblings. She still hopes that her daughter will have a better life, and that she will be able to assist in that goal. "I’m just a scrappy survivor, but I want to protect her from what I’ve had to deal with. She thinks I model with my clothes on here. She’s just five, but when she’s old
enough to learn the truth, I'll have to get out. I do care what she thinks of me. She's the only one that matters. What will I do if she finds out that I'm a slut?" she laments. There are times when Toni feels that her daughter should have a step-father, but memories of her own experiences with a common-law step-father take over and she discards the thought. "Men just can't be trusted. I've got a boyfriend now, but he's really no better than the rest of them," she confesses.

Toni can never become the "Happy Hooker" due to the shame that she feels about her occupation, as well as her inability to effectively rid herself of the stigma associated with being a prostitute. She does not care about helping others or visualizing her role as a sex therapist. Although she admits that her work has some significant social value (i.e., preserving the institution of marriage and the control of sexual violence), her statements on these issues have a "hollow ring." The truth of the matter is that she is trying to get even with men, and her work provides the means. With every dollar that she obtains from men, she feels, somehow, compensated for the abuse and desecration she has endured. "The Happy Hooker" tried to spread pleasure and joy around. Toni has a desire to rob men of their souls, rather than their money, and reduce them to the
level she perceives herself to have fallen.

**Peaches** Peaches is a petite, black girl, standing 4 feet, 11 inches tall, and weighs 95 pounds. She claims to be 29 years of age, and is single. The other girls do not know her real name, nor do they know where she lives. When Peaches smiles, which is rarely, she reveals that her two front teeth are missing.

Peaches states, "I don't like to talk about my work, and I try to forget about it when I leave here. Men are stupid to pay for sex. Most of 'em don't even know what they want or why they're even here. Every time they have a problem they think fucking is going to make it go away," she asserts.

She has been angry at men for most of her life. She was raised by her mother, never knowing her father. Her maternal uncle began molesting her when she was 5 years old. He threatened to kill her if she ever told her mother. This relationship lasted until she was 10 years old, and only was terminated when her uncle was killed in an automobile accident. "I felt freed from the ugly bastard, but I wish I could have had the pleasure of cutting his prick off first," she complains. She insists that she cannot forget this man, and some of her customers remind her of him.

At the age of 14 she was forced to have sexual
intercourse by a neighbor boy. She became pregnant and had an abortion. "There was a woman down the street who did abortions. My mother took me there. I’ll never forget the pain. I decided that I hated sex more than anything in the world. Never did I plan to make a living at it," she reports.

"Then my mama got real sick when I was about 16. We thought she was gonna die. She had a heart attack and a stroke. I couldn’t believe it. She had to quit work as a maid, and she started collecting welfare. It just wasn’t enough. So I quit school and went to work as a waitress. I was busting my ass and hardly making anything. These ‘big-ass’ pimps used to come into the restaurant, and they kept trying to get me to work for them. They called me ‘tiger woman.’ They were all crazy. Finally, one day after pulling graveyard shifts for two months I said, ‘shit—I’m going to try hooking.’ Maybe I can take it. Other women whore around all the time and don’t get paid for it. I’m smarter than they are. I’m gonna charge for everything," she exclaimed.

But it was hard work. She was out on the streets and fighting with her pimps over money constantly. "Those bastards wanted fifty-percent. I only wanted to give them a third. I was still living with mama. They weren’t setting me up anywhere," she explains. "I never
let mama know what I was doing. She thought I was a cocktail waitress. A few times I came home beat up, but I told her that my boyfriend did it. I’ve always had a few boyfriends on the side to help me forget a little about the life I was leading."

When Fred opened the modeling studio, she came in and was hired right away. She has been with him for seven years. "He’s crazy now. They should lock him up. I’m sure they will soon. I just don’t pay no attention to him anymore," she admits.

"I never feel a thing for these men," she states. "They are just bodies. Most of ‘em want some ‘head.’ Their wives won’t give it to them. Some of them are looking for thrills, and they just want to make it with a black woman. I’ve got this tiger tattoo on my leg. It really turns them on. Then I jump on them like a wild tiger. They don’t get none of that at home. I fake it real good. I do whatever I can do so they’ll get off quickly and get the hell out of here," she exclaims.

Peaches does not think too much about her future or how much longer she’ll remain in her present occupation. "I’ve been turning tricks for so long, I don’t know what else I could do now. But I’ve got other talents too. I play the piano real good. Maybe I’ll get my own house someday, and run it right. Not like this shit house."
Anyway, women should be running these places, not men," she states. She is very critical of her immediate surroundings, and argues that she would make more money if they could attract a higher class of clientele.

In spite of her emaciated appearance, Peaches seems to have ambitions. She is not feeling depressed or hopeless, but is angry and is seeking to do the best with what she has going for her. Marriage does not interest her now, at least while she is the care-provider for her mother. She not able to bear children, as she has been rendered sterile—resulting from a venereal disease which she contracted during the course of her work.

Clearly, she trusts no one but her mother. Peaches is a lonely and detached figure. She has failed to account for her missing teeth, or why they have not been replaced. Maybe she wants to look like a pathetic whore, though it would appear that proper dental work would increase her ability to make larger tips. Whatever the reason, it is certain that the reason is calculated.

It is easy for Peaches to expose her body in nakedness. But the real person lies hidden and well protected.

**Informal moments**

One significant characteristic of the studio atmosphere is the lack of real privacy. There is no real
privacy in the session rooms, as the walls do not extend to the ceiling. There is no real privacy in the living room with the telephone constantly ringing, and men entering the room to inquire or remain for a session.

During the day, most of the customers are dressed in business suits, and appear to be hurried. Nearly one-half of the men entering the studio for the first time will "look the place over," and return for their initial session. Most of the regulars schedule appointments. Other customers may feel embarrassed about making appointments, so they just stop in. The men often appear uncomfortable about waiting for a session. This is probably due to the fact that they have no way of knowing who might enter at any given moment. The living room is open to the general public.

There is more tension during the day. The men dropping in seem to feel more visible and publically observable. Fred comes by to "yell" at the girls for failing to bring in more money. Marni attempts to keep the operation running smoothly, while simultaneously attempting to restore peace when Fred becomes too insulting.

During the evening, there are more out-of-town customers in the studio. These customers are made up, largely, of salesmen, conventioneers, or lonely men from
various rural communities within the state. Darkness seems to alleviate their self-consciousness. Also, the out-of-towners do not run the risk of detection by personal acquaintances.

Fred is not in the studio during the night. The night watchman, almost deaf and quite benign, provides the opportunity for the girls to do as they please. However, Toni has appointed herself as the person in charge. Occasionally, her boyfriend comes to the studio to eat and watch television. Generally, the girls order pizza or sandwiches from the adjoining bar.

A substantial amount of the girls' time is spent talking on the telephone with prospective customers, or with men just dropping in to inquire about the services offered. It is their responsibility to sell the services available at the studio. Their responses are usually presented in a seductive and friendly manner, unless, of course, the inquiries are too "sick" or "kinky."

There are many requests at the studio for "three-way" sessions, using both girls. These requests cannot be fulfilled because there are only two girls working per shift. Generally, when a customer enters the establishment at a time when both girls are in a session he leaves. Frequently, the men are quite nervous, and they will not wait unless a girl greets them first.
The girls' casual conversations seldom revolve around work or customers. One of the reasons for this is the absence of privacy, since customers being discussed may enter the studio at any time. Another important reason is their need to distract themselves from the unpleasant nature of their work. The girls view their work as both unenjoyable and insignificant in value. They maintain no positive or justifying ideology, or belief, that they are helping shy and lonely men through their services. They have not been able to develop a perspective which facilitates stigma neutralization, or allows them to "save face." The best defensive mechanism employed by these girls is the use of denial and/or avoidance. All three girls participating in this study perceive themselves to be whores, and believe that this perception is maintained by others as well. They have little respect for their customers, and believe this feeling is mutual on behalf of their customers. It appears that these employees have significant problems in their ability to trust or love men, and yet they view their customers as being more sick and unbalanced than the average male.

There is evidence of competition in their relationships between each other. Peaches is viewed as "rate buster." She will give a "blow job" for $25. This
is a substantially lower price than the other girls charge for providing the same service. Toni says, "Peaches sells it too cheap. That hurts all of us. We find out from our customers. She says that 'she'll charge what she damn well pleases.' We don't know what to do about her," Toni complains.

Peaches and Toni usually work the same shift together, and Toni attempts to act as the supervisor. If Toni acts too "bossy," Peaches will walk out and leave her alone for the shift. "Sometimes she acts like a damn prima donna," explains Toni. "I don't understand her. No one ever gets close to Peaches," she remarks. However, Peaches apparently handles the telephone better than the other girls, so they tend to relinquish that job to her whenever possible. Peaches has been employed at the nude modeling studio longer than the other girls, and often reminds the others of that fact.

When there are no customers in the facility, the girls become involved in the television programs, especially the daytime and evening "soaps," for example, "Dallas" and "Dynasty." This is an avoidance method employed by the girls. They discuss television characters and the personal lives of movie stars, comparing notes on what each has read and heard about those topics. There is little evidence demonstrating the
sharing of their personal lives among the girls.

Marni states, "We need to keep our personal lives separate from our work. We never socialize together. It isn't that we don't like each other, or aren't friendly. It's just that we want the separation. We need to forget about all of this when we are away from it. We aren't proud of what we do. I guess we don't even respect each other. Yet, we understand each other. And maybe we're the only ones who do."

Demographic Profile of the Women

Demographic data collected during this study include sex, age, ethnicity, marital history, children, and highest level of education attained. All subjects are female, and there are 3 (20%) black and 12 (80%) white respondents. Data reveal that the mean age of respondents is 28.9 years of age, the median age being 30, and the mode is 31 years of age. There are meager data available to attempt corroboration with other studies. Lemert (1951) suggests the modal age of prostitutes to be 21-28 years of age, spending an average of 2-15 years in their profession. Hirschi (1962) estimates the average age to 20 years of age, and remaining in their profession approximately 7-15 years. Bracey (1979) posits that women are entering prostitution earlier and remaining in it longer today. Sheehy (1973) postulates
that the average age of call girls to be older, as many enter this level of sexual services later in life, following education and time in other occupations. We do not have any research data available which focuses on the average age of masseuse or massage parlor workers.

Official statistics are analyzed to compare various aspects of the "normal" population and the sample of sexual deviants (N=15) used for this study. Official data used for comparative analysis include variables such as social class, education levels, marital/divorce histories, number of children per household, and single parent families. Also considered are the number of reported sexual abuse cases, number of legal abortions, and approximate number of prostitutes.

Social class, presented in the context of income (income being the total dollar value of all that a person receives within a specific time period), for the normal population may be viewed in a variety of ways. First, there are nearly 34 million persons living below the arbitrarily defined poverty line, and the majority of these people are white (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986, pp. 25-26). This, without question, represents the lower class elements of our society. In 1983, there were 31 million persons located within the income bracket of $25,000 or more. Six percent (5.2 million) of all
females, compared to 30 percent (25.8 million) of all males occupy this income category (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986, p. 456). Clearly, this category represents the middle class members of our society.

Data from the research study reflect that 6 (40%) of the respondents are from middle class backgrounds, and 9 (60%) respondents indicate they are from lower class families. The group of respondents indicating middle class backgrounds is composed of 1 (17%) nude model and 5 (83%) massage parlor workers. This study corroborates other research that has found women engaged in sexual services to come largely from the ranks of the lower class (Ball and Thomas, 1918; Kemp, 1936, Wilkinson, 1955). However, two more recent studies have yielded different findings. Bracey (1979) found that over 50 percent of her 32 subject sample of prostitutes were from middle-class families. Silbert and Pines (1982) report that 68 percent of their sample of 200 prostitutes were from middle-class families. Therefore, it appears that social class factors are changing.

Official data reflect that, in 1984, 26.7 percent of the population, 25 years of age and older, had not completed high school, and that 19.1 percent of that same population had four years, or more, of college education. Data also indicate that those elements of the 25 years of
age and older population who had some college (one to three years) account for 15.8 percent of that group. Furthermore, 41.3 percent (31,590,000) of the females occupying this age classification had completed four years of high school. Data also reflect that, in this same age category, 15.3 percent (11,734,000) of the females had attended college for a period of one to three years, and that 15 percent of the females had four or more years of college (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986, p. 133).

Educational data from this study reflect that 11 (73%) respondents have not completed high school while 4 (27%) respondents are high school graduates. Considering the group that did not complete high school, 2 (18%) are nude models and 9 (82%) were massage parlor workers. Of those respondents who indicate that they have completed high school, 2 (50%) have some college, and 1 (25%) has received an Associates degree. These statistics indicate that participants of this study are substantially lower in educational level than females within the general population that fall in the same age category.

Official data indicate that, in 1984, 12.1 percent of all females in the age category of 25-34 (16,258,000) had experienced a divorce. Furthermore, data reflect that 4.6 percent of this same population had experienced
a separation (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986, p. 37). Data collected during this study reflect that 3 (21%) respondents have never been married, 12 (80%) have been divorced. These data suggest that these respondents, collectively, are divorced disproportionately more than females in the general population of the same age category.

Considering the mean age (28.87) of the sample for this study, the 1960s would best represent the period in which these respondents would have been at home in whatever familial arrangements there were. Official data for 1960 reflect that a family configuration of three or four (9.9% and 9.3% respectively) was most common within the general population (assuming children were part of the familial structure). This category represents 19.2 percent of the household sizes for 1960. There was little change in the year 1965 when three-member households accounted for 10.2 percent of all households, and four-member households accounted for 9.2 percent (collectively these two categories represent 19.4 percent) of all households. Households with five persons in 1960 accounted for 6.1 percent of all households, and in 1965 accounted for 6.3 percent. Households with six or seven members in 1960 accounted for 3 percent and 2.9 percent, respectively. These same categories accounted
for 3.3 percent and 3.5 percent, respectively, in 1965 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986, p. 40).

Data collected during this study reflect that most respondents are from large families. There are 5 (33%) respondents that indicate they had been raised in families of three or fewer children. Four (27%) respondents indicate being raised in families with four children, 1 (7%) respondent with five children, 3 (20%) respondents with six children, and 2 (13%) respondents with seven children. Clearly, most of the respondents were raised in families disproportionately large when considering household sizes for the general population during the given periods of 1960 and 1965.

Official data reflect that there were 28.8 legal abortions per 1,000 women during 1982 (limited to the category of 15-44 years old). There were over one and one-half million abortions during 1981—representing an increase in the number of abortions by 150 percent from 1972. The specific age category most likely to have experienced an abortion is 20-24 years old, and the second most represented age category is 15-19 years of age. Collectively, these groups represent 62.7 percent (988,000) of all legal abortions for 1981. While 18.9 percent (298,000) of all legal abortions were attributed to married women, 81.1 percent (1,279,000) were received

Results of this study reflect that 13 (87%) respondents have not received an abortion. The 2 (13%) respondents that indicate having had an abortion are both nude models.

Official data reflect that there were 96,882 arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice during 1986. Estimating the extent of prostitution through official arrest records has both obvious and not so obvious limitations. In the first case, most will agree that law enforcement officials do not arrest all prostitutes. Furthermore, these statistics may include multiple arrests for certain individuals. However, more obscure, are the political influences surrounding apprehension of prostitutes.

During the spring of 1982, in Las Vegas, Nevada, there was a major "crusade" designed to rid the community of streetwalkers. By mid-summer there were hardly any streetwalkers to be seen in Las Vegas. This moralistic "roundup" of prostitutes occurs in other communities throughout our society (see Flanagan and Jamieson, 1988). Nevertheless, what is interesting is the pattern of arrests created by age of arrestees. In 1986, there were 22 arrests in the age category of 10 years of age and younger. Data reflect a steady increase of arrests as
age increases. For example, there were 202 arrests for 13 and 14 years old prostitutes, and 594 arrests for 16 year old offenders. There were 1,080 arrests for 17 year old offenders, and 2,916 arrests of 18 year old prostitutes. Those arrested for prostitution between the ages of 19 and 24 represent an increase from 4,486 to 6,553, respectively. The category of prostitutes 25 to 29 years of age claims the largest arrest figures (26,991), and beyond this category the number of arrests decrease at about the same rate that preceded the peak arrest group (Flanagan and Jamieson, 1988, pp. 372-373).

Interestingly, only one respondent from this study indicated that she had been arrested for solicitation, though all respondents had progressed to or through the peak arrest age category.

**Early Sexual Experience**

An attempt was made to investigate the relationship between early sexual experiences and sexually deviant behavior (i.e., massage parlor and nude modeling workers). Specific dimensions employed to demonstrate early sexual experience are sexual abuse experience (e.g., incest, rape, molestation, etc.), age at first sexual intercourse (operationalized into two categories: 16 years of age and under and over 16 years of age), whether or not the first intercourse was a voluntary or
forced (coerced) experience, and whether there were subsequent sexual relationships with the first sexual partner. Additional dimensions of this variable include the number of sexual partners (few is defined as 3 or less sexual partners and many is defined as more than 3 sexual partners) at an early age. Also of interest is whether there was an early pregnancy (early pregnancy is defined as becoming pregnant at 16 years of age or less).

Official data reflect that during 1987 there were nearly two million children abused in our society. This is a rate of 30.6 children abused per 1,000 children (3.1 percent of all children in our society are abused in some manner). Insofar as official data reflect only those cases reported, it is safe to assume that child abuse is more extensive than as indicated by official data. There are specific limitations to existing official data of reported child abuse cases. First, a child may be abused more than once; hence, the individual child may be counted as more than one case. Second, official data fails to discriminate between child abuse and sexual child abuse. The specific criteria employed defines a child abuse case as a report of either intentional or nonaccidental injury, harm or sexual abuse inflicted upon a child by an adult. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to approximate the number of sexually abused
children (Flanagan and Jamieson, 1988, p. 252). A comparison of a sample of 152 prostitutes and 117 female offenders (that were nonprostitutes) revealed that prostitutes were more likely to have had negative sexual experiences during adolescence, for example, sexual abuse by biological or surrogate fathers (Vitaliano et al., 1981a; James and Davis, 1982). Additional studies (James and Meyerding, 1977; Satterfield and Listiak, 1982) have indicated that a strong correlation exists between childhood sexual abuse and female prostitution.

Data reflect that 10 (66.7%) respondents have experienced some form of early sexual abuse and 5 (33.3%) indicate they had not experienced any type of sexual abuse at an early age. Crosstabulation of the dimensions abuse and type of sexually deviant behavior (massage parlor workers and nude models) reveals that 3 nude models (100%) and 7 (58.3%) massage parlor workers have experienced sexual abuse. Five (41.7%) of the massage parlor workers reported no history of sexual abuse (see Table 1).

In a 1970 national survey of adolescent sexual behavior, Sorenson (1973) noted that 45% of the females reported having premarital intercourse before the age of 19. This finding more than doubled Kinsey's findings in 1948 and 1953 (20%) for the same female age group.
Zelnik and Kantner (1977) found that 55% of all female respondents had experienced sexual intercourse by their nineteenth birthday; and in 1980 they concluded that 69% of all females surveyed had experienced sexual intercourse by age 19 (Packard, 1983). Prince (1986), in a study using a prostitute group and a nonprostitute group, found that 46 percent of the prostitutes had experienced sexual intercourse before the age of 15. The nonprostitute group reflected that only 1 percent of the respondents had experienced sexual intercourse prior to age 15.

There were 14 (93.8%) respondents who responded to the item that focused on age at first sexual intercourse (one missing case). Data reflect there are 7 (50%) respondents who experienced sexual intercourse prior to 16 years of age and 7 (50%) respondents indicated they were 16 years of age or older prior to their first sexual intercourse experience. Of the 7 respondents who indicate sexual intercourse experience prior to 16 years of age, 1 (14%) works as a nude model and 6 (85%) are employed as massage parlor workers. The same ratio of nude models to massage parlor workers are evidenced in the classification of first sexual intercourse at the age of 16 years of age or older. Contained within this category there are 1 nude model and 6 massage parlor
There are 14 (93%) subjects who responded to the item which examined the manner in which the first sexual intercourse occurred. The responses are collapsed into two categories: (1) forced, and (2) voluntary. Data reflect that 5 (36%) respondents had a forced initial sexual intercourse experience and 9 (64%) subjects indicate that their first sexual intercourse experience was voluntary. Included within the category of forced initial sexual intercourse experience, 2 (40%) are nude models and 3 (60%) are massage parlor workers. The 9 respondents who indicate that their first sexual intercourse experience was voluntary are all massage parlor workers. The single missing case is from the nude model group.

Considering subsequent sexual relationships with respondent's first sexual partner, data indicate that 12 (80%) subjects did have subsequent sexual relations with their first sexual partner, and 3 (20%) respondents reflect no subsequent sexual relations with their initial sexual partner. Interestingly, the 12 respondents who indicated subsequent sexual relationships are all massage parlor workers, and the three respondents who did not have future sexual relationships with their first sexual partner are nude models.
Data reflect that most respondents had many sexual partners at an early age. There are 13 (93%) respondents who indicate that they had many sexual partners at an early age, while only 1 (7%) respondent revealed that she had few sexual relationships at an early age (one missing case). All of the nude models (3) indicated that they had experienced many sexual partners at an early age. The only respondent to reflect few sexual partners at an early age was a massage parlor worker.

There are 11 (73%) respondents indicating early pregnancy (under the age of 16). This category contained all 3 (27%) nude models and 8 (73%) massage parlor workers. There are four massage parlor workers who reflect that they did not have an early pregnancy, while none of the nude models fall into this category. However, this is interesting because 11 (73%) respondents became pregnant before the age of 16, while there are only 4 (27%) respondents who became pregnant after the age of 16.

Absence of Parental Love

The second area investigated is the relationship between the absence of parental love and its effects upon sexually deviant behavior. There are three dimensions employed to illustrate this variable. The first dimension addresses the issue of marital stability
between the subject's parents. Indicators of this dimension include stable (married without incident of separation and/or divorce) or unstable (marriage resulting in separation and/or divorce or no marriage at all between mother and father) marital relationships. The final dimension concentrates upon the relationship between the subject and her father and mother (independently) indicated as either good or poor. A poor relationship is constituted by no contact or poor association between the subject and parent(s). One of the respondents indicates that she did not know her father while another respondent states that her father is deceased—both cases evidencing an absence of parental love.

Official data for 1984 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986) reflect that 14 percent of all households with children under the age of eighteen are single parent families. Males, as head of household, account for 16.7 percent of this household category. Females, as head of household for this category account for 83.3 percent. Females, as head of household, account for 11.6 percent of all households in the general population.

Absence of parental love was addressed on three dimensions. The first dimension, parental stability, was operationalized to create two categories, the first being
stable parental relationship which necessitated the original marital relationship still intact, or the respondent implying that her parents' relationship was stable or good. The second category, unstable parental relationship, was determined by separation, divorce, or the respondent indicating that her parents had an unstable relationship. Data indicate that most respondents perceive their parent's relationships as being unstable. Those respondents who reflected that their parents' relationship was unstable account for 88 percent (13) of the sample, which included 3 (23%) nude models and 10 (77%) massage parlor workers. There were only 2 (13%) respondents indicating that their parents' marital relationship was stable, and both of these respondents were massage parlor workers.

The second and third dimension include the relationship between her father and mother, though each relationship will be treated independently. Data reflect that 2 (13%) respondents have a good relationship with their father, as opposed to 13 (87%) respondents who claim to have a bad, or no relationship with their father. The two cases noting a good relationship are both massage parlor workers, while 10 massage parlor workers and 3 nude models reflect a bad relationship with their father (see Table 1). There is a striking
differentiation between this dimension and the third dimension—respondent’s relationship with her mother. There were 6 (40%) respondents who indicated that they had a good relationship with their mother, as opposed to 9 (60%) respondents reflecting a bad relationship with this parent. Of those respondents having a good relationship with their mother, 1 (17%) is a nude model and 5 (83%) are massage parlor workers. There are 2 (22%) nude models that indicate a bad relationship with their mother, and 7 (78%) massage parlor workers responding likewise (see Table 1).

Negative Labeling

The third area of inquiry focuses upon the relationship between negative labeling and sexually deviant behavior. The dimensions used for analysis of this variable include the respondent’s self-perception (indicated negatively or positively), whether or not the subject perceives herself as having been labeled (yes or no), and how the label is perceived to originate (perceived to be a result of others initiating the label or if the label is self assigned).

When asked to categorize their self-image, most respondents indicate they maintain a negative self-image. This category is comprised of 2 (22%) nude models and 7 (78%) massage parlor workers. There are 1 (25%) nude
model and 3 (75%) massage parlor workers reflecting a positive self-image. There are two missing cases. Respondents were asked if they perceived themselves as being negatively labeled. Data indicate that 11 (73%) respondents do in fact view themselves as being negatively labeled, and 4 (27%) do not feel they are negatively labeled. All 3 (27%) nude models acknowledged negative labeling while 8 (73%) massage parlor workers indicate negative labeling. Only 4 massage parlor workers reflect that they have not been negatively labeled (see Table 1).

Those respondents who indicate that they had been negatively labeled suggested that their label has been either assigned by someone else or the label was self-assigned. There were 8 (72%) respondents who indicated that their assigned labels had originated from others. Three (38%) of these respondents are nude models while 5 (62%) are massage parlor workers. The category of labeling as a self-induced process, containing 3 (28%) respondents, are all massage parlor workers.

Complementary to the dimension of negative labeling is criminal involvement which is considered to be a contributing factor in the labeling process (Quinney, 1970; Schur, 1971). Data reflect that most respondents have not been involved in criminal activities as
demonstrated in sexual, narcotic, or other offenses. In the case of sexual offenses, only one respondent indicated that she had been involved (soliciting), and this respondent was a massage parlor worker. The same results are evidenced in narcotic offenses. One massage parlor worker indicated that she had been involved in possession of marijuana. There were 3 subjects who reflected involvement in other criminal activities, however, these involvements were of a nonserious nature—juvenile and vagrancy offenses.

Association with Sexually Deviant Friends

The fourth area of inquiry is the relationship between the subject's association with sexually deviant friends and sexually deviant behavior. This is elucidated through two principal indicators: prior knowledge of others providing sexual services, and whether or not the subject simply drifted into this particular occupation. This area is expanded to include current associations between the respondent and either deviant or socially acceptable groups.

Association with sexually deviant friends and sexually deviant behavior, is examined along several dimensions. First, whether the respondent had assistance in gaining access into sexually deviant behavior through others. Data reflect that 9 (60%) respondents had known
someone who assisted or influenced their decision to enter into sexually deviant behavior. Nude models account for 3 (20%) respondents in this category and massage parlor workers account for forty percent (6) of this group. The category containing respondents who indicated no assistance or prior knowledge of persons within a sexually deviant behavior occupation account for 40 percent (6) of the subjects responding to this item. This group is made up entirely of massage parlor workers (see Table 1).

The second dimension included within this area is that of drift—whether the respondent simply drifted into this type of work. Drift has been operationalized as an experienced narrowing of options or possibilities (Matza, 1964). The respondents who acknowledged "drifting" into their type of work were all in a "state of irrelationship" (Wilkinson, 1955) and at a low point prior to entering into sexual service. They had just lost or left a significant relationship and were suffering from lowered self-esteem. In addition, these respondents each knew sexually deviant persons who supported their decision to become involved in sexual services. Data indicate that 6 (50%) respondents drifted into their sexually deviant occupations, while 6 (50%) respondents reflected that their entrance to this type of
work was not attributed to drift. There were three missing cases. In the category which encompasses those respondent who drifted into their sexually deviant occupation, 3 (50%) are nude models and 3 (50%) are massage parlor workers. In the category of respondents indicating they did not drift into this type of work, all are massage parlor workers.

Data suggest that most respondents currently associate within nondeviant groups as opposed to deviant groups. There are 5 (33%) respondents who indicate that they associate with deviant groups (e.g., "bikers"), and 10 (67%) claim to associate with peers located in socially accepted groups. There are 2 (40%) nude models falling in the category of associating with deviant groups compared to 3 (60%) massage parlor workers. Furthermore, while 9 (90%) massage parlor workers claim to associate with socially acceptable groups, there is only 1 (10%) nude model occupying this category.

Managing Stigma

This study explored how subjects managed the stigma associated with their occupations by their response to justify their work. The responses were collapsed into five categories: (1) this work must be done by someone, (2) survival, (3) help others, (4) just a job like any other job, and (5) cannot justify this type of work.
While two-thirds (2) of the nude models responded that this type of work must be done by someone, 8.3 percent (1) of the massage parlor subjects are contained within this category. One-third (1) of the nude models rationalized this type of work as a means of survival, and 16.7 percent (2) of the massage parlor workers responded likewise. Six (50%) massage parlor workers stated that they felt as though they were helping others in the routine of their job. Two (16.7%) massage parlor workers claimed they considered their job just like any other job, and one (8.3%) massage parlor worker stated that she could not justify they type of work she was engaged in. These were the major categories that emerged from the data. There are no closely related studies to compare these finding with.

In looking at the subjects' general attitudes toward the customers, three categories emerged from their responses. Those categories include: (1) positive, (2) negative, and (3) neutral. Differentiation between the two groups of respondents is noted in this variable. While two-thirds (8) of the massage parlor workers indicate they have a positive attitude toward their customers, none of the nude models are located in this category. Most of the nude models (66.7%) express a negative attitude toward their customers compared to one
(8.3%) massage parlor worker contained within this category. Three (24.9%) massage parlor workers and one (33.3%) nude model, indicate they have a neutral attitude toward their customers.

The massage parlor workers also report a higher level of job satisfaction and employment stability (based on length of time on the job) when compared to the nude models. Therefore, it could be predicted that they would have more positive attitudes towards customers. There are similar findings in several other studies which conclude that there is a relationship between job satisfaction and attitudes towards customers (Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Davis, 1971; Bryan, 1965).

There is some evidence of more unusual findings in the subjects responses to the importance of the work group (measured through socialization with group members outside of their work setting). All of the nude models (100%) indicate they do not socialize with co-workers outside of the work setting compared to 83% (10) of the massage parlor workers who occupy this category of responses. Most studies fail to indicate this separation of work and personal life in socially deviant groups (Greenwald, 1958; Gray, 1973; Sheehy, 1973; Bryan, 1965, 1966; Rosenblum, 1975).

Data, focusing on perceived differences from other
women, support some earlier research on the centrality of sexuality to the female sex role (Rosenblum, 1975). All of the nude models, as well as all massage parlor respondents, report that they feel no difference from other women in their behavior. Both groups of subjects do not feel that the use of their sexuality, to get their human needs met, is that different from what most women do to get by in life.

However, in response to whether their involvement in sexual services sets them apart from other women, measuring society's reaction to their behavior, their responses were quite different. Two (67%) nude models and 10 (83%) massage parlor workers state that they are placed in an inferior category and are treated differently than other women because of their occupation.

In response to how the subjects view the basic types of men using their services, both groups responded similarly. Two (67%) nude models and 9 (75%) massage parlor workers categorized most of their customers as being married. Respondents also categorically arranged their customers as being lonely, insecure, divorced, and having physical or emotional problems. The preponderance of married men using sexual services is also corroborated in other studies (Winick, 1962; Hirschi, 1962; Kinsey, 1948; Winick and Kinsie, 1971).
Most subjects report that their work has definite benefits for society. This item is demonstrated in two dimensions. The first dimension illuminates their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage, and the second dimension focuses on the ability of providing sexual services to decrease the rates of sexual assault and rape. There are three possible levels of measurement to each of the two dimensions: (1) yes, (2) no, and (3) somewhat. All 15 (100%) of the subjects indicate that they feel their services provide a benefit to the institution of marriage, though this may not be unusual considering that most frequent customers are married men (Hirschi, 1962; Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Armstrong, 1981). Only 2 (13.3%) respondents (both massage parlor workers) indicate that their services reduce the occurrences of sexual assault and rape. However, most respondents (53.3%) indicate that they do not feel their services affect the rate of sexual assault or rape. This category includes 1 nude model and 7 massage parlor workers. There are 5 (33.3%) respondents who state that their services may affect the occurrence of sexual assault and rape somewhat. This category represents the responses of 2 nude models and 3 massage parlor workers. Other studies fail to inquire into the subjects' perceptions of the effects of their work on the
rates of sexual violence. Since most of the subjects perceived their customers to be shy, insecure, and less assertive types of men, it is not surprising that they are not associated with committing acts of sexual violence. While there is a differentiation between the two groups of subjects on this question (nude models being more inclined to reflect a somewhat response), the explanation may be that nude models report servicing men with more perverse sexual needs.

Other Issues of Interest

Changes described in the provision of sexual services correspond to the changes noted in the personalities of customers. The responses fall into six general categories to describe changes in the customers and their needs. Included are: (1) more bisexuals and gays, (2) passivity, (3) naivety, (4) perverted, (5) depressed, and (6) increased oral sexual needs. Most of the subjects provided multiple responses. All of the nude models state that they perceive the customers to be either perverted or depressed. Twenty-nine percent of the massage parlor workers indicate that more bisexuals and gays are seeking their services, and 23% of this group reflect that many of their customers are passive. Twelve percent of the massage parlor workers claim that customer needs are characterized by more oral sex, and
18% of this group indicate that their customers are naive. Only 18% of the massage parlor workers state that their customers' needs are perverted or characterized by depression. The overall picture of greater orality, passivity, and bisexual or homosexual expression could be predicted based on sex role changes and a higher degree of social acceptance of bisexual and homosexual orientations. A higher incidence of orality supports Winick and Kinsie's (1971) earlier study.

In examining the attracting factors associated with why the subjects remain in their work, seven categories emerged: (1) money, (2) variety, (3) independence, (4) excitement, (5) companionship, (6) helping people, and (7) control over men. Money is the most common response for both nude models and massage parlor workers. Nude models also expressed the concept of independence as a motivating factor to remain in this occupation. However, massage parlor workers indicate that they remain in their occupation for reasons incorporating all of the attracting factors, though indicating that money is the principle factor. These findings corroborate other studies concerning the attracting motivator of money (Greenwald, 1958; Bryan, 1965, Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Sheehy, 1973; Rosenblum, 1975). Money is always listed as one of the chief reasons for entering and remaining in
the field of sexual services. The importance of independence, excitement, and variety, as motivators, are also evidenced in other studies (Pomeroy, 1965; Rosenblum, 1975).

There appears to be a lack of concern about contracting a venereal disease by the respondents. Only one nude model and one massage parlor worker indicate a fear about contracting a venereal disease.

The average length of employment at the nude modeling studio is three and one-half years. This is contrasted with the average employment length of massage parlor workers which is six and one-fourth years. Furthermore, 4 (33.3%) of the massage parlor workers began as "straight" masseuses and later moved into the bath and masturbation massage work. The long length of employment at one place may be a reflection of job satisfaction, as well as a lack of other types of employment options in the community.

There is a range of responses concerning future goals. All of the subjects are concerned about their future possibilities, as their work has a definite time limit. Older women have no place in the provision of sexual services.

In response to what type of work they might try later, the nude models were quite certain about where
their interests lie. Of the three subjects, one (16.67%) was interested in psychology, one (16.67%) wanted to start her own business, and one (16.67%) was planning to study art and music. The massage parlor workers gave some similar responses. Four (33.33%) indicated that they are interested in becoming psychologists, and two (17%) stated that they want to start their own business. Their other responses to future goals included: return to waitressing (8%), court reporter (8%), interior decorator (8%), hairdresser (8%), model (8%), and don’t know (8%). Forty-two percent (5) of these responses include very sexually stereotyped female occupations.

As these subjects have been socialized to experience the traditional cultural expectations for their sex roles, marriage is a topic of frequent discussion. They struggle with social pressure and personal fears. As a group, the nude models are more opposed to marriage. Two (66.67%) nude models state that they have no desire to ever marry, and one (33.33%) might consider it. The massage parlor workers are somewhat mixed on the issue of marriage. Forty-two percent (5) of these subjects state that they would consider marriage. Sixteen percent (2) are currently married. For both groups of women, the major reason given for not seeking marriage is the need for independence. Marriage is perceived as a loss of
freedom and independence and, therefore, a diminished state for a woman.

Fourteen (93%) of the subjects in this study have given birth and experienced motherhood. Two (67%) of the nude models have one child. Seven (58%) of the massage parlor workers have one child, and five (42%) have two children. From this group of women, two (17%) have given their children up for adoption, and three (25%) have lost custody of their children to their ex-husbands or family members.

Motherhood is a major source of satisfaction for the 2 nude models with children. Their children are younger and they are still very involved in their lives. Much of their leisure time is spent with their children. They both feel that they are good mothers and are proud of their offspring. As both of these women do not intend to marry, their children assume a place of central importance in their lives.

The massage parlor workers, as a group, are less intensively involved with their children. Forty-two percent (5) of these women have lost children to adoption or by relinquishing custody. The women who have lost children continue to talk about them. Those still actively involved in motherhood have boyfriends, husbands, or family members offering some assistance.
Most of these women are older and raising teenagers. For them, mothering is a part of their busy lives, but not of central importance now.

There was evidence of strong social desirability factors entering into discussions of sexual preference. Only two subjects admitted to any homosexual experiences. They are both nude models. Most of the subjects became visibly uncomfortable when asked about homosexual or bisexual relationships. Typically, they denied any such experiences and quickly changed the subject. Yet, all could freely discuss any matter pertaining to heterosexual relationships. Four (33.33%) of the massage parlor workers have very masculine physical characteristics and mannerisms. They look as if they could be homosexual or bisexual in orientation. As a group, these women have difficulty accepting and integrating the nonheterosexual parts of their personalities.

Follow-Up Visit

A follow-up, on-sight, field research visit was scheduled at both facilities on June 11, 1987. The purpose of this visit was to determine if the outbreak of AIDS has affected their business of providing sexual services.

Joe was interviewed during the visit. He reported
that because of the AIDS scare his business has increased over the past year, claiming that the type of sexual services provided by his establishment is safer and cleaner. He did, however, admit that he was using more chlorine and chemical disinfectants in his water. Also, the girls are more careful in regards to not working with cuts on their hands. He stated that he was experienced little turn-over of employees, and none of his employees have quit due to the fear of contracting AIDS.

The nude modeling studio was closed down on June 1, 1987. Fred the owner, has been institutionalized. Marni, Toni, and Peaches are reported to have quit their jobs at the studio within the last six months. The owner of the adjacent bar was interviewed to obtain this information. Attempts were made to contact all three subjects, but were unsuccessful. Marni has moved, and I was unable to locate her sister or grandmother. Toni has also moved, and not having Peaches' address, telephone number, or surname, made it impossible for future contact with her. However, it was reported that the studio is scheduled for remodeling, and will be open, under new management, some time in July, 1987.
Table 1. Profile of major variables

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<th>Sexual abuse</th>
<th>Absence father's love</th>
<th>Absence mother's love</th>
<th>Negative labeling</th>
<th>Sexually deviant friends</th>
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CHAPTER VI.
DISCUSSION

This study has attempted to do several things in its comparative ethnographic approach: (1) penetrate and describe a deviant life-world, (2) explore for similar and differing patterns between two levels of sexual service providers, and (3) corroborate or refute earlier studies. Although the sample size is small, the research has taken an in-depth look at the past and present worlds of the 15 subjects.

Many of the data support previous research. Early negative sexual experience (or sexual abuse) was found in the majority of the subjects (66.7%), but is more common in the nude model group. All three (100%) nude models reported early sexual abuse as compared with only seven (58%) of the massage parlor workers. As a group, the nude models reported more negative events in general. We can surmise that their more damaging life experiences increased the probability of their involvement in prostitution, or more sexually deviant behavior than the massage parlor workers. It is also questionable whether the subjects in this study deviate significantly from the normal population in estimated incidences of sexual abuse. Although social scientists argue that these incidences are high within the normal population, no available data corroborating this claim were found. This
tends to suggest that, at present, we have no reliable means of gaining access to such data. This study supports all of the studies dealing with sexual abuse as a major etiological variable in sexual deviance (Sheehy, 1973; James and Meyerding, 1977; Bracey, 1979; Vitaliano et al., 1981a; James and Davis, 1982). This illuminates the importance of sexual experience in the development of self-concept and female role identity.

Negative labeling was found, to a high degree, in both groups of women. Three (100%) of the nude models and eight (67%) of the massage parlor workers reported having experienced negative labeling. This suggests that labels may indeed become master traits (Becker, 1963), contaminating the entire personality. Labels, once accepted, structure the self-concept. The experience of negative labeling for those involved in sexual deviance has been reported in other studies (Davis, 1971; Vitaliano et al., 1981b; and Silbert and Pines, 1982).

The absence of parental love is a major independent variable that is considered in nearly all previous studies. However, there are some differences as to which parent is believed to be most important to a woman's sexual development. One group of theorists suggests that a woman's relationship with her father is the most important in her sexual development (Glover, 1943; Abraham, 1953; Choisy, 1961). On the other hand, a
number of scholars argue that a woman's relationship with her mother is most significant in the development of her sexuality (de Groot, 1928; Deutsch, 1944; Greenwald, 1958, 1970). This study reflected that the majority of the subjects report a distant, or absence, of paternal relationship. Ten (83%) massage parlor workers and two (67%) nude models occupy this category. There is no significant difference between these two groups along this dimension. Data indicate that, as a whole, the mother-daughter relationships of the subjects are more intimate than with their fathers, although seven (58%) massage parlor workers and two (67%) nude models reflect a poor relationship with their mother. Two (67%) nude models and six (50%) massage parlor workers report a bi-parental rejection. This study supports earlier research findings that parental rejection is a factor in channeling a woman towards sexual deviance. This group of subjects indicates that the rejection by the father is more prevalent, thus, supporting previous studies that emphasize the importance of the father-daughter relationship and its association with female sexually deviant behavior (Glover, 1943; Abraham, 1953; Choisy, 1961). However, the theorists who advocate the centrality of the sexually deviant woman's relationship with her father are all psychoanalysts. Therefore, they have not examined the psycho-social effects of the absent
father on the overall structure and functions of family
life.

Association with sexually deviant friends is a
crucial variable in comparing the two groups of subjects.
Data indicate that 47 percent (7) of the subjects knew
someone who influenced their entrance into their
occupation. Contained within this category are three
(43%) nude models and four (57%) massage parlor workers.
These findings support previous studies that reflect a
similar association between friendship influences and
entry into sexually deviant occupations (Wilkinson, 1955;

Another related variable explored by this study is
"drift." This variable was included to determine whether
the subjects experienced the narrowing of options and
drift into sexual services reported in previous studies
(Matza, 1964; Davis, 1971; Weisberg, 1985). Only 6 (40%)
subjects reported having drifted into providing sexual
services. This group includes three (50%) nude models
and three (50%) massage parlor workers.

A dual world culture (Davis, 1971) seems to be
predominate with both groups of women. There is a firmly
established separation between their work world and
home/social life. A compartmentalization of roles,
identities, norms, and referent others has occurred. So
there is an apparent lack of integration of these two
contradictory worlds, one sexually deviant and the other lying within the range of the normative.

The data on customer needs are also quite interesting. Other studies suggest that sexual services are used to satisfy men's needs for novelty and excitement (Winick, 1962). Both groups of women experienced themselves more as therapeutic agents in providing men with attention and approval. Therefore, sex is used as a means to gain fulfillment of deep-seated psychological needs, such as; nurturing, fondling, and attention.

The nude models reported having to deal with much "sicker" men. They generally perceived themselves as a "dumping ground," working with society's degenerates that someone must contend with. Essentially, they concluded that they shouldn't be stigmatized but rather rewarded for doing what has to be done by someone strong enough to handle these saddest cases of humanity.

The massage parlor workers also perceived themselves as helpful, but were more compassionate towards the men needing their services. They did not blame their customers for their insecurities and sexual inadequacies. They managed stigma by valuing their work and their customers more. However, most still had difficulties in valuing themselves, as seven (67%) reported having a poor self-image.

Of major importance is the finding that both groups
of women do not perceive themselves to be that different
from other women, even though society treats them as
such. This is not an unusual finding as it supports
other studies (Rosenblum, 1975; Bryan, 1966; Heidensohn,
1968), which offer a critique of the female sex role.
Sexuality is central to the female sex role and sexual
desirability is the key to power and success for a woman
in our culture. Prostitution and sexual services are but
consequences of the female sex role carried to its
logical conclusion. For society to condemn such behavior
is hypocrisy. Society gives women two contradictory
messages: to develop and utilize sexual desirability as
a female trait, and to practice sexual repression as a
social norm.

The massage parlor workers reported that their
customers treated them positively, which is not the case
in some reported studies (Sheehy, 1973; Bracey, 1979).
However, the majority of this group were not truthful
with friends and family about their work, and engaged in
some self-labeling. Consequently, there appear to be two
sets of definitions that have developed: to outsiders,
their behavior is defined as socially deviant; to
insiders, their behavior is defined as compassionate.

It is evident from this study that since sexuality
is central to the female sex role, sexual experiences
play an important part in the development of the
self-concept. The subjects actually engaging in prostitution have had more damaging early sexual experiences, and therefore have more negative self-images. They also reported having more negative attitudes towards their customers; and a relationship was found between self-concept and attitude toward customers. Subjects with the most positive self-images perceived their customers as men needing help, and their work as providing a valuable service. On the other hand, the subjects with the poorest self-images had hostility and contempt towards their customers, and defined their work as "dirty work" that someone needed to perform.

There appears to be two major etiologies of predisposing conditions involved in the entrance into providing sexual services: (1) a juvenile drift with some indications of labeling and differential association, and (2) early negative experiences which may include sexual abuse and the absence of parental love.

Focusing upon those subjects who expressed experiencing a negative self-image and labeling, it appears that the label of sexual deviance may have become a master status (Becker, 1963) and possibly irreversible. There is also evidence of tautological reasoning here, as we do not know which came first, a negative self-image and then involvement in sexual deviance, or involvement in sexual deviance which produces a negative self-image.
There is no real evidence of pre-occupation personalities to compare the data with.

In both groups of women there is no evidence of true involvement in a subculture of deviance. Several massage parlor workers reported associating with bikers and bi-sexuals, which would be the closest indication of a deviant subculture. Part of the reason for this may be due to the nature of the conservative community and its lack of deviant subculture development. Most of the massage parlor workers continue to maintain some family ties, which is unusual for women engaged in this type of work (Sheehy, 1973). Therefore, family ties may possibly replace the subcultural affiliations. The results of this study tend to indicate that spoiled identity or self-image is central to the sexual deviancy rather than the need for belonging or weak social ties. The majority of the subjects in this study maintain some family ties, which is not a common finding in other research.

Value of Study

This was a difficult and expensive study to conduct. Not only were the subjects socially deviant, but their activity was either illegal or quasi-illegal. Consequently, they were reluctant to allow in an "outsider." Although the sample size is small, the subjects have been examined in great depth. The two comparison groups are
quantitatively unequal, but may, nevertheless, be representative of the two types of subjects, prostitutes and massage parlor workers. There is no reason to believe that the two groups are not representative, since they are similar to other research samples in age, social class, early experiences, and job skills. The ages of the respondents range, typically, from 25 to 30 years of age. Most of the respondents indicate having had damaging early childhood experiences. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents indicate that they came from lower class backgrounds, and had low level job skills.

However, we do not know, with any accuracy, what percentages in the normal population of women also have experienced early negative sexual experiences, negative labeling, absence of parental love, socially deviant friends, early intercourse, early pregnancy, no subsequent relationship with first sexual partner, abortion, low school performance, low job skills, and poor self-image. In other words, we do not know how much these women may deviate from the normal in their experiences and personalities. Perhaps they are not that different from other women, but there has been a turning point experience that has increased the probability that they would turn to sexually deviant behavior. These data may suggest such a premise.

We must realize that the normal and the stigmatized
are not persons, but are perspectives that are generated in social situations (Goffman, 1963). These women live in both worlds, the normal and the stigmatized. They speak to us from both worlds, offering us a perspective on each. It is our social definitions that have situated them in the stigmatized world, or to use the perspective of the stigmatized as their frame of reference. Stigma is a social category and not a personal trait. They may be treated as stigmatized persons, but this is not their essential selves.

Social definitions are reality and they determine how reality will be experienced so that labels become self-fulfilling prophecies (Bem, 1967; Snyder, 1977). There is no more powerful label for a woman than sexual deviant. This is social condemnation and loss of personal worth. This study describes the worst possible life-world for a woman; the extreme example of what can happen to sex role transgressors who then become the most despised group of women (Millett, 1973).

Research Issues

This has been a holistic study of subjects in their natural social context. The fifteen subjects and two different social settings have provided insight into a neglected area of social life. This sample size, although small, is still representative of women engaged
in sexual services as a group. In a qualitative study, it is not the number of cases that are of importance, but rather the potential of the cases to illuminate the area of social life studied. These fifteen cases examined in depth have offered such illumination into the subjective experiences of actors in the world of social deviance.

A nominalist epistemology has been utilized in this study, so truth and reality are encountered in concrete individuals. The concepts and categories that emerge from the data are based on the actors' own categories. The grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) that emerges is generated from patterns in the data.

This is a valid study, as it presents firsthand knowledge of the social life it is describing. The actors speak directly without the filtering process of social science constructs. Their actual subjective states are portrayed. The study offers an understanding present in immediate experience.

A postulate of adequacy (Schutz, 1964) has been achieved. This scientific study would be understandable to the actors described in it. It would make sense to them, as they have been studied in terms of their own common sense interpretations of their everyday lives. There is a fit between the data and what the social actors actually say, do, and think.

A symbolic interactionist approach was followed
throughout, as the major research task was to interpret the social meanings of these actors in their everyday life situations. Behavior can be explained by meanings, and meanings grow out of interaction. Participant observation methods were used, as social meanings can only be observed by using participation (Douglas, 1972). By "hanging out" at both social settings, I became immersed in the social construction of reality that took place in the actual informal talk of the two groups of women.

Blumer (1956) has stated that it is the actors' interpretations of reality that makes the social sciences different from the physical sciences. Interpretation is always an intervening variable to be included in our social science research models, as we never deal with simple variable analysis. Social life is open-ended, in a state of flux, continually renegotiated, and phenomenologically structured through role-taking behavior. This social reality of sexual services is without clearly defined roles and an excellent setting to study symbolic interactionist theory. The actors described have constructed a life-world only partially given in our social structure. Social structure is but a loose framework within which interactions were created and enacted.

Several methods were utilized to control for reactive effects. First, I kept my note taking in the
field at a minimum. Interviews were conducted like conversations to reduce anxiety or threat to the subjects. There was no note taking during participant observation times. These field notes were done later. Secondly, as much as possible, I suspended my own beliefs and values so I could enter more fully into the subjects’ phenomenological world and "take the role of the other" (Mead, 1934). Thirdly, I used my frequency of contacts to desensitize the subjects to my presence. Research was conducted at both settings three times per week. I took on the role of "trusted confidant" (Douglas, 1972) for about 75 percent of the subjects. They eventually felt relaxed, comfortable, and natural when I was there. Lastly, receiving money and attention from me made the subjects feel important and valued. Most of the women stated that they finally felt understood on their own terms. This was a new and rewarding experience for them.

A descriptive-exploratory is usually beset with methodological difficulties. This study contains the following methodological problems: (1) the small sample size renders empirical generalizations impossible, (2) there is no data on the subjects’ pre-occupational personalities so that some analysis could be done on how their work has affected/changed them, (3) no control group was used so comparisons could be made with the general population, and (4) concepts are not clearly
defined, as only sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1969) are used to guide the study.
CHAPTER VII.
CONCLUSIONS

Sociocultural Implications

Ours is a culture that accepts the institution of prostitution as having a social value, while simultaneously condemning the individual prostitute for violating sex role norms.

This study of sexual service providers also calls into question our cultural attitudes towards sex and the female sex role. In our sexual stratification system, men are the predominant definers of social reality and the female sex role. Women, as a social underclass, have allowed men to define their role as sex objects. As such, women's self worth is largely based on their sexual desirability. Subsequently, the norm of sexual purity and sexual repression is added to produce a double standard. Men are allowed sexual freedom while women are of two types: the sexually free or sexually repressed (Choisy, 1961; Hollender, 1961). The sexually free are still subjected to varying degrees of social censure.

The existence of sexual services is evidence of this double standard and some men's difficulty in integrating tender (love) and sexual (erotic) feelings towards the same object (Glover, 1943). As most of the men using sexual services are believed to be married, we may surmise that they are not successfully integrating love
and sex in their personal lives.

The majority of the subjects in this study experienced their customers as having problems in accepting their sexual needs as healthy and normal. Whereas, most of the subjects did not feel sex was dirty, but rather a natural function. They knew their customers had conflicts about sex. At times they felt respect, and at other times depreciation from the same men. This made many of them question whether these customers could enjoy their sexuality without diminishing the object of their pleasure.

The issue of whether monogamy is possible for males emerged in this study. Most of the subjects felt that males are inherently promiscuous and that their sex role permits this behavior pattern. Although approximately 50 percent of the subjects indicate that they feel entitled to the same opportunity of promiscuous expression. Most subjects perceive a difference in male needs, such as desperation to make contact with a female for psychological reasons. The majority of the subjects argue that men use sex largely to make psychological contact with a woman.

Most subjects define themselves as psychotherapeutic agents for their customers as much as sex objects. They implied that men seem to be under more pressure to perform, and are experiencing more difficulty feeling
confident and acting aggressive. Cultural sex role changes have made their way into sexual services, with more males requiring passivity and the expression of bisexual and homosexual orientations.

As a culture, we have not clearly defined what normal sexual expression is and seem to feel uncomfortable with facing this issue. Homophobia is prevalent, as well as condemnation of adultery and sex outside of marriages by most religious groups. Yet, pornography and gynolatry (Greer, 1970) abound. Women's bodies are exploited and we are overloaded with sexual stimuli. We are in a sense obsessed with sex and guilt ridden about it (Greer, 1970).

In the media, women appear as interchangeable commodities to be used without commitment and discarded. It is not surprising that the rate of sexual abuse, rape, and incest increases. There continues to be evidence of an ambivalent attitude towards women by men, they are often both desired as objects and depreciated as human beings following consumption. Most of the women in this study expressed an awareness of how they participate in this confused process of adoration as sex objects, and rejection as too inferior to be love objects.

This study infers that our acceptance of sexuality and the full equality of women may be related. The double standard is evidence of both our sexual guilt and
depreciation of women. Although our sexual standards have changed somewhat since the 1960s, allowing more sexual permissiveness in love relationships; the explosion of pornography and sexual violence suggests that we still have not integrated healthy sexuality or the egalitarian role of women into our social structure.

As Rosenblum (1975) indicates, there are too many parallels between the attributes of the female sex role and characteristics of female deviance. Women in our culture are socialized to use their sexual desirability and ability to flatter and please men to achieve nonsexual ends, such as: marital security, economic advantage, and social status. Although these sex role attributes are changing, the changes are occurring most rapidly with the younger members of society. The majority of the men using sexual services are older and seeking relationships that support longstanding sex role stereotypes.

This study further clarifies the central importance of sexual experiences in the development of a woman's self-concept. The subjects which experienced the greatest sexual abuse report the most negative self-image and labeling. This suggests that perhaps greater penalties should be enacted for crimes of sexual abuse, rape, and incest. Abused women are not only more likely to become sex role transgressors, but are also more
inclined to manifest every type of self-destructive behavior. When personal worth is equated with sexual worth, anything that depreciates a woman's sexual worth deserves significant penalties.

This research raises the question as to whether prostitution should be decriminalized and/or legalized. In 1960, The United Nations passed a resolution calling for world-wide decriminalization of prostitution. Since this time, only the United States and the Islamic countries continue to criminalize prostitution. In 1979, the Islamic world began executing prostitutes. In the United States, prostitution is legal only in Nevada. Efforts to decriminalize, license, or regulate prostitution in the United States have been very unsuccessful. Since the outbreak of the AIDS virus, there may be good reason to legalize prostitution, as then mandatory blood testing and medical certifications could be required. Sex should be made as safe as possible for service providers and consumers.

Most states and communities have no laws against prostitution per se, but rather have legislation against disorderly conduct, vagrancy, solicitation, and pandering, in conjunction with sexual indulgence and prostitution (Lemert, 1951). Forty-four states have actual laws against solicitation. Thirty-eight states forbid sex for payment.
In 1976, a group of prostitutes organized a lobby for decriminalization and acceptance as a bona fide occupation. Their organization is named COYOTE, which stands for: Cast Off Your Old Tired Ethics. They propose that prostitutes should be eligible for Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid benefits. Several social scientists (Hirschi, 1962; Bryan, 1966) have also stated that prostitution should be considered an occupation rather than just a form of sexual deviance. Prostitution has its own special skills, norms, and ideology to ensure its continuance as an occupation. Yet, it is the only profession/occupation that carries with it the label of criminal deviant and sexual deviant.

If prostitutes continue to experience incarceration and labeling for practicing their profession, then we should develop social rehabilitation programs for them. They need to receive job training, and resocialization groups are needed where they can experience new role models and opportunities to form healthier social ties. Society has chiefly used punishment as its means of social control rather than rehabilitation. Halfway houses would be a cheaper and more effective means of social control than prisons for these sex role transgressors.
Symbolic Interactionism Observations

This study is concerned with how labels and definitions create social reality. Social structure provides the framework in which a social world is negotiated, through the interaction of individuals using the same cultural symbols.

The world of sexual services contains several levels of definitions or multiple levels of realities (Schutz, 1964). To outsiders, this reality appears sordid and dirty. The service providers are labeled as deviant and morally inferior. To insiders, this reality is restorative and healing. The service providers are defined as compassionate and understanding. Even when this world seems hard and brutal, its effects are often soft and cleansing. This world breaks down some barriers and creates others. It breaks down barriers protecting vulnerability and need, and builds up barriers around love and trust.

As a group, these labeled women have not lost their individuality. So it is questionable just how much they have actually internalized society's reaction to their deviance. Although the majority admit to being labeled, perhaps the label of sexual deviant did not become a master trait. Their dishonesty with significant others about their actual deviancy may have protected their identities and self-concepts from becoming too negative.
On the other hand, the positive reinforcement and approval they receive from most of their customers may mitigate the depreciating effects of being labeled sexual deviant.

It is remarkable that 100 percent of this sample do not see their use of their sexuality to meet nonsexual needs as being different from what other women do. They unanimously believe that women in our culture are socialized to become sex objects for men. Consequently, they feel that they should not be criticized for their sexual behavior. They have interpreted the female sex role norms differently than most other women, as they have gone further in becoming sex objects for pay. In their exaggerated response to the norm of female sexual desirability, they encourage us to examine this social expectation and its effect on our sexual relations.

This belief or ideology, that they are not that different from other women in their fulfillment of the female sex role expectations, is also a chief means for managing stigma. Clearly, they are trying to overcome their social distance from nonstigmatized women. This belief enables them to take a position against the moral entrepreneurs (Becker, 1963) who have labeled them as deviant. They may then declare other women to be hypocrites and all others as equally involved in exploitive self-interest.
However, these women do appear to be different from other women in the extent of their experienced sexual abuse, marked deficiencies in parental love, and inadequate educational and work histories. Their lives reflect an accumulation of negative events that have all contributed to poor self-concepts and significant personal problems. They may not define themselves as different, but they are different, even if their deviance from social norms is a matter of degree rather than kind. Their lives all contain traumas and turning points that have predisposed them to choose to become sex objects for pay. Their current lives all hold insecurities that keep them attracted to their work. Their self-concepts are all damaged enough to allow them to be used. They feel enough anomie or detachment from social norms to permit themselves to break cultural mores and violate sexual standards. However, they are only capable of acting as they do because of the definitions they use in structuring a reality that most women would be unable to enter.

These subjects feel comfortable in their occupational world, as they are in charge of defining this world. They decide what services the man may receive and the cost. There is a reversal of the more normative sex role transaction in which the male is typically in charge of structuring the sexual encounter. To a large degree, the subjects have assumed the role of mother in teaching,
comforting, and relieving the tensions of their customers. The subjects have actually placed the customers in the role of son, although they pretend to define the customer as lover. The subjects take great satisfaction in effectively deceiving the customer in these role relationships.

The customers usually perceive themselves as taking the role of the lover, or sexually appealing male. Then they may define the sexual service provider as a sex object or erotic figure that brings pleasure and comfort. As such, the sexual service provider plays the role of a fantasy figure, receiving projections of the customers' wishes and needs.

These subjects are adept at "taking to role of the other/customer" (Mead, 1934), interpreting his need, receiving his projections, and giving him an experience that is gratifying. The entire encounter must be carefully managed by the sexual service provider. She must be skilled at understanding human need and be flexible enough to play many roles. She should be capable of acting or pretending successfully. Her situation is fluid, open-ended, and unpredictable. If she makes an error in judgement, she may lose her customer or even risk injury. She often plays a dangerous game.

All of the subjects used a compartmentalization process so they could coexist in both the deviant and
normal worlds simultaneously. This suggests a lack of integration in their personality structures, with parts of their identities split off or unacceptable. This may also explain how they deal with labeling, or keep labels from becoming master traits, engulfing their entire identities. These women have adapted to their polarized life-worlds with strong defenses against interpenetration. They cannot give up their role relationships in the nondeviant world where their enfamilied selves exist. Yet, they are unable to balance these relationships with the deviant world of forbidden and condemned sexuality. The subjects admitted to the difficulties inherent in balancing these two contradictory worlds. It seems that socializing with coworkers could potentially upset this balance and bring the two worlds together. Therefore this form of socializing was avoided, as interpenetration of these two realities could break down the compartmentalization necessary for survival.

The presence of this compartmentalization process implies a very complicated self-concept development. Perhaps the compartmentalization began, as it often does, during experiences of sexual abuse, to protect the self-concept from contamination and defilement. No doubt, this has occurred with some of these subjects.

Many perspectives have been utilized in attempting to understand the world of sexual deviance.
Psychological theories have been too concerned with making comparisons with the normal personality. Psychoanalytic theories are too narrow and limited in their focus. Feminist thought is chiefly interested in the use of power in relationships. Sociology has made the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of this difficult-to-research social world. Ethnographic studies, using symbolic interactionist concepts, have provided the social sciences with the most useful information about this life-world and the subjective states of its actors. This ethnographic study has been guided by symbolic interactionism in attempting to present an interpretive sociology of sexual deviance. The subjects' firsthand interpretations are given and their natural world is described in detail. The study explores how definitions are conveyed and interactions are structured in this poorly defined, socially condemned world. The actors are dynamic and open to the exigencies of the moment.

Symbolic interactionism is sociology at its deepest level. The symbol is reality, as it structures and creates reality. Symbols may also destroy reality. This is a study of misdefinitions based on labels conferred by others. The powerful symbol or label of sexual deviant is ultimately destructive of the person who receives it. A symbol is believed to both conceal and significantly
reveal. In this case, the symbol of sexual deviant will conceal the real person, or the essential being of the person being labeled. On the other hand, the symbol reveals contradictions in our social structure and sex role norms. As a culture, we have many sexual conflicts which are reflected in our attitudes towards prostitutes and sexual service providers. These conflicts are enacted in the daily encounters of these women with their customers. This study attempts to provide social science with a greater awareness of these conflicts and how they are managed by this poorly understood group of women.

Directions for Future Research

Sexual services have suddenly become a fruitful area for research since the outbreak of the AIDS virus. Brothels in Nevada, the only place in the United States where prostitution is legal, require their prostitutes to undergo monthly blood tests, and use condoms with all their customers. They may soon be considered the safest group to have sexual relations with. Some studies need to be conducted to explore how these women's lives have changed and how they are dealing with the constant threat of this dreaded disease. We can surmise that the outbreak of AIDS will revolutionize the field of sexual services. Massage parlors could begin to replace brothels, call girls, and some street prostitution. Oral
sex may become even more prevalent. When practicing prostitutes begin to die from AIDS, things may change even more dramatically.

Another important area for further research is the world of the homosexual prostitute, especially since homosexuals are a high risk group for the AIDS virus. This life-world is poorly researched and has not been a popular group to study. However, since the majority of the homosexual prostitutes are male, their promiscuous behavior is not considered a sex role transgression. Their sexual deviancy lies more in their sexual orientation, so that we cannot study the prostitution aspects of their behavior uncontaminated from their sexual orientation deviancy.

Perhaps some studies with smaller sample sizes examining women who engage in sexual services in greater depth would be useful. We need to understand more about how self-concept changes occur and what types of experiences act as turning points in increasing the probability that a woman may turn to prostitution. Also needed, but difficult to conduct, are longitudinal studies to find out what happens to women after they leave sexual service occupations.

The newest group to study today is the prostitute who continues to practice her profession after testing HIV Positive for the AIDS antibodies. She is knowingly
risking the life of her customers. Many states require mandatory blood testing for all women arrested for soliciting or prostitution. The numbers for this new group of offenders is expected to grow rapidly.

Afterthoughts

These subjects have described a life-world that is but an exaggerated reflection of our accepted sexual behavior. Women market their sexual desirability to get their personal and social needs met. Men use money and sex to meet their personal and social needs. However, there is usually a relationship in which some feelings are invested, which is not the case in the area of sexual services. So, it is the lack of emotional investment that makes the behavior most unacceptable, rather than just the expression of sexuality. Sexual intimacy and nakedness with strangers or customers is not the whole issue. It is the emotional indifference, not of the male, but the woman involved, that makes her a most despised deviant. She offers for pay what should be given freely out of affection and love. It is the absence of love rather than just the presence of sexual expression that creates the situation of condemnation. Therefore, the data suggest that it is the separation of sex and love that have created the social problem rather than just the cash nexus in sexual services. Women are
not permitted to make this separation, while men are even encouraged to do so.

From a social structural perspective, the existence of sexual services reflects sex role differences and problems. Most heterosexual prostitutes are females serving a male clientele. In most situations, women are not paying men for sexual services. It is assumed that men will usually offer themselves for the sexual pleasure rather than for a monetary gain. Whereas, women's bodies may be regarded as a commodity to be sold and consumed by males.

Sex has always been used to overcome separation and alienation. We live in a perhaps unprecedented time of social disorganization. Many nuclear families have shrunk to the single parent family. Sex can be used to reinforce broken social bonds. The sexual servant is often a therapeutic agent, both for the individual and society. When the social order fails to provide its members with love and belonging essential to their health and well-being, then deviant means will emerge to compensate for the social deficiencies. Human need will be served regardless of the consequences. Social norms will be violated if they stand in the way of self-fulfillment.

This social psychological study, because of its intimate nature, touches on some of the deepest strata of the human condition—the need for closeness, union, and
self-expansion underlying the social contract and cash exchange. Here the scientific method has been used to illuminate and understand the human predicament we all face. As in its extreme form, prostitution or sexual service is no more than an example of injustice, exploitation, and the perversion of life's highest impulses to love and unite. In sexual service transactions, we have allowed a caste system to develop of good and bad women, and men who are loved and men who are merely flattered for a fee.

Through this study, women have spoken out about themselves, men, and the social order. They live both on the fringe of the acceptable world and in the midst of it. Each one tries to live several roles and identities simultaneously, experiencing varying degrees of role strain. Most have internalized some of society's sex role norms and labels and live in a state of tension. The tension is dealt with in many ways, one of which is to remain in their work and avoid change. Many of the massage parlor workers have done just that. Others rely on drugs and alcohol to dull their sense of tension. None really wanted to think or talk about this tension. All realized that there was a time limit on their length of involvement in sexual services. Implicit was the unexpressed fear that the tension from the life they are living now might be carried with them for the rest of
their days. We do not know whether this fear is justified, or whether a woman can ever overcome being labeled a sexual deviant.

To recapitulate—the world of sexual services is a hard world and a tender world; an exploitive world and a compassionate world. It is an expression of all the extremes we can experience as human beings. It reflects our sex role differences and our oneness in the human condition. There will always be sexual services as there will always be unfulfilled human longings that sexual contact will appear to fulfill.
Abraham, Karl

Abrahamson, L. Y., M. E. Seligman, and J. D. Teasdale

Adler, Polly

Agoston, Tibon

Armstrong, Edward G.


Bailey, Joe

Ball, Jau Don and Hayward G. Thomas

Becker, Howard S.


Bem, Daryl J.
Benjamin, Harry

Benjamin, Harry and Albert Ellis

Benjamin, Harry and R. E. L. Masters

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann

Best, Joe and David Luckenbill

Blumer, Herbert

Bracey, Dorothy Heid

Brown, Marjorie

Brownmiller, Susan

Bryan, James H.

Bryant, Clifton D.
Bryant, Clifton D. and C. Eddie Palmer

Burgess, Robert

Choisy, Maryse

Clinard, Marshall B.

Cloward, Richard and Lloyd E. Ohlin

Coveny, L.

Datesman, Susan K., Frank Scarpitti and Richard Stephenson

Davis, Kingsley

Davis, Nanette
de Groot, Lampl A.

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APPENDIX ONE.
STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM

(1) Do you feel condemned or stigmatized by society because of your work?
   a. How do your family and friends feel about your work?
   b. How do your customers regard you as a person?
   c. How does your work affect your own self image?

(2) What do you usually feel while working?
   a. What is your general attitude towards your customers?
   b. Are there basic types of men that seek your services? Can you describe them?
   c. What is your attitude towards men in general?
   d. How do you handle negative feelings towards customers?
   e. How do you handle positive feelings towards customers?
   f. How do you manage to "fake it?" Are you successful?
   g. Describe some of your most awkward and embarrassing situations with customers?
   h. Have you had any dangerous encounters? How have you handled them?
   i. What have been some of your most successful relationships with customers? How have they been different? Do you have many regulars? What are they like and how do they treat you?
   j. How do you usually take charge of managing the encounter with customers?
   k. How do your feelings toward your work affect your other relationships?

(3) Why do you believe men need to seek your services?
   a. What needs do you fulfill for most of your customers?
   b. How do you determine what their needs are?
   c. Do you believe that you fulfill needs that others are unwilling or unable to fulfill?
   d. Do you feel that men’s sexual needs are different from or similar to women’s sexual needs?
   e. Do you think less of men for having these needs, desires or preferences?
   f. Do some of your customers share their fantasies about you? Can you describe some of these fantasies?
(4) Do you ever feel that you provide a valuable service or function for society through your work? What might this be?
   a. How does your work possibly affect the institution of marriage?
   b. Do you believe that the availability of your services decreases the rates of sexual assault and rape?

(5) How did you get into your type of work?
   a. Did you know others providing sexual services who got you into the work?
   b. Did you seem to just drift into it, and if so, how did this occur?

(6) Why do you remain in your profession?
   a. What motivates you to continue your work? What needs of yours is it meeting?
   b. Have you tried to leave or do other types of work since entering your profession? Has your profession changed you so that other work isn’t as satisfying in some ways?
   c. How long do you intend to continue in your work?

(7) What are your future goals?
   a. Do you expect or wish to marry? What kind of man might he be?
   b. Do you think you might ever meet someone you could love or marry through your work?
   c. What happens to people you know that leave your profession?
   d. Would you tell people who you meet after leaving your profession about your work? What about a potential or actual spouse, should he know?
   e. What other type of work might you be interested in trying and why?

(8) Do you feel different from other women?
   a. Is what you are doing very different from what other women do when they use their sexual desirability and accessability for nonsexual ends?
   b. Do you feel that the nature of your work sets you apart from other women? If so, how? Can you ever overcome such a separation if you experience it now?
(9) Do you feel different from other people in general?
   a. How are your beliefs different?
   b. How might your life style be different?
   c. How do you justify, or make the type of work you
do acceptable to yourself and others?

(10) What is the nature of your social relationships?
   a. Who are you closest to in your work group? Why?
   b. How do you get along with ______ (your boss)?
   c. Who do you socialize with outside of work? What
do you tell them about yourself?
   d. Do you have a steady boyfriend, husband? Is your sexual preference heterosexual, homosexual,
bisexual, asexual?
   e. Have you ever had a relationship with a pimp?
      If so, please describe the relationship.

(11) What are your greatest problems and fears connected
     with your work? How do you control for venereal
diseases?

(12) What are the major sexual services you are called
     upon to provide? Have you noted any changes or new
trends in the nature of these services requested?
APPENDIX TWO.
UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM
(Areas for exploration)

A. Family history
1 Stability of parents' marriage
2 Parent's occupations--socio-economic level
3 Size of family--position in birth order
4 Quality of affective life and social bonding
   (a) same and opposite sexed parent
   (b) siblings

B. Peer relationships
1 Few/many
2 Close/distant
3 Deviant or socially acceptable group

C. Sexual relationships
1 Sexual abuse, incest, rape, molestation, etc.
2 Age at first intercourse--forced or coerced
3 Subsequent relationships with first partner
4 Few or many partners
5 Early pregnancy
6 Abortions
7 Homosexual experiences

D. School performance
1 Grades and level of performance
2 Level of completion (high school, college)

E. Work history
1 Level of skill acquired
2 Job stability

F. Self-image
1 Positive/negative
2 Labeling experience

G. Criminal involvement
1 Sexual offense
2 Narcotics
3 Other

H. Marriage and family history
1 Number of husbands--quality of married life
2 Number of children--type of custody arrangements
APPENDIX THREE.
DEFINITIONS

(1) **Prostitute**—A person who engages in sexual intercourse characterized by barter, promiscuity, and emotional indifference.

(2) **House prostitute**—Includes women who work in brothels, massage parlors, hotels, dance halls, bars, and modeling studios that simultaneously engage in sexual intercourse for pay. Usually the establishment receives 50 percent of their earnings.

(3) **Massage parlors**—There are two basic categories: (a) Legal—health clubs and massage and masturbation only parlors, and (b) illegal fronts for prostitution.

(4) **Local massage**—Masturbation relief offered to a customer after he first places the girl’s hand on his penis. This is also known as a hand massage, and does not include oral or anal sex.

(5) **Masseuse**—A person trained in relaxing or stimulating the body tactually.

(6) **Sexual services**—Paid activity intended to stimulate and gratify a sexual need.

(7) **Regular customer**—A customer that frequently returns to an establishment, usually requesting a particular girl that has previously serviced him.

(8) **Session**—Paid private time that a customer spends with a selected girl.

(9) **Half-and-half**—Oral sex or fellatio, which is followed by coitus.

(10) **Pimp**—A person who procures customers for a prostitute, while simultaneously manages the prostitute’s money and general activities.

(11) **Square world**—Members of society who subscribe to the "straight" and legal world of socially acceptable life styles and behaviors.
(12) **Labeling**—The process of placing an individual in a category that is believed to represent the essential self. This process can alter all perceptions of that individual until it finally becomes a part of the targeted person’s self-concept.

(13) **Stigma**—A negative label that engulfs the identity of the individual and organizes others’ perceptions of that person.

(14) **Spoiled identity**—Experience of irreversible labeling that has produced contamination and hopeless defilement of the self.

(15) **Normative sexual behavior**—Monogamous heterosexual relationships, preferably within marriage; and conventional heterosexual intercourse.

(16) **Social deviant**—One who is defined by others as a rule breaker. Primary deviance is an act that has not been labeled deviant, whereas, secondary deviance is a deviant act that has been labeled as such, and certain sanctions have been applied (Lemert, 1951).

(17) **Sexual deviance**—Sexual behavior that violates acceptable sexual norms. This behavior results in negative labeling and social stigmatization.

(18) **Negative labeling**—Placement of an individual in a derogatory category that engulfs the self-concept and self-perception.

(19) **Negative sexual experience**—Experiences of sexual abuse, such as; incest, rape, and molestation.

(20) **Absence of parental love**—When one or both parents fail to bond to the girl with affection and interest. As determined by reported closeness or distance from parent.

(21) **Association with sexually deviant friends**—The development of relationships with others who are, or would be, labeled as sexually deviant by those outside of the immediate peer group.

(22) **Early intercourse**—Sexual intercourse occurring prior to the age of 16.
(23) **Early pregnancy**—Pregnancy occurring prior to the age of 16.

(24) **Marital stability**—A physically intact marriage.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My interest in a study like this began over a decade ago in Las Vegas, where I spent many hours counseling prostitutes of all types. It was clear then that they felt poorly understood, isolated, and labeled. I wished to break through some of the fantasies generally held about this group of women and reveal the reality of their everyday lives.

I am grateful to Ron Simons, Ph.D., my major professor at Iowa State University, for helping to make this study possible. Ron encouraged my pursuit of this research and guided the development of this work. It took several years for this study to assume its final form. I am thankful for Ron’s patience and continued presence throughout the whole process.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge all the women who have inspired this work and the future studies I plan to do in this area. By sharing their life stories, they have enriched all our lives with greater awareness of human need and social reality. I hope their truth is well represented.

The Iowa State University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research reviewed this project and concluded that the rights and welfare of the human subjects were adequately protected, that the risks were
outweighed by the potential benefits and expected value of the knowledge sought, that confidentiality of data was assured and that informed consent was obtained by appropriate procedures.